Policing Diversity: Examining Police Resistance to Training Reforms for Transgender People in Australia

Toby Miles-Johnson[a]

[a] School of Social Sciences, The University of Southampton, Room 4039 Murray Building (58), Highfield Campus, Southampton, SO17 1BJ, UK.
Accepted author version posted online: 04 Aug 2015.

Click for updates

PLEASE SCROLL DOWN FOR ARTICLE

Policing Diversity: Examining Police Resistance to Training Reforms for Transgender People in Australia

Toby Miles-Johnson

School of Social Sciences, The University of Southampton, Room 4039 Murray Building (58), Highfield Campus, Southampton, SO17 1BJ, UK. E-mail: T.Miles-Johnson@soton.ac.uk

Abstract

Using field notes collected from participant observation of Australian police officers training to work with the transgender community, the current research builds upon previous work examining Social Identity Theory (Tajfel, 2010) to explain how one training program implemented to educate police about transgender people challenges police culture. This research determines that police culture, training procedures, and stereotypes of gender are equally influential on police perceptions of all transgender people. Overall, the results indicate that negative police perceptions towards police training reforms strengthen in-group identity of police, and negative out-group perceptions of transgender people.

Introduction

Many police agencies are concerned that police officers are recalcitrant in their attitudes towards police training and occupational competence when training is linked to potential future interaction with diverse minority communities (Moran & Sharpe, 2004). Police officers must simultaneously balance legitimate and conflicting behaviours while still being guided by the law and professional expertise. For example, they frequently respond to

highly emotional and dynamic circumstances (typically under pressure), and must make

decisions about people whose identifying information is often incomplete or inaccurate upon

first impression. It is for this reason that police agencies understand that training police

officers to interact professionally with minority groups will give them the intellectual and

practical tools to make proper balanced decisions when engaging with members of diverse

groups.

Cherney and Chui (2010) state that part of these training reforms include the

deployment of police liaison officers (PLOs) or what can be termed as 'civilians in uniform'

or 'quasi' uniformed police officers whose role is to enhance the delivery of police services

to specific groups within society. In Australia, since the 1990s, there has been an increase in

these types of police officers, who are employed to engage and interact with members of

minority groups and as such form part of a focused strategy to improve cultural competency

of Australian police services[1] (Cherney & Chui, 2010). In general many of these types of

PLOs are not sworn police officers and do not possess statutory powers similar to formal

uniform police[2]. Their primary role is to engage minority group members and assist sworn

police officers when coming into contact with people of particular ethnic, racial and cultural

backgrounds (e.g. people of Aboriginal, Pacific Islander, Muslim or Sudanese background)

(Cherney & Chui, 2010).

---

[1] See the Australian and New Zealand Policing Advisory Agency at

http://www.anzpaa.org.au/

[2] Unlike PCSOs in the UK whom have limited powers as stipulated under the Police Reform

Act 2002.

Similar to the experiences of minority groups in other parts of the world (such as in the United Kingdom or the United States) minority groups in Australia mistrust the police, therefore many Australian police organisations have problems recruiting PLOs from members of minority groups (Casey, 2000). The scope of PLO duties in relation to assisting uniform staff in the exercise of their powers is narrow (Cherney & Chui, 2010), and many state police organisations in Australia have problems recruiting PLOs since the role does not have the same appeal as a sworn police officer. This has led to an increase in workload for sworn police officers who are often required to conduct additional duties such as those performed by a PLO. This workload increase has been met with resistance and open hostility by many members of police organisations who argue that policing has become more about 'social work' than social control (Loftus, 2009).

Despite many important initiatives by Australian police organisations to build good relations with members of minority groups, most mandatory Australian training programs implemented for police officers to interact with minority group members focus on 'cultural sensitivity' training, specifically directed towards policing of Indigenous populations, and are only usually delivered to new recruits (Casey, 2000). Research from the United Kingdom (UK) found that there are often high-levels of officer cynicism regarding mandatory training programmes, which address emotive topics relating to personal values, attitudes and beliefs (See Rowe, 2007). This has meant that within a police academy context where training staff are required to deliver large numbers of courses in a short period of time, it is clear that there has been a tendency to avoid prolonged discussion of issues that are not related to the general

duties[3] of an operational police officer. In the UK, Her Majesty's Inspectorate of Constabulary (HMIC) found that there was an absence of reliable and robust evaluations of diversity training courses in relation to racism, a theme that has recurred consistently in the post-Macpherson era[4] in the provision of police training more generally (See Docking & Tuffin 2005). This has led to much criticism regarding the implementation of diversity training as programmes that are merely rolled out when the subject is 'flavour of the month', and/ or perhaps precipitated by a significant event such as the Stephen Lawrence Inquiry[5] (Rowe, 2007). Research by Docking and Tuffin (2005) also indicated that there are few policies in the UK that are in place to sustain such training programmes or that implement diversity training on a systematic basis over long periods. Instead, it would seem that diversity training programmes often exist on their own, as 'stand-alone' exercises that are

---

[3] In Australia, the general duties of an operational police officer typically include providing policing services to the community by protecting life and property, preserving peace and safety, preventing crime and upholding law in a manner, which has regard for the public good, and rights of individuals (See www.afp.gov.au).

[4] Equality and diversity training for police services in the UK has been transformed, as with much else in policing, by recommendations made in the 1999 Macpherson Inquiry report into the racist murder in London in 1993 of a young black man, Stephen Lawrence.

[5] The Lawrence Enquiry was the official report published in 1999 of an inquiry in to the death of Stephen Lawrence that was led by Sir William Macpherson and presented to the British Parliament by the Secretary of State for the Home Department by Command of Her Majesty.

often not followed up in staff appraisals or by refresher courses offered by police organisations.

This is a problem echoed in the United States (US) where tensions between community policing requirements and agency cost-cutting have resulted in the dissolving of many police liaison units initially developed to respond to the needs of minority groups (Labbe-DeBose, 2009). Throughout the 1990s, increased attention to crimes and harassment of the LGBT community resulted in many US police organisations implementing training programs for police officers to respond appropriately. However critics argued that few police training programs in the US offered specialised training modules that *sensitised* police officers to these types of crimes (Sloan, King & Sheppard, 1998), and although many states participated in this type of training (for example, Alabama, Arizona, California, Florida, Michigan, New York, Texas, and West Virginia) less than half of the programs mentioned sexual orientation in the training (Sloan et al., 1998) or gender diversity (Wolff & Cokely, 2007). More recently, multiple police agencies in cities such as Washington D.C., New York City and San Francisco have trimmed policing programs tailored to suit specific community needs (such as liaison units created to respond to specialty calls from members of the transgender community) (Bagby , 2012; Israel, Harkness, Delucio, Ledbetter and Avellar, 2013). Although some US police departments have re-introduced mandatory lesbian, gay and transgender sensitivity training courses (e.g. Atlanta Police Department), since 2007 many police agencies in the US have actually dissolved community liaison units, and expect police officers to include minority policing techniques within the regular duties that they are expected to perform (Labbe-DeBose, 2009). Yet Coderoni (2002) and Israel et al., (2013) argue that providing ineffective training regarding lesbian, gay and transgender issues is just as harmful as providing no training at all.

In Australia, there has been less attention given to how police training programs impact on police relations with minority communities, which according to Rowe (2013), has also been the case in the UK where training programs are overlooked in terms of how they impact on police work in general. In Australia, this problem is reflected in the lack of ongoing training procedures regarding interaction with minority groups other than those identified by racial difference (Murphy, 2013). This is problematic since research indicates that police training programs must be focused on equipping police officers with cognitive skills to perform their duties equitably, and should therefore be delivered with great care and consistency since they can serve to indicate to police officers the type of operational procedures that they may face (Casey, 2000).

This raises questions regarding whether or not in-depth training for police to engage and interact with specific minority groups will help improve the often poor and unstable relationship police have with minority group members (Bernstein & Kostelac, 2002; Cherney, 1999; Miles-Johnson, 2013a). It is often assumed that such training will be beneficial but is there enough empirical evidence to support this? Certainly it would seem that there is a need for in-depth training since transgender people[6] have frequently criticised the police for being unaware of their specific needs (Alliance for a Safe & Diverse DC, 2008; Berman & Robinson, 2010; Grant, Mottet, Tanis, Harrison, Herman and Keisling, 2011). Historically transgender people in Australia have experienced levels of social disadvantage

---

[6] Although many terms are used to describe people of diverse sex and/or gender identities, in the Australian state where the research was conducted 'transgender' is a commonly applied umbrella term used to refer to people whose expression of gender identity is not necessarily linked to their sex (Australian Human Rights Commission).

(such as poverty, poor health care, unemployment, lack of housing and education, and lack of enforced rights) which has resulted in decades of inequitable treatment (Butler, 2012; Fish, 2010).

Similar to the experience of transgender people in other parts of the world (such as in UK and the US), many Australian transgender people have suffered stigma, family rejection and social isolation (Grant et al., 2011), and have had a life experience of actual or perceived fear of rejection and persecution from social institutions (Butler, 2012). In the US, transgender people have also experienced heightened harassment due to the perception that they frequently engage in sex work and/or other criminal activity (Alliance for a Safe & Diverse DC, 2008), and have significantly higher rates of HIV (Feldman, Romine & Bockting, 2014; Herbst, Jacobs, Finlayson, McKleroy, Neumann & Crepaz, 2007; Stotzer, 2009). According to Leonard et al., (2008) this is reflected in the way that many members of the transgender community purposefully avoiding contact with institutions such as the police because of fear of stigmatisation.

Negative perceptions of contact involving the police and certain groups are often reflective of the delivery of policing techniques that are implemented towards minority groups (Bowling, Parmar & Phillips, 2003). The social structure of most Western societies upholds the notion that a dominant group (such as the police) has the potential to enforce its value systems and ideologies upon minor groups for its own purpose. (Pratto, Stewart & Zeineddine, 2013; Sidanius, Pratto, van Laar & Levin, 2004). The dominant group (in this instance the police) has the discretionary power to deliver policing techniques upon transgender people that are influenced by the police officer's own value system and ideology (Dai, Frank & Sun, 2011; Hogg & Abrams, 1988; Reiner, 2010). This has been reflected in previous Australian research, which found that police discretionary power influences how

police officers interact and police members of the transgender community (Tomsen & Mason, 1997).

Negative perceptions of contact involving the police and certain groups are also reflective of the stereotypes that police officers use to classify people on the basis of their identity within a particular society (Reiner, 2000, 2010). People typically categorise and then stereotype others, and this process determines perceptions of intergroup difference between groups, and identifies similarities between members of the same group. Understanding intergroup difference can be problematic if there is limited formal information (or training/education) given to one group regarding another and/or if the needs and requirements of one group considered a minority have not been clearly understood by another more dominant group in society (Islam, 2014; Hogg & Terry, 2014; Tajfel, 2010).

This is challenging since it raises questions regarding the effects of formal training and educational procedures that are delivered to police officers regarding interaction with minority groups, and whether such training has an effect on police officer attitudes towards minority groups. It also raises questions regarding how police officers respond to operational training techniques specifically created for interaction with minority groups, and whether police officer perceptions of intergroup difference (between themselves and minority groups) are shaped or influenced by these training procedures. However, in an Australian context, this type of research (analysing the effects of police training procedures in relation to the transgender community, and whether police are hostile to such reforms) has not been conducted, mainly because police training procedures regarding transgender people are still in their infancy.

Training programs for police regarding diverse minority groups are essential when considering how contact and experiences with transgender people shapes police perceptions

of transgender people, and conversely, transgender people's perceptions of the police. They are also essential when considering how formal policing of transgender people shapes intergroup identity differences between transgender people and the police. Police training programs therefore, present challenging concerns regarding the extent to which police training can – in and of itself, provide the means to address the broader institutional dynamics of imbalance in power relations between the police and marginalised communities (Rowe, 2013).

Much has been written about police training, police culture and the attitudinal variables that seek to explain police racism in both private and public domains. Yet in an Australian context, the gap between what police officers publicly and privately say and do in relation to perceptions of transgender people has not been widely researched. Waddington (1999), states that any analysis of police culture should consider the gap between police talk and action and its implications for police behaviour, which suggests a front and back-stage differentiation between policing rhetoric and practice. Training programs implemented in the privacy of police academies are back-stage arenas, where staged performances of policing may take place for the benefit of other officers (Waddington, 1999). This could indicate that when police interact with transgender people in the public arena they may not necessarily exhibit the same views expressed in the privacy of the training room.

Whilst it is acknowledged that police officers may be influenced far more by attitudes to gender difference in wider culture than by aspects of internal police culture, the banter that is generated in back-stage arenas regarding perceptions of transgender people may not necessarily influence police action in public (See Waddington, 1999). Although value systems about transgender people have changed in recent times, past studies (See Berrill, 1992; Herek, 1989; Finn & McNeil (1987) argue that many police officers view anti-

transgender crimes as harmless pranks and judge such behaviour as acceptable. Research also shows that transgender people have complained frequently about negative police contact (See Alliance for a Safe & Diverse DC, 2008; Berman & Robinson, 2010; Edelman, 2014; Grant, Mottet, Tanis, Harrison, Herman and Keisling, 2011; Heidenreich, 2011; Miles-Johnson, 2013b; Redfern, 2014; Wolff & Cokely, 2007, Woods, Galvan, Bazargan, Herman & Chen, 2013), with groups of police officers who collectively express negative language towards transgender people or dispense negative treatment to members of this community during engagement (See Grinc, 1994; Parker, Onyekwuluje, & Murty, 1995; Sadd & Grinc, 1994).

Thus, this research draws on Social Identity theory (SIT) (Tajfel, 2010) to help explain how police training programs affect police officer attitudes and perceptions towards transgender people, and whether operational reforms in minority group policing can be achieved by this type of training. According to Hogg, Terry and White (1995), the basic idea of SIT is that a social category into which an individual feels that they belong or falls into (e.g., police officer), provides a definition of who that person is in terms of the defining characteristics of the actual category. This becomes a self-definition which then categorises a person's identity.

Social identity based on self-categorisation within a particular group becomes an essential component of a person's self-concept, and as such, individuals strive to positively differentiate their group from another as a means of further maintaining a positive self-esteem (Robinson, 1996). This type of self-identity is different to other exclusionary and inclusionary practices such as 'Othering' (which understands power dynamics within relationships) because social identity is established through a comparison of one group against another regardless of whether or not it is an actual, imaginary or vicarious relationship. For example, if an individual from one group perceives that their identity is threatened by an individual or

others from another group (either actual or perceived threat), the individual will try and differentiate behaviourally and/or communicatively from any such group which may threaten their identity (Robinson, 1996).

In this instance, assuming that police officers are unaware of the existence of transgender people before embarking on specific training programs implemented towards interaction with this community, they may presume that the training they receive is reflective of police attitudes in general towards transgender people. Under the framework of SIT, formal training may enhance police officers' perceived status as an in-group and conversely transgender peoples' perceived status as an out-group. The strength of applying SIT to this type of research is that it can capture the complex dynamics of intergroup perceptions at both an individual and group level.

The importance of this is that SIT will highlight how in-group and out-group perceptions are formed by addressing phenomena such as prejudice, discrimination, ethnocentrism, stereotyping, intergroup conflict, conformity, normative behaviour and group cohesiveness (Hogg & Vaughan, 2002). According to Rubin and Hewstone (2004), SIT makes clear references to both in-group favouritism and out-group favouritism in its explanation of intergroup behaviour. SIT also specifies when members of in-groups and out-groups will and will not show favouritism to their own group, and can also explain institutional discrimination in terms of consensual discrimination because specific social and behavioural norms embodied in an institution may contribute to the nature and extent of discrimination that is expressed or displayed by the members of the institution (Rubin & Hewstone, 2004). For example, research has shown that the police discriminate against transgender people (See Alliance for a Safe & Diverse DC, 2008; Berman & Robinson, 2010;

Edelman, 2014; Grant et al., 2011; Heidenreich, 2011; Miles-Johnson, 2013b; Redfern, 2014; Wolff & Cokely, 2007, Woods et al., 2013).

Therefore, to examine how one Australian police organisation's[7] training program (implemented to educate police about transgender people) challenges police culture, field notes collected during participant observation were analysed under a framework of SIT. Where possible direct quotes will be used to give form and meaning to the responses and answers given by the police collected during the participant observation.

Methodology

As a researcher, I was invited by a police lesbian , gay, bisexual, transgender and intersex (LGBTI) state coordinator to observe and participate in a week-long intensive instructional course for police officers training to work specifically with the transgender community, at one of Australia's largest state-based police training facilities. It was anticipated that participant observation of police officers attending the police training facility could provide results that would be suitable for the study because observation of police officers in the field interacting with transgender people was deemed impractical. This is because the transgender community is relatively dispersed[8]. The field notes collected during participant observation were analysed using content analysis since this approach would allow

---

[7] In accordance with the ethics agreement, the exact location and name of the Australian based police organisation has been de-identified.

[8] At this time the Australian census does not record transgender identification, therefore data regarding gender identity status and geographical location is unavailable.

the analysis to discover and document specific features in the content. By applying the

theoretical framework of SIT, content analyses would also help to determine in-group

identity and in-group membership of the police officers participating in the training.

At the beginning of the first training session, I was introduced to the other participants

by the senior facilitating officer as *"…a researcher from the community safety and crime*

prevention office". During the week-long observation, I was positioned in the middle section

of a group of police officers at the back of the small training room. Notes were taken by all of

the police officers participating in the training program and as such, I was able to write

extensive observational notes (including direct quotes when possible) of police officers

participating in (and facilitating) the week-long training program. Throughout the sessions, I

was not at liberty to actively participate in the training program or discuss the training

program with any of the police officers present. Further empirical deconstruction of the

findings therefore, using other methodologies (such as in-depth interviews) was impossible in

this setting.

To maintain rigour in the data collection process, and subsequent analysis of the field

notes, I created an account of data, which could stand independently so that another trained

researcher could analyse the same data (in the same way), and come to essentially the same

conclusions. Although it is acknowledged that all research is selective, and that the

observations may be limited by definition to the perceptions and introspection of the

investigator (Mays & Pope, 1995), as a non-transgender (or cis-gendered) person it was my

intention to produce a plausible and coherent explanation of the phenomenon under scrutiny.

As such, to safeguard precision in the analysis of the field notes, I used Leximancer, a

specialist analytic tool for unstructured, qualitative, textual data analysis. Within the

theoretical framework of SIT, it was understood that thematic analysis of field notes would

need to include identification of themes that would enable the presence of in-group identity and in-group membership of the police to be recognised (and therefore out-group identity of transgender people) to be discovered. Using Leximancer to initially identify themes and concepts meant that the first analysis of the data could be free from bias. This is important since critics of police research argue that academics who conduct police research are often regarded as being overly critical (Boba, 2010; Cordner &White 2010, Herrington, 2012; Laycock, 2001). Van Maanen (2011) argues that participation over time as an observer in police activities actually erodes any reactive effects on police behaviour and enhances validity of participant observation, as officers are able to know the observer and gain trust in a relatively short period of time.

One hurdle of conducting participant observation with institutions such as the police is the assessment of reliability in the findings, since measures of observer bias usually built into standardised survey instruments are often absent within narrative accounts and field notes. However, it was determined that threats to reliability would diminish with time since (like Schulenberg, 2012, p.5) I could "observe and interact closely enough with members to establish an insider's identity without participating in those activities constituting the core of group membership". At the end of each day all the written notes, verbally recorded observations and orally recorded or written reflections regarding the participant observation were collated and transcribed in to one document. The written notes were not made available to other police officers participating in (or facilitating) the course, and all of the participant identities were de-identified in accordance with the ethics agreement.

Police Participants

Police participants included in the training program had been either previously selected by the administrators of the particular police agency upon application or were required to attend the police training facility as part of their ongoing police professional development. Upon commencement of the training program, the facilitator of the course informed all of the police officers that they were being observed and that their participation in the training implied informed consent. The sample comprised 21 participants ($N = 21$) all currently employed by the Australian police agency as *operational* police personnel[9]. Operational level police, sometimes referred to as 'general duties station-based police', are required to address a broad range of community issues on a daily basis. Demographic data relating to the geographical location of each police officer's police station, their age, sexual orientation, ethnicity, and police rank was disclosed by each of the participants to the rest of the group on the first day of training[10][11]. The ages of the participants ranged from 24 to 55 years, and the majority of the participants were female ($n = 11$) with males comprising the rest of the participants. Over half of the participants identified as heterosexual ($n = 11$) and

---

[9] None of the participants were PLOs

[10] The ethics agreement regarding de-identification of participants prohibited me from intentionally exploring the individual identities of police officers. As such, how individual identities could shape 'in-group'/ 'out-group' perceptions of transgender people was not included in this study.

[11] It was impossible to obtain statistics on the sexuality of police officers in the police organisation more broadly; therefore a comparison of the participant's demographics in relation to other police officers in the organisation was not possible.

the remaining participants identified as gay or lesbian. Of those participants who identified as either gay or lesbian, three identified as gay, and seven identified as lesbian. All of the participants identified as Caucasian and all of the participants were from one state in Australia. Participants were recruited from each of the police jurisdictions within the Australian state chosen for the study. Although the majority of participants were from metropolitan areas ($n = 11$) most of the participants were accommodated at the police training facility during the training period. Participants included in the study ranged the lowest rank of non-commissioned police officer (constable) to the highest rank of non-commissioned police officer (senior sergeant). No commissioned officers (such as Superintendents or Inspectors) were included in the group of police officers participating in the training program. Almost all of participants were constables ($n = 8$) having served less than five years as a police officer; with four senior constables; four sergeants; three senior sergeants; one detective senior constable; and one detective sergeant.

Key Findings

1. Lack of annual training courses for police and transgender engagement

It was observed that there is a lack of annual training courses for police on the transgender community. For example, on the first day of the training program it was announced that the instructional course was the second training program of its type to be implemented by the police organisation within a ten-year period. This is an important finding to consider because perceptions of police contact and/or experiences in working with diverse members of the public or members of minority groups often starts for most recruits within training programs offered by police organisations at their training academies. Training

programs that are specifically run for police officers to interact with or work with members of

minority groups (such as the transgender community) may not form part of the core syllabus

that a police organisation uses to train its police personnel in the first instance. Interestingly,

the senior police officer facilitating the course asked the participants how many of them have

had previous contact or interaction with a transgender person and only two of the participants

raised their hands.This is important because the average police officer may not have had

contact with a transgender person prior to undertaking the training program, therefore, since

it may have been mandatory for some police officers to attend the training course who may

not have been initially aware of transgender people and their needs, the success of the course

will reflect the police organisation's core policies regarding public engagement with minority

group members.

It will also reflect the police organisation's views regarding police-minority group

relations. However, there was a lack of concern regarding the success of the intention of the

training program from its facilitators, and this is crucial to consider since it is reflective of the

overall intention of the policies of the police organisation regarding police interaction with

transgender people. It is also an indication of how seriously the police organisation considers

such matters to be. For example, I overheard the senior facilitator say to one of her

colleagues:

"This transgender course will help me configure the next training course... which is

about 'dealing' with Indigenous people... if this one goes well, then I can use it to do the next

one... the Indigenous one is much more important."[12]

---

[12] In Australia, police training programs regarding minority groups such as the Indigenous

community, the Asian community, and the LGBT community are often collectively managed

2. *The male dominated police training-facility helps shape in-group membership of police officers*

It was observed that the police organisation training-facility is a predominantly masculine environment and as such, the male dominated domain helps shape in-group membership of the police officers participating in the training course. For example, I often observed that all the participants in the course frequently expressed male gendered behaviour in their demeanour and attitudes, and although it is acknowledged that the idea of 'male' in terms of male gendered notions of behaviour is not a linear concept but is one marked by issues of nationalism, race, sexuality and embodiment, previous research examining 'male gendered notions of behaviour and police' have typically referred to 'white maleness', 'heterosexuality' and 'masculinity' (See Holdaway, 1983, 1991; Raganella & White, 2004; Walker & Katz, 2002). These types of behavioural traits were frequently observed during the training course, and I repeatedly observed that the female police officers were mimicking many of the male police officers posture and behavioural traits as they sat in the same room. I also observed that the male participants expressed sexist and discriminatory language towards the female participants, the female officers facilitating the training, and the administration staff. For example, I overheard one male participant announce to his table of other male trainees:

"Oh we've got a girl coming... well she can do all the work... she can do all the talking... as she... is the only female, cos most of 'us'... you know...cops... are rednecks... and you know that most of the coppers today wouldn't be bothered with all this stuff... right?"

---

under police initiative programs, usually implemented under community safety and crime prevention strategies.

This finding is critical when considering how police contact/experiences with

transgender people influences police perceptions and attitudes towards transgender people

because police officers whom typically approach policing from a normative masculine

viewpoint (and as such, determine the nature of the groups that fall inside and outside the

acceptable notions of gendered behaviour) may not accept individuals whose gender identity

falls outside of the expected ideals of male and female behaviour (See Dwyer, 2008, 2009,

2011). Presumptions that transgender people may express diverse gender identities that do

not conform to normative notions of gender behaviour due to visible traits and mannerisms

that are atypical with their ascribed biological sex (See Gagné & Tewksbury, 1998;

McCarthy, 2008; Weinberg, 2009) raises questions regarding how expectations of gender

behavioural norms will shape police contact and experiences with transgender people from a

police point of view. It also raises questions regarding how such expectations will influence

police attitudes towards transgender people, since the police as an in-group have such a

strong masculine approach regarding behaviour which supports in-group membership, and

transgender people as an out-group, have such diverse and fluid approaches to behaviour that

cross the normative boundaries of masculine and feminine. These questions will be answered

in the discussion section of this paper.

3. The police maintain and reinforce in-group membership and in-group identity

It was observed that the police maintain and reinforce in-group membership and in-

group identity by self-categorising themselves in ways which favoured the police as an in-

group, at the expense of others that they considered to be an out-group. This was repeatedly

expressed by the police officers through language to signify in-group membership and in-

group identity in their emphasis and use of words to signify in-group identity such as: 'we'

'us' 'our people'; and the way in which the police officers present at the training facility also emphasised and implemented words to signify out-group identity of transgender people such as: 'they' 'them' 'those people' and 'that community'. This is also an interesting finding when considering how police contact/experiences with transgender people influences police perceptions and attitudes towards transgender people because Waddington (1999), states that many police organisations have an 'us/them' division of the social world which places them in to an in-group thereby causing further isolation from other members of the public. The idea of 'us' and 'them' divisions is important and has powerful implications regarding the way in which police officers create for themselves a sense of shared identity and in-group membership.

Within SIT, once people self-categorise or are categorised as belonging to a particular group (or group membership), such individuals seek to achieve positive self-esteem by positively differentiating their in-group (with shared identity) from a comparison out-group on some valued dimension (Hogg & Vaughan, 2002). Fiedler (2007) argues that this is typically done through language in the expression of group membership, since individuals may explicitly or implicitly want to portray their in-group as favourably as possible and may (either strategically or unconsciously) pick their words in a biased way. As the individual pursues positive distinctiveness for their group, the person's sense of who they are is defined in terms of we or us rather than the individual I (Robinson, 1996). This leads to perceptions of in-group mentality 'us' and also out-group observation 'them' (Hogg & Vaughan, 2002). As Parker (2000) put it, the importance and inseparability of 'us' and 'them' as also a way of constituting 'we'.

Observation of the participants and the senior police officers involved in the training course indicated that the ideas of 'us' and 'them' divisions were important to the way in

which all the police officers present created for themselves a sense of shared identity. Although this type of inseparability may be interpreted as a manifestation of culture, under SIT the use of specific and emphasised language by police personnel to distinguish their distinctiveness becomes the salient basis for self-regulation within the context of their employment, self-perception and the related conduct therefore become normative, resulting in discriminatory practises towards others depending on the nature of relations between the groups (in this instance police and transgender people). For example, I overheard one uniformed participant say to another participant:

"I don't understand any of it... it's all foreign to 'us' isn't it...it's not 'our' world."

Thus, at the core of SIT is the idea of positive distinctiveness, which proposes that it is psychologically important for group members in the in-group to be able to view the in-group as different from and better than other groups on some relevant dimension. The police officer's conscious acknowledgement and endorsement of their in-group membership (and in-group status) may be indicative of an in-group expressing intergroup bias since the conscious linguistic separation of the police as a distinct in-group, may contribute to the interpersonal transmission and maintenance of negative stereotypes that the police associate with transgender people.

4. The police reinforce intergroup difference between themselves and the transgender community

The participant observation also showed that the police reinforce intergroup difference between themselves and the transgender community. For example, I often saw the participants engage in conversations that clearly categorised transgender people as an out-group, with attributes that were considered socially negative. This is meaningful when

understanding how formal and informal policing of transgender people shape intergroup

identity differences between transgender people and the police since the need to distinguish

an in-group (and therefore, also its members) on some positive level from other out-groups is

a fundamental component of SIT which helps determine perceptions of intergroup difference.

For example, In-group membership was also expressed by the senior officers facilitating the

course. At one point during the training program, I observed that the senior female police

officer helping to facilitate the course spoke about a book that she had left on a bookshelf at

the back of the room for each of the participants to look at and explained:

"It's a self-help guide… written by an LGBTI organisation for members of the

heterosexual community… to try and help 'us' [heterosexual people]… understand 'them'

[LGBTI people]… there is also stuff in it about transgender people."

Although it may appear from this quote that the senior female police officer helping to

facilitate the course distinguishes transgender people from lesbian, gay and bisexual people

when she comments "there is also stuff in it about transgender people", the senior female

police officer was in fact stating additional information, primarily that she felt that the book

in question was relevant to the training course that was being conducted. However, her

comment reinforced intergroup difference between the police and transgender people. After

this statement by the senior officer, I observed that one of the male participants (a uniformed

police officer) grabbed the book from the bookshelf and once he had started to flip through it,

he repeatedly said:

 *"*Oh god… oh god… what is this all about… who are 'these' people… they are

not like us."

Although most of the other participants and the senior officers in the room heard this

statement, no attempts were made by any of the facilitators or senior officers present or other

participants to rectify or readdress this comment. It is the idea of positive distinctiveness, which proposes that it is psychologically important for group members in the in-group to be able to view the in-group as different from and better than other groups on some relevant dimension. The participants not only reinforced intergroup difference through their awareness of having a shared sense of identification with other police officers but also reinforced intergroup difference through their awareness of the classification of transgender people into a distinct out-group. This was based upon negative perceptions of transgender identification, equally founded upon negative police perceptions of transgender people's gender identity difference. For example, it was noted during one session that the same senior female police officer helping to facilitate the course frequently referred to transgender people in terms such as: 'them' 'those people' 'that community', and the police as 'us' 'we' 'our' and 'as police officers we', whilst placing vocalic emphasis on each of the words she used to refer to transgender people (as a separate group) or the police (as a collective group).

5. Stereotypes of transgender people are upheld by police

I observed that the stereotypes of transgender people are upheld by police, and that many of the police officers participating in (and facilitating) the training program stereotyped transgender people as sex-workers or prostitutes, or who were involved in sexually related deviance. For example, it was noted that the senior officer announced to the participants that they would be viewing an educational DVD about transgender people. I watched as one male police officer turned to another male police officer and said:

"If it is a transgender film... it must be like a porn film."

I listened as the uniformed male participant started mimicking what he thought was porn film background music, and overheard the non-uniformed participant sitting next to him say:

"When the music starts... I'm out of here."

This finding is interesting when considering how police contact/experiences with transgender people influences police perceptions and attitudes towards transgender people because the senior police officer's negative stereotyping of transgender people may be a strong influence on any negative attitudes or perceptions that the officers training to interact with transgender people may have towards this community. This is also meaningful when thinking about the participants who have not had any previous contact or interaction with transgender people prior to the course, since it may uphold (or strengthen) any existing negative attitudes that the participants have towards transgender people or shape new negative attitudes towards transgender people that initially did not exist.

The data also suggests that a transgender guest speaker invited to speak to the participants about her experiences with the police, reinforced intergroup difference between the police and the transgender community. The transgender guest speaker verbally reinforced intergroup difference between the participants and the transgender community, which was repeatedly expressed in her use of negative language, narrative and experience when talking about her experiences with the police. For example, I observed that the transgender guest speaker said to the participants:

"You [the police] need to treat people equally regardless of gender... and that gender has nothing to do with sexuality." ...the transgender guest speaker tells the participants that many transgender people are treated badly by the police because... "According to 'you', 'We' [transgender people] have crossed the gender line."

This is vital to consider when analysing how police contact/experiences with transgender people influences police perceptions and attitudes towards transgender people since many of the participants involved in the training program have not had previous interaction or contact with a transgender person prior to meeting the transgender guest speaker. The psychological and behavioural reactions that the police officers had towards the transgender guest speaker could uphold any existing perceptions of intergroup conflict that the police officers may feel towards transgender people and/or shape new perceptions of intergroup conflict that the police officers could feel towards transgender people.

6. No specific police policy documents regarding interaction with transgender people were examined by the participants during the training program

It was observed that no specific police policy documents regarding interaction with transgender people were examined by the participants (or introduced by the senior police officers facilitating the training course) during the training program. Later examination of the police organisation's website determined that a policy document regarding protocols for interaction with transgender people exists and is accessible for both police personnel and members of the public online. When considering how formal and informal policing of transgender people shapes intergroup identity differences between transgender people and the police this finding is essential, since official police protocols from the Australian police organisation regarding interaction with transgender people were not being formally recognised or addressed.

Not all transgender people are policed in the same way, for example in the USA research shows that Black and Latina transgender women experience policing differently to other groups (See Graham, Crissman, Tocco, Lopez, Snow, & Padilla, 2014; Stotzer, 2014;

Woods et al., 2013). In Australia, research examining the different experiences of the diverse

members of the transgender community (in terms of the range of identities) and police

interaction is lacking (See Miles-Johnson, 2013a; 2014; Yue, 2012). In addition, official

police policy regarding interaction with transgender people does not distinguish between

different gender categories or the diverse identities within the transgender community nor

does it differentiate between different policing strategies that should be implemented when

engaging with diverse members of the transgender community. Without an awareness of

diversity of the transgender community within official police protocols and/or without the

reinforcement of training the long-term influence of the intention of the police training is

questionable. If it is to have any long-term influence on police attitudes or police behaviour

then the use of specific official protocols in the training program needs to be implemented

before police officers interact with transgender people.

7. Lack of instruction given to the participants regarding 'Community Engagement' and the transgender community

I also observed that there was a lack of instruction given to the participants regarding

'Community Engagement' between police and the transgender community. For example, I

observed that although the senior police officers facilitating the training course spoke about

the need for policing to move in the direction of a "transgender citizen focused approach" and

"community engagement with the transgender community", and remembering to treat

transgender people as "customers or consumers" of the police organisation's services, there

was a distinct lack of instruction regarding how such engagement could be implemented by

each of the individual participants attending the training program. As the senior officer was

speaking, I overheard one male uniformed participant say to another male uniformed

participant seated at the same table:

"…When one of 'them'… you know… a gay male or a tranny comes in to complain at the police station… whoever's on the desk just shouts out… 'Hey guys' there's a fag at the counter'… we try not to engage with them"

These types of explicit, derogatory statements were frequently expressed by many of the participants during the training course when they discussed transgender people. They were also frequently expressed when they spoke of past interaction with transgender people and/or mentioned when they referred to future interaction with transgender people. Yet none of the lesbian and gay-identified police officers participating in the training challenged or responded to these types of comments. I was able to observe many of their reactions throughout the week which ranged from participating in the derogatory comments of other participants, laughing at other participants negative comments and/or showing no discernable reaction (in terms of body language or verbal response) to any of the negative comments that were made.

As previously stated, I was not at liberty to discuss the training program with any of the police officers present, and so I could not clearly determine whether or not the lesbian and gay-identified participants were shocked by their fellow officer's negative comments about transgender people or whether or not they felt awkward or uncomfortable during these situations. Research by Colvin (2012), Miller and Lilley (2014), Miller, Forest and Jurik (2003), Schneider (1986), Taylor and Raeburn (1995), and Woods (1993) identified anxieties and insecurities amongst lesbian and gay-identified police officers who chose to keep their sexual orientation hidden from colleagues due to anticipated career 'related costs'. Yet in this context, all of the participants (lesbian, gay and heterosexual) had openly disclosed their sexuality at the beginning of the training course, yet none of the lesbian or gay-identified participants contested any of these types of remarks. Moreover, none of the senior staff

facilitating the training course challenged or addressed these negative opinions, either before or after they were expressed. It may be either that the senior officers did not hear these types of statements being made or that they simply chose to ignore them. Conversely, I noticed on numerous occasions that the senior officers and the other participants laughed at many of the derogatory statements that were being made by participants throughout the course. After one negative comment that was made by a female uniformed participant about not wanting to be:

"…bothered at work by a bunch of trannys",

The senior facilitator replied:

"…They [Transgender people] will be happy as a pig in mud to just be heard."

I also heard one of the senior police officers facilitating the course ask the group of participants:

"What issues would dealing with a transgender person have on your policing?"

Instantly one of the male uniformed participants sitting at the front of the room shouted:

"…Keeping a straight face!"

I observed many of the participants and the senior officers facilitating the course laugh at his comment, and as I watched, I overheard one female police officer say to another male police officer:

"…Sophia will always be called Noel at my station!"

This type of behaviour is important to analyse when understanding how police are socialised into particular stereotyped views of minority communities (in this case their perceptions of transgender people) because the perception of in-group and out-group status between the police and transgender people forms an important part in how each group

perceives the other. In addition, perceptions of intergroup difference are formed through positive or negative engagement between each group. It is also vital to consider when applying the principles of SIT to understand how formal and informal policing of transgender people shapes intergroup identity differences between transgender people and the police because the construction of meaningful partnerships between the police and transgender people was the main intention of the training program.

It is also one of the key performance roles required by the police officers when working as a police liaison officer. The construction of meaningful partnerships between the police and transgender people forms an intrinsic part in how transgender people perceive police legitimacy, and conversely, such perceptions of police legitimacy rest on how transgender people observe police engagement with members of their community.

8. Lack of engagement between the participants and the training material presented during the training program

Finally, I observed that there was a lack of engagement between the participants and the training material presented during the training program. Previous research indicates that many Australian police organisations are still not meeting their educational and training objectives, and many Australian police organisations have been criticised for allowing the gap between police training and police work to widen in areas that involve policing of minority groups (Chan, 1996). Therefore, since the majority of the participants were not actually engaged with the intention of the training course (to interact and engage with the transgender community) it may indicate that the participants will not positively interact with transgender people in the future.

Discussion

Before discussing possible theoretical explanations for these findings, it is important to acknowledge the limitations of the present study. First, it is acknowledged that the observations in this research were based solely on participant observation conducted over a week-long intensive instructional course. To add further empirical deconstruction of the findings it would have been interesting to use data collected from in-depth interviews with each of the participants. However, during the time I spent at the police academy I was not at liberty to interview any of the police officers present or discuss with them individually their perceptions of the course. In spite of this limitation, the findings of the present study provide important insights into how police officers can be resistant to training reforms with people from marginalised groups such as members of the transgender community. Second, nearly half of the officers self-identified as either gay or lesbian, and indicated that they had been chosen by their senior officers to take part in this training. This finding could have been interpreted as a reflection of the heterosexist attitudes of their senior officers but this is not something that was made clear or openly expressed by any of the participants and as such, could not be included in the analysis of this research. As such, there was no data collected during the observation period to indicate how the contradictions and tensions of being either a lesbian or gay police officer affected these participants in this overtly sexist/heterosexist setting (See Burke, 1994; Miller et al., 2003). Yet regardless of the sexual identification of the participants, the data analysis of my field notes shows that the police officers involved in facilitating the training program, and the police officers participating in the training program, had little or no previous contact with transgender people and/or little or no experiences that actually involved transgender people. It was also apparent from my field notes that the opinions and attitudes expressed by the police officers facilitating and participating in the

training program, that any potential contact or experiences involving themselves and transgender people would result in a negative outcome. This conclusion is supported by the analysis, which shows that this negative discourse was based on presumptions that the participants made about transgender people or they were reinforced by negative stereotypes of transgender people that were frequently expressed by all of the police officers involved in the training program. On numerous occasions, I observed that the participants expressed negative stereotypes about transgender people, including: presumptions about their involvement in sex work and/or prostitution; the presumption that all transgender people express the same type of gender identity, for example, all transgender people are transvestites; and, that all transgender people (regardless of their lifestyle) are involved in or linked to some type of deviance.

Tajfel and Turner (1986) identified three distinct variables that would contribute to in-group favouritism and could therefore influence or affect how an in-group interacts with other groups. One of these variables (the observed relevance of the comparison group) is typically constructed by the status of the in-group, and subsequent comparisons are made by the in-group to other groups, which can determine group interaction and treatment. In this instance, preferential treatment will be given by police officers to other members of their police organisation (in regards to positive treatment) since this is the group they identify with. Consequently, individuals in out-groups may not be subject to the same positive treatment that in-group member's display toward other in-group members of the same group. This is consistent with previous studies examining police interaction with other minority groups and members of the public. For example, Lumb and Breazeale (2002) found that over time, police officers were more inclined to treat other police officers more positively than members of the public, and members of minority groups.

It was also clear that the stereotyping of transgender people was reinforced by the higher-ranking officers facilitating the course, and also by the administrative officers assisting the senior officers, who equally expressed stereotypical and often negative opinions about transgender people. However, given that this was the second training program of its type to be implemented by the Australian police agency within a ten year period, it could be that the transgender stereotypes that were expressed by the police officers present were a result of ignorance (due to a lack of education and police engagement). Yet, all police officers are aware of their professional responsibilities and the codes of conduct that police organisations must uphold (Porter & Warrender, 2009). Police officers are also aware that they have access to training materials and official procedural policy information for interaction with minority groups such as the transgender community (Porter & Warrender, 2009). The participants were acutely aware that they were being trained specifically to work as police liaison officers to the transgender community. Thus, it is reasonable to determine that the negative attitudes of the participants towards transgender people were a result of personal prejudice and/or the influence of police culture and its effects on police attitudes and opinions to minority groups.

The negative opinions and attitudes that were expressed by participants regarding transgender people (and the apparent lack of contact or experience regarding police engagement with transgender people) could also be a result of established institutionalised behaviours that the police and police officers within the organisation are encouraged to display. This sense of institutionalised behaviour would have resulted in the reticence of certain Australian police agencies to engage with minority communities, regardless of the presence of police liaison officers or community outreach programs (Cherney & Chui, 2010). Although previous literature has examined the effects of police culture on police officers (See

Holdaway, 1983; Chan, 1999; Crank, 2004), and has also examined the effects of police culture on the range of negative values, attitudes, and practice norms among police officers (See Bernstein & Kostelac, 2002), the findings in this research were able to determine that the effects of the police culture on the participants in the training program consistently upheld a cohesive sense of in-group membership between all the police officers involved in the course. This was observed to be based around different elements of police culture, which promote or are based upon masculine ideals (See Waddington, 1999). For example, the participants frequently displayed conservative (heteronormative) attitudes regarding gender and their attitudes towards transgender people who do not adhere to masculine or feminine ideals. As such, the participants frequently expressed cynical and overtly suspicious dialogue regarding transgender people that were suffused with machismo or aggressive masculinity. This was frequently observed in the way that the participants engaged in horseplay and verbal banter that were based on heterosexual affirmations of sexuality and gender.

Male gendered notions of behaviour have been known to contribute to the formation of in-groups (See Rudman, Greenwald & McGhee, 2001), and to the strong presence of police culture. It was also found that male gendered notions of behaviour were openly expressed and encouraged by each of participants (both male and female) attending the course.[13] This finding is interesting since previous research by Heidensohn (1992) supports

---

[13] As previously stated it is acknowledged that the idea of 'male' in terms of male gendered notions of behaviour is not a linear concept but is one marked by issues of nationalism, race, sexuality and embodiment. However, previous research examining male gendered notions of behaviour and police have typically referred to white maleness, heterosexuality and masculinity (See Holdaway, 1983, 1991; Raganella & White, 2004; Walker & Katz, 2002).

the idea that women police officers have to work alongside male police officers "on the same terms" often expected by their male colleagues to adopt a masculine approach to policing. As such, the openly encouraged ideals of heteronormative and hyper-masculine behaviours also contributed to a sense of separateness between the police (as a strong male dominated group) and their perceptions of transgender people (as a non-masculine and therefore weak out-group). Within SIT, there are three distinct variables that contribute to the emergence of in-group favouritism. One of these is the degree to which people identify with the in-group and is based upon the internalised concepts of the self, which are linked to the importance that an individual places on their inclusion with the group and the factors associated with inclusion (Tajfel & Turner, 1986). Thus, a police officer will identify with other police officers and therefore identify with in-group, and subsequently, as part of in-group identification, will place importance on the identifying factors that the group shares. According to Tajfel (2010), the central hypothesis of SIT is that group members of an in-group will seek to find negative aspects of an out-group, thus enhancing their self-image, therefore identifying factors can be based on prejudice and discrimination.

Although much has been written about the effects that the presence of female police officers has on the attitudes of male police officers (See Brown, 1998; McCarty, Zhao & Garland, 2007), this research was able to establish that the actual gender of the police officers participating in the course did not diminish the dominance of masculine behavioural norms expressed by the participants. Neither did the combination of male and female police officers present in the program, and nor did it not diminish the negative opinions that were expressed by all the participants regarding police contact or experiences with transgender people. Furthermore, all the participants maintained and reinforced in-group membership of the

police (and in-group identity of the police) under the ethos of the masculine dominated (and masculine structured) police organisation espoused by police culture.

In the overt and at times seemingly organised interest in promoting and enforcing of heterosexuality and heteronormativity as the norm, the participants in the course contributed to the underlying masculine expressions of power that are considered to be at the core of police culture. This indicates how police culture plays a critical role in the policing of minority groups (Bernstein & Kostelac, 2002; Paoline, 2003). By expressing such sentiments, the participants also contributed to the shaping of intergroup difference between themselves and transgender people. I observed this on numerous occasions as the participants expressed language and discourse that was used as both an indicator of in-group inclusion. It was also used as an indicator of out-group identity and for anyone else that they considered could not or would not maintain heteronormative behaviours expected of the group. In this instance, it was their negative perceptions of transgender people. This is meaningful, since Tajfel and Turner (1986) identified three variables, which contribute to the emergence of in-group favouritism and therefore, in-group identity. One of these variables is the degree to which the established context provides ground for comparison between groups and forms an important part in how group members uphold in-group identity. In this instance, in-group identity was upheld by in-group members within the context of police culture that supports heteronormative masculine behaviour.

Furthermore, by the participants upholding the ethos of heteronormative masculine behaviour, it was interesting to note that the presence of heteronormativity (combined with the influence of police culture) actually overrode the sexual identity of the participants who identified as either gay or lesbian. For example, ten police participants identified as gay or lesbian, and of those participants who identified as either gay or lesbian, three police

participants identified as gay, and seven police participants identified as lesbian. The

presence of heteronormativity (combined with the influence of police culture) also overrode

any open or public expressions of sympathy that could have been expressed by these

participants towards transgender people. This is critical since it does not support previous

research which indicates that historically lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender and intersex[14][15]

people have bonded together (and supported each other) due to the diversity of their sexuality

and gender identity-based cultures (Stein, 2004). It also supports previous research, which

states that police culture has a strong effect on members of the police force (See Reiner,

2000). It also supports the core idea of in-group membership, which posits that members of

an in-group will primarily identify with other in-group members and in-group membership

over and above other forms of identification, and that membership within an in-group forms

the primary basis of a person's identity (Tajfel & Turner, 1986).

---

[14] It should be noted that although other Australian states and cities have different terms for

the Gay, Lesbian, Bisexual, Transgender and Intersex community, (such as 'Gay and Lesbian'

or 'Queer') the terminology used in this research to identify members of this diverse

community is based on the Australian Human Rights Commission (2012) definition of the

community

[15] Intersex people are individuals with congenital differences which causes atypical

development of their chromosomal, gonadal, or anatomic sex It is recognised that the

intersex category is a complex group, with many intersex females lacking a second X

chromosome (two XX sex chromosomes being the norm), and many intersex males having

an extra X chromosome (one X and one Y sex chromosome being the norm).

Intergroup difference between the police and transgender people was also upheld by the transgender guest speaker, who re-emphasised the sense of out-group identity that the participants already felt towards transgender people, and at the same time, strengthened the sense of in-group membership that each of the participants had as members of the police organisation. As previously mentioned this can occur because the established context (the police as an in-group and the transgender guest speaker as a member of the out-group) provided ground for comparison between one group (the police) and another (transgender people) (Tajfel & Turner, 1986). This reinforcement of intergroup difference was initially observed in the use of language that the transgender guest speaker used to describe the police and the transgender community as two distinct and different groups.

Although the intention behind having the transgender guest speaker talk to the participants was so that she could inform the participants about transgender people and their life experiences from a transgender person's point of view. Her story served to uphold notions of difference between the participants and transgender people, and did not necessarily inspire sympathy from participants. This shows that the participants primarily observed distinct differences in status between themselves and the transgender guest speaker. This is noteworthy because as previously mentioned under SIT, perceptions of status form an intrinsic part in how in-group identity and in-group membership and perceptions of intergroup differences are formed. The presence and involvement of the transgender guest speaker within the training program also raised interesting questions about the potential use such contact could have on the future experiences of participants, and their attitudes towards transgender people. However, the presence of the transgender guest speaker had little to no impact on the attitudes of the participants, and this was observed in the continuation of the negative perceptions of transgender people that were raised by the participants throughout the

rest of the training, even though it was the intention of the training course to instruct the participants in how to interact appropriately with transgender people.

Analysis of the data shows that there was a distinct lack of practical guidance given to the participants regarding transgender community engagement, and this was reflected in the noted absence of interaction between all of the participants and the transgender guest speaker. Previous research indicates that the principle argument supporting the idea of how a group is policed is that once contact between police officers and the public is increased (in both quantity and quality of contact) there will be a reduction in negative perceptions of police and policing techniques (See Tyler, 1990). This idea is also supported by Hawdon et al., (2003) who state that frequent contact between police and minority groups will also increase minority group member's positive perceptions of police officers. Under SIT, intergroup contact may improve perceptions between in-groups and out-groups, since the hierarchical nature of where a group sits on a social structure (based on contact and experience) is an essential element in the development of a person's social identity.

The analysis of the participants' perceptions of potential contact (and/or experience) with transgender people also helped to determine important identity-relevant information regarding the relationship (or perceived relationship) that the participants and transgender people may have within an Australian state. This finding has broad relevance since past research shows that police agencies in the USA have been criticised for identity-relevant policing of minority groups that has typically resulted in transgender people being treated in an unfair manner (See Alliance for a Safe & Diverse DC, 2008; Berman & Robinson, 2010; Edelman, 2014; Grant et al., 2011; Heidenreich, 2011; Herek & Berrill, 1992; Miles-Johnson, 2013b; Redfern, 2014; Wolff & Cokely, 2007, Woods et al., 2013). It also clearly shows that any potential contact between the police and transgender people would more than likely be

avoided by the police and/or viewed by the police as a negative experience for the police officers involved. The analysis of the participants' perceptions of potential contact and/or experience with transgender people also revealed that the participants' negative perceptions of transgender people (and therefore any potential interaction) are based on or formed by the awareness and subsequent rejection of transgender people's gender identity difference.

Interestingly, when the participants expressed their negative perceptions of transgender people they also referred to any potential treatment that the transgender person may receive as a result of the interaction. Further analysis of their remarks shows that the participants believed that any negative treatment that the transgender people would receive from police officers was to be expected as a result of the transgender person's gender identity difference. Under SIT, this finding can help explain why transgender people are given a negative social status that precludes them from dominant social in-groups such as the police. This idea is supported by Milner (1996) who also concluded that SIT could offer a clear explanation regarding why many minority groups (such as the transgender community) perceive that their social identities are considered subordinate to other dominant groups. Analysis of the transcripts also shows that this finding, based on police perceptions of transgender people's gender identity difference, is the key factor which shapes the interactions involving transgender people and the police (from a police officer's point of view).

However, police participants' beliefs regarding perceptions of intergroup difference between themselves and transgender people also support results found by Brewer and Brown (1998) who argue that intergroup perceptions are often based on violations of moral standards, which in this instance relates to negative police perceptions regarding transgender people changing their gender category. It is also related to negative police perceptions

regarding transgender people defying existing social conventions which uphold normative

gender boundaries (such as *being* the gender that is presented) (Brewer & Brown, 1998). At

the same time, under SIT, the findings reinforced the participants' perceptions of similarity

with other police officers (who do not express gender difference), and to the value that each

of the participants gave to their perceived inclusion within the in-group and as accepted

members of the in-group.

This sense of shared positive evaluation by the participants of the police as an in-

group and their perceptions of transgender people as an out-group is supported by previous

studies that have examined police perceptions of minority groups (See Terrill & Reisig, 2003;

Weitzer & Tuch, 2004). Many studies have shown that police stereotypes of minority groups

are based around the idea that minority groups are thought to be more prone to crime and

drug abuse, to be incomprehensible, suspicious, hard to handle, naturally excitable,

aggressive, lacking brainpower, and troublesome (See Graef 1989; Reiner 1991). While the

participants did not express all these sentiments when talking about transgender people, it

was clear they had an expectation that transgender people would be hard to handle and

troublesome, and therefore, should expect to receive abuse from the police and other law

enforcement agencies simply because of their difference in gender identity. The expectation

of poor relations between police and minority groups is often based on an assumption that the

expected ill treatment that minority groups will receive is due to the negative stereotypes that

are projected on to minorities because of perceived group difference (Oakes, Haslam, &

Turner, 1994). This was also found by Macdonald and Stokes (2006), who argue that police

will treat members of minority groups with indifference and insensitivity due to antipathy

towards minority groups.

Identifying and recognising that the participants' negative perceptions of transgender people are based on expectations of negative contact or experiences that have already happened or that could transpire, is an important point to consider when analysing the contextual factors that may have influenced the participants responses. The relationship between the police and transgender people in Australia has been based on the remnants of a less than satisfactory history of policing (See Berman & Robinson, 2010), and many Australian police organisations are aware of this. However, each of the participants placed little value on the interaction that could potentially take place between themselves and the transgender community, while at the same time placing themselves in the context of their inclusion within the in-group (the police). In addition, the participants did not distinguish that they would have contact with transgender people in any other context.

Such perceptions also shaped the meaning that police participants placed on their own relationship to the in-group (the police) and their place within the in-group. This in turn determined the level of value that each of the participants gave to the importance of interaction with transgender people and helped to strengthen their identity ties to their in-group. Under SIT, this finding is meaningful, given previous research indicates that once people categorise themselves as members of a particular group, the persons sense of who they are is defined in terms of the collective group rather than as an individual (Robinson, 1996; Tajfel, 2010). The participants were also being trained to work specifically with transgender people as police liaison officers to the community although they placed little value on the interaction with transgender people. Research by Berman and Robinson (2010) indicates that the lack of regard police officers display towards transgender people is influenced by negative assumptions about transgender people, and subsequently, negative attitudes towards transgender people.

Conclusion

The findings in this research raise questions about how effective current police training and education strategies are in increasing positive ties between transgender people and the police. Moreover, the findings raise questions regarding whether diversity training for police is ultimately a useful endeavour since current training models for working with transgender people are not effective in reducing negative beliefs about the transgender community. The most common premise in previous research is that police attitudes are formed by aspects of police culture, police training and experience (See Macvean & Cox, 2012). This research found that police culture, training procedures and stereotypes of gender are equally influential on police perceptions of transgender people. The male dominated police training-facility maintained and reinforced the masculine police culture, which in turn helped to shape perceptions of in-group membership of the participants, and strengthened their perceptions of intergroup difference between themselves as police officers and transgender people. The assumption is made that negative and positive encounters with the police will result in corresponding attitudes towards the police, and in negative attitudes police may have towards members of the public such as minority groups (Rosenbaum et al., 2005). Yet during the training, no specific police policy documents regarding interaction with transgender people were examined by the participants during the course. Consequently, stereotypes of transgender people were upheld. Such perceptions increase the likelihood that contact between police and transgender people will have negative outcomes. Certainly this will be the case since there was a lack of instruction given to the participants regarding 'Community Engagement' and the transgender community. Addressing negative attitudes and preconceived ideas regarding transgender people within police training sessions will reduce the likelihood that the aim of the training session will be undermined. Particularly since

negative attitudes invalidate the objective of the training course. However, it was determined that there is a lack of annual training courses for police officers from this particular organisation and transgender engagement, which supports previous research that diversity training programmes often exist on their own, as 'stand-alone' exercises. While changing the frequency (and content) of police training procedures may help improve the quality of interaction between transgender people and the police, this can only occur if the influence of police culture (and heteronormative norms against expressions of gender identity) are challenged. Based on awareness and subsequent rejection of transgender peoples' gender identity difference, the results revealed that this strongly influenced the participants' negative perceptions of transgender people, and therefore any potential interaction; particularly because there was a lack of engagement between the participants and the training material presented during the training program. Since the research indicates that the participants' perceptions of transgender people are based on negative opinions regarding contact and/or experience (and not necessarily based on actual experience) then it stands to reason that the participants may implement less than satisfactory treatment towards transgender people when interacting with a transgender person in their official capacity. This problem raises questions about the intention of police to build legitimacy with members of the public, and also shows that the participants are not actually implementing the intention of the police-community relations program effectively, thereby potentially decreasing transgender people's perceptions of police legitimacy. This may help to determine why transgender people are not satisfied with the police, and why they do not view the police as a legitimate agency.

Overall, the findings demonstrate that the participants' perceptions of contact and/or experiences with transgender people do influence their perceptions and attitudes towards transgender people in a negative way. The findings also demonstrate that achieving police

reform in the area of policing members of diverse minority groups will be challenging, since training programs implemented by police organisations towards such reforms are subject to negative police attitudes reinforced by police culture. An improvement in the balance between rhetoric and practice in the levels of meaningful interaction of police with transgender people may actually help to improve perceptions of intergroup difference between police and this community. This is meaningful since perceptions of intergroup difference are based on positive and negative evaluations of contact and/or experiences between groups, and for most police officers, perceptions of intergroup difference with transgender people may be initially based on the information they receive from police training programs and/or by vicarious experience.

References

Alliance for a Safe & Diverse DC. (2008). Move Along: Policing Sex Work in Washingotn, D.C.: A report by the Alliance for a Safe & Diverse DC. Washington: Different Avenues.

Australian Human Rights Commission. (2012). Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Trans and Intersex Equality. Retrieved from http://www.hreoc.gov.au/human_rights/lgbti/index.html.

Bagby, D. (2012). New Atlanta Police LGBT liaison: "I work for you, with you". The GA Voice. Retrieved from http://www.thegavoice. com/news/atlanta-news/4590-new-atlanta-police-lgbt-liaison-iwork- for-you-with-you

Berman, A., & Robinson, S. (2010). Speaking out: Stopping homophobic and transphobic abuse in Queensland. Brisbane: Australian Academic Press.

Bernstein, M., & Kostelac, C. (2002). Lavender and Blue: Attitudes About Homosexuality and Behaviour Toward Lesbians and Gay Men Among Police Officers. Journal of Contemporary Criminal Justice , 18, 302-330.

Berrill, K.T. (1992). Anti-gay violence and victimization in the United States: An overview. In: Herek GM, Berrill KT, editors. Hate Crimes: Confronting Violence Against Lesbians and Gay Men. Newbury Park, CA: Sage.

Boba, R. (2010). A practice-based evidence approach in Florida. Police Practice and Research, 11, 2, 122-128.

Bowling, B., Parmar, A., & Phillips, C. (2003) Policing ethnic minority communities. In T. Newburn, (ed.) Handbook of Policing (pp. 528-555). UK: Willan Publishing.

Brewer, M.B., & Brown, R.J. (1998). Intergroup Relations. In D.T. Gilbert, S.T. Fiske, & G. Lindzey, The Handbook of Social Psychology (pp. 554-594). New York: McGraw Hill.

Brown, J.M. (1998). Aspects of Discriminatory Treatment of Women Police Officers Serving in Forces in England and Wales. British Journal of Criminology, 38, 265-282.

Burke, M. (1994) Homosexuality as deviance: The case of the gay police officer, British Journal of Criminology, 34, 2, 192-203.

Butler, M. (2012). National Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Transgender and Intersex (LGBTI) Ageing and Aged Care Strategy. Canberra: Australian Government Department of Health and Ageing.

Casey, J. (2000). International Experiences in Policing Multicultural Societies. International Journal of Police Science and Management, 3, 165-177.

Chan, J. Changing Police Culture. British Journal of Criminology, 36, 1, 109-134.

Chan, J. (1999). Police Accountability In A Multicultural Society, Multiculturalism and the Law. Australian Institute of Criminology, 1-10.

Chan, J. (1999). Governing police practice: limits of the new Accountability. British Journal of Sociology, 50, 2, 251-270.

Cherney, A. (1999). Gay and lesbian issues in policing. Current Issues in Policing, 11, 1, 35–52.

Cherney, A., & Chui, W.H. (2010). Police auxiliaries in Australia: police liaison officers and the dilemmas of being part of the police extended family, Policing and Society: An International Journal of Research and Policy, 20, 3, 280-297.

Coderoni, G.R. (2002). The relationship between multicultural training for police and effective law enforcement. FBI Law Enforcement Bulletin 71, 11, 16-18.

Colvin, R.A. (2012). Gay and lesbian cops: diversity and effective policing. Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner Publishers.

Cordner, G. & White, S. (2010). The evolving relationship between police research and police practice, Police Research and Practice, 11, 2, 90-94.

Crank, J.P. (2004). Understanding Police Culture. London: Anderson Publishing Company.

Dai, M., Frank, J., & Sun, I. (2011). Procedural justice during police-citizen encounters: The effects of process-based policing on citizen compliance and demeanor. Journal of Criminal Justice, 39, 2, 159-168.

Dwyer, A.E. (2008). Policing queer bodies: focusing on queer embodiment in policing research as an ethical question. Queensland University of Technology Law and Justice Journal, 8, 2, 414-428.

Dwyer, A.E. (2009). Identifiable, queer and risky: the role of the body in policing experiences for LGBT young people. In: Proceedings of the 2009 Australian and New Zealand Critical Criminology Conference, 8-9 July 2009, Melbourne, Victoria.

Dwyer, A.E. (2011). 'It's not like we're going to jump them': how transgressing heteronormativity shapes police interactions with LGBT young people. Youth Justice, 11, 3, 203-220.

Edelman, E.A. (2014). 'Walking while transgender' Necropolitical regulations of trans feminine bodies of colour in the nation's capital. In J. Haritaworn, A. Kuntsman and S. Posocco (Eds.) Queer Necropolitics (pp. 172-190), USA: Routledge.

Feldman, J., Romine, R.S., & Bockting, W.O. (2014). HIV Risk Behaviors in the U.S. Transgender Population: Prevalence and Predictors in a Large Internet Sample, Journal of Homosexuality, 61, 11, 1558-1588.

Fiedler, K. (2007). Social Communication. New York: Psychology Press.

Finn, P., & McNeil, T. (1987). The Response of the Criminal Justice System to Bias Crime: An Exploratory Review. Cambridge, MA: Abt Associates, Inc.

Fish, J. (2010). Conceptualising social exclusion and lesbian, gay, bisexual, and transgender people: the implications for promoting equity in nursing policy and practice. Journal of Research in Nursing, 15, 4, 303-312.

Gagné & Tewksbury (1998). Conformity Pressures and Gender Resistance Among Transgendered Individuals. Social Problems, 45, 1, 81-101.

Graef, R. (1989). Talking Blues. London: Collins.

Graham, L.F., Crissman, H.P., Tocco, J., Lopez, W.D., Snow, R.C., & Padilla, M.B. (2014). Navigating community institutions: Black transgender women's experiences in schools, the criminal justice system, and churches. Sexuality Research and Social Policy. Advance online publication.

Grant, J.M., Mottet, L.A., Tanis, J., Harrison, J., Herman, J.l., and Keisling, M. (2011). Injustice at Every Turn: A report of the National Transgender Discrimination Survey. Washington: National Center for Transgender Equality and National Gay and Lesbian Task Force.

Grinc, R. (1994). Angels in the Marble: Problems in Stimulating Community Involvement in Community Policing. Crime & Delinquency, 40, 437-68.

Hawdon, J., Ryan, J., & Griffin, S.P. (2003). Policing Tactics and Perceptions of Police Legitimacy. Police Quarterly, 6, 469-491.

Heidenreich, L. (2011). Transgender Women, Sexual Violence, and the Rule of Law: An Argument in Favor of Restorative and Transformative Justice. In J.M. Lawston and A.E. Lucas (Eds.) Razor Wire Women: prisoners, activists, scholars and artists (pp.147-164). USA: State University of New York Press.

Heidensohn, F. (1992). Women in Control? The Role of Women in Law Enforcement. Oxford: Oxford University Press

Herbst, J.H., Jacobs, E.D., Finlayson, T.J., McKleroy, V.S., Neumann, M.S., & Crepaz, N. (2007). Estimating HIV Prevalence and Risk Behaviors of Transgender Persons in the United States: A Systematic Review. AIDS & Behaviour, 12, 1-17.

Herek, G. (1989). Hate crimes against lesbians and gay men: Issues for research and policy. American Psychologist, 44, 948-955.

Herek, G., & Berrill, K. (1992). Hate Crimes: Confronting Violence Against lesbians and Gay Men. USA: Sage Publications.

Herrington, V. (2012). Police as critical consumers of research, Australian Institute of Police Management. ALIES Conference Mount Macedon, 3rd April 2012.

Hogg, M.A., & Abrams, D. (1988). Social Identifications: A Social Psychology of Intergroup Relations and Group Processes. London: Routledge.

Hogg, M.A., & Terry, D.J. (2010). Social Identity Theory and Organizational Processes. In M.A. Hogg and D.J. Terry (Eds.) Social Identity Processes in Organizational Contexts (pp. 1-12). USA: Psychology Press.

Hogg, M.A., & Vaughan, G.M. (2002). Social Psychology: An Introduction. London: Prentice-Hall.

Holdaway, S. (1983). Inside British Police: A Force at Work. Oxford: Basil Blackwell.

Holdaway, S. (1991). Race relations and police recruitment. The British Journal of Criminology, 31, 4, 365-382.

Israel, T., Harkness, A., Delucio, K., Ledbetter, J.N., & Avellar, T.R. (2013). Evaluation of Police Training on LGBTQ Issues: Knowledge, Interpersonal Apprehension, and Self-Efficacy. Journal of Police and Criminal Psychology, 1-11.

Islam, G. (2014). Social Identity Theory. In T.Teo (Ed) Enclyclopedia of Critical Psychology (pp. 1781-1783). USA: Springer.

Labbe-DeBose, T. (2009). D.C. Police Chief Cathy Lanier Trims Minority Liaison Units. Washington D.C.: The Washington Post.

Laycock, G. (2001). Research for police: Who needs it? Trends and Issues in Crime and Criminal Justice, no. 211, Australian Institute of Criminology, Canberra.

Leonard, W., Mitchell, A., Patel, S., & Fox, C. (2008). Coming Forward: The Underreporting of Heterosexist Violence and Same Sex Partner Abuse in Victoria. Journal of Law 69: 1-34.

Loftus, B. (2010). Police occupational culture: classic themes, altered times, Policing and Society: An International Journal of Research and Policy, 20, 1-20.

Lumb, R.C., & Breazeale, R. (2002). Police Officer Attitudes and Community Policing Implementation: Developing Strategies for Durable Organizational Change. Policing and Society: An International Journal of Research and Policy, 13, 91-106.\

Macdonald, J., & Stokes, R.J. (2006). Race, Social Capital, and Trust in the Police. Urban Affairs Review, 41, 358-377.

MacVean, A., & Cox, C. (2012). Police Education in a University Setting: Emerging Cultures and Attitudes. Policing, 6, 1, 16-25.

McCarthy, B.P. (2008). Trans Employees and Personal Appearance Standards Under Title VII. Arizona Law Review, 50, 939-949.

McCarty, W.P., Zhao, J., & Garland, B.E. (2007). Occupational stress and burnout between male and female police officers: Are there any gender differences? Policing: An International Journal of Police Strategies & Management, 30, 672-691.

Miles-Johnson, T. (2013a). LGBTI Variations in Crime Reporting How Sexual Identity Influences Decisions to Call the Cops, Sage open, 3, 2, 1-15.

Miles-Johnson, T. (2013b). Confidence and trust in police: How sexual identity difference shapes perceptions of police. Current Issues in Criminal Justice, 25, 2, 685-702.

Miller, S.L., & Lilley, T.G. (2014). Proving Themselves: The Status of LGBQ Police Officers. Sociology Compass, 8, 4, 373-383.

Miller, S.L., Forest, K.B., & Jurik, N.C. (2003). Diversity in blue: lesbian and gay police officers in a masculine occupation. Men and Masculinities, 5, 4, 355-385.

Milner, D. (1996). Children and Racism: Beyond the Value of the Dolls. In W. Peter Robinson (Ed.), Social Groups and Identities: Developing the Legacy of Henri Tajfel (pp. 249-269). UK: Butterworth Heinemann.

Moran, L.J., & Sharpe, A.N. (2004). Violence, Identity and Policing: The Case of Violence against Transgender People. Criminal Justice, 4, 395-417.

Murphy, K. (2013). Policing at the margins: fostering trust and cooperation among ethnic minority groups. Journal of Policing, Intelligence and Counter Terrorism, 8, 2, 184-199.

Oakes, P.J., Haslam, S.A., & Turner, J.C. (1994). Stereotyping and Social Reality. Oxford: Blackwell.

Paoline, E.A. (2003). Taking stock: Toward a richer understanding of police culture. Journal of Criminal Justice, 31, 199-214.

Parker, M. (2000). Organizational Culture and Identity: Unity and Division at Work. London: Sage Publications.

Parker, K., Onyekwuluje, A., & Murty, K. (1995). African-Americans Attitudes toward the Local Police: A Multivariate Analysis. Journal of Black Studies, 25, 396-409.

Porter, L., & Warrender, C. (2009). A multivariate model of police deviance: examining the nature of corruption, crime and misconduct. Policing and Society: An International Journal of Research and Policy, 19, 79-99.

Pratto, F., Stewart, A.L., Zeineddine, F.B. (2013). When Inequality Fails: Power, Group Dominance, and Societal Change. Journal of Social and Political Psychology, 1, 1, 132-160.

Raganella, A.J., & White, M.D. (2004). Race, gender, and motivation for becoming a police officer: Implications for building a representative police department. Journal of Criminal Justice, 32, 6, 501-513.

Redfern, J.S. (2014). Best Practices to Improve Police Relations with Transgender Individuals. Journal of Law Enforcement, 3, 4, 1-17.

Reiner, R. (1991). Chief Constable: Bobbies, Bosses or Bureaucrats. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Reiner, R. (2000). The Politics of the Police. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Reiner, R. (2010). The Politics of the Police. 4th ed. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Robinson, W.P. (1996). Social Groups and Identities: Developing the Legacy of Henri Tajfel. UK: Butterworth Heinemann.

Rosenbaum, D.P., Schuck, A.M., Costello, S.K., Hawkins, D.F., & Ring, M.K. (2005). Attitudes Toward the Police: The Effects of Direct and Vicarious Experience. Police Quarterly, 8, 343-367.

Rowe, M. (2007). Rendering Visible the Invisible: Police Discretion, Professionalism and Decision-making. Policing and Society: An International Journal of Research and Policy, 17, 3, 279-294.

Rowe, M. (2013). Race and Policing. In J. M. Brown (Ed.) The Future of Policing, (pp. 120-134). London: Routledge.

Rubin, M., & Hewstone, M. (2004). Social Identity, System Justification, and Social Dominance: Commentary on Reicher, Jost et al., and Sidanius et al. Political Psychology, 25, 6, 823-844.

Rudman, L.A., Greenwald, A.G., & McGhee, D.E. (2001). Implicit Self-Concept and Evaluative implicit Gender Stereotypes: Self and In-group Share Desirable Traits. Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin, 27, 1164-1178.

Sadd, S., & Grinc, R. (1994). Innovative Neighbourhood Oriented Policing: An Evaluation of Community Policing Programs in Eight Cities. In D. Rosenbaum (Ed.), The Challenge of Community Policing (pp. 27-52). USA: Sage.

Schneider, B.E. (1986). Coming out at work: Bridging the private/public gap. Work and Occupations, 13, 463-87.

Schulenberg, J. (2012). Systematic social observation of police decision-making: the process, logistics, and challenges in a Canadian context. Quality & Quantity, 1-19.

Sloan, L.M., King, L., & Sheppard, S. (1998). Hate Crimes Motivated by Sexual Orientation.

Journal of Gay & Lesbian Social Services, 8, 3, 25-39.

Sidanius, J., Pratto, F., van Laar, C., & Levin, S. (2004). Social Dominance Theory: Its Agenda and Method. Political Psychology, 15, 6, 845- 880.

Stein, M. (2004). Encyclopedia of lesbian, gay, bisexual, and transgender history in America. Michigan: Charles Scribner's Sons.

Stotzer, R.L. (2009). Violence against transgender people: A review of Unites States data. Aggression and Violent Behavior, 14, 3, 170-179.

Stotzer, R.L. (2014). Law enforcement and criminal justice personnel interactions with transgender people in the United States: A literature review. Aggression and Violent Behaviour, 19, 3, 263-277.

Tajfel, H., & Turner, J.C. (1986). The Social Identity Theory of Intergroup Behaviour. In S. Worchel & W. G. Austin (Eds.), Psychology of Intergroup Relations (pp. 7-24). Chicago: Nelson-Hall.

Tajfel, H. (2010). Social Identity and Intergroup Relations. USA: Cambridge University Press.

Taylor, V., & Raeburn, N.C. (1995). Identity politics as high-risk activism: Career consequences for lesbians, gay, and bisexual sociologists. Social Problems, 42, 2, 252-73.

Terrill, W., & Reisig, M.D. (2003). Neighborhood context and police use of force. Journal of Research in Crime & Delinquency, 40, 291-321.

Tomsen, S., & Mason, G. (2001). Engendering Homophobia: Violence, Sexuality and Gender Conformity. Journal of Sociology , 37, 257-273.

Tyler, T.R. (1990). Why People Obey the Law. New Haven: Yale University Press.

United Nations Human Rights Office of the High Commissioner. (2010). Minority Rights: International Standards and Guidance for Implementation. New York and Geneva: United Nations.

Van Maanen, J. (2011). Ethnography as Work: Some Rules of Engagement. Journal of Management Studies, 48, 218–234.

Waddington, P. (1999). Policing Citizens: Authority and Rights. London: University College Press.

Walker, S., & Katz, C.M. (2002). The Police in America: An Introduction (4th ed.). New York, NY: McGraw-Hill.

Weinberg, J.D. (2009). Gender Nonconformity: An Analysis of Perceived Sexual Orientation and Gender Identity Protection Under the Employment Non-Discrimination Act. University of San Francisco Law Review, 44, 1-31.

Weitzer, R., & Tuch, S. (2004). Race and Perceptions of Police Misconduct. Social Problems, 51, 3, 305-325.

Weitzer, R. (2000). Racialized Policing. Law and Society Review, 34, 129-55.

Wolff, K.B., & Cokely, C.L. (2007). ''To Protect and to Serve?'': An Exploration of Police Conduct in Relation to the Gay, Lesbian, Bisexual, and Transgender Community. Sexuality & Culture, 11, 2, 1-23.

Woods, J. (1993). The corporate closet: The professional lives of gay men in America. New York: Free Press.

Woods, J.B., Galvan, F.H., Bazargan, M., Herman, J.L., & Chen, Y. (2013). Latina Transgender Women's Interactions with Law Enforcement in Los Angeles County. Policing, 7, 4, 379-391.

Yue, A. (2012). Queer Asian mobility and homonational modernity: Marriage equality, Indian students in Australia and Malaysian transgender refugees in the media. Global Media and Communication, 8, 3, 269-287.