Constructing Officer Perspectives on Service: The Mutual Influence of Role Orientation and
Role Strain on Police Officers' Orientations to Their Work

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Abstract

Police officers engage in a broad range of activities, and conceptualize their role in relation to the public (i.e. role orientation) in a variety of ways. However, police officers' subjective constructions of role orientation have received limited attention, and the extent to which officers face competing role demands and how ensuing role strain is navigated has not been examined. In this dissertation, I investigate the intersections between police officers' role orientations, role demands and role strain to understand their influence on officers' approaches to their work. The research uses a qualitative design to answer the following questions:

1) How do police officers understand their role in relation to the citizens they serve?

2) To what extent and in what ways do police officers experience role strain?

3) How do police officers navigate role strain and prioritize competing demands?

I conducted in-depth, semi-structured interviews with a broadly recruited, maximum variation sample of law enforcement officers (*N*=48) in order to gain a holistic understanding of officers' professional experiences. Interviews were transcribed and the data corpus was analyzed in three separate coding passes, assessing attributes of officers' narratives as well as conceptual and emergent themes. Findings suggest that police officers' role orientations and experiences of role strain are meaningfully interrelated, with officers' approaches to policing best understood as a dynamic process. Officers' role orientations are founded on overarching assumptions about the world, people and their own capacities, which may shift with professional experiences over time. Moreover, role orientation should be distinguished from the role behaviors in which officers engage, which are influenced by role strain resulting from organizational and situational pressures. Implications for research and organizational practice are discussed.

Keywords: police, law enforcement, role orientation, role strain, police-community relations, qualitative methods

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Dedication

For Dave

Words can't truly capture the importance of our chapter together and how the fact that you were

my brother has shaped my life.

I miss you every day.

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countless hours transcribing and coding interviews, entering data, and handling a million other critical tasks. My special gratitude goes to Marina, Grace and Isabel who continued to support this project remotely despite a pandemic (?!) until days before my defense.

Mom, daaad, where do I even begin? I am the person I am because of you. You encouraged me to find my own way. You made me think about the big questions in life and reminded me to pay attention to the little stuff too. You were always there for me when I needed you, but more than anything, you loved me every moment of my life.

Jared and Sophie, your love is the foundation on which everything else is built. Jared, from City Chase to social-isolation walks, we've been through the best of days and the worst of days together. As I changed course and took on an emotional and personal project, you picked me up when I need picking up, you encouraged me, and you always believed in me. Your certainty in my abilities helped push me through my darkest days into some of the brightest. Thank you for providing me with the space to do what I needed to do. Sophie, you are my sunshine.

My deepest gratitude goes to the women and men who agreed to tell me about their lives. With every conversation, my awe for your dedication, courage, humanity, and care for others grew. You allowed me to be a witness to some of your greatest traumas and your incredible resilience. Thank you for sharing your stories. I hope, in time, my work will help to make yours easier.

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Statement of the Problem

As early as the 1970's, research in the area of police task analysis recognized that patrol

officers are regularly involved in a broad range of activities (Webster, 1970), a fact consistent

across department size and jurisdiction (Meagher, 1985). More recently, Walker and Katz (2005)

found that only about 19% of calls for police service were crime-related (p. 7), and a report by

Crank, Kadleck, and Koski (2010) identified continued functional expansion as a primary issue

facing U.S. law enforcement. Today's police officers are managing significant administrative

duties and technological changes related to their work (Koper et al., 2014; Manning, 1992). They

also routinely work in school settings, and on disaster management, immigration control, event

security, and intelligence gathering related to counter-terrorism efforts (Crank et al., 2010).

Moreover, the movement towards deinstitutionalization and contemporaneous drops in funding

for social and mental health services have required officers to respond to crisis situations that

previously would not have come under their purview (Engel & Silver, 2001; Teplin & Pruett,

1992). Perhaps the most significant shift in the police function has been catalyzed by reforms

since the 1980's emphasizing a philosophical and strategic shift towards community policing,

fundamentally altering the framework within which police and the public engage and broadening

the scope of officers' roles to include proactive non-enforcement activities (Jiao, 1998).

Despite an acknowledgment of the multifaceted nature of police work, it is likely that

many aspects of policing remain under-acknowledged or invisible not only to the public but also

to researchers. Moreover, there are little empirical data on how officers are experiencing an

occupational environment characterized by an increasingly wider range of work responsibilities

and to what extent they have been supported in meeting new (but routine) demands of their profession. For example, questions about how officers prioritize, navigate and reconcile competing task demands have not been addressed. There are several reasons why understanding police officers' experiences of competing role demands is critical: first, officers who perceive conflicting demands are required to make decisions about how to prioritize competing interests, and at this time we know very little about how such prioritization may unfold or the ways in which it may impact officers' psychological outcomes and policing approaches. Second, it is unclear whether the way in which police officers prioritize work demands adequately reflects public expectations for the police role. Third, the ways in which law officers experience role demands and related strain may provide crucial information as to the routine challenges that officers face in the performance of their duties, allowing us to assess whether the trainings and supports typically offered in police agencies across the country reflect the functional expansion of the police role and support officers to engage in their work in the safest and most effective way possible. Ultimately, gaining a deeper understanding of the mechanisms underlying officers' decision-making will allow us to better understand how to strengthen the foundation for successful police-public contact.

Review of the Literature

Democratic Policing

Recent discussions around effective policing and police reform have centered around an "approach that encourages a more democratic style where trust and legitimacy are fostered through a fair and respectful, community-focused, participatory form of policing" (Trinkner et al., 2016). Democratic policing derives its efficacy from the promotion of positive relationships between police and the public (Cordner, 2014; Tyler & Huo, 2002) and has focused almost

exclusively on the concepts of *procedural justice* and *community policing*. In fact, both concepts have been emphasized in the recommendations of President Obama's Task Force on 21st Century Policing. Unlike other models of policing, community policing is focused on close interaction and collaboration with community members while addressing community problems (Skogan, 2008). As such, community policing has been seen as a highly effective way to increase citizen satisfaction, resulting in higher levels of cooperation by citizens (Tyler, 2000; Tyler & Blader, 2003; Tyler & Fagan, 2008), and likely improving safety outcomes for police officers and the public. In fact, it is the most widely adopted police innovation of recent years and almost all large agencies claim to have adopted community policing philosophies (Reaves, 2015).

Community policing has been linked with procedural justice in the academic literature. Procedural justice theory has been offered as one explanation for why people are willing to cooperate and respect an authority's power. Procedural justice theory holds that citizens are more likely to respect and cooperate with an authority if the processes by which the authority operates are perceived as just and fair (Tyler, 2000; Tyler & Blader, 2003; Tyler & Fagan, 2008). In short, procedural justice connects perceptions of fairness with the legitimacy of an institution's authority, which in turn leads to trust in, respect for and cooperation with the institution. The interactive relationship between community policing and procedural justice has been shown in a number of recent studies. For example, the effectiveness of community policing has been related to procedural justice because community-oriented policing strategies positively affect citizen satisfaction and police legitimacy, while decreasing perceptions of disorder (Gill et al., 2014). In the other direction, it has been shown that procedural justice can effectively enhance community policing strategies and raise the perceived legitimacy of the police (Hamilton-Smith et al., 2014; Mazerolle et al., 2013).

Both community policing and procedural justice promote improved relationships between police and the public. However, what factors encourage officers to endorse a democratic policing style has received limited attention. For example, the research on procedural justice has focused almost exclusively on *audience legitimacy* – the legitimacy of criminal justice players as understood by the individuals they serve (Bottoms & Tankebe, 2012). However, it has been argued that legitimacy is best understood as a dialogue between authorities and their audience – a constant negotiation in which authorities (i.e. police officers) claim power and the audience responds to the authority's claim (Bottoms & Tankebe, 2012). Acceptance of the conceptualization of legitimacy as a dynamic process necessarily requires us to consider how democratic policing is understood by the power-holders. To that effect, some research has considered factors that may influence officers' endorsement of community policing, procedurally just strategies or democratic policing broadly, including organizational climate (Bradford & Quinton, 2014; Trinkner et al., 2016), community context (Crank, 1990; Crank & Langworthy, 1992), officers' demographic and psychological characteristics (Lord & Schoeps, 2000), and officer attitudes and training (Bradford & Pynes, 1999; Wycoff & Skogan, 1994). This dissertation extends the literature on policing by examining additional influences on officers' endorsement of democratic policing, focusing in particular on ones related to the expansion of the police function.

Role Theory

This study is framed by role theory, one model for organizing social behavior at the individual and collective levels. Due to its emphasis on understanding the interplay between different roles an individual may hold, role theory intuitively lends itself as a framework for understanding the unique experiences officers may face as they navigate different aspects of their

occupation. A full overview of role theory is beyond the scope of this dissertation; however, a basic outline of the theoretical framework and how it has been applied to the policing context is provided below.

Role theory defines a role as "a set of norms and expectations applied to the incumbent of a particular position" (Banton, 1965, p. 29). As such, roles can be understood as the specific set of behaviors and linked attitudes that organize individuals' performance in broader social contexts. There are two overarching approaches to how roles are conceptualized in role theory. Structural role theories understand roles as deriving from the collective level and assume that roles are guided by external expectations tied to an individual's status in society (Linton, 1936; Merton & Merton, 1968; Newcomb, 1950). Interactionist role theories, on the other hand, view roles as constructing themselves out of social interactions among individuals and groups (Heiss, 1981; Mead, 1934). It is important to note that role theory refers to social values and social scripts and does not focus on explaining the influence of broader systemic factors on interactions between individuals and groups.

Due to their divergent ways of conceptualizing roles, structural and interactionist role theories typically emphasize different types of roles in their analyses. Structural theories have primarily focused on the significance and influence of basic and status roles. *Basic roles* are associated with gender, age, race and social class and could be considered to fundamentally affect access to other types of roles (Banton, 1965). *Status roles* are linked to positions in formally organized groups (e.g., professional and family roles). Interactionist theories, on the other hand, highlight social dynamics as fundamental to understanding the more structurally-grounded roles and tend to focus on functional group roles and value roles. *Functional group roles* emerge directly and spontaneously from social interactions (e.g., leader, follower; Benne &

Sheats, 1948). *Value roles* similarly emerge from social interactions but carry with them positive or negative connotations (e.g., hero, villain).

Role Strain

A corollary of role behaviors is the fact that "values, ideals, and role obligations of every individual are at times in conflict," resulting in strain (Goode, 1960, p. 484). Role strain can result from several circumstances, including *role overload* (when people engage in more roles than they have the resources for), *role ambiguity* (resulting from a lack of information concerning the appropriate tasks of a role or the consequences of role behaviors), *role transitions* (the psychological disengagement and engagement between simultaneously held roles), and various types of *role conflict* that can occur in role performance (Ashforth, 2001; King, 1990). *Intrasender conflict* originates from contradictory roles that are sent from a single source (e.g., a supervisor asks an officer to engage the public in positive ways, but also expects the officer to generate tickets). *Intersender conflict* results from contradictory roles that are sent from separate sources (e.g., the chief expects the officer to engage the public in positive ways, but another supervisor charges the officer with focusing on writing tickets). *Interrole conflict* emerges from contradictory roles that are unrelated to each other (e.g., the department requires the officer to aggressively enforce order, but within the context of family life the officer is expected to take a gentle approach). Finally, *person-role conflict* derives from a situation where a role violates an individual's needs, values or capacities (e.g., having to write a ticket, but knowing the ticket does not improve public safety and is a burden to the citizen; Katz & Kahn, 1966). Overall, scholars have linked role strain with a host of negative outcomes, including poorer psychological and physical well-being, and worse professional outcomes (Bowling et al., 2015; Griffin & McMahon, 2013; Jayaratne, 1993).

Role Theory in the Context of Policing

Role theory has previously been used to analyze police work and has been characterized by a near exclusive focus on interpreting police work through the lens of the status role derived directly from an officer's membership in a law enforcement organization. The focus of this body of work has been on the different ways in which police officers can approach the performance of police duties (i.e., role orientation), with the emphasis being on officers' dominant orientation toward crime fighting (Walker & Katz, 2005). Notably, several studies have attempted to broaden the examination of possible role orientations to accommodate the increasing complexity of the police role, for example by designating orientations that espouse a service or order maintenance emphasis. However, overall, research on role orientation has been limited by the lack of an overarching theoretical framework, leading to the development of a multitude of role designations instead of a coherent literature that builds upon previous work (for example, see Chen, 2016; Coulangeon, Pruvost, Roharik, & Matthews, 2012; Ricks & Eno Louden, 2015).

Examinations of the police status role have focused almost exclusively on the primacy of organizational culture to explain how officers understand their work. While of crucial importance, other approaches to understanding the police function have only received limited attention. Moreover, the previous emphasis on status roles implies that police role orientation is static—that organizational aims wholly direct officers' role orientations (Turner, 2001), and lead officers to adopt particular approaches towards their work that provide an unchanging foundation to their interactions with citizens. This view not only fails to recognize the functional breadth of policing, it also neglects to incorporate a defining aspect of the police function: contact with members of the public who approach, communicate with, and react to police officers in myriad ways. Officers are required to respond to an enormous variety of calls, ranging from the

mundane (e.g., noise complaints) to the critical (e.g., instances of violence). They also interact

with different types of people, including the vulnerable (e.g., children) and the dangerous (e.g.

violent offenders). An exclusive focus on status roles fails to incorporate how the context within

which an officer operates, especially in relation to members of the public, may shape officers'

orientations to their work. According to a recent national survey, nearly two-thirds of police

officers see themselves as fulfilling the role of both protectors and enforcers, with only slight

variations in rates of endorsements across race and rank (Morin et al., 2017). The dual

designation endorsed by officers indicates that officers' role orientations are at least somewhat

fluid in order to allow officers to adjust to encounters with the public based on the circumstances

of an interaction. For this reason, interactionist role theory may be a more appropriate way for

analyzing the police role than structural role theory. Interactionist role theory assumes that roles

are continuously in dialogue and that individuals create and adjust conceptions of 'self' and

'other' roles in the course of social interaction (Turner, 2001), affording individual discretion in

role-taking, role-playing and role-making (Turner, 1962). Moreover, most roles are linked in

distinctive relationships, and individuals typically have some understanding of a counter-part's

role and choose their actions by adapting to the role they assign to their counterpart.

Role orientation, undoubtedly, impacts the way in which officers interact with the public.

However, we cannot simply rely on examinations of the status role to interpret the dynamics of

police-public contact. In consideration of a broader set of factors that likely impact police role

orientation, we may wish to define police role orientation as an officer's way of thinking about

policing and the norms governing policing decision-making that are influenced by organizational

demands; individual characteristics, motivations, experiences; and, situational factors specific to

interactions with the public. Previous academic work simply has not comprehensively considered how such factors interact with one another.

Several reasons render a re-evaluation of police role orientation timely. First, community policing reforms since the 1980's have altered the framework within which police and citizens engage. Today, departments with a community policing component employ roughly 90% of all police officers (Reaves, 2015). Unlike previous models of policing that emphasize crime fighting, community policing focuses on close collaboration with citizens to address community problems (Gill et al., 2014), a stark shift from traditional policing approaches. Whether officers have been adequately supported in making the shift to community policing is unclear. The second reason we must reevaluate police role orientation in the current context is that little is known about how officers' demographic profiles may affect occupational attitudes (including role orientation), perceptions of and reception by community members. Moreover, the issue of how officers' basic roles (e.g., age, sex, race) may interact with status and functional group roles within the policing context have been underexamined. While some previous research suggests that demographic factors may not matter because on-the-job socialization erodes any such differences (Paoline & Terrill, 2014; Van Maanen, 1974); other recent work has shown that factors such as race may influence cynicism towards citizens (Gau & Paoline, 2017). Relatively recent increases in the percentages of female officers (8% in 1987 to 12% in 2016) and officers of color (15% in 1987 to 27% in 2016) may influence occupational attitudes in important ways (Hyland & Davis, 2019) and renders such an examination imperative.

Role Strain and Policing. Particularly lacking in the existing literature on police role orientation is the acknowledgment of competing role demands and the ensuing role strain that officers may navigate. The literature examining competing role demands and resultant role strain

is very limited, focusing primarily on the stress related to role overload (Biggam et al., 1997; Jennifer M. Brown & Campbell, 1990; Duxbury & Halinski, 2018). Some limited work has examined officers' negative professional outcomes explained by role conflict, such as noble cause corruption (i.e. corruption with moralistic undertones), increased turnover intention (i.e. plans to leave a position), and lowered job satisfaction (Cooper, 2012; Glissmeyer et al., 2008; Johnson, 2012; Violanti & Aron, 1994).

Studies of the *causes* of role strain are particularly limited. Much of the research on the causes of officers' role overload, for example, was completed prior to the organizational changes that have increased fiscal pressure on police agencies' operations and expanded officers' roles (e.g., Davidson & Veno, 1980; Kroes, 1985). More recently, Duxbury, Higgins and Halinski (2015) examined the antecedents of work overload (a construct closely related to role overload) among Canadian police, finding that factors such as competing work demands, understaffing, and lack of organizational support predicted overload. Studies examining causes of role conflict have been similarly limited in scope and tended to examine very specific issues, such as the attitudinal fit between officers and their supervisors (Ingram, 2013), or the strain felt by rural officers due to the mismatch between desired versus actual professional roles (Huey & Ricciardelli, 2015). Finally, role transitions have not been considered in terms of the micro-transitions related to the complex demands of police work.

Role strain has not been used as an overarching framework for examining general, routine processes among police officers. However, there is strong evidence that role strain may be a robust feature of the police function. The transition towards community policing, combined with the continued necessity for crime control and order maintenance, likely results in situations where these functions conflict. Similarly, the rising diversity of the U.S. police force may make

aspects of officers' basic roles related to sex and race increasingly salient in officers' interactions with the public, in particular since issues around race and policing have come under increasing scrutiny with the rise of the Black Lives Matter movement. What is unclear at this time is to what extent the functional expansion of the police role has precipitated strain between various aspects of officers' roles, and moreover, how responsibilities are prioritized, by what process, and how successfully officers transition between them.

   Role Strain and Officers' Psychological Outcomes. Undoubtedly, the potential for injury and death that underpins even routine aspects of law enforcement is a unique stressor in police work. However, other stressful aspects of the job should not be discounted. Most law enforcement stressors have been grouped into four broad categories: 1) organizational practices and characteristics, 2) criminal justice system practices and characteristics, 3) public practices and characteristics, and 4) police work itself (Paton et al., 1999; Territo & Vetter, 1981; Violanti & Aron, 1994). Perhaps surprisingly, a significant body of work has found that organizational and managerial stressors can be more regularly and acutely perceived than the stressors inherent to police duties (Brooks & Piquero, 1998; Jennifer M. Brown & Campbell, 1990; Kroes et al., 1974). However, as highlighted above, organizational factors that impact the perception of role strain have been examined only in limited ways among police.

   Challenges negotiating competing role demands, and perceived lack of organizational support in doing so, may exacerbate officer stress and substantially influence psychological and professional outcomes among officers. It is now generally accepted that prolonged stress can have negative impacts on individual health (Ursin & Eriksen, 2004) and work outcomes (Cropanzano et al., 2003; Martinussen et al., 2007). More generally, there is strong evidence that enduring chronic stress can lead to neuroendocrine and structural deficits (Dias-Ferreira et al.,

2009; Kudielka et al., 2004) that can impair decision-making capacity, especially in high-risk situations (Starcke et al., 2008, 2011). Specific outcomes related to high levels of stress that have been studied in police officers include poor job performance, increased accidents, post-traumatic stress disorder, depression, suicide, substance abuse, and sleep disturbances (Waters & Ussery, 2007). Considering the host of negative outcomes associated with officer stress, it is imperative that we better understand the ways in which the functional expansion of the police role may compound occupational stressors, and moreover, what supports alleviate the associated stress.

Role Strain and Officer Endorsement of Democratic Policing Ideals. There are at least two mechanisms by which role strain may be expected to influence police officers' interactions with the public. First, there is some evidence that role conflict may have a negatively, direct impact on job performance in general (Jackson & Schuler, 1985; Tubre & Collins, 2000). More compellingly and specific to the policing context, recent work has shown that in the current environment in which the law enforcement orientation toward policing has been deemphasized in public debates (President's Task Force on 21st Century Policing, 2015), police officers endorsing such an orientation may experience role conflict and exhibit increased cynicism, decreased motivation and increased apprehensiveness related to patrol duties (Torres et al., 2018). Another interesting possibility is that the current, overwhelmingly negative publicity attached to aggressive policing tactics (Nix & Wolfe, 2017) could potentially serve as a trigger for role conflict for officers who perceive aggressive order maintenance as an important tool for maintaining public safety.

Another way in which role strain may impact professional outcomes is indirectly through higher levels of stress that undermine officers' psychological well-being. Some research has identified ever-changing work demands as a source of stress for police officers (Baehler &

Bryson, 2008, 2009) potentially impacting decision-making and interactions with the public. For example, it has been shown that burnout and adverse mental health outcomes in police officers result from high levels of stress and influence officers' behavior in citizen interactions and attitudes towards violence (Euwema, Kop, & Bakker, 2004; Kop, Euwema, & Schaufeli, 1999). Given what is known about the breadth of responsibilities that officers face, a particularly compelling way to understand the influence of role strain on police officers is through the seminal work by Kahn, Wolfe, Quinn, Snoek, and Rosenthal (1964). Kahn et al. (1964) paralleled inter-sender role conflict with role overload by explaining that time constraints may place different aspects of an individual's role in direct conflict with one another. The possibility of strain resulting from the time pressure generated by competing work demands has been examined and supported in recent work in Canadian police departments (Duxbury et al., 2015).

This dissertation examines the mechanisms linking role orientation and role strain to determine their influence on officers' psychological outcomes and professional attitudes. Specifically, I examine the sources of role strain, paying particular attention to strain resulting from the functional expansion of the police role and focusing on organizational and supervisory factors. I also consider how role strain and associated stress may shape officers' endorsements of democratic policing ideals, focusing on their support for community policing. A deeper understanding of the relationship between the constructs under examination will help to identify the specific types of trainings and supports necessary to allow officers to engage with the public successfully and safely.

Rationale

Based on the academic literature, we can draw several conclusions. The breadth of police duties is acknowledged and continued functional expansion will characterize the police role.

Moreover, within the spectrum of the occupation's functional demands, police officers can conceptualize their role in relation to citizens in a variety of ways, for example by emphasizing order maintenance, law enforcement or service to the community. However, research in this area faces theoretical and methodological limitations and is out-of-date considering recent changes in the law enforcement field. For example, despite identifying a range of role orientations, I have encountered no research that has attempted to understand (1) the potential fluidity of role orientation as a result of the variable contexts within which police-public interactions occur, or (2) how officers negotiate demands between conflicting aspects of the police role. Moreover, no work has attempted to link role orientation and strain with important outcomes related to policing that may shape police-public relations, such as the endorsement of policing approaches or officers' psychological outcomes. This dissertation provides an exploratory examination of how these constructs may be linked and examines the following questions:

(1) How do police officers understand their role and authority in relation to the citizens they serve?

(2) To what extent and in what ways do police officers experience role strain?

(3) How do police officers navigate role strain and prioritize competing demands?

For each of the research question, I consider the influence of officers' demographic and professional characteristics, as well as officers' perceptions of their occupational environment, including both organizational and community-level factors. A primary goal is to examine the extent to which institutional operations and resources reflect the realities of daily work obligations and to identify organizational interventions that may improve officers' experiences of their work.

The Present Study

Qualitative methods are sorely underrepresented in the area of policing and criminal justice (Jenkins, 2015), resulting in an underrepresentation of practitioner perspectives and research that neglects fundamental realities of police work (Engel & Whalen, 2010). This exploratory investigation was designed to insert police officers' perspectives into academic discussions of policing by examining how police officers understand the constraints they encounter in the performance of their wide-ranging duties, in particular, when aiming to improve relationships with the public. A qualitative approach is the most effective way to examine the topics under consideration and to deliver a nuanced understanding of how police officers' role orientations and experiences of role strain influence officer outcomes, as well as provide a solid foundation from which to consider policing interactions more generally.

This dissertation's methods and design build on existing empirical research on police role orientation and role strain in strategic ways. First, previous studies on role orientation have centered around quantitative methods and, in particular, survey tools. However, this work is limited by the fact that little officer input has been sought out to help identify key factors of interest. As such, existing research has used top-down theoretical frameworks that are not carefully informed by the parties under examination. Moreover, work on role orientation that focuses on officer typologies (as opposed to a monolithic police culture) was mostly conducted in the 1970's and has not been sufficiently re-examined despite the philosophical shift toward community policing (Paoline, 2004) and changes in the composition of police forces (i.e., more racial minorities, women, and college-educated officers). A more sophisticated understanding of police culture is necessary and timely. Secondly, role strain has not been used as an overarching framework for examining general, routine processes among law enforcement. However, the

continued expansion of the police role provides a strong reason to expect that role strain may be a robust feature of police work. The shift towards community policing, combined with the continued necessity for crime control, order maintenance and other aspects of the police role, likely leads to situations where officer functions compete.

Due to the exploratory nature of this study's research questions, I leverage methods that are grounded in the perspectives and experiences of the very men and women who perform law enforcement duties, thereby providing an opportunity for officers to inform examinations of a heretofore underexamined challenge, the significant functional expansion of their responsibilities. Moreover, this line of inquiry recognizes that policing decisions are made within larger contexts, including institutional, supervisory and community influences that constrain officers' behaviors and decision-making. In order to insert police officers' perceptions and interpretations into the academic literature, the research questions are examined using in-depth, qualitative interviews with police officers who currently serve as law enforcement officers or have recently retired from the profession. The qualitative methods will uncover highly detailed descriptive data and lay the foundation for identifying specific concerns as voiced by police officers, while also providing a framework for understanding officers' concerns within the unique organizational and community settings in which they operate.

Methods

Researcher Description

Following best practices for qualitative research (Levitt et al., 2018), before presenting the recruitment, data collection and analysis procedures, I highlight how my background and experiences may have played a role in the study's framework, or how they may have impacted the design and findings.

My introduction to issues around policing have come from personal interactions with police officers across the country and in different stages of their careers. I have fostered these personal contacts with police officers by participating in initiatives organized by national non-profit organizations serving the law enforcement community (e.g., Concerns for Police Survivors, National Law Enforcement Memorial Fund), as well as by immersing myself in local police departments by completing a Citizens Police Academy and accompanying officers on ride-alongs. These experiences have allowed me to gain a deeper understanding of the patrol experience and the unique context in which officers make decisions. My conversations with police officers have exposed me to many of the stressors that members of the law enforcement community face—such as the high tensions that characterize the current relationship between law enforcement and the public and the challenges of creating positive interactions with reluctant community members. As I began to consider the perspectives and experiences of the officers with whom I have come in contact in light of the academic literature on policing, I was struck by how few systematic investigations of the police role relied on the subjective experiences of police officers.

The development of this study stems primarily out of the personal interactions I have had with police officers but is also guided by a deep appreciation of the challenges that officers face in the routine course of their work. Notably, many of the interactions described above followed the death of my brother who was a police officer and lost his life in a felonious line of duty death. My positionality as a 'police survivor' lends me special status in the law enforcement community that encourages trust and aids in building rapport with officers. Therefore, I believe my personal loss has enabled deeper discussions with members of the law enforcement community than would have been possible for a researcher without such ties, which has mostly

enhanced the conceptualization and design of this study. Given the visibility of my 'survivor' status (for example, a quick search of my name brings up news articles that mention me in relation to my brother's death), I also believed it would be preferable to directly address my status with interview participants. There would have been no benefit to hiding my 'survivor' status and motivation for my study, and officers could have felt that I was not being open or honest with them if I did not disclose my positionality, impeding rapport-building and meaningful conversation.

Of course, it is possible that my 'survivor' status could have influenced the officer interviews in unexpected ways. For example, knowing of my brother's line of duty death may have prompted officers to construct their narratives in ways that emphasize issues around safety or loss. In general, if such a shift occurred in the course of interviews, I do not believe it was detrimental to the study, but may in fact may have led to the emergence of additional meaningful themes that impact policing in the current context. Another way in which my personal loss may have reared itself is during data analysis, for example by shaping data interpretation in particular ways. For this reason, I built in several mechanisms to protect from undue influence of this kind. Data were primarily coded by other members of my research team, and regular meetings with the coding team allowed members of the project to voice their own observations on the interviews and present interesting findings for feedback from the group.

Participants

Recruitment Goals

While random sampling provides the best opportunity for generalizing results, it is not the most effective way for developing a nuanced understanding of human behavior (Marshall, 1996). As such, the primary goal of my sampling strategy was to seek out an appropriate number

of participants to reach theoretical saturation and significance (Saunders et al., 2018; please note

that a detailed description of how saturation was conceptualized is included below). In order to

accomplish this goal, recruitment criteria were defined with the help of police professionals.

Department size was determined to be a critical indicator of institutional resources that may be

available, as well as a key determinant of the routine role demands an officer is likely to

encounter. Additionally, within the constraints of department size, due to the increasing diversity

of the U.S. police force, this study's sampling framework focused on creating a maximum

variation sample by recruiting officers who had diverse demographic (e.g. age, race, sex,

education level) and professional profiles (e.g. military service, rank, length of service), and who

operated within diverse institutional contexts (e.g. type of agency, stated policing mission,

density of the populations served). In order to accomplish the goal of maximizing diversity in the

study's sample, a brief recruitment questionnaire assessing basic demographic, professional and

departmental characteristics was administered to all potential participants. The information

gathered was then used to purposefully stratify the interview sample. Participant selection is

discussed in greater detail below. See Appendix A for a draft of the recruitment questionnaire.

Recruitment Process

At this time, due to the decentralized and localized nature of policing in the United States

(Walker & Katz, 2005, p. 62), there is no resource that allows for the systematic recruitment of

police officers from the national pool of officers. However, non-random samples that are

recruited strategically by leveraging personal connections, key informants and network-based

sampling (i.e., "snowball sampling,") in which individuals refer potential participants to the

project can be quite effective for criminal justice-related research (Champion, 2006), and has

been theorized to result in a relatively unbiased final sample (Heckathorn, 1997). To maximize

the potential for achieving a diverse officer sample, all recruitment materials directed interested

officers to a website that provided basic information about the project, a brief biographical sketch

of the researcher, and encouraged interested officers to submit their questions or indicate their

interest in participating through a secure online form. Recruitment materials were disseminated

in several ways in order to leverage several distinct starting points for network-based sampling of

police officers:

1) Online sources: A recruitment flyer formatted to accommodate social media

   announcements was posted to online sources that were inaccessible to the research

   team by leveraging informal connections to several law enforcement supervisors and

   many police officers. The flyer was posted in closed social media groups and

   discussion boards catering to verified police members on platforms such as Facebook

   and Reddit, and law enforcement-related websites, blogs and discussion boards.

2) National Police Associations: Ten National associations geared towards specific

   demographic groups of officers, such as those representing officers of color or female

   officers were contacted and provided details of the project. Only one organization

   confirmed receipt of the materials and agreed to disseminate information to its

   members. Most organizations did not respond, and in one case, indicated that their

   organizational rules did not permit posting an advertisement without a fee. Each

   organization was contacted a minimum of three times. It is possible that some

   organizations may have disseminated the information without confirming their intent

   to do so.

3) Survivor networks: Police survivors hold a special status in the law enforcement

   community. I am closely connected with the national non-profit *Concerns for Police*

Survivors, and through the network of this organization, including the state chapters, I

have developed close relationships with police survivors tied to police departments

across the country. Recruitment information was posted to social media pages

associated with the organization with the request that the information be passed to

eligible officers.

4) Personal referrals: Individual officers and participants of the project were encouraged

to share the flyer or a link to the study webpage to their own personal networks and in

public posts on platforms such as Instagram. Due to privacy settings it is not possible

to specify the exact number of posts that announced the dissertation project, however

I am aware of a minimum of 80 unique shares and announcements.

Analytics show that the recruitment website was visited by 650 unique visitors during the

recruitment phase of the project, primarily driven by direct traffic to the page (80.4%), social

media sources including Facebook, Reddit and Twitter (12.4%), and online searches (6.8%).

Because some participants were unable to remember where they saw recruitment information

about the study, I can only estimate the efficacy of my outreach. However, the final sample of

officers was recruited from a minimum of 17 distinct sources, representing each of the starting

points. The majority of participants were recruited from online sources (36/48), two from

survivor networks; and five each from personal referrals by officers and through my own

contacts to law enforcement. The single largest source of participants was a closed law-

enforcement-only Facebook group with over 30,000 members, from which 10 out of 48 officers

were recruited.

Incentives and Participant Protections

Participants were offered a $40 Amazon electronic gift card as compensation for the relatively lengthy interviews. The gift cards were sent to officers at their preferred email address after each interview. Unexpectedly, 18 of 48 participants refused participant compensation. In response, these officers were given the option of donating the compensation to a law enforcement organization of their choice (an option taken nine times). The remaining nine officers specifically wished to donate the funds back to the research project in order to allow for the recruitment of additional participants or to cover other research costs. The study's incentive scheme was approved by the University of Virginia's Institutional Review Board for the Social and Behaviors Sciences (IRB-SBS).

Participant Selection

All officers interested in participating in the project contacted the research team via the study website by submitting a form outlining the best way to reach them. Officers who preferred to be contacted via email were sent a form letter thanking them for their interest in the project and asking them to submit the brief recruitment survey, accessible via electronic link in the email. Officers who preferred to be contacted via phone were called at the times they indicated and offered the opportunity to pose any questions they may have and receive further details about the project. If they indicated their continued interest, they were asked for an email address in order to receive the recruitment questionnaire. All interested participants received the recruitment questionnaire within two business days of submitting their inquiry—most received it the same day. The recruitment questionnaire did not require any identifying information but allowed officers to provide general details about their personal and professional backgrounds and the organizational and community context in which they worked.

In the end, 200 officers indicated their interest in the project and received the recruitment questionnaire. Out of those, 154 officers submitted a completed recruitment questionnaire. Twenty-five officers did not meet inclusion criteria and were eliminated from further consideration, including officers who served in corrections, federal agencies, or in non-traditional policing functions (e.g., civil deputy); officers who served in very specific or atypical jurisdictions (e.g. Independent School Districts), as well as officers who retired more than 5 years prior (i.e., before 2014) or indicated rare contact with the public. The recruitment questionnaires of the remaining 129 officers were then used to generate a purposeful sample stratified by department size. Due to the rising diversity of the U.S. police force (Hyland, 2019), and to better understand the experiences of groups typically underrepresented in law enforcement, the study oversampled officers who identified as female or as a racial or ethnic minority. Additionally, whenever possible, I sought a range of experiences based on factors that may be related to the issues under study, including professional factors (e.g., rank, length of time in department, policing mission endorsed by the department, type of jurisdiction served) and personal background (e.g., education level, military veteran status).

Selected officers were first contacted via their preferred contact method. If a potential participant did not respond to an initial message to schedule an interview, they were contacted using any other method they indicated, including via text messaging and voice messages. All selected officers were contacted a minimum of three times. If they did not respond, I contacted the next officer that presented with a similar profile based on the recruitment questionnaire.

Number of Participants

Unlike quantitative research which is focused on generalizability, the goal of participant selection in qualitative research is to achieve *saturation* by gathering sufficient depth of

information to fully understand the range of perceptions and experiences that describe the issue under examination (Fossey et al., 2002; Gaskell, 2000). While saturation has been operationalized in many ways (Saunders et al., 2018), it is typically conceptualized in terms of achieving "informational redundancy" in relation to the theoretical insights that develop as data are collected (Sandelowski, 2008, p. 875). However, because the construct is closely tied to grounded theory methods and there exist few specific guidelines that aid in determining when saturation has been achieved (Sim et al., 2018), I leveraged Malterud and colleagues' (2016) conceptualization of "information power" as a guide for determining the sample. Malterud et al. (2016) describes that the information power of a sample is related to several dimensions of a study's design and implementation, including: (a) the aim of the study, (b) sample specificity, (c) use of established theory, (d) quality of dialogue, and (e) analytic strategy. In short, the higher the information power of a study, the lower the sample requirements for the study.

The sample of this dissertation held moderate to high information power due to the relatively narrow study aim, participants that were purposely recruited to the research questions, the application of established theory related to the phenomenon under examination, and the high quality of interview dialogue. Two aspects of the study suggest low information power. The first relates to the chosen analytic strategies, including the need for exploratory cross-case analysis and the investigation of emergent themes (in addition to a theoretically-grounded examination). The second relates to concerns with examining the experiences of underrepresented officer groups (i.e., female officers and officers of color). Given these considerations, I aimed for a qualitative sample of approximately 40 participants, allowing for some flexibility related to my subjective sense of whether new information about the theoretical constructs under examination was discussed by participants. My final sample included 48 law enforcement officers.

Researcher-Participant Relationship.

I did not know 42 of the 48 participants prior to the study in any capacity. I had previous contact with two officers based on my involvement in various organizations and initiatives in the development of the study. Additionally, four officers wished to participate specifically due to their own personal connection to the line of duty death of my brother, Police Officer David S. Hofer, and the subsequent funeral and memorial services[1]. I had only perfunctory interactions with two of these officers following my brother's death and was unaware of my connection to one participant in any way until the interview began. Three of the six officers with whom I had a personal connection agreed to serve as pilot participants as I was still refining the interview process. I included all data for these participants in the study.

The Influence of Researcher Positionality on Study Participation. It is important to highlight how my status as a police survivor may have shaped participation. Most participants were asked whether they were aware of my brother's line-of-duty death at the time they decided to participate (*n*=44) and, if they were, whether this fact influenced their decision to participate (*n*=38). Out of the 44 officers that were asked the first question, 29 officers were aware that I had a connection to law enforcement based on the recruitment information that had been posted by various officers in online sources, while 15 were not. Out of the 38 officers who were asked whether they would have participated in the study regardless of my connection to law enforcement, 25 officers stated they would have participated in any case, and only five stated unequivocally that they would *not* have participated without this connection to law enforcement. An additional eight officers were unsure if they would have participated. A main reason given for

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[1] It should not be inferred that the personal connection implies that the four officers served in either of the two police departments in which my brother served. Rather, their prior contact with the PI were for a number of reasons, including officers' attendance at funeral services or memorial events.

their ambivalence about participating in a study with a researcher without a link to law

enforcement was a general concern that the research might take a "negative spin" and ultimately

harm officers (Ofc. 19, female, Hispanic, 22 yrs., 1000+ officers), a reason given by two officers.

Another two officers stated that my connection to law enforcement made me more trustworthy,

making the decision to participate easier. One officer stated he would have still participated as

long as I had been "vetted" by someone he knew in the law enforcement community (Ofc. 34,

male, White, 13 yrs., 100-249 officers). The remaining three officers specified a potential

willingness to participate in research undertaken by a researcher without a law enforcement

connection, depending on the circumstances.

Participant Demographics and Background

Participants represented a range of professional and personal backgrounds. For reference,

Table 1 displays select demographic, professional and agency characteristics of each participant.

Table 1

Demographic, professional and departmental descriptors of participants

Officer	Sex	Race/Ethnicity	Agency Type	Agency Size (# of sworn officers)	CP Mission	Jurisdiction Served	Rank	Education	Years of Service	Current Officer
Ofc. 1	Male	Asian	Local police	50-99	Yes	Suburban	Police officer	BA	11	Yes
Ofc. 2	Female	White	Local police	1000+	Yes	Urban	CID/Detective	BA	14	Yes
Ofc. 3	Female	Hispanic	Local police	250-499	Yes	Urban	Police officer	Some college	21	Yes
Ofc. 4	Male	Black/AA	Local police	1000+	Yes	Urban	Police officer	AA	20	Yes
Ofc. 5	Female	White	Local police	49 or less	Yes	Rural	CID/Detective	Some college	12	Yes
Ofc. 6	Male	Hispanic	Local police	1000+	Yes	Urban	First line supervisor	BA	11	Yes
Ofc. 7	Male	Black/AA	State agency	250-499	No	Rural	Sr. Trooper	BA	10	Yes
Ofc. 8	Male	Asian	Local police	49 or less	Yes	Rural	Police officer	Some college	6	Yes
Ofc. 9	Male	Biracial (Black/AA & White)	Sheriff's office	250-499	Yes	Urban	Sheriff deputy	BA	11	Yes
Ofc. 10	Female	Asian	Local police	1000+	Yes	Mixed	Police officer	BA	5	Yes
Ofc. 11	Male	White	Sheriff's office	49 or less	Yes	Rural	Sheriff deputy	Some college	14	Yes
Ofc. 12	Female	White	Local police	49 or less	Yes	Suburban	Police officer	Post-grad	5	Yes
Ofc. 13	Male	White	Local police	49 or less	Yes	Urban	CID/Detective	BA	10	Yes
Ofc. 14	Male	White	Local police	100-249	Yes	Urban	Police officer	Some college	32	Retired 2017
Ofc. 15	Female	White	Local police	49 or less	No	Rural	First line supervisor	AA	11	Yes
Ofc. 16	Female	Asian	Sheriff's office	100-249	No	Mixed	Sheriff deputy	BA	3	Yes
Ofc. 17	Male	White	Local police	500-999	Yes	Urban	CID/Detective	Some college	37	Yes
Ofc. 18	Female	White	State agency	1000+	No	Suburban	CID/Detective	Post-grad	10	Yes
Ofc. 19	Female	Hispanic	Local police	1000+	Yes	Urban	CID/Detective	Some college	22	Retired 2015
Ofc. 20	Female	White	Local police	50-99	Yes	Mixed	First line supervisor	AA	25	Retired 2016
Ofc. 21	Female	White	Local police	1000+	Yes	Urban	Second line supervisor/shift commander	BA	17	Yes
Ofc. 22	Female	White	Local police	1000+	Yes	Urban	First line supervisor	Post-grad	27	Retired 2017
Ofc. 23	Male	Hispanic	Local police	100-249	Yes	Suburban	Police officer	BA	4	Yes
Ofc. 24	Male	Hispanic	Local police	1000+	No	Suburban	First line supervisor	Post-grad	26	Yes

Ofc. 25	Male	White	Local police	50-99	No	Urban	First line supervisor	BA	17	Yes
Ofc. 26	Male	White	Local police	1000+	Yes	Suburban	Police officer	BA	9	Yes
Ofc. 27	Male	White	Local police	250-499	Yes	Urban	Police officer	Some college	4	Yes
Ofc. 28	Male	White	Local police	1000+	Yes	Urban	First line supervisor	BA	13	Yes
Ofc. 29	Male	Biracial (American Indian or Alaska Native/White)	Local police	250-499	Yes	Urban	CID/Detective	Some college	28	Yes
Ofc. 30	Male	Hispanic	Local police	1000+	Yes	Urban	Police officer	AA	31	Retired 2017
Ofc. 31	Male	Hispanic	Local police	49 or less	Yes	Urban	CID/Detective	Some college	14	Yes
Ofc. 32	Male	Hispanic	State agency	1000+	No	Urban	Police officer	Post-grad	17	Yes
Ofc. 33	Male	White	Local police	1000+	Yes	Urban	CID/Detective	BA	9	Yes
Ofc. 34	Male	White	Local police	100-249	Yes	Suburban	CID/Detective	BA	13	Yes
Ofc. 35	Male	White	Local police	500-999	Yes	Mixed	Police officer	BA	6	Yes
Ofc. 36	Male	White	State agency	250-499	Yes	Mixed	Second line supervisor/shift commander	Some college	25	Yes
Ofc. 37	Male	White	Local police	250-499	Yes	Suburban	CID/Detective	BA	7	Yes
Ofc. 38	Male	Asian	Local police	1000+	Yes	Urban	CID/Detective	Post-grad	15	Yes
Ofc. 39	Male	Hispanic	Local police	1000+	Yes	Urban	CID/Detective	High school	38	Retired 2014
Ofc. 40	Male	White	Local police	49 or less	Yes	Mixed	CID/Detective	Some college	12	Yes
Ofc. 41	Male	White	Local police	49 or less	Yes	Suburban	Police officer	AA	10	Retired 2018
Ofc. 42	Male	White	Local police	500-999	Yes	Urban	CID/Detective	BA	13	Yes
Ofc. 43	Female	White	Local police	100-249	Yes	Urban	Police officer	Some college	10	Yes
Ofc. 44	Female	White	Sheriff's office	250-499	Yes	Suburban	Sheriff deputy	BA	7	Yes
Ofc. 45	Male	Biracial (Native Hawaiian or Pacific Islander/Hispanic)	Local police	1000+	Yes	Urban	Police officer	BA	3	Yes
Ofc. 46	Male	Biracial (Asian/White)	Local police	49 or less	Yes	Urban	Police officer	Some college	3	Yes
Ofc. 47	Male	Black/AA	Local police	100-249	Yes	Urban	Second line supervisor/shift commander	Some college	13	Yes
Ofc. 48	Male	White	Sheriff's office	50-99	Yes	Rural	Sheriff deputy	Some college	6	Yes

Organizational Context. The 48 officers who participated in this study represented 21 U.S. states, with 39 working in local police departments (81%), five in Sheriff's offices (10%) and four in state agencies (8%). In terms of department size, 14 departments employed 99 or fewer sworn officers (29%), six departments employed between 100 to 249 officers (13%), 11 departments employed between 250 and 999 officers (23%), with the remaining 17 departments employing more than 1000 sworn officers (35%). Agency jurisdictions were described as urban (n=26), suburban (n=10) and rural (n=6) jurisdictions, with six jurisdictions described as "other," which typically indicated a mixed jurisdiction having a combination of urban and rural areas. The majority of the agencies in which participants operated (n=41) were described as having a community policing mission (85%).

Professional Information. Officers represented a range of professional experiences in law enforcement. Forty-one of the participants served in law enforcement at the time of the interview (85%), seven had retired from law enforcement within the prior five years (15%). Twenty-three participants held the ranks of police officer, deputy, or senior trooper (48%); 15 participants served as detectives in criminal investigations (31%), and 10 held supervisory ranks (21%). Within these positions, several participants operated in specialized units (e.g., K-9, emergency services, crime scene). Officers' total length of service in law enforcement ranged from 3 to 38 years (median length: 12). Ten officers had previously served in the armed forces (21%).

Demographic Information. Officers ranged in age from 24 to 68 years of age (median age: 38). Women made up nearly a third of the sample (n=14). In terms of race and ethnicity, 27 officers identified as White or Caucasian (56%), nine as Hispanic (19%), five as Asian (10%), four as Biracial (8%) and three as Black or African American (6%). Overall, the participant

sample was very educated—20 officers held a Bachelor's degree (42%), six had a post-graduate

degree (13%), five had an associate's degree (10%) and 16 participants had completed some

college education but did not receive a degree (33%). One officer completed high school (2%). A

majority of the officers reported being married (31/48), eight reported being separated or

divorced, and nine had never been married. Politically, the participant sample leaned towards a

conservative orientation, with the majority identifying as somewhat conservative (22/48) or very

conservative (5/48). Sixteen of 48 identified as "moderate" and five out of 48 identified as

"somewhat liberal." In terms of gender identity, all participants identified as cisgender male and

female. One individual identified as LGBT.

   Description of Work Experiences. The vast majority of participants (*n*=34) engaged in

patrol duties as part of their job (71%) and all but one participant indicated coming into contact

with the public "Usually" or "Almost always or always." Contact with the public was most often

described as "Somewhat positive" (26/48) or "Neutral" (11/48). The remaining officers saw their

interactions with the public as either "Very positive" (6/48) or "Somewhat negative" (5/48).

Notably, no officer indicated that the average work week was characterized by "Very negative"

interactions with the public. Most officers also felt that they were able to make a positive

connection to a community member regularly, indicating that such positive connections are made

"Usually" (30/48), "Sometimes" (13/48) or "Always or Almost Always" (4/48). Only one officer

felt that such connections are rare occurrences.

   Despite overall perceptions of positive contacts with members of the public, only two

officers of the 34 officers who perform patrol duties indicated that they "Rarely" worried about

their safety while on patrol. The remaining officers indicated that they "Always or almost

always" (14/48), "Usually" (8/48) or "Sometimes" (9/48) worry for their safety. Notably, the vast

majority of officers describe a work experience that is "moderately stressful" (24/48) or "very stressful" (20/48). Out of 48 officers, only 4 indicated feeling that their work is only "slightly stressful." At the time of the interviews, two-thirds of participants had been injured at work (36/48), and almost all had experienced a life-threatening situation at work (43/48), had a coworker who had experienced a life-threatening situation at work (47/48), and experienced a line of duty death in the course of their career (41/48).

Data Collection

Interview Procedures

I collected the data from February to July of 2019 via semi-structured, audio-recorded interviews held by phone conference ($n=47$) or in person at a location of the participant's choosing ($n=1$). The interview opened with an oral consent script that provided the overarching goals of the study, reviewed potential risks and benefits, highlighted the voluntary nature of all questions asked, and inquired about the participant's willingness to be audio-recorded. Upon receiving a participant's consent, I further framed the interview topics and disclosed my personal motivation for the project. I also highlighted that I saw my role as an interviewer in maintaining sufficient flexibility in our conversation to discuss the particular concerns and interests of each participant. As such, I encouraged each officer to guide the conversation to any specific areas they wished to discuss beyond the questions I had prepared. The interview formally began with an inquiry into how participants heard about the project, if they knew about my connection to law enforcement and whether this connection figured prominently in their decision to complete an interview. I also gave officers an opportunity to disclose their general feelings about participating in the interview and whether they had particular motivations for deciding to contribute to the project.

After the introductory section of the interview, the remainder of the conversation was guided by a semi-structured protocol designed to gain a holistic understanding of each participant's professional experiences while remaining adaptable enough to adjust based on the interests and preoccupations of each officer (see Appendix B for the full interview protocol). The first set of questions confirmed the professional details an officer had provided on their recruitment questionnaire and assessed further aspects of the officer's professional history. Next, questions were focused on understanding more about the officer's occupational environment, such as the community context in which they serve (including perceptions of danger and risk), before moving on to officers' job-related duties. Participants' appraisal of their workload, the extent to which they felt overloaded or conflicted due to competing work demands, and how they navigated such strain were explicitly addressed. Within this context, participants were also asked about various aspects of their organizational and supervisory contexts. Officers were then prompted to elaborate on some of the stressors of their work, including routine challenges faced in their assignments as well as high-stress events they may have experienced (e.g., a line of duty death, officer suicide), how they managed each, and how their agency supported them in doing so. Then, officers elaborated on the meaningful aspects of their jobs, including positive interactions with the public and involvement in community policing efforts. Finally, officers were asked about the ways in which they perceived various aspects of their identity to shape their interactions with the public and within their agency. While many of these topics were probed directly, participants also had the opportunity to provide anecdotes or describe specific interactions they have had with the public.

At the conclusion of the interview, I inquired whether there were any topics that we had not covered that they hoped to speak about. I also asked participants how they felt about the

interview and solicited feedback on whether they had any concerns about the questions that were asked or their relevance to officers' experiences. Lastly, I directed participants to a password-protected resources page on the study website (with links to hotlines and organizations related to mental health, suicidality, and other issues), and mentioned that information about findings of the research would be made available to them on the study website when the project was complete, which most participants were excited to hear.

Confirming Meaning Via Participant Feedback. I issued targeted follow-up questions and solicited feedback from officers throughout the course of each interview to provide an opportunity for officers to clarify their statements and elaborate on motivations and emotional experiences. When an officer's narrative was unclear to me in any way, I restated or summarized what I had heard and asked the participant to confirm whether my interpretation accurately and fully reflected their views, feelings, and experiences. This approach provided an opportunity for officers to correct or clarify my interpretation of their narratives, with the goal of enhancing the credibility and validity of my study (Creswell, 2007; Lincoln & Guba, 1985).

Confirming my interpretation of officers' narratives was revealed to be critical to fully understanding officers' experiences as there were several instances where my sense of officers' responses was built on faulty assumptions inherited from the academic literature or my own preconceived notions about police work. For example, upon being asked whether he has any over-arching goals for his work or interactions with the public, a highway patrol trooper responded that he sets "goals as far as maybe how many people I want to arrest or how many tickets I write" (Ofc. 7, male, Black/African American, 10 yrs., 250-499 officers). The academic literature led me to believe that this was a concrete example of an enforcement-orientation to police work. However, upon asking him how he set those goals for enforcement, the trooper

elaborated that his approach was guided by recent fatal wrecks in his jurisdiction, such that he would do strict traffic enforcement on roads that recently experienced a fatality in order to tamp down on irresponsible driving and prevent another fatality. In this example, therefore, the additional context provided by the trooper more fully reflected his motivation for enforcement, which would be more accurately described in terms of a desire to protect the public than in terms of a desire to enforce the law.

Interview Notes

After each interview, I wrote detailed interview notes reflecting on the content of each conversation. In addition to writing a brief summary of the interview, notes also served as an initial analytic memo in which I outlined general impressions of my rapport with the participant, the quality of the dialogue and my own emotional reaction to the interview. I also identified general themes that were prominent in the interview, and distilled my perception of the participant's orientation to their work and experiences of role strain. Finally, I considered each interview against previously completed ones to consider evolving themes across interviews.

Recording and Data Transformation

All participants agreed to have their interview audio-recorded. Interviews held via a computer-based phone conferencing software were audio-recorded using the program's internal recording capability. The interview held in person was recorded on two handheld devices in case of equipment malfunction. Interview length was principally determined by each participant's willingness and desire to go into detail in their responses and lasted from 1 hour 11 minutes to 4 hours 02 minutes, with an average length of 2 hours 14 minutes. Most interviews were completed in one session; however, five interviews were conducted across two sessions to accommodate participants' schedules.

A team of 11 undergraduate research assistants (RAs) transcribed the audio-recordings of interviews using a web-based transcription program. Each transcription was handled by two RAs. The first RA completed an initial transcription. The second RA checked the transcription, made any necessary edits, inserted headings indicating different sections of the interview based on my line of questioning, and redacted personally identifying information from the transcript to protect participants' confidentiality. I verified the completed transcripts for accuracy a final time against the audio-recordings of the interviews to ensure that the narrative flow of the conversation was fully captured and the transcript was de-identified appropriately. Any edits made by me at this stage typically involved changes to punctuation that better captured the nuance of participants' speech.

Data Analytic Strategies

The over-arching goal of the analytic approach was to identify shared contexts and themes describing officers' orientation towards their work and experiences of role strain with the goal of identifying potentially actionable information for improving officers' occupational environment. As such, a pragmatic, question-driven approach was used to understand the data corpus. In accordance with Miles et al. (2020), my research team leveraged three separate coding processes at increasing levels of abstraction: (1) attribute coding; (2) conceptual and emergent coding; and (3) pattern coding.

Attribute Coding

The first coding pass, completed by a team of five advanced undergraduate RAs, focused on cataloguing basic attributes of an officer's narrative using a structured case review form, consisting of 40 items (available in Appendix D). The form included items cataloguing characteristics of the interview (e.g., interview length, referral source), different aspects of

participants' personal and professional backgrounds (e.g., work history, specialized training), mental health status (e.g., engagement in counseling or peer support, previous suicidal ideation), and the presence of a range of work-related experiences (e.g., experiencing a line of duty death, physical injury). The majority of items (22/40) included on the form required a "check-box" response (e.g., select "yes," "no," "unsure" or "NA – unknown, question not asked" for the question "*Has the participant provided formal peer support to other officers?*"). In some cases, RAs were asked to indicate an answer via check-box and then specify details about the experience highlighted. Four items required a numeric response (e.g., "*How many total years has the participant been working in law enforcement?*"). The remaining items asked RAs to write brief narratives pertaining to various aspects of officers' experiences that could not be easily captured in discrete variables (e.g., overall experiences of social support, details of a line of duty death experienced by the officer).

The first version of the case review form was written after all interviews and about 75% of transcriptions were complete, and considered aspects of officers' work experiences that appeared to relate to the major research questions, as well as themes emerging from officers' narratives (e.g., an over-arching concern with issues related to officers' mental health and trauma exposure). The case review file was refined in research team meetings and over several rounds of sample coding to specify item wording, add sub-prompts and include model responses for open-ended narratives, with the goal of improving coding accuracy and inter-rater reliability. Two research assistants coded each transcript using the case review form and the forms were then compared to calculate inter-rater reliability. Prior to reconciliation, the mean percentage agreement for the 26 check-box and numerical items was 82%. Most discrepancies were relatively minor and were most typically attributed to a superficial reading of the transcript. Any

disagreements on check-box or numerical items were discussed and resolved by consensus by

the original coders (Hill et al., 2005) and a final case review form was generated for each

participant, with all disagreements resolved and open-ended responses combined. Finally,

research assistants (RAs) entered responses from the final case review forms into a Qualtrics

survey. I verified the data entered into Qualtrics prior to analysis.

RA-generated summaries and open-ended responses were used primarily to help inform

data analyses by providing an at-a-glance overview of contextual factors and events that might

have shaped officers' experiences and perceptions in meaningful ways. Any frequencies and

summary statistics presented in this report relied on the attribute coding and recruitment

questionnaires and were calculated in Excel. Because this study examines the experience of a

relatively small, non-representative qualitative sample, frequencies of events were calculated

primarily to help me understand the commonality of a particular event and remain grounded in

the data, not to imply generalizability to the general population of law enforcement officers.

Conceptual and Emergent Coding

Going beyond the basic factual events and contexts recorded in the case review forms, a

more conceptually sophisticated coding was performed by a team of three graduate research

assistants, one experienced research coordinator and one post-doctoral fellow, working in the

areas of clinical or community psychology (henceforth referred to as the "graduate coding

team"). Each member of the graduate coding team had helped to advise on the development of

this study and was familiar with the issues under examination. To develop our coding strategy,

we began with key theoretical constructs pertaining to role orientation and experiences of role

conflict. Research team members also individually read through a subset of data to identify

emergent themes. We generated a preliminary coding scheme through discussion in research

team meetings, which was then used to code select samples of data in MaxQDA, a qualitative

analysis software (VERBI Software, 2018). We continued refining our coding scheme by

narrowing the general scope of the coding approach and by specifying code definitions over

several cycles of sample coding. The final coding scheme (see Appendix C) reflected emerging

themes and major theoretical constructs of the project and included conceptual codes and sub-

codes in the following broad areas: officers' orientations towards police work; experiences of and

responses to various types of role strain; organizational influences on officers; citizen influences

on officers; officers' mental health; and aspects of officers' identities that were described to

shape work experiences. Additionally, the final coding scheme allowed coders to mark text

exemplifying any important themes they identified that were not captured by existing codes. Any

such themes were examined for common experiences across participants as well as critical

contextualizing factors that may have shaped a particular officer's narrative. Finally, coders were

encouraged to highlight any particularly eloquent, vivid, striking, and exemplary statements that

related to the major research questions or that highlighted a key facet of officers' experiences or

thinking.

       After specifying the final coding scheme, all changes were reflected in a detailed

codebook. The codebook highlighted general coding rules (e.g., notes for double-coding

passages, instructions for using comments to annotate a coded segment), as well as clear

operational definitions for applying a code. It also provided examples of appropriately coded text

segments for each code, as well as guidance for when a code should *not* be used. The final

coding scheme was applied to a sample transcript by each coder, which I reviewed for inter-

coder agreement. Each RA received detailed written feedback on their coding to ensure clarity

about any remaining inconsistencies that I had noted, and any outstanding disagreements on the

application of codes was discussed with the team of RAs. Finally, once satisfactory agreement was reached, the data were divided among the research team who independently coded a subset of the data in MaxQDA.

Upon completion of coding, I read through all coded segments to confirm consistency across coders. If a coded segment was found to violate the decision rules of the code book, I made any necessary edits—in essence serving as the master coder. It was exceedingly rare that a code had been applied incorrectly. Instead, code changes were most often related to general coding rules (e.g., several related but distinct points were coded in one chunk of text instead of broken up into multiple coded segments), or a code was not applied to an appropriate text segment (e.g., grouping an instance of role strain and its related response in one coded segment instead of separating them into separate codes). Another common inconsistency I addressed related to capturing sufficient context of a coded segment to allow for appropriate interpretation. For example, at times it was necessary to expand coded segments to include additional context related to an event (e.g., to capture the motivation for an officers' specific decision or action).

Pattern Coding

The final coding pass involved pattern coding, which is one way of grouping coded text into categories, themes and concepts in terms of meaningful units of analysis that can help identify a "bigger picture" (Miles et al., 2020). The goal of pattern coding is to identify broader themes, meanings, explanations and relationships for a data corpus. To address my research questions effectively, I performed pattern coding at multiple levels of analysis, including both within-case and cross-case analysis. Within-case analysis served to identify variables estimated to be the most influential in accounting for the outcomes under examination. Cross-case analysis allowed an opportunity to: (1) assure that the processes were not idiosyncratic to a particular

case; (2) verify the existence of the relationships identified in the within-case analyses across

different settings; and, (3) deepen my understanding and explanation of observed relationships.

Ultimately, by leveraging analytic strategies at multiple levels of analysis I aimed to increase the

transferability and generalizability of my findings to broader theory.

I implemented pattern analysis by integrating the general framework for thematic

analysis by Braun & Clarke (2006) and more specific strategies for pattern analysis by Miles et

al. (2020). The process proceeded in the following steps:

Familiarizing Myself with the Data. In order to immerse myself and stay grounded in

the data, I conducted all interviews and wrote extensive interview notes after each. I also verified

all transcriptions completed by my research team by reading the transcripts as I listened to the

audio-recording of the interview. After the research team completed coding, I examined every

excerpt that had been coded within the context of its transcript and annotated each segment in a

way that related its meaning to my broader research questions. All annotated text segments were

then pulled for each participant to write narrative summaries for each construct examined.

Throughout this process, I took notes, discussed cases with my research team, and solicited

feedback and impressions from the coders. Finally, I read through the transcripts multiple times

as I proceeded to theme the data. All documents were written in or uploaded to MaxQDA for

ease of reference and to help organization.

Generating Initial Codes. Initial codes were generated based on the theoretical

framework of this project and notable themes that emerged in the interviews based on my

interview notes, immersion in the data, and discussion with the coding teams in regular research

meetings. While I hypothesized some *a priori* coding categories based on exiting research

framed by role theory, the majority of coding categories were refined or newly generated based

on the prominence of various experiences and concerns in officers' narratives. To provide an illustrative example of how such refinement of theory-driven codes proceeded, let us consider the construct of role conflict. While the original research questions focused on role conflict specifically, it quickly became apparent that officers' experiences of strain due to the expansive nature of their work could only be captured by subsuming the construct of *role conflict* as a sub-code under a broader theme of *role strain*, and adding sub-codes for *role overload* and *role transitions*. An example related to codes generated solely based on their prominence in officers' narratives is a set of codes examining mental health. Officers discussed their exposure to trauma and concerns about mental health to a degree that I had not anticipated based on the structure of my interview protocol, making it necessary to examine the issue explicitly to fully understand officers' experiences.

Identifying Themes. In order to capture as many potential themes/patterns as possible given the resources and time constraints of this project, all codes included in the coding schemes used by the undergraduate and graduate research team were kept relatively broad to be able to flexibly capture a broad range of officer experiences. For example, the code *influential identities* captured any instance when an officer felt their identity impacted police work—within their agency or in contact with the public—whether positively or negatively. Once all data were coded and collated, I used within-case analysis on a sample of transcripts to examine data extracts related to specific codes and identify common themes and subthemes, directional processes, and a sense of relationship between codes. Bounded cases were primarily examined using MaxQDA summary tables that included constructs related to the research questions, which approximated the content-analytic matrix displays recommended by Miles et al. (2020).

Reviewing, Defining and Naming Themes. After compiling a set of preliminary themes, I used cross-case analysis to examine the coherence of the proposed processes across different contexts. I leveraged several techniques to facilitate analysis across the data corpus, including matrix displays and logic models. For example, cross-case analysis was performed using partially-ordered meta-matrices and contrast tables that summarized officers' experiences based on relevant analytic categories (Miles et al., 2020; e.g., data from the within-case analysis for experiences of role strain was used to generate a contrast table based on department size or demographic groups). A primary focus of the meta-matrices and contrast tables was to ensure that the data within each theme and subtheme were coherent and that my proposed thematic structure reflected officers' experiences as evidenced in their narratives. Additionally, this analytic step helped to refine associations between codes and improve the organizational structure of my logic model, which I modified as necessary throughout the process of analysis to better reflect the relationships between constructs. The development of the final themes and logic model was ultimately my own; however, I relied heavily on the coding and feedback of the graduate research team, as well as regular discussions with research team members, my academic advisors and mentors, and members of law enforcement. Once I developed a satisfactory thematic structure of my data, I specified and named the core themes and subthemes for presentation in this report.

Producing the Report. My highest priority in writing this dissertation was to privilege the words, experiences and concerns of the study's participants. In order to do so, I support my examination using vivid narrative extracts to provide illustrative examples of the final themes, as well as brief case studies to highlight the relationships between various processes.

Data Examined per Research Question

The stories of the 48 officers totaled 102 hours of audio recordings and over 1700 pages

of transcription, comprising both *thick* data (i.e., a large quantity of data) and *rich* data (i.e.

descriptions that are vivid, dense, and nested in many layers of context). The depth of the

narratives that were presented, of course, preempt me from addressing all aspects of the

interviews or truly conveying the richness of each participant's narrative. In fact, the most

significant challenge of this project was to remain disciplined in examining the issues specific to

the research questions and avoid meandering into other compelling areas of inquiry. As such, the

primary goals of coding were to provide a nuanced examination of each research question while

considering the practical implications of the findings for police organizations. To accomplish this

goal, I narrowed the scope of the data analyzed for each research question as described below.

Please note that details about each code discussed is available in Appendix C.

Research question #1 (*How do police officers understand their role in relation to the*

citizens they serve?) was examined primarily based on the following codes: "Beliefs about the

Goals and Responsibilities of the Police Role," "Attitudes towards Citizens," "Use of

Discretion," and "Acts of Resistance." Notably, this set of codes includes not just general

statements officers made about the issues discussed, but also any anecdotes including

descriptions of behaviors and decision-making that bring insight into each issue and, as

available, underlying motivations for each. As such, the examination of role orientation

examined both stated beliefs as well as behaviors in relation to the public. Within the codes noted

above, particular attention was paid to statements made by officers that indicated substantive

changes to the way they perceived the police function.

Research question #2 (*To what extent and in what ways do police officers experience role*

strain?): As mentioned above, while the original research question focused on role conflict, it

quickly became apparent that the construct was too narrow to capture officers' experiences of their work demands. As such, the research question was broadened to focus on role strain more generally. To examine role strain in the data corpus, analyses focused on the codes of "Role Overload," "Role Conflict," and "Role Transitions." As needed, if any of these codes overlapped with other codes that were relevant to the experiences of role strain, these were also considered (e.g., role conflict due to basic roles, such as race or gender, typically overlapped with segments coded "Influential Officer Identities;" role overload often had to be understood in terms of "Departmental Resources").

Research question #3 (*How do police officers navigate role strain and prioritize competing demands?*): To examine research question #3, analyses focused on the codes of "Responses to Role Strain" and the associated codes of "Role Overload," "Role Conflict," and "Role Transitions." Additionally, I examined any segments that were double-coded with "Responses to Role Strain" that offered complementary contextualizing information or insight into directional processes as perceived by officers (e.g., the codes captured under "Organization-Level Influences on Officers," "Mental Health," and "Role Orientation towards Police Work"). This additional analytic step allowed me to gain a preliminary sense of the organizational variables influencing role strain, officer-perceived outcomes associated with role strain, and the interplay between officers' experiences of role strain and their attitudes and behaviors towards the public.

The subsamples of data used to answer each research question were complemented with demographic, professional and organizational characteristics from officers' recruitment questionnaires in order to examine constructs of interest across settings and demographic groups. Comparisons between groups were primarily done by leveraging MaxQDA's internal analytic

features, such as summary tables, that allow examination of coded segments and summaries

sorted by demographic, professional and organizational variables. In some cases, data were

exported into excel spreadsheets which allowed further flexibility in ordering the data matrices.

Findings

General Presentation of Findings

Findings are organized by research question, and within research question, by cross-

sectional themes common to many officers' narratives. This approach is used to highlight over-

arching trends that may lend themselves to a broader theoretical understanding of the functional

expansion of the police role and to identify likely sites for organizational intervention. Assertions

are supported with quotations or condensed participant case studies. Participants are designated

by the abbreviation "Ofc." (i.e., officer), the number of their interview based on interview order,

and a standard set of additional characteristics of the officer (see Table 1). For example, the

designation "Ofc. 38 (male, Asian, 15 yrs., 1000+ officers)" would describe Ofc. 38 who is an

Asian male with 15 years of professional experience in policing, who operates in a department

with over 1000 sworn officers). As relevant to a particular analysis, characteristics included in

parentheses after the identifier may be customized to better reflect core issues inherent to a set of

findings. For example, in sections illustrating identity-based influences, I include basic

demographic details about the officers; in the section highlighting organizational influences,

further organizational data points are provided.

Before detailing my findings, I present several important caveats to this analysis. When I

first developed this study, I believed that the research questions presented distinct but related

concepts that required examination. However, during the analytic process, it became apparent

that my research questions had been shaped by the assumptions underlying existing academic

work and did not reflect officers' self-reported experiences. Overall, the issues under

examination are more deeply interrelated than expected, which presented a challenge when

determining how to organize the results. For this reason, to avoid redundancy, I describe relevant

findings under the research question *most* applicable to the particular issue under examination

and direct readers to relevant other sections of the dissertation whenever necessary to understand

the mechanisms presented.

Secondly, while I try to parse each area of discussion as discretely as possible, officers'

narratives are embedded in complex nested layers of context (i.e., organizational context,

community context, idiosyncratic experiences of trauma and stress) that make it challenging to

fully untangle the directionality of the relationships under examination. This is particularly

notable when considering officers' orientations to their work along with their experiences of role

strain (e.g., do experiences of role strain push officers' proactive policing approaches, or do

officers' proactive policing orientation shape experiences of role strain?). In short, officers'

experiences can never be fully isolated because they all influence each other and have been

shaped by years of professional and personal experiences.

Officers' Orientation to their Role

In order to examine research question #1 (*How do police officers understand their role in
relation to the citizens they serve?*), I first overview notable general findings of this line of

inquiry and then propose an explanatory model that encompasses the dynamic processes that

shape officers' orientations to their work and associated role behaviors.

No Officers Indicate a One-Dimensional Role Orientation

Unlike what would be expected based on existing conceptualizations of police role

orientation in the academic literature, not a single officer explicitly indicated a defining

preference for one particular policing approach that served as an unchanging lens by which they relate to their work. When asked directly to provide five discrete words that, to them, encapsulate the function of the police officer, the majority of officers (27/48) provided descriptors highlighting several distinct aspects of the police function. Notably, the words used by officers emphasized proactive care for the public and communities (34/48; e.g., "mentor," "community caretaker") over reactive aspects of their work (18/48; e.g., "enforce law," "investigation"). Moreover, after listing different aspects of the police role, several officers explicitly emphasized the expansive nature of their work. For example, one officer specified the police function in terms of the descriptors "social workers," "children service workers," "EMTs," and "psychiatrists" and then went on to say "I mean, we have to deal with everything" (Ofc. 11, male, White, 14 yrs., <49 officers). Another officer essentialized the police function with the phrases "representative of the community," "provider -- not just for their family, but for the whole community," "a counselor," "a social worker," "a teacher" and then elaborated that provider is most important "because it's broad. The community needs so much, and so much of what the community needs falls on the police department" (Ofc. 40, male, White, 12 yrs., <49 officers).

In addition to concrete descriptors of various aspects of the police role, many officers extended their response to this interview question in ways that had not been anticipated, for example, by also emphasizing specific personality characteristics that make for an effective officer (14/48; e.g., "proactive," "compassionate"), by highlighting aspirational moral and ethical competencies that are seen to be at the core of police work (9/48; e.g., "loyalty," "honor"), or even by providing descriptive adjectives capturing characteristics or perceptions of police work (7/48; e.g., "under-appreciated," "stressful").

The Meaning of Protection. Overall, the most common conceptualization of the police function pertained to ideas around protection, guardianship and preservation of safety. For example, 16 officers used the terms "protection" or "protect," two officers described their function in terms of being a "guardian" of the community, and one officer described his mission as "keep[ing] evil people from harming good people" (Ofc. 48, male, White, 6 yrs., 50-99 officers). Additionally, eight officers emphasized their role in preserving peace, life and safety.

However, a closer examination of officers' elaborations of the protective aspect of the police role shows that officers consider the construct in a number of different ways, particularly in terms of the strategies they consider supportive of this mission. For example, several officers discuss protection in terms of coming to the aid of vulnerable individuals who are being maltreated by others (e.g., children, the elderly). This orientation emphasizes the response to injury/abuse that has already occurred, for example, in terms of investigative procedures and the apprehension of perpetrators. Other officers conceptualized protection by viewing themselves as proactive guardians of their community. One officer said: "It is my function to protect all of these people in this little fish bowl. That is my job. From the highest to the low. I would take a bullet for anybody in here because that's my duty and that's my responsibility" (Ofc. 15, female, White, 11 yrs., <49 officers).

Moreover, even officers who do not explicitly frame their function in terms of protection discuss the protective aspect of their role. For example, a highway patrol trooper described enforcement goals of tickets and arrests. However, upon asking for elaboration on how he sets such enforcement goals, he explained that his goals are driven by the fatal wrecks to which he recently responded:

> If I have to work a fatality on a certain road today, tomorrow I'm about to hammer that road, as hard as possible...'cause as a citizen or a civilian, any time you see blue lights,

the first thing you normally do is make sure you're buckled up and you look at your speed" (Ofc. 7, male, Black/African American, 10 yrs., 250-499 officers).

Similarly, after explaining that many more people die because of driving under the influence of drugs or alcohol than for other reasons, a sheriff's deputy in a large urban department explained that he enjoys proactive traffic enforcement and "has no problem taking people to jail…'cause I possibly save them or save somebody else on the road" (Ofc. 9, male, Biracial, 11 yrs., 250-499 officers). Both of these officers understand their presence and enforcement efforts in terms of an important strategy for protecting both the general public as well as the individuals engaged in irresponsible behaviors on the road.

Goals for Police Work and Interactions with the Public. Beyond being asked to explicitly outline aspects of the police function, participants were also asked to elaborate any particular goals they considered upon going to work (*"Tell me a bit about how you approach your work as a police officer? Do you have specific goals for your work or for your interactions with the public?"*). Officers outlined a range of goals for their work; however, the vast majority of officers specified goals for maintaining or building positive relationships with the public. For example, officers centered their goals for work on having generally positive interaction with the public (16/48), emphasizing procedurally just strategies in their interactions with the public (12/48), or desiring to help a member of the public (10/48). Eight officers specified a primary goal related to maintaining their own safety, for example stating that their goal was "just to come back home," (Ofc. 48, male, White, 6 yrs., 50-99 officers). Only six officers described any enforcement goals for their work. Notably, each of the six officers who indicated enforcement goals, contextualized such goals in terms of broader societal benefits derived from enforcement. For example, four of the six officers specified that their enforcement goals were guided by a desire to protect the lives of individuals, as indicated by Ofc. 7 and Ofc. 9 quoted earlier (e.g.,

the innocent victim of a drunk driver; the individual driving under the influence), and two

participants indicated that enforcement helps to make communities safer. Interestingly, no officer

specified enforcement goals for enforcement's sake. Finally, several officers specified their

priorities in terms of concrete work demands (e.g., answering calls, addressing their investigative

case load).

Role Behaviors Often Do Not Reflect Role Orientation

While officers may indicate preferred goals and approaches to their work, the behaviors

that are described in officers' narratives do not always align with stated role orientations, which

may indicate that role orientation, as it has been previously conceptualized, is a poor indicator of

the types of behaviors in which an officer is likely to engage in relation to the public. Role

behaviors appear to be shaped not only by officers' foundational beliefs about the police role but

also by role strain resulting from organizational pressures and situational constraints that

characterize a call or interaction. A detailed overview of officers' experiences of role strain and

how they may shape officer behavior in relation to the public is outlined in the presentation of

findings pertaining to role strain (beginning on <u>page 81</u>).

Organizational Pressures. Two primary organizational issues emerged from officers'

narratives that were described to shape their ability to engage in the role orientation they prefer,

including the formal and informal directives for policing that were communicated by the agency

and its supervisors, as well as various workload pressures, both of which result in role strain.

Incoherent organizational priorities refer to tensions between formal and informal policing

directives, ill-conceived or low-quality training that does not adequately prepare officers, and

performance measures by which officers are evaluated that are poorly aligned with stated

priorities. Workload pressures are driven by inadequate departmental resources and the challenge

of managing competing work demands. Inadequate departmental resources are typically related

to understaffing, lack of financial support for stated priorities, inadequate equipment, lack of

specialized training/expertise, and ineffective supervisors or workers. The challenge of

navigating competing work demands is typically related to high call volume/caseloads, high

administrative loads, concurrent high-priority or urgent responsibilities, temporary workload

increases, assignment of ancillary duties, as well as the related psychological challenge of

transitioning between tasks.

Situational Features. On top of various organizational pressures, officers' narratives

also revealed that a broad range of situational features can further filter role behaviors in ways

that are contrary to an officer's preferred policing approach. The range of situational influences

is vast and includes issues such as officers' perception of danger or unpredictability of a

situation; the level of previous familiarity with the individual or the community within which the

interaction takes place; knowledge of an individual's previous justice involvement; the perceived

vulnerability of the individual, and the individual's mental health. It is beyond the scope of this

dissertation to highlight the influence of each of the situational factors that may shape police-

public contact (many of which have been addressed in previous literature); however, there are

several such features that are interesting to consider as drivers of role strain. Situational features

that emerged from the narratives of officers that were described to increase role strain and shape

role behaviors were public expectation for the police function, the interaction of officers'

identities with the identities of citizens, various psychological processes on the part of the

officer, and jurisdictional challenges.

A Prototypical Example of Organizational and Situational Influences on Role

Behaviors. The influence of organizational and situational constraints on officers' role behaviors

will be discussed in greater detail in later sections of this dissertation. However, to illustrate the overarching point that role orientation does not necessarily prescribe specific role behaviors, I provide an example of how various types of role strain may shape role behaviors by considering a prototypical White, male officer who has a primary goal of building positive relationships with members of the public (as most officers in this study did) and who is given a vague directive by his department to engage with community members (a common directive). The officer may face several constraints that shape his ability to pursue the engagement directive he was given.

Surprisingly despite the fact that 85% of the officers worked in departments that purported community policing missions, almost all officers described that supervisory directives typically emphasized generating tickets and arrests, and no officer indicated that there was a formal mechanism by which their community engagement efforts were evaluated in performance measures. Moreover, even when an agency's priorities supported officers' engagement in the community, workload pressures (e.g., understaffing, high volume) could present additional obstacles to officers' engagement in such efforts. Finally, depending on where the officer patrols, he may contend with other issues. For example, in a community with historically poor relations with the police, a White officer may attempt to engage community members in non-enforcement interactions but find that he is received with fear, distrust or cynicism, making it challenging to build high-quality engagement with the public. In the face of a range of barriers to his engagement with community members (i.e., supervisory directives for enforcement activity; high workloads; a community that is not receptive to his efforts), this officer has fewer opportunities to engage the public, may lose the motivation to attempt to do so, and may be constantly weighing whether such behavior will benefit him professionally.

The prototypical example given above represents several very prominent and common constraints that officers described. Overall, experiences of strain that may direct officers' role behaviors in ways that are contrary to an officer's stated role orientation stem from various aspects of the organizational and community contexts, situational features of an incident or interaction, as well as from idiosyncratic officer-level factors.

Role Orientation Can Change Over Time

The majority of officers identified explicit motivations that led them to the law enforcement profession as well as specific goals for their work. While some officers mentioned that they were drawn to law enforcement for pragmatic reasons, such as financial stability and solid benefits, most officers focused on their desire to serve a greater good, have a positive impact on their communities, and help people as their primary goals for joining the profession. One officer described his motivations succinctly as: "[I] wanted to make the community better. To serve my city…I [felt] like I should give back to the city that I grew up in" (Ofc. 1, male, Asian, 11 yrs., 50-99 officers). In some cases, officers' service-orientation derived from a family history of law enforcement (14/48), but other officers described parents who were teachers, social workers or members of the U.S. armed forces. Regardless of officers' family backgrounds, the desire to serve a greater good was often described as a fundamental aspect of family life in which officers grew up. One officer described an over-arching philosophy of service reinforced by her parents: "We're a very service-oriented family…one of the things that [my mother] told me…was, 'try to leave the world a better place than when you entered.' And then another was, 'Pay rent on earth'…All these things stayed with me" (Ofc. 21, female, White, 17 yrs., 1000+ officers). Other officers looked back on formative childhood experiences as the driver of a deeply-held, personal motivation for police work that served as the impetus for trying to improve

people's lives. For example, two officers elaborated experiences of domestic violence in their

homes, which led them to want to prevent such violence in other people's lives. One officer said:

"I must have said to myself 'I will never let this happen ever again to anybody else.'" (Ofc. 22,

female, White, 27 yrs., 1000+ officers). Another officer described growing up in a neighborhood

characterized by high levels of poverty, crime and violence, deciding to become a police officer

because "I want[ed] to do something about it" (Ofc. 43, female, White, 10 yrs., 100-249

officers).

Officers' Fundamental Assumptions Guide Their Role Orientation. Whatever

officers' early motivations for police work and concurrent expectations for how they would

perform their duties, officers' beliefs about and orientations toward their work were founded in

idiosyncratic assumptions about the world and their ability to affect positive changes. To borrow

from Janoff-Bulman's conceptualization of the assumptive world (Janoff-Bulman, 1992), a

normative assumptive world is built on a basic understanding of the world as *benevolent* and

meaningful, and a sense of self as *worthy*. According to Janoff-Bulmann (1992), an overall

impression of the world as *benevolent* involves beliefs about the impersonal world (i.e., "the

world is a good place and misfortune is relatively uncommon") and the benevolence of people

(i.e., people are "good, helpful, kind and caring," pp 118-119). The *meaningfulness of the world*

is determined by a perception that outcomes are distributed justly by non-random, controllable

processes. Finally, the sense of the self as *worthy* is determined by an overall evaluation of the

self as moral, decent, and deserving of positive outcomes in life. This assumption enables an

individual to maintain a sense of the controllability of outcomes.

While officers did not typically make an explicit link between their assumptive world and

an associated role orientation, evidence for this link can be found in officers' discussions of how

their beliefs about policing changed over time. When officers described their motivations for and

entry into police work in terms of a specific impact they hoped to achieve (e.g., a desire to help

people or improve their communities), such goals were founded on assumptions reflecting the

three principles of Janoff-Bulmann's (1992) assumptive world: (1) people are generally good; (2)

outcomes are controllable and distributed justly; and (3) they themselves are moral, decent and

deserving of positive outcomes. However, in the course of their work, officers' basic assumptions

about the world and themselves were often shaped in unexpected ways by their experiences on

the job and the realities of police work, which could serve to either reinforce assumptive beliefs

or force officers to re-evaluate and change such baseline assumptions. As one officer stated: "you

cannot see and do what we do every day and not change who you are, or change how you act off

of it…it can't happen. It's physically impossible, you know" (Ofc. 34, male, White, 13 yrs., 100-

249 officers).

       Experiences That Reinforce Positive Assumptions About the World. Positive

assumptions about the world and the capacity to impact positive outcomes in the community

were consistently associated with narratives that suggested the officer was more balanced and

well-adjusted. Positive work-related experiences that allowed officers to (1) see the kindness and

goodness of people, (2) engage in behaviors and decision-making that helped officers feel a

sense of control over their ability to help, and (3) that strengthened feelings of themselves as

moral and decent people reinforced positive assumptions of police work. For example, having

the opportunity to engage with the public outside of enforcement activities was described as an

important mechanism to help officers remain grounded in their beliefs about the goodness and

deservingness of people. In fact, many officers describe explicit efforts to engage in such non-

enforcement efforts by seeking out positive interactions with the public and explicitly working to

humanize citizen-counterparts.

> I usually surround myself with community members. You know, it keeps me balanced.
> It's not *them against us*; the majority is doing well. It's a small demographic of the
> population [that is not doing well] and so you hate the act, not the person. You learn to
> hold responsible but see the hurt person behind it, and you can do that when you're
> engaged in the community and you keep yourself grounded that "these are humans with
> real life problems" (Ofc. 36, male, White, 25 yrs., 250-499 officers).

Another crucial component of maintaining positive assumptions about people and police

work was an officer's perception of their ability to affect positive change. Many officers

explicitly state that affecting positive change is most police officers' fundamental goal for their

work:

> I think we all go into it wanting to make a positive difference in someone's life. I think
> that's part of the stars and glitter when we first go into police work ready to set the world
> on fire and right all the wrongs and do away with all the evil (Ofc. 14, male, White, 32
> yrs., 100-249 officers).

Sometimes, specific events very acutely allowed an officer to witness how their intervention

helped someone in need. For example, one officer described an impactful incident in which he

responded to a break-in, where the family had hidden themselves in a bathroom while the burglar

had barricaded himself in an adjoining room. In a dramatic response, as the suspect attempted to

enter the bathroom, officers kicked-in the door to the room in which the suspect had barricaded

himself, apprehended the suspect, and came to the family's aid. The officer described:

> …me being a father and whatnot, I immediately went to the little girl. My goal was to get
> her out of this situation as quickly as possible. And, you know, just seeing the relief and
> everything on the mother and father's face, that: they are okay. Their little girl is okay
> (Ofc. 42, male, White, 13 yrs., 500-999 officers).

In this narrative we see that the officer's action concretely aided a family in need, thereby

reinforcing a sense of agency and control over improving the outcomes of the public. Notable in

this quote is also the personal connection that the officer makes in terms of being a father. The

issue of how officers' idiosyncratic connections to a particular incident or call can shape their

experiences will be discussed in greater detail in the relevant section on officer-level influences

on role strain (beginning on page 118).

Experiences That Foster Negative Assumptions About the World. Unfortunately,

many officers described that as they proceeded through their career, they were exposed to

negative events that forced them to re-evaluate and redefine basic assumptions about the world,

their work, and their capacities as officers. Many different types of negative events were

discussed by officers, but in general they can be encompassed in terms of the chronic exposure to

secondary trauma and human misery, and one-off critical incidents that deeply impact officers.

As one officer put it: "I worked a lot of pretty major events, and each of them kind of change

what you bring home and what you take away from the job and what the job expects of you"

(Ofc. 3, female, Hispanic, 21 yrs., 250-499 officers). The re-evaluation and re-definition of

officers' assumptive world was not always recounted directly; and appeared at times to simply be

a part of officers' efforts to integrate negative experiences in a way that would allow them to

remain in the policing profession and continue to derive meaning from their work.

Challenges to Assumptions About the Benevolence of World and People. One of the

most frequent and prominent assumptive shifts that officers experienced was in their evaluation

of the goodness of people. As one officer explained:

> I've tried to approach this entire experience of being a police officer with the mindset that
> most people are good…But, conflictingly, I know that there are people who are
> determined to hurt police officers. So…every experience I have, I think, changes the
> balance of thinking of people's good and maybe not having my guard as high, versus
> knowing that some people do just want to hurt police officers" (Ofc. 8, male, Asian, 6
> yrs., <49 officers).

At times, singular events could shake officers' core beliefs about the nature of humanity.

However, one of the defining characteristics of police work is that officers regularly respond to

"the worst day of someone's life" (Ofc. 18, Ofc. 34, Ofc. 27), consistently exposing them to the

great suffering of people—often at the hands of others. As one officer put it: "when all you deal

with is, you know, the dregs of life and you don't deal with the positive sides of it, then you

become cynical and bitter" (Ofc. 24, male, Hispanic, 26 yrs., 1000+ officers). Another officer

simply said "it gets to the point where I think we [officers] get jaded sometimes. You know, like

'is there really anybody good out there?'" (Ofc. 42, male, White, 13 yrs., 500-999 officers).

Moreover, officers also voiced that the cynicism they developed led to meaningful changes in

their thinking, in particular in regards to people's motivations and intentions:"

> …you don't really trust anybody the way you used to. You know, you're always skeptical
> about everybody… I wish it wasn't like that because…it just kind of gets in the way of
> everything. Like, you can't think of things in the way you used to think of them (Ofc. 12,
> female, White, 5 yrs., <49 officers).

Another officer said his work has led him to "look at the world completely different. I look at

people and see, most of the time, see everything that they could possibly do or the monsters that

they could be" (Ofc. 11, male, White, 14 yrs., <49 officers). Depending on officers' work

experiences, such changes in the beliefs about the goodness of people could be more or less

extreme. A detective working primarily on child abuse cases described the changes in her

perception of people in a particularly vivid way:

> I never expected…to fully realize the overwhelming evil that is in this world. I just had
> no idea. I was very clueless about it…I mean people think of evil and they think about
> Charles Manson and they think about Hitler and, you know, they think about these people
> that are famous that have done just horrific things…but, it's not just those [people]. You
> know, it's the guy that beats his wife in front of his kids and makes his kids watch…It's
> the people that, you know, rape their granddaughter… I didn't really understand the evil
> that existed until I got into this job…The longer I do this job—and I know this sounds
> horrible and I don't mean it to—the longer I do this job, the more I hate people (Ofc. 15,
> female, White, 11 yrs., <49 officers).

Challenges to Assumptions About the Meaningfulness of the World. Officers also

described overarching shifts in the perceived *meaningfulness* of the world, in particular in terms

of the controllability of events and their perceived ability to affect change in the way they had

envisioned. Such shifts typically derived from the developing understanding that not everyone an

officer encountered in their work would want their help along with a growing frustration about

broader systemic issues that officers are unable to address in their capacity. In some cases,

officers also voiced an acute realization that the decisions they may have to make could result in

significant negative consequences for individuals that extend far beyond the immediate moment.

Several officers described the process of learning over time that that could not always

help people. Often, this was perceived to be due to the nature of the types of calls and incidents

to which officers tended to be called:

> You know, 90 percent of your calls are BS calls and 80 percent of those are probably the same people over and over… and a lot of the people you encounter, you don't get to help them because they're actors, not victims. They're criminals, not victims, and most of the contacts are negative and some people you just can't help and they don't want you there and they hate you just because you got a badge on (Ofc. 14, male, White, 32 yrs., 100-249 officers).

Other times, officers were limited in their capacity to help because the individuals in need of

assistance did not always want to accept the help an officer could offer.

> I really thought that I was going to be helping people daily…You don't have the ability to help the people that need help because most of the time they don't want it. Rather it's, you know, the wife who you've been to the house 15 times for domestic [violence], arrested him 15 times, and on Monday she goes to court says, "oh no I lied. He didn't hit me." … Now, I know that he is beating her and I know that she needs help, but she doesn't want help. So, what am I supposed to do? (Ofc. 11, male, White, 14 yrs., <49 officers)

Officers also voiced significant frustration with the wider justice and mental health

systems with which they interact. For example, one officer described: "We got oppressed people

living in these depressed neighborhoods where opportunities are minimal…It's about actually

trying to make a wholesale change, opposed to just, in effect, putting somebody in jail" (Ofc. 4,

male, Black/African American, 20 yrs., 1000+ officers). They describe the systems as ineffective

and inefficient, making it more difficult for officers to perform their duties in a way that makes

communities safer and helps improve lives. For example, officers may become disillusioned

when individuals are not held accountable for criminal actions:

> …the first couple of times you arrest bad guys you're thinking: "Alright! This is great!" And, then, you see that either the charges get dropped for whatever reason 'cause the victim doesn't cooperate or the prosecutor doesn't think there's enough and, and they're back out two days later…I spent more time doing the paperwork to put you in jail than you spent in jail (Ofc. 41, male, White, 10 yrs., <49 officers).

Another point of frustration is when officers link individuals experiencing a mental health

crisis with appropriate services only to see that the services were inadequate and ill-equipped to

provide lasting improvements for people. One officer described bringing someone in crisis to the

hospital "because they're a danger to themselves and others, and they get released the next day

and we do it again and again until somebody gets hurt" (Ofc. 48, male, White, 6 yrs., 50-99

officers).

Finally, as officers proceed in their careers and see their role as part of the larger systems

within which they operate, they may also come to understand that their own behavior and

decision-making is not sufficient for affecting the change they hope to create, which results in

disillusionment about their capacities as officers and a sense of futility about their work. For

example, they may see that the actions they have to take, even if reasonable and mandated by

law, can have lasting negative impacts on members of the public. One officer explained:

"people's lives depend on you. And you know, not necessarily just their lives, but their well-

being in the future, you know, based on the actions that you take at the time" (Ofc. 5, female,

White, 12 yrs., <49 officers). A concrete example was given by another officer who explained

the double-bind of domestic violence in poor neighborhoods:

> Usually males [in poverty-stricken areas] are the ones that are working. But we take the guy away from the apartment, and now you have the wife and the kids that have no

income. You make things worse sometimes. But it is just the way law is you know…if you leave him there and then he escalates and stabs her…That's a no-win situation, sometimes (Ofc. 1, male, Asian, 11 yrs., 50-99 officers).

Challenges to the Assumptions About the Self as Worthy. The third assumption from which officers approached their work was a sense of worthiness of the self, including a belief in their capacities, morality, and decency. A core aspect of this assumption is a sense of deservingness of positive outcomes, which in the case of police work implies a sense of invulnerability as officers respond to potentially risky situations. Each incident characterized by the threat to an officer's physical safety "makes you a little more cognizant of your own mortality" (Ofc. 14, male, White, 32 yrs., 100-249 officers) and can precipitate substantive, longer-term changes to how officers perceived their sense of safety.

> [When] I was a new cop, I also was guilty of not realizing how real it can be, for lack of a better word, how dangerous it can be. You know, I will admit, I had the thought, you know: "…It's, you know, one out of however-many officers that get involved in stuff. Well, what would be the odds of that happening here? This little old here…I'll be safe, probably." And, you come to realize that: shit happens everywhere (Ofc. 48, male, White, 6 yrs., 50-99 officers).

A particularly common shift in officers' perceptions of risk followed events such as a line-of-duty death, officer-involved shooting or involvement in a life-threatening situation. Interestingly, it was not necessarily the threat to life itself that shifted an officer's assumptions about their vulnerability, but also the perception of control they perceived over such a situation. Ofc. 48, mentioned above, had experienced two threats to life in separate officer-involved shootings, one of which was an ambush-style shooting. After elaborating on the specifics of the second shooting (the ambush-shooting), the officer explained the impact the event had on him: "I literally believe every call somebody can kill me… I'm way more concerned with staying safe and watching for any kind of threat and just realizing that at any moment it could be an ambush" (Ofc. 48). Interestingly, he distinguished the feelings after the ambush from the previous

incident, clarifying: "…which was strange because my first [shooting] wasn't an ambush. And I felt more safe and more comfortable when I got outside" (Ofc. 48).

In the life-threatening situation where this officer exerted perceived control over the outcome, his beliefs about his competencies and ability to respond in a crisis were strengthened, whereas in a similarly threatening situation where he was unable to proactively protect himself, he was left with nightmares and other self-described PTSD symptoms as well as an acute sense of vulnerability.

Role Orientation May Change When Fundamental Assumptions Shift. When officers' assumptive world shifts, their orientation to their work may also change meaningfully. To illustrate this point, two case studies are presented below.

Ofc. 39: The Violent Death of a Child Precipitates an Enforcement Orientation. Ofc. 39 (male, Hispanic, 38 yrs., 1000+ officers) recounted an event he experienced early in his career of which he said "if I could change one thing in my life, that would have been it." He described meeting up with his team prior to enforcing a search warrant when, across the street, he saw an individual with whom he had had previous interactions and whom he knew to have an outstanding narcotics warrant. However, the individual was with his wife and daughter, and so Ofc. 39 decided not to enforce the warrant at that moment. He thought: "'You know what? I'm not gonna do that [arrest him] because I hate to arrest him in front of his wife and child.' I said, 'I'll see him again, probably tomorrow. I'll grab him then.'" However, later that night, Ofc. 39 learned on the evening news that the same individual had been taken into custody for murdering his daughter. He described:

> …it was the worst feeling, one of the worst feelings I've ever had in my life. And that's something that I think about to this day. Had I scooped him up…and not cared that I was gonna embarrass him in front of his family…had I scooped him up and not taken into consideration that he would have been embarrassed in front of his child or in front of his

wife…she would still be alive today, you know?...He beat her to death because he was angry at his wife…I don't think she was any older than five years old. He beat her to death with his fists and his feet. He stomped her and he beat her…it was a horrible, horrible feeling… I went through it over and over and over again, thinking, "Is there something else I could have done?" you know. And I could have. I could have grabbed him and turned him over to someone else. I could have had somebody else grab him and take him in for the warrant…But, I tried to show a little consideration for him and his family by not scooping him up like that in front of them, you know. And it backfired. It backfired.

When asked whether this incident changed how he thought about his work, he explained:

I told myself that if the same circumstances arise in the future that I would take the guy into custody. I'm not gonna let anybody get away, you know, and take the chance that they'll do something like that…it seems harsh, but after that, I was leery about giving anybody a break about anything.

In this example, we see how the violent death of a young child has implications for the assumptions of benevolence, meaningfulness and worthiness of the self. First, the crime is horrifically violent and the victim is an innocent young child who is murdered by one of the people who should love her most. Moreover, no action this child might have taken would have rendered a violent death as an appropriate outcome. Taken together, these facts call into question the general benevolence of the world and people, and the meaningfulness of the world. Ofc. 39's response to the murder is to scrutinize his own actions and assume responsibility for the horrific outcome, calling into question his own sense of worthiness. The officer's perception is that if he himself had acted differently, specifically by firmly enforcing the outstanding warrant, he could have prevented the outcome, reinforcing a stronger sense of controllability and responsibility for events. Overall, the murder of this child led Ofc. 39 to reformulate is role orientation by taking a more rigid stance towards enforcement.

Ofc. 7: A Death Notification Precipitates Deeper Emotional Engagement with Work.

Ofc. 7 (male, Black/African American, 10 yrs., 250-499 officers) recounted an experience in which he had to inform the father of a teenage boy that his son had been killed in a car accident.

He described that his typical approach to death notifications involved some psychological

distancing from the event:

> You know, I'm usually kind of just robotic with [a death notification]. I didn't want to get attached, so I was just trying to say what I had to say because—I know it sounds bad, but chances are, the way I looked at it: this person will probably only deal with this maybe one time in their life, whereas me, I'm out there dealing with [death] the next night. So, I never want to be attached to any of this stuff…

However, even though the officer is not able to articulate why this particular interaction unfolded

differently, he describes building a connection with the father and engaging in a deeper way than

he typically would have:

> …you know, dad's home by himself and I just stayed there and we just kind of got to talking and talking. And, it was just kind of weird—the next day I was actually off work and I don't know why I did it, but I went back over to his house and he was there and we just sat on the front porch and we just talked and talked.

The father ended up writing and publishing an article about his experience with the officer and

extending his gratitude for his service, which had a deep and lasting impact on Ofc. 7:

> …this kind of blew my mind to think that, you know, he just lost his son and in the midst of all of that, he was thankful for my service, and wrote about it and told people…And, it took that instance or that event to make the way I do death notifications totally different now. And, it, kind of at the same time, made me feel bad about the [death notifications] I'd done prior to that because, you know, I didn't want to connect with that family. I wanted to just let it be that and [not] get emotionally attached with it. It took that instance for me to realize, like, that that's not natural. It's not human. That did a lot for me...

When I asked what it was about that interaction that was so powerful for him, Ofc. 7 replied:

> I guess it was the fact that he just…before I left, he actually prayed for me. And, it just—I was like "Man, I should be praying for you." Being very spiritual, that just kind of—I don't know why I stayed there so long that night, I really don't. I don't know. But, that night and since then it just…I look at it differently.

In this narrative, the actions of the father had implications for the officer's assumptions of

benevolence, meaningfulness and worthiness of the self. First, despite the painful circumstances

the father was in as he lost his son, he engaged in generous and selfless actions on behalf of the

officer, both in terms of offering prayer (which connected to the officer's spirituality) and in writing the article. These actions felt deeply humanizing to the officer and had implications for his sense of self worthiness. Finally, the father's actions also shifted the officer's assumptions about the meaningfulness of the world by reminding him of his power to connect with and help guide individuals through their moment of crisis. Overall, the events surrounding this death notification led Ofc. 7 to reformulate his role orientation toward engaging in his work in a way that connected him more deeply to the individuals he interacted with.

Role Orientation and Behaviors are Best Understood as a Dynamic Process

To summarize, police officers' role orientations and associated role behaviors are best understood as a dynamic process. While officers may endorse preferred policing approaches, their role orientation is only one factor that shapes role behaviors. As shown above, role behaviors are shaped not only by officers' foundational beliefs about the police role but also by organizational pressures and situational influences that characterize an incident. Moreover, officers' experiences over time may shift their baseline assumptions about the world and themselves in meaningful ways that reorient officers' approaches to their work. As a result of this finding, I propose that current conceptualizations of role orientation that assume the static nature of this process must be re-evaluated. This dissertation proposes a dynamic model of role orientation that is visualized in Figure 1.

Figure 1
The Dynamic Nature of Role Orientation

Role Orientation Continuously Filters Through Various Influences

Role Behavior: Interaction

Proximal Influences — Situational Influences

Priority A: Call-driven Interactions | Priority B: Proactive Interactions

Role Behavior: Approach

Distal Influences — Workload Pressures

Formal & Informal Directives for Police Work

Role Orientation: Preferred Policing Style

Foundational Influences — Officer's Assumptive World

Experiences Over Time

Considering the range of influences on role orientation and role behavior emerging from officers' narratives, the proposed model distinguishes officers' preferred approaches to policing (that are grounded in officers' motivations for police work and assumptive world) from the behaviors they actually engage in, both in terms of the initial approach an officer takes to a situation as well as their behavior within a particular interaction. Moreover, it is necessary to consider the influences on role orientation and role behavior in terms of the various organizational and situational filters that constrain behaviors. A description of the proposed model is provided below:

1. ***Officers' assumptive world*** about the goodness and meaningfulness of the world and their sense of self worthiness ***guide their role orientation, or preferred policing approach.***

2. ***Role orientation is then filtered through various distal influences comprised primarily of organizational factors***, including workload pressures and formal and informal directives for police work. Such distal influences may align with officers' preferred policing style and support officers in engaging in their preferred approach, or they may create strain that has to be resolved by officers. *Workload pressures* are produced by departmental resources and the extent to which officers navigate competing work demands, which in turn determines the extent to which officers' workloads are driven by call response versus proactive behaviors. *Formal and informal directives for police work* prescribe organizational directives for policing (deriving from supervisory priorities, training, and performance measures) that may be more or less aligned with officers' own role orientation. Strain resulting from distal organizational

influences may be resolved by prioritizing role behaviors that reflect organizational needs and/or priorities even when they are poorly aligned with personal preferences for police work.

3. While distal organizational influences may shape officers' workloads and decision-making about proactive policing priorities, ***each unique situation to which an officer responds, whether in response to a dispatched call or initiated otherwise, is characterized by proximal influences, including situational features that may further shape role behaviors within interactions***. Situational features of interactions are wide-ranging and includes officers' perception of danger or unpredictability of a situation; the level of previous familiarity with the individual or the community within which the interaction takes place; knowledge of an individual's previous justice involvement; the perceived vulnerability of the individual; the individual's mental health; public expectation for the police function; the interaction of officers' identities with the identities of citizens; psychological processes on the part of the officer; and jurisdictional challenges.

4. Finally, ***an officer's role orientation, which is founded on their assumptive beliefs, may shift over time as the officer experiences events that challenge baseline assumptions***. Events that are most likely to result in shifts to officers' assumptive world are critical incidents and the chronic exposure to secondary trauma.

In the process outlined above, the proposed dynamic model of role orientation acknowledges that police officers have preferred orientations to their work while accounting for a range of influences that meaningfully shape behaviors in interaction with the public.

Officers Describe Meaningful Experiences of Role Strain

The most notable findings related to the examination of research question #2 (*To what extent and in what ways do police officers experience role strain?*), are the generally prominent perceptions of role strain that officers describe. Every single officer in this study described experiences of role strain and the vast majority recounted high levels of role strain that meaningfully shape their work experiences in negative ways. Moreover, role strain may be precipitated by organizational characteristics, community context, the situational features of an interaction and officer-level influences. Of course, multiple themes of strain may characterize an officer's work experience at any given time.

To summarize the findings pertaining to experiences of role strain effectively, I do not outline findings based on the *type* of role strain. Instead, I examined all coded segments across each type of role strain in order to identify broader cross-cutting themes, and organize the themes by levels of the socioecological context. This approach helps to avoid cumbersome descriptions of closely related issues that happen to appear in narratives as different types of strain. For example, officers may describe role strain related to the psychological transition between different aspects of their work (e.g., role transition) and the challenge of managing multiple high-priority responsibilities (e.g., role conflict); however, for ease of readability and comprehension, such instances are captured under a broader theme of "Competing Work Demands."

Role Strain is Primarily Driven by Officers' Organizational Environments

A broad range of characteristics of the organizational environments are associated with officers' experiences of role strain. Overall, organizational influences on role strain can categorized into three main themes, including: (1) incoherent organizational priorities, (2)

inadequate departmental resources, (3) excessive workloads. Each organizational theme of role

strain and its linked categories are visualized in Table 2.

Table 2
Aspects of the Organizational Environment That Drive Role Strain

Theme	Categories
Incoherent organizational priorities	Tension between formal and informal policing directives
	Training that is poorly aligned with organizational goals
	Misaligned performance measures
Inadequate departmental resources	Understaffing
	Lack of financial support for stated priorities
	Inadequate equipment
	Lack of specialized training/expertise within a unit
	Ineffective supervision or coworkers
Competing work demands	High call volume/caseloads
	High administrative loads
	Prioritizing multiple high-priority or urgent responsibilities
	Incident-to-incident transitions
	Temporary workload increases
	Assignment of duties ancillary to primary work role

Incoherent Organizational Priorities. Incoherent priorities for police work can derive

from several sources, including tensions between formal and informal policing directives,

training that is poorly aligned with organizational goals, and misaligned performance measures.

Tension Between Formal and Informal Policing Directives. Many officers experienced

strain due to inconsistencies in supervisory directives. Often, such role strain stemmed from

tensions between formal agency goals and informal supervisory directives. As mentioned above,

85% of officers in this study (*n*=41) worked in agencies that purported a formal community-

policing mission; however, few officers felt concretely supported in building positive,

collaborative relationships with the public. Instead, officers described agency priorities that centered on "numbers," "activity," and "stats," (i.e., generating tickets and arrests). Such enforcement priorities could result from institutional failures to reorient operations to accommodate community policing missions, supervisory preferences for enforcement, or even political overreach that meaningfully shapes organizational approaches. For example, one supervisor in a large urban department described the cultural shifts that occurred in her agency specifically in terms of the challenge of re-orienting supervisory and officer behavior as policing priorities changed. As formal directives shifted to community policing from enforcement-based strategies, she explained that: "… the top [agency leadership] was telling the cops, like, 'look, we want quality work, we don't care about activity [tickets and arrests],' but then still had your commanding officers penalizing people for lower than what they expected activity" (Ofc. 21, female, urban jurisdiction, local PD, 1000+ officers). In this case, line officers were receiving incoherent directives they then had to manage and reconcile.

      Training That Is Poorly Aligned with Organizational Goals. Officers also often felt that their training poorly aligned with the realities of their work. Considering the community policing orientation of the agencies in which participants of this study operated, it is particularly notable that not a single officer described having received any training covering the relationship-building aspect of their duties, though several officers explicitly mentioned that such training would be able to prepare officers to better engage the community. For example, one officer noted: "There are things that we do that are more community-oriented, but I feel like on the general day-to-day thing, there's no like community policing training or anything like that" (Ofc. 16, female, mixed jurisdiction, sheriff's office, 100-249 officers). In general, the approach to training was perceived as unsystematic and disorganized, with several officers describing that the training in their

department was typically not guided by specific priorities, and instead simply served to meet

mandated minimum requirements. One officer described a yearly ritual when her department's

administration pushed to complete training requirements:

> It seems like in October, November, December is when the administration will start scrambling and realizing that there's, you know, seven officers that haven't had any training at all this year. And then at that point, they'll throw you in a ridiculous class that really…it has nothing to do with their jobs. I mean, it does, but... It could have been better (Ofc. 5, female, rural jurisdiction, local police office, <49 officers).

Another officer described that the training in his agency was primary directed by the need to

"check that box" and was low-quality: "…the training comes in the form of, 'Hey, watch this

video. Hey, go to your computer and watch this video. Ok. We're done. Yes, we trained them on

that.' And that doesn't train anybody" (Ofc. 24, male, suburban jurisdiction, local PD, 1000+

officers)

>> *Misaligned Performance Measures*. Agency priorities were also typically not adequately

reflected in how the performance of officers was measured and evaluated. For example, despite

the fact that most officers operated in agencies with stated community policing missions, not a

single officer described that their department's process for performance evaluations included

systematic mechanisms by which community engagement was considered. Instead, the majority

of officers described a departmental reliance on performance measures that evaluated officers

based on enforcement activity that did not consider community-engagement efforts, which was

quite frustrating to some officers: "I used to get a little frustrated when I'm like, 'I'm out doing all

this good stuff nobody notices. Nobody cares'" (Ofc. 33, male, urban jurisdiction, local PD,

1000+ officers). However, beyond frustration, misaligned performance measures may also

explicitly work against the very community-policing goals that agencies are claiming, for

example by directly altering officers' role behaviors in ways that are counter to building

collaborative relations with the public. For example, when asked what the department could do to support officers in engaging positively with community members, one officer said: "By not concentrating so much on evaluating you based on your numbers, tickets and arrests, 'cause that's a big stressor for some guys... Like, you know: 'Man I don't have time for this. I gotta get out and hunt up some tickets and some arrests.' That's why they're driven and that's not a reason to be driven to do that" (Ofc. 14, male, urban jurisdiction, local PD, 100-249 officers).

Inadequate Departmental Resources. Officers described a number of ways in which a lack of resources could cause experiences of role strain. Inadequate resources were most prominently felt in terms of understaffing, which had many collateral effects on officers' professional experiences (e.g., a call-driven workload, mandated overtime, poor work/life balance). However, officers also discussed a lack of financial support for stated agency priorities, inadequate equipment, insufficient training or expertise within specialized units, and ineffective supervisors or coworkers.

Understaffing. Many officers in this study mentioned understaffing in their agency as the primary reason for high workloads. One officer described: "We're so understaffed that there's times where…we're coming out of roll call and we're ten calls in a hole. And it's just me and another officer working that area because we don't have enough officers" (Ofc. 45, male, urban jurisdiction, local PD, 1000+ officers). At times, staffing issues that cause strain for officers are temporary. For example, officers who are unable to work due to illnesses, injuries, military leave, participation in training, or pregnancy, may not be replaced on a short-term basis. Similarly, it may take a little time to replace an officer who has been promoted away from patrol resulting in shortages on the officer's shift. More concerning are chronic staffing shortages. Chronic understaffing was a prominent issue discussed among officers in this study; however,

the ways by which agencies arrived at a chronically understaffed state differed. For example,

understaffing could be the result of high turnover, a string of retirements, the challenge of

recruiting new officers (compounded by an onerous recruitment process), low shift-minimums,

or increased workloads without strategic staffing adjustments. In some cases, a lower staffing

level may simply become the "new normal" in an agency when an agency was not able to

increase staffing even after concerted efforts. Officers link understaffing with chronic role

overload, which is described to have a negative influence on the quality of their professional

experiences. One officer described his feelings of role overload and then elaborated:

> And, a good chunk of that [overload] is just from running short staffed for an extended
> period of time. Doing it for a shift or two is really no big deal—somebody takes off
> Saturday, you just run a little light. But, when you're doing that for four, five months at a
> time, where nobody can take vacation and nobody can take time off…then, you're just
> responding to calls because you're so short staffed. (Ofc. 41, male, suburban jurisdiction,
> local PD, <49 officers)

Notably, as Ofc. 41 mentions above, chronic understaffing also leads to a call-driven workload

that directly conflicts with officers' community-engagement directives.

    Lack of Financial Support for Stated Priorities. Even though departments or supervisors

may have clear priorities and directives related to officers' responsibilities, at times, those

directives do not receive adequate financial support from the agency. It is particularly interesting

to consider such misalignment in light of agencies' community policing missions. For example,

while financial support for community-policing efforts may not be considered critical to support

key aspects of the police function, we might expect that agencies would allocate resources to

support officers in their efforts to build positive relationships with the public. However, patrol

officers highlighted a general lack of financial support for their community-engagement efforts.

In fact, a substantial number of officers described that they had previously used their own

personal resources to support their community policing efforts (10/48 officers), for example, by

purchasing stuffed animals or stickers for children, or by providing aid to community members

in need (5/48 officers), for example by buying a meal or necessary item. At times, even large

community events organized by the police agency were in reality supported by the personal

resources of officers:

> We do National Night Out [a national community-police event] every year and we do a
> free barbecue chicken meal every year. The officers all chip in to pay for the chicken and
> we usually have other local people that try to get involved and help and they usually
> provide the sides. The officers are—we ourselves pay for the chicken (Ofc. 15, female,
> rural jurisdiction, local PD, <49 officers).

Inadequate Equipment. Some officers described inadequate equipment, resulting in

significant stress and a lessened ability to perform their work to the standard to which they

aspired. At times, the role strain officers described as resulting from a lack of resources included

strain related to their personal safety. For example, in small poorly-resourced departments,

something as basic a bulletproof vest was at times paid for directly by the officer. One officer

simply offered: "I got an expired [vest] on right now (Ofc. 15, female, rural jurisdiction, local

PD, <49 officers). Other times, the lack of necessary and properly-maintained equipment

resulted in compromises that were felt to diminish the efficiency or quality of their work. For

example, an investigator in a small, rural department described that her ability to perform high-

quality investigations was regularly impeded by budgetary constraints (Ofc. 5, female, rural

jurisdiction, local police office, <49 officers). Another officer felt that her ability to perform

basic enforcement duties were severely hampered by inadequate car maintenance. While her

department prioritized the outside appearance of patrol cars, the reality was that the computers

inside the cars were not functional and did not allow her to run plates, a necessary component of

a traffic stop. As such, she had to rely on dispatch to provide her with information about the car,

causing tension:

> You make the car look nice and then the public doesn't know that you can't write them a ticket because the computer in your car doesn't work. You can't run a plate because the car doesn't work. You could call it to 911…[but] you kind of get an attitude if you keep running plates through them (Ofc. 16, female, mixed jurisdiction, sheriff's office, 100-249 officers).

Lack of Specialized Training/Expertise Within a Unit. While officers typically felt reasonably well-trained and prepared upon graduating from the police academy and beginning work in a patrol unit, the transition to specialized units could result in role overload as officers grappled with their new responsibilities. Such perceptions of role overload were amplified when officers had not been adequately trained for their new role or if the other members of the unit did not have sufficient expertise to guide the officer through their new assignment. A detective in a small urban department described the unusual situation that occurred in his agency when most of the Criminal Investigations Division (CID) retired or left his agency due to a disagreement about their contract. As detective services became virtually non-existent, resulting in public outcry, multiple officers were promoted to CID:

> So, now we have like nine detectives, but none of us had any training whatsoever. And the two guys ahead of us, one was only a year up, so he only had a year experience. The other one has a few years' experience, but, I mean, he's not in a position to be able to train nine new guys (Ofc. 25, male, urban jurisdiction, local PD, 50-99 officers).

Notably, it was in this context that the newly-minted detective was assigned his first homicide case, just days after his promotion, without having been trained and without significant guidance from more senior officers: "I go to the detective bureau, and the overload of information within the first few weeks…I *felt* it every day for probably the first year. My head hurt more than normal; it never went off" (Ofc. 25).

Ineffective Supervision or Coworkers. The quality of supervision and effectiveness of coworkers is associated with perceptions of strain. General poor leadership quality, micro-management, poor adherence to the chain of command, ineffective supervisory structures, lack of

accountability, and supervisors who were out of touch with the work realities on the ground were all seen to amplify role strain. For example, after describing the workload she held in her previous patrol assignments, one officer said: "But more than anything, it was not the workload. It was the shitty bosses" (Ofc. 21, female, urban jurisdiction, local PD, 1000+ officers). A particularly frustrating challenge many officers described having to navigate is poor adherence to the chain of command, where they were receiving multiple, competing directives from various supervisory officers. For example, one officer described an active shooter situation that took place in a public building. He and his team were charged with securing the space while at the same time navigating contradictory messages from the chain of command about opening up the building, with more high-ranking officials advocating for opening up the building while lower-ranking supervisors felt it was premature to do so: "And that right there is a monster confliction of what everyone in the unit and probably most of the department would think would be the right thing to do, and what an executive decides is what he wants to do" (Ofc. 28, male, urban jurisdiction, local PD, 1000+ officers).

Officers also described that ineffective coworkers can result in shifts in the workload that lead to perceptions of role overload. One detective discussed overload due to the investigative caseload in this way: "…as long as everybody's pitching in and doing what they're supposed to be doing, it's manageable. It becomes not manageable, and that's when people start having issues with each other, when somebody's not pulling their weight" (Ofc. 17, male, urban jurisdiction, local PD, 500-999 officers). Another cause of role overload for officers were coworkers who are unwilling to work overtime, thereby pushing overtime to a smaller subset of officers. In one particularly extreme case, an officer described that he "would routinely work 18 to 20 hours a

day…because nobody else would work and [he] just kept working" (Ofc. 25, male, urban jurisdiction, local PD, 50-99 officers).

Competing Work Demands. Managing competing work demands was described to create extensive experiences of role strain. Strain related to competing work demands was primarily driven by (1) high call volume/caseloads, (2) high administrative loads, (3) prioritizing multiple high-priority, urgent responsibilities, (4) challenging psychological transitions between professional responsibilities, (5) temporary workload increases, and (6) the assignment of duties ancillary to officers' primary work role.

High Call Volume/Caseloads. For officers engaged in patrol duties, the most prominent organizational driver of role overload was a workload characterized by a high volume of dispatched calls for service that direct officers' workflow. For example, officers remarked that they often began their shift with a back-log of calls that needed a response. One officer described that "you can come out of roll call and the dispatcher's calling you, calling you to like 'hurry up, hurry up, like, get in your car, let's go'" (Ofc. 22, female, urban jurisdiction, local PD, 1000+ officers). Moreover, in jurisdictions characterized by a high volume of dispatched calls, call volume often defined an officers' entire shift. For example, another officer described that "from the time I mark in to the time I mark out, I'm of course, to a degree, a slave to the radio for calls for service" (Ofc. 3, female, urban jurisdiction, local PD, 250-499 officers).

Similarly, for officers whose work responsibilities are driven by cases (i.e., detectives/CID), the primary driver of role strain was a high caseload, which often led officers to feel that they could not devote as much attention and energy to each case as they wanted to. One officer said: "At some point every day, you have to just say, 'Okay, you have to put this [high-priority] case down and move to the next one.' You know, because those other cases need your

attention too because those other people need your attention too" (Ofc. 40, male, mixed

jurisdiction, local PD, <49 officers). In this quote, please also notice how the officer

linguistically humanizes his "cases" by referencing the "people" that they represent, likely

reflecting the specific type of role conflict the officer experiences.

While the extent to which officers' work experiences are driven by call response or

caseload may depend on several different factors, it is important to distinguish chronically high

workloads from temporary increases in call volume and investigative caseloads. A majority of

officers acknowledge the erratic nature of calls for service such that an otherwise manageable

workload can be interspersed with periods of unusually high call activity. For example, call

volume may temporarily increase during a shift based on the nature of a particularly serious

incident that diverts officers away from regular call response and increases the volume of calls

remaining officers may have to address. However, in some cases, high workloads are more

permanent in nature, for example because of greater service expectations by the public or due to

changes in the local crime rate.

High Administrative Loads. The volume of dispatched calls and caseloads is directly

associated with the administrative load an officer carries—the higher the volume of calls an

officer answers or cases they are responsible for, the more reports they will have to generate. One

officer said: "I mean every job we go to, every radio run we go to, it generates paperwork. So,

the amount of paper we do is just endless" (Ofc. 6, male, urban jurisdiction, local PD, 1000+

officers). Officers also felt that detailed record-keeping is vital to their work and therefore

requires much attention and care: "The judge wasn't there. The jury wasn't there. The grand jury

wasn't there. The prosecutors weren't there. So, all they can go off of is your report. And to do a

proper report takes time, takes detail" (Ofc. 13, male, urban jurisdiction, local PD, <49 officers).

Additionally, the nature of an incident or call may exponentially increase the need for record-keeping. For example, officer responses to scenes with injuries, that result in use of force, or require an arrest will multiply the number of documents an officer has to generate. A state trooper whose work focused on investigating fatal wrecks said: "My goodness, the paperwork. Everything has got to be documented, everything is on paper. A traffic homicide case might have been stitched like a book…there's a lot of administrative work. A lot. (Ofc. 7, male, rural jurisdiction, state agency, 250-499 officers).

The onerous nature of the administrative process can be further compounded by poorly implemented administrative procedures. For example, agencies may rely on poorly-customized reporting software that includes redundant mandatory prompts or may require multiple versions of paperwork that are perceived by officers to be redundant to their duties. In one case, an officer described that it was only in the previous year that his agency switched to an electronic record-keeping system and ended paper reports.

Prioritizing Multiple High-Priority, Urgent Responsibilities. Workloads that put into conflict the range of officers' work responsibilities were another source of role strain. For example, one officer in a medium-sized, urban department voiced frustration when supervisory requests did not consider the limits of officers' capacity to manage competing work demands: "…we can't be doing that, *and* taking all these calls that we're supposed to be taking, *and* making contact with people *and* checking on the businesses, *and* doing all this and doing all that" (Ofc. 27, male, urban jurisdiction, local PD, 250-499 officers). When demands compete, in some agencies, officers describe that their dispatch or supervisors will make determinations about the urgency of each call, relieving the officer of said responsibility. However, most officers described being charged with prioritizing calls themselves, typically considering "whichever fire is burning

the hottest" (Ofc. 17, male, urban jurisdiction, local PD, 500-999 officers). Overall, the informal

strategies officers developed for navigating competing work demands used similar hierarchies

and always prioritizing call response to urgent and life-threatening situations:

> ...our most important thing is calls. Whatever's happening now, we need to respond and take care of. If we have multiple calls stacking up, we're going to prioritize the biggest safety concerns and get to those first. If it's just been busy where we've been handling calls and taking reports but there aren't anything pending, that's our next priority is getting our reports done, prior to anything self-initiated by traffic stop, things like that. (Ofc. 48, male, rural jurisdiction, sheriff's office, 50-99 officers)

However, the decision of how to prioritize calls is not always straight-forward, especially

when multiple urgent or high-priority calls get back-up. At that point things get "iffy… And you

just kind of have to gauge with experience" (Ofc. 48, male, rural jurisdiction, sheriff's office, 50-

99 officers). A similar situation was echoed by another officer: "you got times where it seems

like everything comes in at once and you just kind of got to…triage what you got" (Ofc. 42,

male, urban jurisdiction, local PD, 500-999 officers). Another officer described that such a

situation is "very overwhelming." He continued: "how do you prioritize? That case you can't

really prioritize. You got to just, you know, do your best and, you know, just kind of hope for the

best…Hope everything works out" (Ofc. 6, male, urban jurisdiction, local PD, 1000+ officers).

One officer described: "…once I left a domestic because there was a gun call on the other side of

the city. So, you know, it's kind of weird because you think 'oh you wouldn't want to leave a

domestic'" (Ofc. 16, female, mixed jurisdiction, sheriff's office, 100-249 officers).

The challenge of responding to an incident in which there are many high-priority issues

that need to be addressed at once is exemplified by this supervisor's narrative of a car accident in

which a drunk driver hit and killed several members of a family, with a young child surviving:

> … it shut down a major freeway…It's going on right in the middle of rush hour traffic…You know, number one, the way they kind of have trained us is, you know -- it's just like a person: observe, stop the bleeding, stabilize, know what assets, and then

recovery…And that's kind of the way that you prioritize. You know, what's bleeding right now? What is it that's demanding the most attention right this minute? And, for them, it was the scene. You know, I have three dead individuals in a car. I have a young girl. She's injured but she's not life-threatening. Ok, we've got to get her to the hospital, not that that's my direct concern. That's EMS's and Fire's concern, but I need to send an officer with her to the hospital. I've got traffic that's backing up from every single direction. People yelling and screaming. I've got evidence all over the ground. And, so, it's quickly overwhelming me to be able to supervise this whole thing, and I realized it and quickly picked up the phone, called our watch commander and said, "I need more officers and I need a second supervisor out here to assist me in handling the traffic." And so, you start to learn to delegate very quickly…You know, asking for help from other sectors, asking help from the watch command and then trying to slowly control that situation and…getting the roadway back open again. So, when this incident occurred, you can imagine, I've got: the reports now that I need to be sure are going to who they need to be going to, the family members that are going to need to be contacted, getting our victim services out there. And, all of this is going to have to be documented…And, yet, the rest of the things in the city are going on and when I get back, having to deal with that as well. My officers who have just witnessed a mom, a father, and a brother -- with the brother's head lying in this young, little girl's lap -- and mentally having to not only check *myself,* but then making sure that I'm getting them help as well… so I'm doing all of that, but yet I still have my day-to-day stuff that needs to be done. I have a certain number amount of days before…use of force reports have to be done. I have to review the reports. I have to make sure that they're available to the Lieutenant on said date and showing him where they're at. Yet, I've got life going on, or you know the life of these officers, and having to deal with them. And, so, priority wise, they come first. That's the bleeding. That's what's going on. Because if they're not healthy and they're not able to function on that scene…So that kind of gives you an idea of how one scene can become very overwhelming and how it affects me trying to balance that administrative side with the policing side and supervision (Ofc. 24, male, suburban jurisdiction, local PD, 1000+ officers).

Incident-to-Incident Transitions. Officers consistently discussed challenging psychological transitions between professional roles, especially as they moved between calls or incidents. Officers transition between different situations regularly, but there appear to be some qualitative differences in how such shifts affect them. On the one hand, officers may be called to respond to a serious incident, which can directly and immediately impact an officers' work responsibilities, for example, in the case of a high-profile event that requires significant police response. One detective described a high-profile, execution-style murder that took place in his area, stating that "in that moment, your day went from nothing to everything. And, for the next

five or six years, that was the case to work on" (Ofc. 17, male, urban jurisdiction, local PD, 500-999 officers).

However, the most frequently mentioned challenging role transitions where those where officers moved from serious events to a lower-priority call for service. Specifically, officers discussed the perceived difficulty of having to down-regulate their physiological state after high-adrenaline, high-stress events, described by one officer as "fighting biology" (Ofc. 23, male, suburban jurisdiction, local PD, 100-249 officers). Typically, the challenges related to these types of transitions were discussed in terms of the lack of opportunity to emotionally process a high-stress event and the concurrent physiological challenge of down-regulating the biological arousal that had resulted from the situation in order to engage with members of the public effectively. A supervisory officer described such transitions as a fundamental aspect of police work, stating that: "There's no time to transition [between calls]. It just happens. And so, he or she has to emotionally re-wire while en route trying to suppress or put down one thing while moving to another" (Ofc. 36, male, mixed jurisdiction, state agency, 250-499 officers). The process of "re-wiring" was described by one female officer in terms of the difficulty when "…you just dealt with something pretty serious and now, you're trying to come back to a level—like, decompress and be able to talk to people in a different way because it's a completely different situation" (Ofc. 16, female, mixed jurisdiction, sheriff's office, 100-249 officers).

Interacting with members of the public following high-stress events presented particular difficulties to officers when the incidents they were called to appeared trite or when members of the public were in a negative state of mind when the officer arrived. For example, several officers described significant frustration with the public when having to respond to low-priority calls after having experienced a high-stress event: "It's when you go from something that

terrible, that horrific to something that's stupid. The hardest part for me is not being angry" (Ofc.

13, male, urban jurisdiction, local PD, <49 officers). A similar sentiment was elaborated by

another officer:

> You get there and I think certain times you kind of get pissed and you want to knock on
> that neighbor's door be like, "What the hell are you calling me for this? Like there's more
> pressing things in the world and you're calling me because there's kids playing basketball
> (Ofc. 37, male, suburban jurisdiction, local PD, 250-499 officers).

While most officers describe attempts to suppress negative emotions in such situations ("you put

whatever emotion or whatever—you just stuff that in the back, and you go on to the next call,"

Ofc. 29, male, urban jurisdiction, local PD, 250-499 officers), some officers make an explicit

connection between the strain of such role transitions and more negative interactions with the

public:

> …if you go from like a robbery or a serious violent crime to a noise complaint, it
> definitely negatively impacts even how you would react to that call. I mean, I can
> guarantee you that even driving…you're like cussing in the car to yourself like "why am I
> going to this?" And, "This is stupid." And hopefully you don't meet somebody, but you
> know, if you do meet somebody on that call, you can end up being very coarse with them
> (Ofc. 35, male, mixed jurisdiction, local PD, 500-999 officers).

> ***Temporary Workload Increases***. Officers also described certain non-routine incidents

that could temporarily significantly increase workloads, such as high-profile incidents or

investigations (especially those that bring media scrutiny). Similarly, line of duty deaths require

continued regular operations while adding a significant additional workload in terms of planning

funeral and memorial services, supporting the officer's family, and providing resources to

affected coworkers. A supervisory officer in a state agency described his overload in the

aftermath of an incident that claimed the three lives:

> I basically went for about four days with maybe two hours of sleep a day. I was managing
> my daily activities with work because business had to continue, managing the
> community, managing the troops. Going through all that. Setting up the funerals after
> what happened and what we found and dealing with all those things. Literally, engaging

the families, spending time with the families. It just had me going in every different direction. As command staff, we tried to share that burden but there was more to do and not enough time to do it and not enough of us to go around, so it made it extremely challenging (Ofc. 36, male, mixed jurisdiction, state agency, 250-499 officers).

Assignment of Duties Ancillary to Primary Work Roles. Some officers' workloads

extend beyond their regular assignments to include ancillary duties, whether these were

considered desirable duties opted into by the officer (e.g., serving as a Field Training Officer or

union steward) or because they were assigned to the officer by their agency. Notably, many of

the ancillary duties officers described were, indeed, opted into by the officer because they valued

the opportunities such duties presented or because they felt they could improve the functioning

of the agency by doing so. For example, one officer volunteered to take on the task of designing

the patrol cars that would be ordered because he had become frustrated by the ineffective way in

which the administration had gone about this task: "…usually something that's done by an

administrator who hasn't driven a squad car for several years and is never gonna drive one, so

you get frustrated where things aren't being done the way we need them to be done…" (Ofc. 41,

male, suburban jurisdiction, local PD, <49 officers). In fact, the same officer had accumulated a

range of ancillary duties over his time in his agency. However, when the officer voiced that he

needed to step back from those duties, that transition was not readily accepted or facilitated by

supervisors, leaving the officer to have to convince other volunteers to take on those

responsibilities.

Role Strain Can Be Driven by Community Context

While officers' narratives revealed a broad range of characteristics of the community

context that are associated with officers' experiences of role strain, I focus here only on specific

aspects of the community in which officers operate that appear to put officers in conflict with the

public due to differences in expectations for the police function or that impede officers' ability to

effectively perform their duties. Such community-based influences on role strain can be

categorized into two main themes, including: (1) public expectations for the police function, and

(2) jurisdictional challenges. Each theme and its linked categories are visualized in Table 3.

Table 3
Community-Level Influences on Role Strain

Theme	Categories
Public expectation for the police function	Public expectation for the police function that is poorly aligned with agency priorities
	Changing Public Expectation for the Police Function
	Public counterparts who are poorly informed about legal processes
Jurisdictional challenges	Public discontent with police
	Political overreach influencing departmental policing priorities
	Geographic challenges
	Local crime trends

Public Expectation for the Police Function. One officer provided an excellent summary

of the ways by which public expectation could precipitate role conflict for officers. He explained

that "there's the three-part system…of what the community see us doing, what the community

doesn't see us doing that we are doing, and then what they think we could be doing instead (Ofc.

46, male, urban jurisdiction, local PD, <49 officers). As this officer's statement summarizes, and

what many officers felt, was that public expectations for the police function could be poorly

aligned with agency priorities. Moreover, public expectations could shift over time and result in

new priorities that were not well-reflected in officers' directives. Finally, many officers felt that

the public is generally poorly informed about the law and legal processes, resulting in conflict

with community members.

Public Expectations That Are Poorly Aligned with Agency Priorities. Many officers

described that public expectations for the police function did not align with the priorities of their

department or supervisors, which could result in significant strain for officers. For example, in

departments that prioritized enforcement activities, such priorities were often received poorly by

the public. Moreover, at times, an agency's priorities could align with a significant proportion of

the public, while conflicting with the expectations for the police function that were prominent in

specific neighborhoods or among different demographic groups. For example, one officer

describes the challenge of navigating the divergent expectations and standards for police

intervention by different segments of the population:

> I've had people, when I'm giving them parking tickets, complain to me that I'm not
> enforcing the right laws in the right neighborhoods... They want the laws enforced but
> not *those* laws in *that* neighborhood. That's for other neighborhoods. The less desirable
> ones. You're supposed to be allowed to be drunk in public and raising a scene in the
> nice neighborhoods—but, that's not what your neighbors think. They think otherwise
> (Ofc. 3, female, urban jurisdiction, local PD, 250-499 officers).

Changing Public Expectations for the Police Function. A particularly interesting

category in this theme was officers' general perception that the public has a greater expectation

for service the police function, resulting in many service calls that officers would deem low

priority. One officer described that in his jurisdiction, by policy, *any* call for service is dispatched

to an officer:

> …in my city, where I work…911 dispatches any calls. So, you can call the police saying,
> 'Hey…I need an officer to come to my house to flush my toilet.' And I'm not making that
> up. I've gotten a call like that. So, we get a lot of BS calls where it's not a police matter…
> [community members] call the police for everything" (Ofc. 45, male, urban jurisdiction,
> local PD, 1000+ officers)

Another officer similarly describes that the public calls the police for a "a lot of nonsense that is

not warranted by the police to respond (Ofc. 38, male, urban jurisdiction, local PD, 1000+

officers). In general, officers' narratives a rife with accounts of low-priority, civil matters that result in calls for service to which officers are required to respond.

Public Counterparts Who Are Poorly Informed About Legal Processes. Officers also described their perception that significant portions of the public have a poor understanding of the law and legal processes. Many officers felt that much misinformation about police work is being spread by entertainment and social media, resulting in unrealistic expectations about the police role by the public. Officers describe situations where members of the public make requests for police intervention when officers do not have sufficient cause to do so. A common such example was that members of the public might complain about drug dealing on their street and desire for police to affect an arrest; however, the officer may not have sufficient evidence to act on that request, causing frustration for the citizen. Another example comes from an officer responding primarily to mental health calls, who described the challenge of being contacted by concerned family members without being able to provide the assistance that is needed: "you know, you have this family that feels so helpless…but I don't have the legal authority to get them help" (Ofc. 44, female, suburban jurisdiction, sheriff's office, 250-499 officers).

Jurisdictional Challenges. Officers also described experiencing role strain based on particular challenges presented by their jurisdiction, primarily due to (1) public discontent with police, (2) political overreach influencing departmental policing priorities, (3) geographic challenges, (4) and local crime characteristics.

Public Discontent with Police. A frequently-mentioned community-based challenge pertained to how the public viewed police and to what extent members of the public were willing to engage with officers. This was typically described in terms of the public discontent with law

enforcement that officers perceived or in terms of an inherited historic legacy of poor police-community relations in the area. One officer described it this way: "being a man, a white man, sometimes there's places that you just will automatically, you'll be—you won't even be at zero, you'll be at negative 10 before you even step out of the car (Ofc. 9, male, urban jurisdiction, sheriff's office, 250-499 officers). In such a context, members of the public were generally less willing to engage with police, which could cause role strain when officers had to investigate crimes or were given directives for community-engagement which they could not pursue effectively. As one officer said: "It's a flailing thing, community policing, because first the community has to want it. And maybe they do, maybe they don't" (Ofc. 20, female, urban jurisdiction, local PD, 50-99 officers).

Political Overreach Influencing Policing Priorities. Officers described that the local political establishment could direct a police agency's priorities:

> "it starts with your highest elected official or appointed official of a city or town. They set the precedent for what needs to happen to the police department…they go to the chief…and then it goes downhill to basically the patrol, the police officers on the street. (Ofc. 1, male, suburban jurisdiction, local PD, 50-99 officers)

Often such overreach was precipitated by a high-profile event that garnered political attention. However, at times politicians (especially in small jurisdictions) were described to directly intervene with agency leadership or individual officers for personal reasons. In a particularly compelling example of how officers may have to navigate political meddling in their work, one detective described the precarious situation he found himself as he was investigating a string of high-profile sexual assaults in his jurisdiction. A local politician who was being impersonated online leveraged his access to the detective to circumvent the typical reporting process in an effort to direct the detective's work toward investigating the impersonation. As an at-will employee in an agency without collective bargaining that also had a history of terminating

officers with "bad" political ties, the officer felt acutely that he may lose his position if he did not

acquiesce to the demands of the city official:

> I'm the sole income of the family. Insurance and everything, it's dependent upon me. And
> so, with that, it was at least in the back of the mind a little bit. Is this the nail in my
> coffin? So, I had to really prioritize that and assure him that his case is still being worked
> (Ofc. 31, male, urban jurisdiction, local PD, < 49 officers).

In this example, Ofc. 31. has clear priorities for what his work should be; however, due to

political overreach by a local official, he feels he has no choice but to compromise his own

investigative goals in order to acquiesce to the personal request of the official. The issue is

compounded by the fact the Ofc. 31 is not protected by collective bargaining and is concerned

about being unprotected from possible retaliation by the official.

Geographic Challenges. Officers also described experiencing role strain due to call

volume based on geographic challenges presented by the rurality or isolation of their jurisdiction.

For example, geographic challenges could impact officers' ability to engage in supervisory

directives effectively, especially in rural areas where officers may have to drive long distances to

respond to calls. For example, if an officer is given enforcement directives, but call response

requires long distance driving, supervisors' evaluations of officers may not consider such

constraints:" [supervisors] might look at your status like 'Well, how come you don't have this

amount [of DUIs]?' … I drove 350 miles that night in eight hours" (Ofc. 7, male, rural

jurisdiction, state agency, 250-499 officers)

Local Crime Trends. Officers also described experiencing role strain due to call volume

related to the local crime rate: "…if you work in a busy area or a bad area, you're facing lots of

911 calls, lots of serious things all the time" (Ofc. 1, male, suburban jurisdiction, local PD, 50-99

officers). However, at times, chronic role strain may also develop in the long-term as the quality

of 911-calls changes, for example due to demographic changes in an area or increases in crime. A

first-line supervisor in a small department described a conversation with her chief advocating for

increased staffing based on the changing nature of the calls that were dispatched regularly: "I

said 'okay, chief, we're only doing 10 calls a night, but each of those calls requires 5 or 6 officers

because it's a giant fight.' So…it's one call, but now we have half the shift there, or the entire

shift, or we're calling county to come and help us" (Ofc. 20, female, urban jurisdiction, local PD,

50-99 officers).

Role Strain Can Be Precipitated by Officer-Level Factors

Officers may also perceive role strain due to idiosyncratic characteristics, including (1)

poor alignment between agency priorities and officers' role orientation, (2) aspects of officers'

identities, and (3) various psychological processes.

Table 4
Officer-Level Influences on Role Strain

Theme	Categories
Poor alignment between officers' role orientation and agency climate	Poor alignment with departmental needs or supervisory priorities
	Poor alignment with coworker norms for police work
	Workloads preventing officers from successfully achieving personal standards
Aspects of identity	Workload shifts based on aspects of officer's identity
	Identity-based interpersonal tensions
Psychological processes	Deteriorating mental health
	Interactions between personal and professional roles
	Self-imposed psychological pressure
	Expectation vs. reality of an incident/call
	Within-incident transitions

Poor Alignment Between Officers' Role Orientation and Agency Climate. Officers

described that their own role orientation could come into conflict with the climate of their

agency. Typically, such role conflict resulted from: (1) poor alignment with departmental needs or supervisory priorities, (2) poor alignment with coworker norms for police work, and (3) workloads preventing officers from performing their duties to the standards they wished.

Poor Alignment with Departmental Needs or Supervisory Priorities. At times, officers indicated poor alignment between their role orientation (i.e., preferred policing approach) and departmental needs or supervisory priorities. In practice, this meant that officers would receive directives for police work that conflicted with the policing activities they valued most. A couple of officers perceived this conflict between their own desire to engage in proactive enforcement and departmental and/or supervisory priorities that did not allow them to do so, most commonly, because of understaffing that required officers to engage primarily in call response. However, most of the time poor alignment between officers' role orientation and agency priorities was perceived in terms of departmental and/or supervisor directives for enforcement activity and officers' own preference for more meaningful engagement with the public. For example, one officer in a large, urban department described the strain resulting from being pushed to answer calls and generate "numbers" which ran contrary to her own desire to address each call or incident in the way she felt was best. In one anecdote, she recounts being dispatched to a school because a young girl was cutting herself. The officer took the girl to the hospital and, as they were waiting together for the girl's mom to arrive at the facility, she engaged the girl in conversation:

> To me, that was the most important thing I could do that day because she was by herself. We took her to the hospital. We were waiting on her mom to come; we didn't know how long that was going to take. And basically, I sat there with her and I just talked to her and talked to her and talked to her. And we start getting calls "when are you going to close this out? When are you getting back on the street?" To me, if I sat there all day with this young girl, that should have been enough, you know (Ofc. 2, female urban jurisdiction, local PD, 1000+ officers).

In this example, the officer felt that her ability to address a crisis as well as the quality of her engagement with the girl was undermined by her agency's need for adequate call response and a general focus on generating measurable activity. She continued: "you can't really, you know, put on paper what I did today…yeah, I spent eight hours or six hours with a young girl who wanted to kill herself. I think that's more important than writing a contact card" (Ofc. 2).

Poor Alignment with Coworker Norms for Police Work. Another source of role conflict for officers that derived from aspects of the organizational climate was poor alignment between officers' role orientation and their coworker priorities and norms for police work. For example, in agencies were officers were experiencing a primarily call-driven workload, officers voiced that engaging in *any* proactive activities (whether enforcement or non-enforcement interactions) went counter to coworker norms because disengagement from call response would increase other officers' workload. For example, Ofc. 1 (male, suburban jurisdiction, local PD, 50-99 officers) noted a vague directive to "stop by local business and say hi," as a mode for community engagement endorsed by his agency, and then proceeded to list the challenges of meeting such engagement directives because of the high call volume and administrative loads in his jurisdiction. He goes on to say: "you're gonna have a lot of angry police officers picking up…your 911 calls, because you're doing [community policing]." A similar sentiment was echoed by another officer in regards to proactive enforcement activities: "your coworkers kind of didn't like [proactive policing] …because if you were out arresting people for DWUI or drugs or something, you weren't taking the calls on your post" (Ofc. 16, female, mixed jurisdiction, sheriff's office, 100-249 officers).

Interestingly, some of the conflict with coworker priorities and norms was described by officers to derive from perceived generational differences between how more senior officers

approached police work compared to more junior officers, which could lead to tension among

coworkers: "like with everything else, times change, people change, thoughts and processes

change" (Ofc. 13, male, urban jurisdiction, local PD, <49 officers). Generational tensions were

most often described in terms of differences in officers' desire to engage in proactive policing

behavior, cynicism and demotivation that develops over time, the degree of willingness to assert

officer presence and authority in interactions with the public, a more questioning attitude towards

the chain of command, dissimilar views on the value of technology (including body cameras),

and differences in beliefs about the appropriateness of use of force. As one officer with a 38-year

career put it: "

> Society changes, the way that the department does things—you know, that evolves. And
> sometimes there is conflict, you know: "You should have done this. You should have
> done that." Well, you know, that might have worked in the 40s or 50s, but this is the 70s.
> It's not gonna work now. And, anything that I did that was acceptable in the 70s is not
> acceptable now. You know, so yeah, there is conflict (Ofc. 39, male, urban jurisdiction,
> local PD, 1000+ officers).

Workloads Preventing Officers from Successfully Achieving Personal Standards. Other

times, officers perceived role strain due to the fact their high workloads resulted in situations

where, primarily due to time pressure, they were unable to perform their duties to the standards

they wished. Beyond simple frustration, managing competing demands could also be distressing

to officers who feel emotionally attached to their work: "…it's just overwhelming…you wanna

devote so much time and effort to a single case or to help someone or something like that, and you

end up having to really prioritize certain things just because otherwise you'd get bogged down"

(Ofc. 18, female, suburban jurisdiction, state agency, 1000+ officers).

Aspects of Identity. Aspects of officers' identity, particularly those related to gender and

race/ethnicity could shape their work experiences and role strain particular ways, by (1) shifting

workloads to officers, and (2) creating or amplifying tensions with coworkers or members of the

public.[2]

   Workload Shifts Based on Aspects of Officer's Identity. In certain organizational

environments, aspects of an agency's workload may shift to officers who hold specific

demographic characteristics, thereby increasing the likelihood that the target officer perceived

role overload and/or role conflict. For example, in one very small, rural department, the sole

female officer of that department, who served as a detective at the time of the interview, was

often asked to hold interviews with female or child victims of violence based on the victim's

increased comfort with a female officer. In fact, even surrounding agencies asked for similar

assistance from the officer. When asked about whether aspects of her identity ever impact the

way she experiences her work, she said:

> Again it's, it's mostly a male dominated profession still. So, I'll have a lot more females
> that will want me to do the interview versus male counterparts. Even detectives from
> other agencies will request that I interview somebody because they'll feel more
> comfortable talking to a female (Ofc. 5, female, rural jurisdiction, local police office, <49
> officers)

This allocation of sex and child crimes to female investigators was not unique to small, rural

departments. Another female officer in a large suburban department perceived a similar shift in

work responsibilities, stating "just because I'm the only female in my office as an investigator, [I]

end up with a lot of sexual assault cases and child cases, child abuse" (Ofc. 18, female, suburban

jurisdiction, state agency, 1000+ officers). Interestingly, female officers' gender could also

operate in the opposite way and increase the workload on male officers in particular

circumstances. For example, when interacting with cultural enclaves where male interaction with

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   [2] While familial status was also an oft-mentioned driver of role strain, a detailed discussion of such role
strain is beyond the scope of this dissertation.

women is prohibited (e.g., in the orthodox Jewish community), individuals may refuse to interact

or cooperate with a female officer.

Shifts in work responsibilities were also perceived by officers who identified as persons

of color, who described being called upon to facilitate communication with the residents of

communities of color, for example, to deescalate a precarious situation or to gather information

from residents who hesitate to speak to White officers. Similarly, officers also describe situations

where community members of specific races or ethnicities show a clear preference for

engagement with an officer of a similar racial/ethnic background.

> [The Hispanic community is] kind of scared of calling the police just because they feel like they're going to get deported, or they feel like they're not answered, or they feel like they're going to get an officer that's not Hispanic. So, a lot of times, they'll see me riding around, but they won't call the police because they don't know what kind of officer they're going to get. So, they'll be like, "Hey, I didn't call the police. I saw you here, and you're Spanish. So, I wanna tell *you* I just got robbed or my house is under water…" "Well, listen. Why didn't you call 9-1-1?" "I didn't want to, I'm not comfortable calling 9-1-1." So, that happens a lot. You just get flagged down. Me being Hispanic and they just feel [more] comfortable talking to a Hispanic officer than speaking to a non-Hispanic (Ofc. 45, male, urban jurisdiction, local PD, 1000+ officers).

Notably, in this particular example, the officer's workload was influenced by his identity without

a formal record of his involvement.

Identity-Based Interpersonal Tensions. Almost all officers, regardless of gender or

race/ethnicity experienced identity-based role conflict in the course of their work. One officer

felt that "depending on what or who you're dealing with, who you are as a person can help either

make or break that situation" (Ofc. 46, male, Biracial, 3 yrs., <49 officers). Officers' identities

could interact with the contexts in which they operated, including both the organizational

environment and community context, to trigger interpersonal tensions. While a range of

demographic influences were noted by officers (e.g., sex, race, age, familial status, veteran

status), this section focuses on the two most prominent such factors that impact experiences of

role strain related to officers' work experiences, including race and gender.

 Gender-Based Role Conflict. Within organizational settings, identity-based role conflict

was most often described by women, whose gender could shape their professional experiences in

ways that diverged from those of male officers. Female officers described a perception that they

had to "prove" themselves in order to be fully accepted by the officers in their agency. Some

female officers felt that male officers "are automatically assumed as capable" (Ofc. 18, female,

White, 10 yrs., 1000+ officers), but until she'd proven herself, any perceived misstep on the part

of a female officer was seen as evidence that she was not equipped for police work:

> …you have to *prove* yourself more than a guy does. Like, there was a higher, almost an
> expectation…you're held to a higher standard. You know, if a guy does something
> wrong—whatever, they laugh at it or they just gloss it over. If a female does something
> wrong, automatically you start hearing all the chatter: "Oh it's a female. They don't
> belong on the job. They can't handle themselves. They blah, blah, blah…" All that junk
> (Ofc. 22, female, White, 27 yrs., 1000+ officers).

"Proving" oneself was generally discussed in terms of showing sufficient physical capacity to

maintain their personal and the safety of other officers, and to be able to respond confidently in a

crisis. Once the officer had "proven" herself, she was fully accepted into the officer community.

 However, the perception that women had to overcome additional hurdles to prove their

physical capacity for police work was not universal. One female officer felt, instead, that *any*

new officer had to prove themselves:

> …every officer -- male, female, every one of us -- you have to prove yourself to the other
> ones. That's just part of the job. You have to prove to them that you're in it. You're here
> you to do the job. You're not afraid to get in a fight, and you can throw punches with the
> best of them. Sometimes, you prove yourself within the first six months and sometimes it
> takes a couple years for an event happen where everybody goes "holy shit. You did
> it."…I never felt that I was looked at differently because I was a girl. My department
> never made me feel that way (Ofc. 20, female, White, 25 yrs., 50-99 officers).

This sentiment was echoed by other officers who described the necessity to prove yourself as a rite of passage that every officer had to overcome: "I don't think [women] have to prove themselves any more than anybody else" (Ofc. 41, male, White, 10 yrs., <49 officers). Both female and male officers emphasized that physical strength and the ability to react forcefully to a threat is a critically necessary capacity in police work, because anyone who is not able to do so has "*nothing* to help me…they're going to get me killed" (Ofc. 25, male, White, 17 yrs., 50-99 officers). A female officer echoed that understanding: "So you earn that respect and personally, anyone that comes out [of the academy]—I don't care if you're a man, woman, you know, 10-ft-tall, 3-ft-tall—you have to earn that 'cause you have to show what you're made of so people know you have their back" (Ofc. 19, female, Hispanic, 22 yrs., 1000+ officers).

While male participants tended to interpret female officers' capacities in terms of concerns about their smaller stature and lower physical strength, female officers were more likely to see their female identity as a strength. For example, at times, male members of the public would be more likely to cooperate with a female officer: "there were some men that I was able to put under arrest [without physical force], and my male counterparts weren't, because I was a girl. And, I know that to be true, because the bad guy said, 'I'll do this because you're a girl.'" (Ofc. 20, female, White, 25 yrs., 50-99 officers). Other female officers described that in order to avoid relying on their physicality to resolve tense interactions with the public they had developed strong verbal de-escalation tactics:

> I can't say things the same way a 6-ft male would say things. I'm 5'2. A 6-ft male can go in and say "We're doing this" and someone's like, "Well, I kind of don't have a choice." But, if I go and say "we're doing this," it's a lot easier for me to gain some compliance by talking to somebody than pretend like I'm going to force them to do something (Ofc. 44, female, White, 7 yrs., 250-499 officers).

In fact, the majority of female officers felt that their communication skills were very effective in

gaining compliance from a member of the public: "I've never had problems on the street as a

woman. Never. Not once have I had a criminal—I've talked many a 300-pound person into cuffs.

I've never, never had a problem on the street" (Ofc. 21, female, White, 17 yrs., 1000+ officers).

However, female officers' use of verbal de-escalation techniques appears to be at least in

some way shaped by how members of the public perceive female officers. One female officer

felt: "It can go both ways. I feel like people are gonna try to fight you or they're gonna listen to

you more" (Ofc. 10, female, Asian, 5 yrs., 1000+ officers). Another female officer described the

response of members of the public in terms of their wider views about women in general,

resulting in both in positive and negative influences on interactions. For example, an individual

who has a close relationship with the women in his family may be more inclined to cooperate

with a female officer. One female officer described approaching a belligerent inmate in an

attempt to calm him down:

> And I was able to talk to him as a female and he has a different respect for me as a female
> because he had a sister. He had a mother…he said something incredibly vulgar and swore
> and so I'm like: "Dude! Don't talk to me like that…don't say that…you wouldn't want
> someone saying that your sister." And it completely changed the way that he looked at
> me (Ofc. 44, female, White, 7 yrs., 250-499 officers).

On the other side, female officers described some challenges interacting with members of

the public when their personal views of women are negative or when their cultural beliefs lead

them to feel less respect for women, an issue most often mentioned in discussions of policing

some immigrant communities. For example, officers recounted anecdotes where they were

ignored by community members in favor of male partners.

While it should not be assumed that male officers did not experience role conflict due to

their gender (for example, they described that it could be challenging to build rapport with

female victims), it is possible that female officers may navigate additional challenges due to their gender—both in terms of how they are received within police organizations and how members of the public may interact with them.

Race-Based Role Conflict. Most officers agreed that race and ethnicity figured prominently in their professional experiences. Race-based tensions were rarely described within organizational contexts (though one officer in this study perceived very negative race relations within his agency and recounted a number of negative personal experiences within said context), and were much more frequently perceived in regards to interactions with the public.

Regardless of background, most officers described that in the current socio-political climate, White officers' intentions and behaviors were generally interpreted in a very negative light by community members of color. At minimum, White officers were perceived to be unable to relate to the issues concerning communities of color: "…the minority neighborhoods probably feel like all the [White] officers don't understand where they're coming from, like: 'Oh, how could you possibly understand where I'm coming from if you don't live here, if you don't experience what we do?'" (Ofc. 26, male, White, 9 yrs., 1000+ officers). At worst, White officers' presence was interpreted in a more negative light: "the automatic assumption [is] that because I'm a White police officer, I dislike someone of a differing race or ethnicity" (Ofc. 19, female, Hispanic, 22 yrs., 1000+ officers). One officer recounted a compelling anecdote to illustrate this point:

> I stopped a guy and—it was either suspended or he didn't have a license. One of the ways you can go with this would be to tow the car…I tried to do this guy a solid: "hey, just get someone to get the U-Haul and we'll call it a day." I even called him a cab. And, 20 minutes later, I see the same U-Haul going down the road…So, when I stopped him and then arrested him, because he'd literally decided to disregard a summons, it then became that I did it because of his race (Ofc. 35, male, White, 6 yrs., 500-999 officers).

Officers described being taken aback by the negative reaction their presence evoked, especially

when they first joined law enforcement. For example, one officer described an interaction early in

his career in which he was berated and cursed out for being a White officer:

> I go: "What the hell did I do to be called racist?" This is the first time that somebody's ever said something like that to me… And he's like, "Dude, you're a White cop in [this neighborhood]. That's all there is to it." He's like, "You're *always* going to be the racist. *Always*" (Ofc. 26, male, White, 9 yrs., 1000+ officers).

While race-based conflict was prominent in all officers' experiences, officers of color

perceived such conflict in two distinct ways, in same-race interactions and in cross-race

interactions. Officers of color recounted being called "race traitors," "Oreos," "Uncle Toms,"

among other racial slurs (Ofc. 1, Ofc. 7, Ofc. 8, Ofc. 32, Ofc. 39, Ofc. 47). A very detailed

analysis of the double-bind in which officers of color operate was provided by one African

American officer:

> I've had *a ton* of experiences where me being Black, doing my job, is the *worst thing ever* to another Black person…I am like the true enemy of the state, as I'm like in this community doing my job because I'm Black. And it doesn't matter what the other person [suspect] did…It was like, "How could you, as another Black man, lock another Black man up?..." And it's like, "But they broke in here, they beat this person up, they did this…" And, it's like, those are all things that get overlooked, and you're called an Uncle Tom. You're this, you're that. You know, you're a sell-out…And then I would go arrest White people and then they would go, "Oh you're only doing this because you're Black, because I'm White and you're trying to get back at us for what happened…" So, I've had it cut both ways where I've had people like be happy to see me…And then I've had other people who just go, "Man, what are you doing in that outfit? You shouldn't be a cop," you know. One, because I'm Black, because they're White, and they don't believe that Black people shouldn't be in a position of authority talking to them. Or, again, I'm a sell-out, and here I am helping the White people—or helping the *establishment*—keep them down and things like that. So, it plays out both ways (Ofc. 47, male, Black/African American, 13 yrs., 100-249 officers).

The same officer also brought up another unique role conflict that he has faced in same-race

interactions, in which he was approached as a co-conspirator by criminal perpetrators of the

same race:

> I've had people see me being Black and think they've got a partner in this crime that they've just committed because now a Black cop has stopped them…Like, that's the expectation: that now they're gonna earn a favor from me because we're of a similar race (Ofc. 47).

It is important to note that a number of officers acknowledge the larger systemic issues that precipitate tense race relations. Officers explicitly refer to a historical understanding of the legacy of oppression that U.S. policing carries. For example, one officer describes the anti-police sentiment in an area he previously patrolled in terms of "the history of [the neighborhood] from segregation on down" (Ofc. 1, male, Asian, 11 yrs., 50-99 officers), while another officer stated: "historically, if you watch videos and you know your history, police have…always done things against minority blacks (Ofc. 4, male, Black/African American, 20 yrs., 1000+ officers).

Officers of all backgrounds perceived that current socio-political tensions put race at the forefront of their interactions with the public. For White officers, cross-race interactions appear to present special challenges while officers of color navigate contentious interactions both in same-race and cross-race contacts. However, not all officers felt that this was because of their identity specifically:

> Mostly they're just gonna hate the uniform. They don't really care so much about the person that's inside of it. The person inside of it is just a -- there's an easy jab…let's say you're White in uniform, I'm gonna call you a cracker. You're Black in uniform, I'm gonna call you an Uncle Tom. You know, so the uniform itself is, I really think, what makes the biggest impact on how people see you. They see the person as a secondary thing (Ofc. 20, female, White, 25 yrs., 50-99 officers).

Officers feel acutely that they are unable to effectively address and resolve the issues underlying identity-based, especially race-based, tensions: "like, whatever: I can't fix this" (Ofc. 20, female, White, 25 yrs., 50-99 officers). One officer offered that improvements in police-community relations inevitably necessitate targeted initiatives that extend beyond individual officers and that poor relationships between police and the public will not improve unless "[we] do a better job of understanding, you know, how to process and deal with the ghosts of our past"

(Ofc. 47, male, Black/African American, 13 yrs., 100-249 officers) Yet, officers also engage in proactive strategies to still be able to perform their jobs effectively despite identity-based challenges they may encounter. For example, officers attempt to find other ways of connecting with members of the public: "it's not just…who you are, that you bring to the table. It's the experiences that you've learned (Ofc. 17, male, White, 37 yrs., 500-999 officers). When able, they may also leverage the connection between different officers and the citizen counterpart strategically: "when you go on calls, you see who's relating better to whom and you try to use that to the best of your advantage" (Ofc. 3, female, Hispanic, 21 yrs., 250-499 officers).

Psychological Processes. Various psychological processes could precipitate role strain for officers, including deteriorating mental health related to the exposure to critical incidents, emotionally-challenging calls/cases, chronic secondary trauma and hypervigilance; an idiosyncratic connection to an incident or case, self-imposed pressure related to their work, the psychological transitions related to an officer's expectation for an incident/call versus its reality, as well as within-incident transitions that may be required as situations change.

Deteriorating Mental Health. Role strain related to poor mental health resulted when the psychological and emotional needs of an officer were in direct conflict with the work they had to perform. Challenges to mental health were described in terms of (1) exposure to critical incidents or emotionally-challenging calls/cases, (2) chronic secondary trauma, and (3) increased hypervigilance. It is important to note that deteriorating mental health is an important potential driver of changes to officers' assumptive world and role orientation, as mentioned in the relevant section above.

Exposure to a Critical Incident. At times, it was singular incidents that precipitated broader changes in officers' perceptions of risk associated with the profession, such as a line of

duty death, officer-involved shooting or other threat to life. Upon returning to patrol in the

aftermath of the felonious line of duty death of his coworker during a routine call for service, one

officer described the psychological struggle of feeling that he is "always falling into that trap" of

a potential ambush attack. He elaborated:

> …it's a fight or flight thing happening in your head, except that you really can't do either. And you have to just kind of just take what your brain has given you as far as those conflicts and just kind of…make sure you do the bare minimum and go home… I used to really like my job, now it's like it's just a survival thing. Now I go there to survive and then come back. So, it's totally different from what it used to be (Ofc. 1, male, Asian, 11 yrs., 50-99 officers)

Another officer who had been in an officer-involved shooting echoed that sentiment, describing a

general sense of "dread about going to work" because he was afraid of what might "happen next"

(Ofc. 41, male, White, 10 yrs., <49 officers). Moreover, beyond the acute sense of risk associated

with the return to work, the traumatic incident also has to be dealt with emotionally by officers,

typically while still continuing to work and interacting with the public:

> "I can't just break down and start crying. You know, I have to be strong for that person, 'cause if somebody calls 911 they're calling because they need help and if the police arrive and they can't help them, then there's really no use for the police. So, it's like you have to have a tough skin. It's really tough to describe. Like, you're really hurt because you lost a coworker, and it's really, really sentimental but then it's like, "Oh my gosh, I have to do my job which is to be out there trying to help people." So, yeah, it's really tough. It's like finding a balance that it's tough to find sometimes (Ofc. 6, male, Hispanic, 11 yrs., 1000+ officers).

Notably, beyond critical incidents, specific "bad" calls or cases (i.e., emotionally-

challenging aspects of their work) can have a lasting negative influence on their professional

experiences. "Bad" calls are often described to be those that involve an innocent victim of a

crime or that draw some parallel to an officer's life (discussed in more details below). Almost

half of the officers in this study (*n*=21) described at least one incident where a member of the

public was injured or killed, that had a lasting and meaningful impact on them.

Chronic Secondary Trauma. An important concern that was brought up by officers when relaying the mental health stressors of their work was their perception that "stresses [of the job] just build up and collapse you" (Ofc. 36, male, White, 25 yrs., 250-499 officers). Officers perceive the chronic secondary trauma of police work as compounding itself until an officer reaches a breaking point: "when that person breaks down, it's not just because of that one call. It's because of that call and every other call that they have got from day one. That may just be the one that they couldn't hold" (Ofc. 13, male, White, 10 yrs., <49 officers). The chronic exposure to human misery and secondary trauma may be an underlying cause of significant psychological distress, resulting in role conflict and making it challenging for an officer to perform their duties.

Hypervigilance. It is important to note that in policing a keen sense of vigilance is "necessary to keep you aware and to keep you safe. You can't get rid of it" (Ofc. 23, male, Hispanic, 4 yrs., 100-249 officers). One officer describes this vigilance as "the stress of staying alive" and then goes on to explain:

> …if you miss one little thing with somebody, it can mean night and day. I mean, it's trying to read people. You know, we're on the side of the interstate. You're trying to talk to people. You're trying to look at all their hands with one eye and at the same time with your other eye you're trying to look at traffic 'cause you see all of those cops getting hit on traffic stops now. It's just—I mean your mind is just constantly just going, just trying to watch every little thing (Ofc. 7, male, Black/African American, 10 yrs., 250-499 officers).

However, many officers described that the exposure to a critical incident and/or chronic secondary trauma can lead to overarching changes in officers' perception of danger, affecting their overall approach to work and spilling over into their personal lives. This was a near-ubiquitous experience for officers, and most officers describes constrained behaviors that accommodated this vigilance.

> Perpetually, I'm kind of on guard…I think a lot of that also spills into my personal life where I feel like I should always be armed, and I'm always checking, you know, strangers walking by. Like, if you go to the mall or something, I'm looking at everybody's

waistband. I'm looking at their ankles. I'm looking at where the hands are. You know, if we sit down somewhere, I've got to be where my back is to a wall, and I can see the majority of the room. And I'm always finding my exits, backing into parking spaces, that sort of thing, you know. You know, I think it's stressful for me, and it's certainly stressful for my wife (Ofc. 8, male, Asian, 6 yrs., <49 officers).

Interactions Between Personal and Professional Roles. Many officers described particular incidents or cases that could be especially challenging to them, resulting in role conflict as they were charged with addressing the issue. Often, such incidents or calls elicited strain via an interaction between officers personal and professional roles. For example, many officers felt that calls involving children could be particularly hard to process, especially when the officer is a parent. One officer's description of such a situation is particularly illustrative:

> We get a call of a family domestic disturbance at such-and such-address. We go over there, and we can hear the screaming back and forth between adults. And there were children crying…And they're crying and they're crying and they're crying…it turns out, they were crying over the argument. And the argument was that these two idiots were getting divorced. Neither one of them wanted these children, who, by the way, were adopted. You have a married couple. They adopt two children. They're gonna get a divorce after these children have bonded with them. And they're telling each other, "I don't want the kids. You take them…" It was horrible. I wanted to cry…my partner—he was *angry*…he was absolutely livid. He was yelling at them, "What are you people doing? My god, these are children. They're not animals, you know, they're not dogs." And finally, we got them calmed down, you know, and we left. I said, "PARTNER, you lost your temper. I've never seen you like that before." And he goes and he tells me, flat out he goes, "I was adopted." He says, "I know what those kids are going through…I couldn't wait for a family to adopt me. I felt alone in the world. And after they adopted me—wonderful people—but I was always afraid, until later in life, I was always afraid that they were going to send me back to the orphanage. I was always afraid of losing my adoptive parents." He said, "That's all I thought about when I saw these two kids crying" (Ofc. 39, male, Hispanic, 38 yrs., 1000+ officers).

Another officer explained that the personal connection to a call can serve as a "trigger" that "push[es] my buttons" and may lead him to ask for a coworker to relieve him: "there have been times before where I've tapped out for somebody else to go in because…As soon as I start feeling myself get angry beyond what is normal, I'll be like, 'Hey, man, take over'" (Ofc. 27, male, White, 4 yrs., 250-499 officers).

While personally-meaningful calls and incidents were often described in terms of the negative emotional impact they may have on an officer, being able to successfully resolve such incidents could be incredibly meaningful to officers as well. One officer described a horrific domestic violence situation he responded to in which the woman was left with extensive physical injuries and a two-week old baby was hurled across the room against a wall (luckily, she was secured in a car seat at the time and sustained no injuries). Most surprisingly, the officer recounted this event in response to my question about whether he could think of a time where he felt like he had an especially positive or significant interaction with someone while at work. The officer responded to the scene and was able to affect an arrest and followed the case in its progression through the justice system. When asked what made the situation so meaningful to him he said: "the fact that I felt like I really made a difference in her life and that child's life and that I got to put a monster away" (Ofc. 48, male, White, 6 yrs., 50-99 officers). He further drew the connection to his own life:

> …at that time, my wife was like eight months pregnant. And we had a little girl on the way and they had a little girl, and it just—they weren't a trashy couple like some of the people that, sometimes, I deal with, which…I guess it sounds bad me saying but I resonated with them, I guess. And it just, it almost broke your heart…

Self-Imposed Psychological Pressure. One theme of role strain pertained to idiosyncratic, officer-level psychological processes that added meaningful pressure to officers' work experiences. For example, some officers described psychological pressure due to their perception that members of their organizational environment had very high expectations for them. Additionally, officers who worked to facilitate resources for vulnerable individuals (e.g., individuals with mental illness) described an acute feeling that the stakes of their decision-making were very high and could potentially have meaningful negative outcomes for the citizen

counterpart. For example, a female officer in a unit specializing on responses to mental health

calls, first described her experiences of role overload broadly and then elaborated:

> …if I don't handle this correctly, one of these people are going to fall through the cracks. Somebody is going to not get the treatment that they need. Again, because I'm sure this isn't the first time they've fallen through the cracks. I take this responsibility…I hold this job close to my heart. And, when I'm responding to a call, I'm trying to do the best that I can, given the circumstance. So, when you have four things going on and you want to give the best to each one, it...Yeah, I mean, I think the responsibility of the task, maybe, is what I'm trying to say adds to [the overload]? (Ofc. 44, female, White, 7 yrs., 250-499 officers)

Expectation vs. Reality of an Incident/Call. Officers describe various features of a

situation that may shape their expectations about how an incident or interaction is likely to

unfold, for example information received by dispatch, previous contact with a member of the

public, and even body language. The expectations that are set by such situational characteristics

feature prominently in how an officer may approach a situation. For example, officers discuss the

physiological changes that happen when primed for a high-stress incident. One officer describes

the arousal that comes with specific radio alerts: "There's an alert tone that comes out when

there's a significant incident…it's the scariest shit, you know… every time you hear call numbers

come up, you kind of get amped up. And that's not easy..." (Ofc. 34, male, White, 13 yrs., 100-

249 officers).

Another officer who served as a detective echoed this perception when describing a

recent evening when he had just arrived home after work and received a call about a "deceased

person behind a hotel." On his way back work, he received a second dispatch to disregard the

previous call because, upon closer inspection by a patrol officer, it turned out that the individual

was simply heavily intoxicated. However, the officer described that the simple action of putting

his uniform back on and driving to the scene of the incident was sufficient to precipitate

expectations about the situation along with notable changes in his biology, even before arriving at the scene:

> "…so, my adrenaline was through the roof. And then, I was supposed to come home and go to sleep? Still, I had to go be back at work at 7:00 this morning? ... So, absolutely those up and down swings is very difficult to manage. (Ofc. 40, male, White, 12 yrs., <49 officers)

Within-Incident Transitions. Another type of role transition in officers' professional environment is the within-incident transition that officers have to navigate based on changing features of an incident or interaction. Such micro-transitions are often discussed in terms of the general unpredictability of police work, which requires constant vigilance and flexibility on the part of the officer in order to stay safe and to address each situation appropriately. In a particularly vivid such example an officer described the "emotional rollercoaster" of an incident where he had to pursue a driver going close to 100 mph on a 35-mph road who subsequently crashed, and then trying to render aid to the crash victims:

> This had literally immediately started out as a "doing a cop's job, criminals are running from me. I'm gonna catch them." And then they, they wrecked, and you're immediately switching roles from catching criminals to, "Crap, I gotta save these people," to then realizing, "Hey, this guy's stuck in the back. God knows where the fire truck is. But he's burning." And then it's like, then switching into that third role of -- which is probably the hardest -- of bystander to literally just sit there and listen to this guy die because I ran out of fire extinguishers…And, at this point, he's just gone (Ofc. 35, male, White, 6 yrs., 500-999 officers).

Summary of the Causes of Role Strain

As the sections above illustrate, role strain is a robust feature of police officers' occupational experiences. It is important to note that role strain is perceived in many other ways by officers as well; however, because such strain is not always related to the expansive nature of the police function and does not always shape the way in which officers approach interactions with the public, not all types of role strain were discussed. For easy reference, the full summary

of all causes of role strain discussed in this dissertation are summarized in Table 5. The table also

identifies the primary type of role strain associated with each category.

Table 5
Summary of the All Causes of Role Strain by Socioecological Level

Level	Theme	Categories	Primary Types of Role Strain
Organizational	Incoherent organizational priorities	Tension between formal and informal policing directives	Role conflict
		Training that is poorly aligned with organizational goals	Role conflict
		Misaligned performance measures	Role conflict
	Inadequate departmental resources	Understaffing	Role overload
		Lack of financial support for stated priorities	Role conflict
		Inadequate equipment	Role conflict
		Lack of specialized training/expertise within a unit	Role overload
		Ineffective supervision or coworkers	Role overload/role conflict
	Competing work demands	High call volume/caseloads	Role overload
		High administrative loads	Role overload
		Prioritizing multiple high-priority or urgent responsibilities	Role conflict
		Incident-to-incident transitions	Role transitions
		Temporary workload increases	Role overload
		Assignment of duties ancillary to primary work role	Role overload
Community-level	Public expectation for the police function	Public expectation for the police function that is poorly aligned with agency priorities	Role conflict
		Changing Public Expectation for the Police Function	Role conflict
		Public counterparts who are poorly informed about legal processes	Role conflict
	Jurisdictional challenges	Public discontent with police	Role conflict
		Political overreach influencing departmental policing priorities	Role conflict
		Geographic challenges	Role overload
		Local crime trends	Role overload

Officer-level	Poor alignment between officers' role orientation and agency climate	Poor alignment with departmental needs or supervisory priorities	Role conflict
		Poor alignment with coworker norms for police work	Role conflict
		Workloads preventing officers from successfully achieving personal standards	Role overload
	Aspects of identity	Workload shifts based on aspects of officer's identity	Role overload
		Identity-based interpersonal tensions	Role conflict
	Psychological processes	Deteriorating mental health	Role conflict
		Interactions between personal and professional roles	Role conflict
		Self-imposed psychological pressure	Role overload
		Expectation vs. reality of an incident/call	Role transition
		Within-incident transitions	Role transition

Police Officers' Responses to Role Strain

Role strain appears to be a defining characteristic of the police function among the participants in this study, meaningfully influencing officers' work experiences. Research question #3 (*How do police officers navigate role strain and prioritize competing demands?*) aims to understand how officers are managing role strain and to consider whether it may be possible to lessen or even eliminate certain types of role strain. Overall, this section will show that officers perceive role strain as stressful and describe that it negatively shapes their perceptions of the work environment and professional experiences. While many officers describe developing informal mechanisms for dealing with the role strain they experience, they also acknowledge that strain may shape their interactions with the public in a variety of ways. Relating role strain back to role orientation and engagement with the public, officers' narratives suggest that role strain may be associated with decreased motivations and opportunities for engagement with the public, may shape officers' discretionary behaviors and prompt resistance against supervisory directives and policies, and at times, precipitate more negative interactions with the public.

Role Strain is Associated with Perceived Stress

In order to understand how experiences of role strain were affecting officers' stress levels, they were asked about their general sources of stress in two open-ended questions. The first question prompted them to explain the stress rating they had provided on their recruitment questionnaire using a Likert-scale rating system ("*On your survey you indicated that the job has you feeling _[insert officer response]_ stressed. Can you explain that rating?*"). The second question asked them to elaborate on the most stressful aspects of their job ("*What aspects of the job are most stressful for you?*"). When examining officers' responses to the aforementioned

questions for overlapping segments coded for role strain, it became clear that many officers

perceived role strain to be among the most pervasive and significant stressors of their work. Out

of the 48 officers, 33 officers referenced some aspect of role strain as a determining factor for

their stress rating or as the most stressful aspect of their job. About two-thirds of these officers

indicated one type of role strain (*n*=24), with the most common being role conflict, and the

remaining nine officers indicated two types of role strain, most often a combination of role

overload and role conflict. Overall, each type of role strain was referenced as a determinant of

officers' stress ratings, including 25 indications of role conflict, 9 indications of role transitions,

and 8 mentions of role overload. Sample responses are provided in Table 4.

Table 6
Officer Explanations of Their Stress Rating and Most Stressful Aspects of Their Work

Response	Types of Strain
PARTICIPANT: sometimes dealing with admin and their unrealistic view of how things should be done could be stressful. I think that that combined with—a big stressor for us is constantly working short-handed. We had twelve fewer detectives than we had ten years ago. INTERVIEWER: Is that because of understaffing or because the positions were cut? PARTICIPANT: Both. Predominantly understaffing. But, it gets to a point where you just get used to working with fewer so, therefore, they assume you can. A lot of burnout due to the cumulative hours worked. (Ofc. 29, male, Biracial, 28 yrs., 250-499 officers)	Role overload related to: • Understaffing • Work hours • Role conflict related to: • Unreasonable supervisory expectations • Burnout
"…it's stressful in the sense that I just feel like I have a lot of obligations and I feel like a lot--and I'm not trying to say that that's necessarily a bad thing, but I just feel like a lot is expected of me. You know I feel like I'm constantly, you know—in my off-duty time, you know I'm constantly having to like…I can't like shut it off, you know? Like I can't shut it off. I can't go to the grocery store and go grocery shopping without like always like looking around me. Like, kind of looking like a little sketch ball at times. You know I feel like you know even when I go out and try to have a good time, when I go out to like the bars or something, you know I'm always worrying about seeing somebody off-duty" (Ofc. 12, female, White, 5 yrs., <49 officers).	Role overload related to: • Extent of her obligations • Self-imposed psychological pressure Role transitions related to: • Hypervigilance

Well, again, four guys -- we're only four [in the bomb squad]. If something were to come up, let's say, at the last minute—some dignitary decided to come in at the last minute, which happens a lot. That happens frequently. Then now you got to start figuring out who's gonna go do the sweep or, you know, what's going to happen. See now you're stressing out that – or, the department would have, like, something coming up, and at the last minute, they say "oh, we need the bomb squad." Which they hadn't thought about till the last minute. Now they're telling you, "hey, by the way, tomorrow you got to do this." And you're like, "Okay, I already have my plans. It was my day off. Now it's not my day off." Or they would tell you -- they would change our duty hours to minimize on the overtime. They would change our days off. All this is to minimize on paying overtime. If they knew that they had something coming up, they would say, "hey, take a Monday off or take a Tuesday off and then come in and work this day." You know, that was kind of stressful (Ofc. 30, male, Hispanic, 31 yrs., 1000+ officers).

Role overload related to:
- Low staffing the bomb squad
- Last-minute work demands

Role conflict related to:
- Work/life balance
- Changing work schedules

Role Strain May Lead to Psychological Distancing from Work

In order to deal with the psychologically-difficult aspects of work, some officers describe distancing themselves emotionally from their work. Such psychological/emotional distancing is not necessarily described to be the result of an explicit effort and instead is seen as a natural result of the challenging nature of police work: "All the things …I've done in this field has somehow either…made me a better person, or, you know, made me more cold. It all depends" (Ofc. 9, male, Biracial, 11 yrs., 250-499 officers). Moreover, psychological distancing is described to be necessary to officers' functioning:

> Every murder may be different but it's a murder like every other murder. And when you're working a murder case, it's not that you're unsympathetic, but you've been there, you've done that, you've seen it before. And if you had to grieve over every dead child or every murder victim or every rape victim, you're not going to last on this job. You're gonna burn yourself out, become an alcoholic, or commit suicide (Ofc. 39, male, Hispanic, 38 yrs., 1000+ officers).

Interestingly, some officers felt that it was not just the negative events in their job that they needed to maintain distance from, but also the positive ones, as attachment to one could precipitate attachment to the other: "You don't get too attached to anything work-related, positive

or negative. If you keep attached to the positive, you're going to keep attached to the negative as well (Ofc. 11, male, White, 14 yrs., <49 officers). Yet, some officers struggle to find the balance between honoring their humanity within their work, while also finding sufficient distance to not be adversely affected by the negative experiences they have. One officer recognized the need for learning how to maintain more distance from his work, but also desired to maintain the humanity in his work approach: "…it's possible, I guess, with better training I can learn to be coldhearted, but I would not want to be a machine" (Ofc. 32, male, Hispanic, 17 yrs., 1000+ officers).

Role Strain Negatively Influences Experiences of the Professional Environment

Significant experiences of role strain can have a lasting negative influence on officers' experiences of their professional environment, leading to cynicism about their organization and leadership, a general sense of demotivation, and diminished loyalty to the institution.

Cynicism About the Organization and Leadership. Cynicism about the organization developed primarily from role conflict resulting from poor leadership, lack of organizational support in relation to an officers' deteriorative mental health, and the perception that the agency was not adequately protecting its officers. For example, supervisory directives that were ill-informed by the realities of an officer's work demands or contrary to an officer's own role orientation, could lead to significant frustration and cynicism about the quality of leadership. One officer described a general sense of dread about having to work with a specific supervisor whose policing approach was misaligned with the officer's own preferences: "I went from loving going to work, looking forward to it, to: "Oh god, he's gonna be at work today" (Ofc. 27, male, White, 4 yrs., 250-499 officers). Another officer and her coworkers perceived supervisory directives to be poorly informed and misguided, resulting in a negative work environment and a sense that "it's us versus the command staff" (Ofc. 10, female, Asian, 5 yrs., 1000+ officers).

Cynicism about the organization and leadership was also associated with the perception

that the agency did not care about the safety and well-being of its officers. For example, one

officer in a severely understaffed agency said:

> We were running so short that I told my wife, I said, "Hey, if I eat it on this job—if I end
> up getting killed—you need to sue this department because I'm running with three of us
> in an area that is one of the most dangerous zip codes in the nation (Ofc. 33, male, White,
> 9 yrs., 1000+ officers).

More commonly, officers felt a lack of organizational support related to their mental health

concerns. Officers experiencing significant mental health challenges related to a critical incident,

described overwhelming experiences of role conflict. For example, an officer who privately

struggled with PTSD after being involved in an officer-involved shooting, requested the removal

of the voluntary duties he had taken on previously to help the agency's reserve program,

receiving a disappointing response from his supervisor:

> …they had given [the reserve program] to me and they weren't thinking about it now and
> they didn't want to think about it and they wanted it to just be my responsibility. And,
> being in that position where I felt like it was obvious that I was asking for help and then
> being told to kinda make due, find your own way, was looking back on it the absolute
> wrong answer from them…And, when you want to get out of something or you're not
> enjoying it or you're not giving it you're all and then your bosses are telling you "well, if
> you pull out now and quit doing it, this is gonna look bad for you when promotions come
> around next." And, so, you're kinda forced into doing it when you don't want to, and then
> that creates a lot resentment and frustration (Ofc. 41, male, White, 10 yrs., <49 officers).

Another officer felt similarly poorly supported in the aftermath of a line of duty death in his

department, concluding that:

> "…the department doesn't really care about *you*. They care about their bottom line and
> how they look. They don't care about you. They don't care about your beat partners.
> They'll put on a big show if you get, you know, killed in line of duty. And, we'll have a
> big funeral, and they'll shut the city down. But they don't—what they care about is their
> bottom line and how they look… (Ofc. 33, male, White, 9 yrs., 1000+ officers).

Chronic role strain, in particular when it results from conflict with an officer's internal values or needs, appears to be meaningfully associated with cynicism about the organization and leadership, precipitating negative professional experiences.

Demotivation. Some officers who experienced significant role strain in their organization lost their drive for work and avoided engaging in proactive aspects of their work. For example, one officer said: "There was a point in time where…I almost wondered why I do all the stuff that I do (Ofc. 33, male, White, 9 yrs., 1000+ officers). Another officers described a similar sentiment "you're sitting there going, '…they're gonna burn me. And I'm not getting burned, so I'm not doing anything'" (Ofc. 19, female, Hispanic, 22 yrs., 1000+ officers). Ofc. 27 (male, White, 4 yrs., 250-499 officers) described losing his enthusiasm for work:

> I kind of got to mentality, unfortunately, at that point of, "I'm going to get through the day. I'm going to go and I'm not going to get written up for being outside my area today." you know, it got from the point where I was like, "Yeah, I'm going to go out and do stuff" to "I'm going to make it through the day without getting written up."

In short, chronic role strain could have a meaningful demotivating effect on officers, resulting in a lessened desire to engage in any type of proactive efforts on behalf of the agency or the public.

Turnover Intention. Officers who experienced significant role strain, at times, became sufficiently dissatisfied that they planned to or successfully managed to leave their agency, sometimes at significant cost to them. For example, one officer who experienced what he described as "a little bit of corruption" (Ofc. 27, male, White, 4 yrs., 250-499 officers) in a small rural department elected to leave his full-time position to become an unpaid reserve officer in another jurisdiction before being offered another full-time position. A second officer took a large pay cut and left his previous agency because was so frustrated by the agency's mandate against

proactive enforcement that he felt his ability to make a difference in the community was severely

hampered:

> "Man, there's so much more going on here. Do you see all the drugs? Do you see this? Do you see that?" And they're like, "Yeah, well. what can you do?" And I'm like, "You guys can do something." It just drove me nuts…I eventually saw the end and I elected to apply [to other departments]" (Ofc. 25, male, White, 17 yrs., 50-99 officers).

On the other hand, another officer was so frustrated by the lack of discretion he had at his old

department and the mandated enforcement directives that went counter to his preferred policing

approach, that he left for another department: "…if you pulled a car over, you were going to

write a citation. There was no such thing as… pulling the car over and being like, 'Hey man, just

slow down'…And that drove me *insane*…" (Ofc. 40, male, White, 12 yrs., <49 officers). A forth

officer felt so poorly supported by his department after the felonious line of duty death of his

coworker that he was searching for new opportunities at the time of his interview: "I don't think

about my entire career through policing anymore…I know my career is definitely shortened"

(Ofc. 1, male, Asian, 11 yrs., 50-99 officers).

In short, chronic role strain--and in particular role conflict—experienced by officers can

have meaningful implications for longevity of an officer's career and tenure with an agency.

Experiences of Role Strain Shape Officers' Interaction with the Public.

Over time, officers develop informal strategies for managing role strain, including

methods for prioritizing calls, incidents, and cases; proactive communication with supervisors

(context-permitting) and routinized personal coping strategies to deal with strain (e.g., taking a

deep breath to transition from one call to another; a specific routine for transitioning from work

to home life). Officers may also resolve role strain in their use of discretion, and in extreme

cases, may resist against organizational, supervisory and coworker directives and norms. The

strategies officers felt were available to them to address role strain depended on many factors

including the organizational climate, the officer's seniority within their agency, and their particular capacities. Because officers' responses to role strain are vast, in this section I focus specifically on responses to strain that may shape interactions with the public.

Role Strain Can Limit Motivation for Engagement with the Public. The vast majority of officers in this study were motivated to engage in the public and described making explicit efforts to proactively to do. However, there were two ways in which role strain could limit officers' motivation for engaging the public. Diminished motivation for public engagement was primarily the response to (1) significant mental health struggles, especially related to perceptions of risk associated with citizen interactions, and (2) cynicism about the potential for success of such interactions.

As mentioned previously, incidents that represent a threat to officers' safety may elevate their perception of risk related to police work. One officer described the challenge of being at work after the fatal shooting of a fellow officer during a routine call for service. Even though he was not engaged in active patrol duties at the time of the interview, he recognized that the return to patrol would be extremely difficult—he felt generally less safe and had withdrawn from interaction with the public: "I'm not trying to have too much interaction with…the general public as much" (Ofc. 1, male, Asian, 11 yrs., 50-99 officers).

Another way in which role strain can shape motivation for engagement with the public is due a rising cynicism about the success of interactions with the public. For example, one officer described trying to engage with the public but becoming disillusioned and demotivated as her efforts at engagement were unsuccessful:

> …honestly, as the years went on, nobody is happy to see us. So, you don't really stop and walk up to a group people because they're going to be like "why are you here? What did I do wrong?" as opposed to the thinking "hey the cops are here. Want a pop?" like "hey, happy to see ya" (Ofc. 20, female, White, 25 yrs., 50-99 officers).

Another officer similarly felt that engagement with the public typically did not actually reach those individuals who were most negative about police and with whom building relationships would be most important:

> …the people that you need to engage with, they're not going to engage with you. So, I don't know how to connect the people that like, or youth today growing up thinking police are just killing all of these innocent people and what not. I mean, it's hard to engage with those people, and those are the ones you need to engage with…it's like the ones that you talk to are not the ones you really need to be talking to (Ofc. 7, male, Black/African American, 10 yrs., 250-499 officers).

Role Strain Can Limit Opportunities for Engagement with the Public. Even when officers were motivated to proactively engage with the public, role overload and role conflict resulting from officers' workloads, or incompatible departmental needs and supervisory directives could preempt opportunities for engagement. For example, being "a slave to the radio" (Ofc. 3, Ofc. 26) left officers responding to calls without breaks: "'Another job, another job, another job.' And you just keep hammering and hammering and hammering" (Ofc. 26, male, White, 9 yrs., 1000+ officers). When officers struggle with high call volume or competing work responsibilities that are perceived to take precedence over community engagement efforts, some officers may simply come to feel that proactive, non-enforcement engagements with the public are simply not part of their responsibilities: "I just think we have so much other stuff we need to do as a patrol officer that [focusing on community policing] is not our job function" (Ofc. 10, female, Asian, 5 yrs., 1000+ officers). In effect, the constraints presented by experiences of role strain may lead to broader changes in the role behaviors that officers engage in.

Role Strain Can Diminish the Quality of Officers' Interactions with the Public. For various reasons, role strain often results in more negative interactions with the public. Officers describe two main mechanisms for the decreased quality of engagement, including (1) directly

through the negative impact of supervisory directives that priorities enforcement, and (2)

indirectly via increased stress precipitated by the time-pressures related to managing overload or

competing professional demands.

A primary driver of more negative interactions with the public were supervisory

directives that emphasized enforcement activity:

> When I did patrol, everything was activity. It was all activity. It was all, "Who's gonna write the most? Who's gonna collar [arrest] the most? Who's gonna do this? Who's gonna do that?" It was… It felt like, for a while, like, you were really there just to bother people (Ofc. 26, male, White, 9 yrs., 1000+ officers).

Moreover, due to potential negative professional consequences, officers typically felt they had no

choice but to implement such directives even when they countered officers' own preferred

policing approach. One officer, for example, described that his agency had diminished officers'

discretion in relation to ticket writing and instructed them to write traffic tickets based on very

specific parameters around speeding, something he did not agree with: "Well, this is not what I

want to do, but at the same time, I'd like to retain my job and benefits, so I am going to write this

ticket" (Ofc. 8, male, Asian, 6 yrs., <49 officers).

Beyond enforcement directives, officers also described that the stress of police work,

which is oftentimes driven by role strain as discussed above, can precipitate more tense

interactions with the public. One officer simply explained: "what do cops do when they get

stressed? They treat whoever they deal with disrespectfully—whether it's fellow cops, whether

it's the public, whether it's your family" (Ofc. 17, male, White, 37 yrs., 500-999 officers).

It is quite clear from officers' narratives that workload pressures that put significant time

constraints on officers are perceived to be very stressful. Moreover, officers also describe that

they have a negative effect on interactions with community members. For example, officers who

are attempting to work through a backlog of calls may not be able to attend to the needs of

specific community members right away, causing much frustration for the individual,

diminishing the quality of the interaction with the officer, and overall decreasing satisfaction

with police services. Traffic accidents without injuries, or calls in which an individual simply

requires a report are considered low-priority potentially leading to lengthy wait times until an

officer can respond: "we get a lot of car accidents, and sometimes people could be waiting an

hour, two hours. Sometimes they'll call a precinct and they'll be like, "Oh, you know, I've been

waiting for X amount of time. What's going on?" (Ofc. 6, male, Hispanic, 11 yrs., 1000+

officers). Moreover, the stress of a frustrated community member can then lead to unprofessional

behavior by the responding officers:

> …we were running like crazy people, and I was like clearing a call to go to the next call and go to the next call and go to the next call. And this woman kept calling dispatch and complaining about the fact that we hadn't been to her house yet…and I'm driving to another call and trying to explain to her why we're not coming and how busy we are, and she just—she cussed me up one side and down the other. And finally, I said "listen, we're not coming. We'll be there tomorrow or the next day, but we're not coming today and you need to stop calling or we're gonna arrest you for calling" because she was calling 911 and it was not an emergency. And she was *pissed*, and she just kept yelling at me. And finally, I hung up on her which is completely out of character for me, and that's not appropriate to do... (Ofc. 20, female, White, 25 yrs., 50-99 officers).

At times, officers also describe having to interrupt an ongoing interaction with a community

member in order to attend to a more urgent situation, which not all members of the public

understood or appreciated, again potentially changing officers' behavior:

> A lot of times, they understand. Other times, they don't, you know: "No, this is my problem. I want you to stay here and fix it now." Well, now you are impeding me helping somebody else, So, my attitude is going to change at that point. I'll be back. (Ofc. 13, male, White, 10 yrs., <49 officers)

As officers are managing the strain of time-pressure and competing demands and the ensuing

lower-quality interactions with citizens, their role strain may be further compounded by the

conflict created by the inability to address a community member's issue: "…none of us [cops]

want to disappoint people….so, like, that's the worst feeling in the world" (Ofc. 40, male, White,

12 yrs., <49 officers).

Officers May Resolve Role Strain via Discretionary Behaviors and Acts of

Resistance. Many officers feel little recourse but to engage in the activities that are prescribed by

departmental need or supervisory directives; however, officers also develop discretionary

strategies for managing role strain related with such activities, and in extreme cases may choose

to resist directly against organizational directives or policies. Notably, the vast majority of

discretionary behaviors and all acts of resistance that officers described were used to *benefit* the

public or directly aid relationship-building with the public. One officer put it this way:

"sometimes [I] give breaks and [am] more than fair, because I'm trying to develop a rapport with

the citizens that I'm dealing with" (Ofc. 4, male, Black/African American, 20 yrs., 1000+

officers).

To balance their desire to help communities and build relationships, while also adhering

to enforcement mandates, some officers described "kind of push[ing] the envelope" (Ofc. 22,

female, White, 27 yrs., 1000+ officers). For example, some officers used their discretion to

separate enforcement activities into those that they felt were meaningful and beneficial to

community life and those that they may chose not to engage in. One officer described focusing

on writing "good" summonses to improve public safety in her jurisdiction:

> …if somebody who runs a red light, you know, during school hours, when kids are like
> getting let out of school, that's the guy you wanna bang because that condition should be
> corrected…So, that's like a good summons versus your poor working guy, who's like,
> "Ah, I didn't even realize my headlight was out" (Ofc. 21, female, White, 17 yrs., 1000+
> officers)

In some cases, officers described outright resistance to supervisory enforcement mandates

they did not agree with, either by ignoring the directive or explicitly defying it. Sometimes,

resistance was as simple as asserting oneself and taking the time needed to respond to a call in the way in which officers perceived was best: "I made time…I never was rushed on any job. I took my time. If they got mad, too damn bad" (Ofc. 4, male, Black/African American, 20 yrs., 1000+ officers). Other times, directives were ignored because they did not align with an officers' preferences for how to engage in police work: "And, we were just like, 'Man, that seems like a quota,' and then we just—I don't want to say ignored it, but for lack of better term, ignored it. And we just kind of kept doing what we were doing (Ofc. 8, male, Asian, 6 yrs., <49 officers). An officer's seniority and position within the department could make it easier to resist undesirable directives. For example, a 20-year veteran officer nearing retirement said: "I kind of say 'ok' and do my thing…What are you gonna do? Bump me to patrol? Already there!" (Ofc. 3, female, Hispanic, 21 yrs., 250-499 officers). In more extreme cases, officers may choose to directly defy a supervisor's directive, for example when orders were perceived to be in "conflict with my oath as a police officer" (Ofc. 27, male, White, 4 yrs., 250-499 officers). For example, two officers in this study recounted being given what they perceived as unlawful orders. One officer simply responded to such a directive by "say[ing] right on the radio: 'nah, that's not happening'" (Ofc. 25, male, White, 17 yrs., 50-99 officers). Another officer refused to initiate an arrest for which he did not feel he had legal cause: "I said, 'This is not a legal arrest. This is wrong. We can't do this. I don't want any part of this" (Ofc. 14, male, White, 32 yrs., 100-249 officers).

Discretion and resistance where also used in a show of humanity when needed. For example, one officer described a domestic violence incident in which she ignored departmental policy in order to make a child feel safe:

> Dad was whooping mom and I pulled up and this little girl, she was probably like eight years old, she runs out of the house…that kid was shaking so bad and was so scared, she

literally crawled up me and she would not—like, she would not stop shaking…to make her feel safe, I literally like set—and it's illegal but I did it anyways—I let her sit in my car and I locked my car and I told her she would be safe in there, nobody could get in there because they didn't have a key but me (Ofc. 15, female, White, 11 yrs., <49 officers).

In another example, a detective used discretion in a show of humanity honoring a suspect's loss of his brother. Even though the individual had a warrant out for his arrest and was needed for questioning by the detective related to a murder, he provided the suspect time to grieve the loss. He recounted his conversation with a family-member of the suspect:

I'm like, "Listen, just tell him to turn himself in. You know, I'm giving him the time to grieve his brother and do the right thing, but tell him that he has to do the right thing at the end and talk to me about this. I need to see his other brother. I need them to come in and talk to me about this...And they really appreciated that (Ofc. 25, male, White, 17 yrs., 50-99 officers).

At times, resistance was guided by perceived inefficiencies or problems with the wider justice system. For example, one officer focusing on mental health response, resisted departmental policies that she felt did not allow her to adequately respond to an incident she encountered by pushing her legal authority in an attempt to link an individual in crisis with adequate mental health care: "…there has been plenty of times where if they held my feet to the fire, I would get in trouble for not following policy. But, not following policy is in the best interest of…the [mental health] consumer" (Ofc. 44, female, White, 7 yrs., 250-499 officers).

Overall, officers used discretion and resistance in order to show consideration to members of the public, build relationships, and improve individual outcomes.

Discussion: Implications, Limitations and Future Directions

Police officers are navigating and will likely continue to manage wide-ranging changes to their professional function. They continue to engage in traditional functions of the role (i.e., "crime fighting"), but are also navigating extensive service functions and substantive changes to the way the public perceives their role. The following section outlines the limitations of this

dissertation, discusses the implications of its findings for future work, and suggests organizational next steps for improving officers' occupational environment.

Implications for Research

Police role orientation and experiences of role strain have been examined in a limited way in previous academic literature, relying primarily on quantitative studies. This dissertation was a first foray into understanding police officers' orientations to their work that leveraged qualitative approaches. Moreover, this study also considered the nested, dynamic layers of context in which officers operate to understand in a nuanced way how role orientation may be shaped by officers' subjective experiences of role strain related to the expansive nature of their professional responsibilities. Overall, this study explored the following questions:

1) How do police officers understand their role in relation to the citizens they serve?

2) To what extent and in what ways do police officers experience role strain?

3) How do police officers navigate role strain and prioritize competing demands?

Unlike previous quantitative work on role orientation that has presumed the static nature of officers' orientations to their work and the public (e.g., Chen, 2016; Coulangeon et al., 2012; Gau & Paoline, 2017; Ricks & Eno Louden, 2015), officers' subjective experiences reveal that role orientation is best understood as a dynamic process. Role orientation can change over time and, moreover, the role behaviors in which officers engage may be shaped by external constraints that lead to behaviors and decision-making that are not always a reflection of officers' stated policing priorities.

The findings also represent a significant extension of previous literature that has examined role strain among law enforcement, which has taken primarily a piecemeal approach to understanding the prevalence and effects of specific types of role strain among officers (Biggam

et al., 1997; Brown & Campbell, 1990; Cooper, 2012; Duxbury & Halinski, 2018; Glissmeyer et al., 2008; Johnson, 2012; Violanti & Aron, 1994). Officer narratives provide strong evidence that role strain is a robust feature of police work and can be leveraged as an overarching framework for understanding police officers' experiences of their professional responsibilities. Moreover, this study is one of few that have examined the *causes* of role strain specifically, giving insight into how the occupational environment in which officers operate may shape their approaches to work and the public they serve.

As discussed in the methods section, qualitative data are not intended to be representative. However, the wide sampling strategy used served to maximize the transferability of the findings across organizational contexts, jurisdictional characteristics and officer demographics. As the quotes throughout this report suggest, the experiences of role strain and the dynamic nature of role orientation was found across different officer groups and organizational settings, increasing confidence that the processes outlined here lend themselves to a wider theoretical understanding of officers' experiences of the expansive nature of police work. Not all officers experience all types of strain, of course, but my findings provide a comprehensive outline of common experiences of strain police officers may manage, highlight organizational characteristics that may drive such experiences, and suggest potential mechanisms by which officers' occupational environments shape their relationships with the public. The findings provide a strong foundation from which to conduct research with larger, representative samples of police officers that could provide a better sense of the frequency of experiences and outcomes officers describe in this study and, moreover, to quantify the effects of the proposed processes.

The Need for a More Nuanced Understanding of Organizational Influences on Law

Enforcement

The decentralized and localized nature of U.S. policing can make it difficult to identify the big-picture challenges that law enforcement officers experience across a range of jurisdictions and settings; yet, my findings suggest that the functional expansion of the police role may be one such challenge. However, we should not be tempted to believe that we can develop one-size-fits-all organizational interventions to address the myriad issues that appear to be associated with the expansive nature of the police function across settings—the challenges of rural jurisdictions will always be different than those of urban jurisdictions; the challenges of small agencies will always be different than the challenges of large agencies. For this reason, the critical next step to this work is to examine in a more nuanced way how the features of different types of organizational settings may influence the role strain experienced by officers.

While basic organizational characteristics for each officer are contained in this dissertation, it is important to move beyond officers' self-reported understanding of their organizational and supervisory contexts to gain a more nuanced view of the settings in which they operate. For example, case studies consigning officers' experiences of strain within particular organizational settings could help to parse more clearly the processes proposed by this dissertation. Examining archival data (e.g., written agency missions, training manuals, and standard operating procedures) could complement and contextualize officers' experiences of strain via content-analytic examinations of how an agency's mission is aligned with officers' training and supported by its policies and procedures. Analyses of data from emergency communications centers could be overlaid on officers' self-reported experiences of strain to calculate optimal staffing levels and/or identify strategies for dispatching calls for services that

ease the transitions between calls. Moreover, fieldwork in police agencies that includes

attendance at role calls could provide insight into how consistently the agency mission is

communicated by supervisors and command staff, while ride-alongs with officers could provide

a real-time opportunity to understand what factors drive officer decision-making in the moment.

The Influence of Officer Mental Health on the Quality of Interactions with the Public

The most unexpected finding was the over-arching concern with mental health that

officers voiced. It is well-known in the academic literature that police officers are regularly

exposed to traumatic incidents that can have serious consequences for their mental health, and

the officers in this study were no exception. Officers experience high rates of work-related post-

traumatic stress disorder (Marmar, 2006; Stephens & Long, 1999), and may exhibit post-trauma

adjustment difficulties such as anxiety, depression, sleep disruptions, impaired job performance

and maladaptive behaviors (Anshel, 2000; Davey et al., 2000; McMillen et al., 2000; Reynolds

& Wagner, 2007). Many of above-named issues were also discussed by officers in this study,

indicating a substantial need for intervention.

The link between police officers' mental health and their orientations to work are severely

under-examined, especially considering the far-reaching psychological strain officers navigate

due to the nature of their work. Interestingly, while some officers directly link a negative

psychological state to more negative interactions with the public, the academic literature has not

focused on understanding this relationship. Most of the academic literature on police mental

health has focused on the prevalence of stress and PTSD, without considering how such mental

health concerns may then mediate officer behavior and decision-making in interactions with the

public. Some questions to consider are: How does officer mental health shape cynicism about the

public? In what ways does officer mental health status influence proactive behaviors? How do

officers' personal roles interact with professional responsibilities to create mental health needs?

What are the most effective ways to engage officers in preventative mental health support?

Continuing Examinations of Community-Level Influences on Law Enforcement

It is likely that localized studies of officers' experiences of role strain, appropriately

contextualized with organizational information, could provide much-needed information to

develop suitable interventions for improving officers' occupational environments. However, it

should not be forgotten that police agencies are nested within jurisdictions, complicating

appropriate intervention. Many of the organizational issues precipitating role strain are, in effect,

shaped by a locality's willingness to invest in an agency.

On a fundamental level, departmental staffing, equipment, and training opportunities rely

on local willingness to allocate budgets that can support the resources needed to optimize an

agency's functioning. However, other community-level factors also have to be considered.

Beyond economic resources, communities have to be willing to *engage* with their agencies. How

do we effectively address officers' role strain related to race-based tensions in the locality in

which they serve? How do we "deal with the ghosts of our past," as Ofc. 47 so eloquently stated?

What is the responsibility of police agencies to develop mechanisms for reconciliation between

their organization and the community? Recent work by the National Initiative for Building

Community Trust and Justice has provided a promising template for how to think about such

reconciliation work (Lawrence et al., 2019); however, it is clear that much is still unknown about

how to effectively move forward such initiatives.

Changing Public Expectations for Law Enforcement

Many officers felt that much of their work involved response to what they would consider

low-priority, civil issues. Moreover, some officers explicitly stated that they have perceived a

shift in public expectation for the police function, resulting in greater service-expectations. Interestingly, the academic literature has not examined whether the advent of community policing and other democratic policing initiatives has precipitated wholesale changes in expectations for the police role, and moreover, whether police agencies have systematically adjusted their practices to accommodate such shifts. Work in the UK context has shown an increased widening of the police function and it has been argued that this broadening needs to be understood and evaluated critically (Millie, 2013). At the core of the issue of the functional expansion of the police role is a larger societal consideration: what *should* be the function of police? Are there responsibilities that have been absorbed into the police function which would be best redirected to other service providers and agencies?

It may be that in today's society a broad police function is, in fact, best and no realignment might be necessary; however, we have to understand whether officers are adequately prepared for and supported in successfully, safely, and confidently being able to address the breadth of their responsibilities.

Understanding the Intersectional Experiences of Police Officers

This exploratory qualitative study was a first foray toward a more nuanced understanding of the experiences of under-represented officers. Findings suggest that under-represented officers (i.e., female officers, officers of color) may experience role strain related to their basic roles (e.g., race, sex) that are not typically experienced by the prototypical White, male officer. Based on the findings, it is important to begin to quantify how workloads may be distributed and shifted based on the identities that officers bring to their position and develop mechanisms for ensuring equitable workloads. Moreover, we need to gain a deeper understanding of how organizational climates may be shaped by interpersonal tensions related to officers' identities, and how such

issues can be addressed proactively. There is some evidence that officers' identities are associated with perceptions of the public (Gau & Paoline, 2017); however, existing research cannot specify the directionality of this relationship. Moreover, the issue of how officers' identities may interact with the identities of public counterparts and community settings has been underexamined, but present an area rife for research. For example, it is likely that such interactions could shape levels of cooperation and resistance by the citizens or shape citizens' satisfaction with police interactions.

With the rising diversity in U.S. law enforcement, it is critical to understand the challenges experienced by different groups of officers in order to consider how to effectively support them in their duties. While I maintained a broad recruitment strategy and successfully recruited a diverse sample of officers, despite targeted and concerted efforts, I was unable to recruit a higher number of officers who identified as Black/African American. Notably, this study does not include the voices of female officers who identify as Black/African American. Future research on policing should engage in targeted recruitment efforts to ensure that intersectional perspectives are represented in an effort to learn more about the variability of officers' experiences of their work.

Implications for Organizational Practice

While it is not possible to outline specific steps for addressing factors that create experiences of role strain for officers based on the dissertation's findings, I provide guidance for general concerns that organizational leadership may wish to consider and address in an effort to alleviate officers' experiences of strain.

Concretize and Formalize an Agency Mission

First and foremost, law enforcement agencies have to develop a strategic, over-arching mission that guides their operational structures and processes. Without such a mission, departmental operations are at risk of becoming unanchored and poorly supported. Beyond simple philosophy, a department's mission must be translated into goals that encompass organizational, strategic and tactical dimensions (Cordner, 1997) in order to push forward the mission. According to Cordner (1997), the organizational dimension considers changes in the structure, management and administration of an agency in order to support the overarching mission. The strategic dimension includes operational concepts that translate philosophy into action and may include a reorientation of operations. The tactical dimension translates the philosophical mission and strategies into concrete programs, practices and behaviors. The recommendations based on this study's findings focus on modifications to the strategic dimension via a re-orientation of operations.

Systematically Align the Agency Mission with Operational Strategies, Structures and Processes

Once the agency mission has been formalized, it must be infused into all aspects of departmental operations. Supervisory officers should be expected to adopt the mission as their own, be able to communicate the mission clearly, and issue directives in the mission's support to line officers. Training should reflect stated priorities (discussed in more detail below). Mechanisms for performance evaluation and promotion should reflect the agency mission so that officers are rewarded for prioritizing the activities and responsibilities that are in line with the departments' stated priorities. The discussion of how to effectively measure police officers' performance is not a new one (Langworthy, 1999). Measures such as crime reports, arrests,

citations, clearance rates and response time tap certain aspects of an agency's functioning but are, in reality, ineffective for assessing the bulk of today's police function—service. Moreover, as discussed by Davis et al. (2015), such traditional performance measures may be quite misleading. For example, a high number of citations or arrests may suggest strong performance but actually be representative of poor efforts to solve community problems in a more meaningful way. Police leadership can send clear signals about what is valued and important to the agency via the performance measures that are implemented, thereby helping to align departmental needs with supervisory priorities and coworker norms, and maximizing officers' role behaviors in support of agency needs and priorities.

Perform an Organizational Needs-Assessment to Identify Resource Gaps

In order to understand how resource needs may be impacting officers' experiences of role strain, an agency should complete an organizational needs assessment focusing on staffing levels; equipment inventory and maintenance processes; and training availability, accessibility and quality. A needs assessment is a systematic process of gathering information that can identify gaps in resources and inform improvements of the organizational environment. As possible, existing data sources can be leveraged to understand the current status of the agency's resources and inform operational improvements. For example, local crime trends can be examined to optimize the staffing needs of different patrol areas of the jurisdiction; dispatch data can be used to understand the overall call-driven workload on officers.

A primary concern of an agency's needs assessment should relate to human resources. General considerations for staffing levels should not only rely on overall call volume or investigative caseloads, but also consider the extent to which officers have to be given the capacity to engage in proactive efforts related to community-engagement. Building relationships

with the public cannot happen incidentally as officers answer calls (as many officers described

they were charged to do); departments must make strategic investments to ensure adequate

staffing to allow officers to engage in such efforts. Moreover, agency leadership has to consider

factors such as the administrative burden placed on officers, geographic challenges of the

jurisdiction, the assignment of ancillary duties, the causes of temporary workload increases (for

example, due to illness, injury, pregnancy, training leaves, promotions, retirements, etc.) and how

those will be addressed strategically. Agency leadership should also evaluate current recruitment

strategies and identify potential ways of minimizing onerous and time-consuming processes that

lead to long lags between recruitment and hire. Familiarity of the compensation packages of

surrounding agencies can help to inform proper compensation to (1) heighten the possibility of

successful recruitment, and (2) to avoid the costly hiring and training of new recruits who later

depart due to compensation packages that are not competitive. The overarching goal of staffing

should consider the numbers of officers necessary to provide sufficient time for officers to

engage proactively in positive ways with the public, and moreover. how to increase the longevity

of officers' careers within the agency. Proper staffing guided by such considerations would allow

officers to build stronger relationships within their jurisdictions, likely improving public

perception of the agency, while also helping officers to remain grounded in the community they

service and allowing for more frequent opportunities to reinforce positive assumptive beliefs

about the public.

In terms of equipment and training, it should go without saying that all officers should be

trained adequately and provided with appropriate, well-maintained equipment needed to perform

their regular work duties safely and efficiently. Protective gear should meet minimum standards

and be replaced regularly as their lifespan dictates; cars should be maintained properly.

Organizational leadership should also evaluate the technology that is being used in their agency to facilitate report-writing and other tasks to ensure that they are customized suitably to the agency's requirements and do not include redundant or unnecessary prompts that do not aid the functioning of the agency. Finally, academy training and continuing education opportunities should be evaluated in light of the agency mission to ensure that officers are receiving instruction and opportunities to practice the skills and capacities needed to allow them to address their responsibilities in an efficient, safe, and confident manner. Most often, adjustments to training will likely need to be considered in terms of building capacities related to the community-engagement aspects of agencies' missions. Of course, such a reorientation should not suggest that other trainings necessary to maintain the safety of officers be diminished.

Promote a Procedurally Just Organizational Climate

Some officers indicated that understanding *why* directives are what they are is very important to them and helps them perform their work: "…I need the information. I don't just follow suit because that's what I'm told. I need to know *why* I'm being told" (Ofc. 25, male, White, 17 yrs., 50-99 officers). The need for transparency in organizational decision-making coincides with characteristics of a procedurally just organizational climate. While assessing internal procedural justice was not a main focus of my research questions, it is clear from officers' narratives that departments that are perceived to operate on principles of procedural justice provide a more positive and satisfying occupational experience. In practice, a procedurally just climate ensures respectful, fair and impartial treatment by supervisors and coworkers, equitable application of rules, and neutral and transparent decision-making. Overall, agencies should also provide officers with an effective mechanism by which to express their concerns about any aspect of the organizational environment, without fear of retribution

(Trinkner et al., 2016). It is important to realize that a procedurally just climate does not only benefit the officer, it also facilitates the internalization of department values and priorities (Bradford & Quinton, 2014), increases adherence to departmental policy and supervisory directives (Haas et al., 2015), decreases turnover intention (Suifan et al., 2017), increases work output (Reynolds et al., 2018), promotes the engagement in proactive organizational behaviors that improve the agency climate such as helping a fellow officers (Bradford et al., 2014), and is associated with greater endorsement of democratic forms of policing (Trinkner et al., 2016).

Formalize Guidance for Addressing Competing Work Demands

In order to minimize role conflict related to the management of competing work demands, agencies should strive to put in place written policies that help guide officers in the task of managing their responsibilities. Such policies are especially crucial in helping officers manage instances in which they are charged with prioritizing multiple high-priority or urgent responsibilities. Whenever possible, prioritization should be front-loaded, such that emergency communication systems indicate the priorities officers should follow, alleviating officers' mental load related to competing work demands.

Prioritize Officers' Psychological Health and Eliminate Mental Health Stigma

A wider cultural shift around officer mental health can serve to make it easier for officers to proactively address the stressors and chronic traumas of police work that impact them negatively and may also shape role behaviors in undesirable ways. Interestingly, participants generally acknowledged the potential value of mental health counseling to manage the stressors of police work, but they also identify a wide range of barriers to treatment-seeking. Most prominently, officers perceived that the cultural environment of their organizations, from supervisors to coworkers, was often characterized by significant mental health stigma and many

officers were extremely concerned about the negative professional consequences that may ensue

if their agency became aware of their mental health struggles or the fact that they sought

treatment. In essence, what is needed is a resounding change in culture around the topic of

mental health. Agency leadership must become aware of the messages that are sent about mental

health within their agency to make necessary course-adjustments to relieve stigma related to the

psychological experiences of police work. As part of this process, leadership should begin to

think strategically about the ways in which officers' mental health needs can be supported.

A first step in addressing officers' mental health needs is to understand more carefully the

barriers to treatment that officers experience. The obstacles perceived by officers likely differ

across agencies; however, a prominent issue brought up by many officers was a general lack of

clarity about the specific organizational processes and policies around officer mental health.

Specifically, many officers were unsure about what the professional consequences for engaging

in mental health treatment could be. A common refrain among officers was the worry that they

would be unable to work, lose their eligibility to work overtime, or that they would be taken off

the street and placed in an administrative role, indefinitely. Such concerns can be addressed by

making transparent (and easily accessible) the mental health policies that would impact an officer

in need of services; or, if formal policies are unwritten, they should be developed to carefully

address officers' potential concerns. Moreover, agencies should systematize how critical

incidents are addressed. Questions to consider are: What events will trigger a mental health

response by the agency? When will counseling be mandated? How can officers be assured that

the services they are accessing are confidential? If an officer struggles with mental health

challenges and needs to be relieved of his/her duties, what will be the process for reinstating

him/her to full duty? Departments should think broadly about how to proactively address

officers' mental health related not just to critical incidents, but also to chronic secondary trauma that may result over time.

While a wholesale cultural shift around mental health is a more complicated endeavor, officers also mentioned other fairly straight-forward organizational factors as barriers to treatment-seeking that could be addressed more easily. For example, they discussed inadequate departmental mental health resources or resources that are difficult to access confidentially, or whose providers are seen to be ill-informed about the realities of police work. Unusual work hours preempted some officers from accessing services, and for others, the financial burden of services was too high. Agency leadership should consider collaborating closely with local service providers to provide confidential, affordable and easily-accessible services. Moreover, care providers should be informed of the unique challenges that the law enforcement profession presents and be mindful to engage officers in their treatments in appropriate ways.

Finally, many officers described that a positive and healthy family-life was a major source of strength and resilience for them. Often, family members can perceive changes in an officer's mental state and behaviors in ways that coworkers are unable to see. For this reason, it would be advisable to engage officers' family members in the mental health resources that are available, both to deal with their own worries and stressors related to their loved one's work, but also to be informed about the 'red flags' that could indicate the deterioration of an officer's psychological health.

Engage the Community in the Departmental Vision

Officers discussed at length the role conflict that may be precipitated by poor alignment between public expectations for the police function and officers' work realities. Such misalignment could come from departmental directives that were out of touch with the needs of

the community as well as from poor knowledge about the law and legal processes. To address

potential sources of strain in relation to the public, police leadership should strive to understand

their agency's standing in the eyes of the public. For example, household and contact surveys

may be one mechanism by which to gauge people's opinions of police effectiveness, measure

rates of citizen-initiated versus police-initiated contacts (which could give insight into the

satisfaction with police services in different areas of the jurisdiction), and assess the quality of

interactions as perceived by members of the public.

To the extent possible, it could also be helpful to consider how to maximize the alignment

between the agency's mission and public needs by engaging community feedback that could aid

in the development of an agency's mission and keep the agency grounded in the changing needs

and priorities of the community. Beyond helping to reflect public expectations for policing in the

work of the agency, such engagement may also be an important tool by which to begin to address

public discontent with the police. Notably, the most positive police-community relationships

occurred when the public had, essentially, taken ownership of its police agency. For example,

after describing the comprehensive community-engagement approach his agency takes, one

officer stated:

> We make those things a priority and the positive that we've seen from that is --it goes
> from "the troopers" to "these are our troopers." So, the community takes ownership of us
> and then pretty soon they're on a first name basis, though they respect the office. And
> when we're there officially, we've gotten more support on … The vast majority of the
> time the community supports us, and so we take away the presumption on the front end
> by engaging them and letting them see who we are and know why we do what we do.
> That's what we do. I don't know how else to describe it, but we do that as a consistent
> habit because of our structure and what we expect of our guys (Ofc. 36, male, White, 25
> yrs., 250-499 officers).

Of course, in areas with historic tensions between the public and law enforcement, additional steps likely have to be taken in order to facilitate reconciliation between and engagement with the community and its police agencies (Lawrence et al., 2019).

Finally, almost all officers felt that the public was generally poorly informed about the law, legal processes, and the legal authorities an officer possesses, causing friction in their interactions. It may be useful for agency leadership to consider ways by which to educate the public about policing. For example, it may be possible to develop collaborations with local criminal justice and social welfare agencies, the school system, universities and other non-profit organizations to develop and implement social media campaigns, programming or resources for dissemination to the public to improve the understanding of the police function.

Conclusion

The voices of police officers tend to be under-represented in academic research, leading to top-down analyses of policing that are prone to flawed assumptions and provide a poor foundation for developing informed, relevant recommendations for practice that are grounded in the realities of police work. The moving and personal accounts of the officers who lent their narratives to this study highlight the strain presented by competing demands placed on officers in light of the expansive nature of police work, and provide a glimpse into the challenges that officers face in the current socio-political moment. The findings of this study should prompt academics to develop research priorities aimed towards better understanding the interrelatedness of officers' approaches to their work (and to the public) with officers' experiences of role strain. At the same time, practitioners may wish to develop formal mechanisms for evaluating current organizational policies and practices with the goal of re-developing and aligning organizational missions, supervisory priorities, and operational processes towards one unified goal. It is also

critical for organizations to implement top-down and bottom-up cultural shifts to address mental

health stigma and provide high-quality, accessible mental health supports to officers. My

findings suggest that improving police officers' occupational environments by aligning

organizational structures and enhancing officers' psychological wellbeing, will have far-reaching

institutional benefits by improving perceptions of and loyalty to the organization and maximizing

officers' adherence to policy and supervisory mandates. Moreover, enhancing officers'

occupational environments is likely to lead to parallel improvements in police-community

relations by allowing officers to approach the public from a foundation of psychological health

and without the strain related to unreasonable workloads and incoherent work priorities.

A primary goal of this dissertation is to prompt researchers and practitioners interested in

policing, and especially police-community relations, to become cognizant of the common

assumption that officer behavior is a primary driver of the quality and types of interactions police

officers have with the public. A more holistic approach to understanding the experiences of

police officers that considers the settings in which officers operate, can help to identify the range

of parameters that support officers to engage in their work safely, confidently, and in a way that

promotes public trust. Hopefully, the compelling personal narratives contained in this

dissertation will help to precipitate productive dialogue that pushes forward research and practice

in support of improving police officers' occupational environments and their interactions with

the public.

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Appendix A: Recruitment Questionnaire

Demographics (Employment)

Thank you for your interest in participating in the C.O.P.S. study!

Part of our goal in recruiting officers for interviews is to get a range of perspectives from a diverse group of officers. This brief survey includes questions about your background, the department you work for and how you experience your job overall. The information you provide will help us to better understand your work experience during your interview.

This survey can be completed in less than five minutes. If you're interrupted while answering these questions, you can come back to this survey.

You may skip any question you prefer not to answer.

To protect your confidentiality, please generate your participant ID by typing the following:

First two letters of your first name:

First two letters of your last name:

First three numbers of your zip code:

The first set of questions are about your professional background and experiences on the job.

How old were you when you joined law enforcement?

Do you currently work in law enforcement?

○ Yes
○ No

Which statement best describes the law enforcement agency where you work?

○ Local police office
○ Sheriff's office
○ State agency
○ Federal agency

How would you describe the locality in which you serve?

○ Rural
○ Suburban
○ Urban
○ [   ] Other

What is the number of sworn personnel in the law enforcement agency in which you serve?

○ 1000 or more
○ 500-999
○ 250-499
○ 100-249
○ 50-99
○ 49 or less

Would you say your department emphasizes a "community policing" mission?

○ Yes
○ No

How long have you been employed at your current department?

○ less than 1 year
○ 1-5 years
○ 6-10 years
○ 11-15 years
○ 16-20 years
○ more than 20 years

What's your rank now?

○ Police officer / Sheriff's deputy
○ First line supervisor
○ Second line supervisor / shift commander
○ [   ] Other

When do you usually work?

○ Daytime
○ Nighttime
○ [   ] Other

Do you go on patrol as part of your regular work duties?

○ Yes
○ No

How do you typically patrol?

○ On foot
○ Bike
○ Car
○ [   ] Other

On average, how much do you come into contact with the public in the course of your work week?

○ Always or almost always (i.e., about 90-100% of shifts)
○ Usually (i.e., about 50-90% of shifts)
○ Sometimes (i.e., about 10-50% of shifts)
○ Rarely (i.e., about 1-10% of shifts)
○ Never

In an average week, how would you describe your interactions with the public?

○ Very positive
○ Somewhat positive
○ Neutral
○ Somewhat negative
○ Very negative

How often do you feel like you can make a positive connection to a community member?

○ Always or almost always (i.e., about 90-100% of shifts)
○ Usually (i.e., about 50-90% of shifts)
○ Sometimes (i.e., about 10-50% of shifts)
○ Rarely (i.e., about 1-10% of shifts)
○ Never

How often do you worry for your safety when you're on patrol?

○ Always or almost always (i.e., about 90-100% of shifts)
○ Usually (i.e., about 50-90% of shifts)
○ Sometimes (i.e., about 10-50% of shifts)
○ Rarely (i.e., about 1-10% of shifts)
○ Never

In general, how stressful would you say your job is?

○ Not stressful
○ Slightly stressful
○ Moderately stressful
○ Very stressful

Have you ever been injured at work?

○ Yes
○ No

Have you ever been in a life-threatening situation at work?

○ Yes
○ No

Has one of your coworker ever been in a life-threatening situation at work ?

○ Yes
○ No

Have you experienced a line of duty death in the course of your career?

○ Yes
○ No

If former officer

In which year did you leave law enforcement?

[   ]

How long were you employed at the last department in which you served?

○ less than 1 year
○ 1-5 years
○ 6-10 years
○ 11-15 years
○ 16-20 years

○ over 20 years

Which statement best describes the law enforcement agency where you last worked?

○ Local police office
○ Sheriff's office
○ State agency
○ Federal agency

How would you describe the locality in which you last served?

○ Rural
○ Suburban
○ Urban
○ [_____] Other

What is the number of sworn personnel in the law enforcement agency in which you last served?

○ 1000 or more
○ 500-999
○ 250-499
○ 100-249
○ 50-99
○ 49 or less

Would you say the last department in which you worked emphasized a "community policing" mission?

○ Yes
○ No

What was your rank when you left law enforcement?

○ Police officer / Sheriff's deputy
○ First line supervisor
○ Second line supervisor / shift commander
○ [_____] Other

Did you go on patrol as part of your regular work duties?

○ Yes
○ No

How did you typically patrol?

○ On foot

○ Bike
○ Car
○ [   ] Other

On average, how much did you come into contact with the public in the course of your work week?

○ Always or almost always (i.e., about 90-100% of shifts)
○ Usually (i.e., about 50-90% of shifts)
○ Sometimes (i.e., about 10-50% of shifts)
○ Rarely (i.e., about 1-10% of shifts)
○ Never

In an average week, how would you have described your interactions with the public?

○ Very positive
○ Somewhat positive
○ Neutral
○ Somewhat negative
○ Very negative

How often did you feel like you could make a positive connection to a community member?

○ Always or almost always (i.e., about 90-100% of shifts)
○ Usually (i.e., about 50-90% of shifts)
○ Sometimes (i.e., about 10-50% of shifts)
○ Rarely (i.e., about 1-10% of shifts)
○ Never

In general, how stressful would you say your job was?

○ Not stressful at all
○ Slightly stressful
○ Moderately stressful
○ Very stressful

How often did you worry for your safety when you're on patrol?

○ Always or almost always (i.e., about 90-100% of shifts)
○ Usually (i.e., about 50-90% of shifts)
○ Sometimes (i.e., about 10-50% of shifts)
○ Rarely (i.e., about 1-10% of shifts)
○ Never

Were you ever injured at work?

○ Yes
○ No

Were you ever in a life-threatening situation at work?

○ Yes
○ No

Was one of your coworker ever in a life-threatening situation at work ?

○ Yes
○ No

Did you experience a line of duty death in the course of your law enforcement career?

○ Yes
○ No

Demographics (Base/Universal)

The next set of questions about about your demographic and personal background.

What year were you born?

[   ]

What is your gender?

○ Male
○ Female
○ [   ] Other

Choose one or more races that you consider yourself to be:

☐ White
☐ Black or African American
☐ American Indian or Alaska Native
☐ Asian
☐ Native Hawaiian or Pacific Islander
☐ [   ] Other

Do you identify as Hispanic or Latino?

○ Yes
○ No

What is the highest level of school you have completed or the highest degree you have received?

○ Less than high school degree
○ High school graduate (high school diploma or equivalent including GED)
○ Some college but no degree
○ Associate degree in college (2-year)
○ Bachelor's degree in college (4-year)
○ Post-Graduate degree

Have you ever served on active duty in the US Armed Forces?

○ Yes
○ No

Are you now married, widowed, divorced, separated or never married?

○ Divorced
○ Separated
○ Married
○ Widowed
○ Never Married

Which of the following best describes your sexual orientation?

○ Heterosexual (straight)
○ Bisexual
○ Lesbian/Gay
○ Other
○ Prefer not to say

Generally speaking, do you usually think of yourself as a Republican, a Democrat, an Independent, or something else?

○ Democrat
○ Independent
○ Republican
○ [   ] Other
○ No preference

How would you describe your political views?

○ Very conservative
○ Somewhat conservative
○ Moderate
○ Somewhat liberal
○ Very liberal

Appendix B: Semi-Structured Qualitative Interview Protocol

GREETING

Hi, how are you doing? This is Meret Hofer. I'm the main researcher of the COPS project and I'll be doing your interview today.

Is this still a good time for you to talk? Do you have the next couple of hours blocked off? It may not take that long, but I want to make sure we have that time available, just in case.

CONSENT

SELF-DISCLOSURE

So, let's get started! You may be aware of this already, but my motivation comes from my brother who was a police officer who lost is life in the line of duty. We had many talks about his work, his frustrations on the job, and so I decided I want to work on the issues he cared about. I think it's important for you to know that so you understand where I'm coming from in this study. I'm happy to talk more about my experience, or answer any questions about my brother, but I would just ask that we save it until the end of the interview, since I want to hear what YOU have to say. Is that okay?

FRAMING THE INTERVIEW

Okay, so I just want to frame what we'll be talking about today a little bit. We'll talk about your background a bit, your department and the community in which you serve. Then, I'll ask you some questions that are specifically about the responsibilities you typically have and how these responsibilities might sometimes compete with each other. I'll also ask you some specific questions about different types of interactions you might have had with members of the public and how your personal background might impact how people interact with you on the job. Finally, I'll also ask you a bit about some stressful or difficult experiences you might have had on the job.

So, I'll introduce some general topics and then ask you some questions about them. If you ever have something you want to add that I didn't ask specifically, please feel free! If we get too far off track, I'll re-focus us, so you don't have to worry about doing that.

- How did you hear about the project?
- Did you know about my brother when you decided to participate in this project?
- Do you think you would have participated if I were just a regular researcher without that connect to law enforcement?

HDYFA
- To start off, I want to ask how do you feel about doing this interview today?
- What was your motivation for deciding to do this interview?

A. DEMOGRAPHIC AND CONTEXTUAL OVERVIEW

In this first part of the interview, I just want to get a bit more details about your personal and professional background. So, I'm looking at the questionnaire you provided and just want to make sure there's nothing there that I wanted to follow up on.

==BASED ON RECRUITMENT SURVEY==: Elaborate demographic details not yet provided

==BASED ON RECRUITMENT SURVEY==: Elaborate professional details not yet provided

Additional Professional Information:
- Before you joined law enforcement, did you ever work in any other types of jobs?
  - What type of job was it? For how long did you work there?
- Have you worked in any other police departments besides the one where you are now?
  - Tell me a bit about that department. How was it different than where you are no?
  - So, in total, how many years have you spent in law enforcement?
- Are you in a specialized unit (e.g., sex crimes unit, SWAT)?
  - Tell me a bit about the work you do with that unit.
- Do you have any specialized training? E.g. CIT-training? Others?

==IF OFFICER GOES ON PATROL==: Patrol context
- Do you patrol with a partner or on your own?
- Tell me a bit about the area or areas you usually patrol.
  - Would you say it's densely populated?
  - Would you say it's a wealthier or poorer area?
  - Is it a high crime area? What type of crime do you commonly see?
    - How dangerous would you consider the neighborhood(s) you patrol?
- How would you describe the people who live in the area you patrol?
  - How diverse is the population?
- In general, how do you think the people you encounter on patrol perceive police officers?
- Do you ever worry for your safety when you're on patrol?

==IF OFFICER DOES NOT ON PATROL==

- In general, how much do you come into contact with members of the public?
- How would you describe the people you typically interact with?
  - How diverse is the population?
- In general, how do you think the people you typically interact with perceive police officers?
- How dangerous do you feel your current work is?
- Do you ever worry for your safety while at work?

B. OVERALL PERCEPTION OF POLICE WORK & ROLE ORIENTATION

The next questions are about your overall way of thinking about the police function, the range of responsibilities you have and how you're supported (or not supported) in doing what you need to do every day.

- Tell me about why you choose to go into this line of work. What were your reasons for joining law enforcement?
- Can you give me 5 words that describe the function of police officer to you?
  - Tell me a little bit about what each of those means to you.
  - Which of these is the most important to you?
  - Do you think your department values those same 5 words?
  - What about your supervisors?
  - If I asked an average citizen about what 5 words they think describes the police role, what do you think they would say?
    - So it sounds like you feel that citizens have a _____ opinion of police. Why do you think that is?
- Tell me a bit about how you approach your work as a police officer? Do you have specific goals for your work or for your interactions with the public?

C. ROLE DEMANDS

- Tell me a bit about the typical types of responsibilities you have to handle during a given shift (e.g., administrative work, dispatched calls, trainings…anything you can think of)
- Tell me about the call volume / case load you usually have at work?
- What are typical calls or situations that you encounter in the course of your workday?

D. ROLE OVERLOAD (adapted from role overload scale by Bonlina & Turnley, 2005)

- In general, do you feel that the amount of work you're expected to do is reasonable?
- Do you feel you have enough time to handle everything you need to handle during your shift?

E. ROLE CONFLICT

- Thinking about everything you need to do in a given shift, how do you prioritize these different demands?

- Do you find it challenging to manage all the different things you're expected to do?
    - **IF YES**
        - Can you think of a specific time when you felt that it was challenging to manage all the different things that you had to handle in a situation?
            - Tell me a little about that situation.
            - Tell me a little about how you handled that situation.
            - What specific parts of your job do you think were competing in that moment?
            - Would you say that situations like this happen often?
            - Would you say that situations like this can be stressful?
    - **IF NO**
        - Looking back at the different responsibilities you mentioned before, tell me a little bit about how you manage everything you have to take care of.

- DEPARTMENTAL CONTEXT: Do you think that the department in which you work has specific ideas about the priorities for your work? For example, are you told what tasks you should prioritize?
    - **IF YES**
        - Tell me a bit about that.
    - Do feel like you the department gives you the resources you need to do your job effectively?
    - <mark>IF WORKED IN OTHER DEPARTMENT</mark>: when you think about the other department you worked in, were those priorities any different?

- SUPERVISORY CONTEXT**:** Other than your department's priorities, do you think supervisors have their own set of priorities for your work?
    - **IF YES**
        - Tell me a bit about that.
- <mark>IF SUPERVISOR</mark>: How do you set priorities for the patrol officers under your command?

So, this next part is a little difficult to explain, but one thing I'm trying to understand if there are ever any conflicting expectations between your organization, yourself, and the public about the police role. So, I'm going to ask you about some specific types of conflicts that you might have experienced.

- Thinking about the priorities your department and supervisor, do you think these priorities ever conflict with each other?
    - For example, do you think that what your departmental mission can be different from what your supervisors wants? (*intersender conflict*)

- Tell me how you deal with that? Do you have a way of handling these situations?

- Or, another example, do you ever feel that the direction you get from your department or supervisor ever differ from how you would like to do your work? (*person-role conflict*)
    - Tell me how you deal with that? Do you have a way of handling these situations?

- Another example might be whether you ever feel like the public has a different idea about the police function than how you want to or have to do your work.
    - Tell me how you deal with that? Do you have a way of handling these situations?

- GENERATIONAL DIFFERENCES – **Emerging theme: inserted after interview #10**: One thing that's been mentioned by other officers is that there are some generational differences between how more senior or older officers want to do police work, compared to how more junior or younger officers want to do it. What do you think about that?

F. **STRESS, SAFETY, RISK.** The next questions are about the challenges of your job, especially in regards to the risks you face and the stress that you experience
    - On your survey you indicated that the job has you feeling _____stressed. Can you explain that rating?
    - What aspects of the job are stressful for you?
    - What do you think helps you deal with the impact of this part of your job?
        - Have you ever gone to counseling to deal with the challenges of this job?
            IF NO
                - Would you have any concerns about going to counseling if you felt that you wanted to?
            IF YES
                - Tell me more about why you'd be concerned to seek counseling.

I'd like to also know more about what some more routine challenges are that you face regularly at work.

- CHALLENGING SITUATIONS: When you think broadly about all the types of situations you encounter, and calls you answer, what would you consider to be some of the most difficult situations you have to deal with on the job.
    - What makes this type of incident especially difficult for you?
    - Is there any additional training or resources that you think would be helpful to deal with this situation?

- ROLE TRANSITIONS – **Emerging theme: inserted after interview #10**

- One thing I've heard from officers is that the transition between different calls or incidents can be challenging, for example going from a really tough, serious call to a non-sense call. What do you think about that?
- What about the transition from work to home? Can that be challenging for you?

- UNPREDICTABILITY – **Emerging theme: inserted after interview #10**
  - One thing I've heard quite a bit is that the unpredictability of policing is very stressful for officers. What do you think of that?
  - In social interactions:
    - Thinking about interactions with the public, can you tell me a little bit about what specific factors make a situation unpredictable to you? Are there specific actions that people take that make you feel like a situation is becoming more unpredictable?

So we just talked about some routine stressors that are part of your job, but you also mentioned on your questionnaire that you've been through a whole number of stressful events on the job.

    ☐ *you've been injured on the job*

    ☐ *you've experienced a line of duty death in the course of your career*

    ☐ *you've been in a life-threatening situation*

    ☐ *one of your coworkers has been in a life-threatening situation*

As you know, I lost my brother in a line of duty death and thinking about how we can support officers during these horrible times in their career is really important to me. If you don't mind, I'd like to ask you some questions about those times. Is that ok with you? If you prefer not to talk about that, that's not a problem at all.

- Were these all one incident or separate incidents?

So, I don't want you to feel like you have to tell me exactly what happened with each of these situations, but what I'm looking to understand is how all of these different stressful events impact officers.

- Can you identify one situation out of those that you think stands out as most serious or impactful to you? Which would it be?

- IF LINE OF DUTY DEATH INDICATED:
  - Who was the officer that lost their life in the line of duty?
  - Were you close to the officer whose life was lost?

- Were you on-scene when this happened?
- Did anyone else get hurt?
- Did this line of duty death happen in your department?
- What was your department's response to this death?
- What was the community's response to this death?
- Do you talk to anyone about what happened?
  - Family, coworkers?
  - Medical or mental health treatment?
- How did it feel to come back to work after that incident?
- Do you think this incident changed how you think about work?
- Did this incident make you feel less safe at work?
- Is there anything you wish had been available to you at the time that wasn't?
- Post-Traumatic impact
  - When you look back on your experience, beyond work, how has it shaped the person you are today?

- IF LIFE-THREATENING SITUATION INDICATED
  - Tell me a bit about the life-threatening situation at work that you were thinking of when you filled out the questionnaire. Or, if there are several, think of the one that stands out the most to you. What happened?
  - Did you get injured?
  - Where you out of work because of the injury? For how long?
    - Did you have to draw on workers comp? Did you have any problems with that?
  - Do you talk to anyone about what happened?
    - Family, coworkers?
    - Medical or mental health treatment?
  - How did it feel to come back to work after that incident?
  - Do you think this incident changed how you think about work?
  - Did this incident make you feel less safe at work?
  - Is there anything you wish had been available to you at the time that wasn't?
  - Post-Traumatic impact
    - When you look back on your experience, beyond work, how has it shaped the person you are today?

- IF LIFE-THREATENING SITUATION WAS ENDORSED EXPERIENCED BY COLLEAGUE INDICATED

- I want to ask you a bit more about life-threatening situation at work that your coworker was involved in that you were thinking of when you filled out the questionnaire. Or, if there are several, think of the one that stands out as most dangerous. What happened?
- Were you close to that officer this happened to?
- Did that officer get injured?
  - Where they out of work? For how long?
  - Do you happen to know if they had to draw on workers comp? Do you happen to know if they had any problems with that?
- Do you think this incident changed how your coworker thinks about the job?
- How did it feel to come back to work after that incident?
- Do you think that seeing what happened to this officer changed how you think about your work?
- Did this incident make you feel less safe at work?
- Is there anything you wish had been available to you at the time that wasn't?
- Post-Traumatic Impact
  - When you look back on your experience, beyond work, how has it the person you are today?

- OFFICER SUICIDE – **Emerging theme: inserted after interview #10**
  Another type of in that officers have mentioned to me that can be very difficult is officer suicide. Is that something you've been affected by?
  - Who was the officer that you lost?
  - Were you close to the officer?
  - Were you on-scene when this happened?
  - What was your department's response to this death?
  - Do you talk to anyone about what happened?
    - Family, coworkers?
    - Medical or mental health treatment?
  - How did it feel to come back to work after that incident?
  - Do you think this incident changed how you think about work?
  - Is there anything you wish had been available to you at the time that wasn't?
  - Post-Traumatic impact
    - When you look back on your experience, beyond work, has this death shaped the person you are today?

You really deal with a lot in this job and I appreciate your sharing your story and thoughts with me. We've talked about some pretty serious things and I'd like to switch gears a little bit now, to talk about the more positive everyday experiences you have.

G. POSITIVE EXPERIENCES ON THE JOB

- So, tell me, what's your favorite thing about this job?
- What makes that part of the job meaningful to you?

H. COMMUNITY POLICING APPROACHES.

IF COMMUNITY POLICING MISSION WAS ENDORSED ON QUESTIONNAIRE start here:

I see on your survey that your department endorses a community policing mission.
- Tell me a bit about what community policing means to your department?

IF COMMUNITY POLICING MISSION WAS NOT ENDORSED ON QUESTIONNAIRE start here:

I see on your survey that your department doesn't endorse a community policing mission. But would you say that you:
- Are you encouraged to engage with the community in specific ways?
- When you're not answering dispatched calls, do you try to engage with community members?
  IF YES
  - What do you do to try to engage with community members?
  - Overall, do you feel like the community members you encounter are receptive to these interactions?
    - o IF YES: What does it look like when a community member is receptive to your efforts to interact? How does it make you feel?
    - o IF NO: What does it look like when a community member is NOT receptive to your efforts to interact? How does it make you feel?
  - What skills or tools help to make positive connections to the community? (e.g., communication skills, special events through the PD…)
  - Do you think that your department supports officers in performing community policing efforts? How?
    - o IF WORKED IN OTHER DEPARTMENT: were the resources any better in that regard?

- Is there anything you feel that your department could do to support you more in these efforts?

IF NO
- Are there reasons you don't engage with community members? What are they?
- Do you think you would like to engage more with community members?
  IF YES:
  - What skills or tools do you think help to make positive connections to the community? (e.g., communication skills, special events through the PD…)
  - Is there anything you think that your department could do to support you more in these efforts?
    - IF WORKED IN OTHER DEPARTMENT: were the resources any better in that regard?

Next, I'm going to ask you to think about a specific time when you had an especially positive interaction with a member of the community while at work—a situation that stands out in your memory as being especially important or significant.

- Tell me a bit about the interaction. What happened?
- What made the interaction so positive?

IF NOT SELF-INTIATED INTERACTION
I can imagine it must feel really powerful when a positive interaction comes from a citizen.

IF SELF-INITIATED INTERACTION
- How regularly do you find you can create these types of positive interactions?
- Do you find it challenging to create positive moments like that?
  IF YES
  - What do you think makes it difficult to be able to bridge the gap between police and the community in a positive way?
  - Is there something that would help you to be able to create those connections more often
  IF NO*: I've heard other officers say that this can be challenging.*
  - Can you tell me more about how you initiated these interactions?
  - Do you feel like you have specific skills that help you create those positive moments with community members?

- What types of supports or training do you think could help other officers feel more successful in being able to initiate these positive contacts?

I.   **THE INFLUENCE OF BASIC ROLES.** I've heard from many officers that who you are as an officer, if you're a man or woman, if you're a specific race or ethnicity—that all those factors can impact how members of the public interact with you.
- What do you think about that?
- RACE / ETHNICITY. You defined your race/ethnicity as _____.
  - o Do you think that your race/ethnicity influences how community members interact with you on the job?
    - ▪ Can you think of an experience you have had on the job that shows this?
  - o Do you think that your race/ethnicity influences how other police officers interact with you?
    - ▪ Can you think of an experience you have had on the job that shows this?
- SEX, IF FEMALE: I've heard from other female officers that being a woman can influence how community members interact with you on the job.
  - o Do you think that being a female officer influences how community members interact with you on the job?
    - ▪ Can you think of an experience you have had on the job that shows this?
  - o Do you think being a female officer influences how other police officers interact with you?
    - ▪ Can you think of an experience you have had on the job that shows this?
- VET STATUS: You indicated on your survey that you served in the military.
  - o Do you think that experience impacts the way you approach your work?
    - ▪ Can you think of an experience you have had on the job that shows this?
  - o Do you think being a vet influences how other police officers interact with you?
    - ▪ Can you think of an experience you have had on the job that shows this?
- LGBT STATUS: You indicated on your survey that you identify as LGBT.
  - o Do you think this identity impacts the way members of the public approach you? What about other members of the LGBT community?
    - ▪ Do you think there's any conflict between that identity and being a police officer?

- o Do you think your fellow officers are aware of this part of your identity?
  - ▪ IF NO:
    - Is that a choice you made? To be discrete about that part of your life?
    - Do you think that hiding that part of your identity impacts your experiences at work?
      - o Can you think of an experience you have had on the job that shows this?
  - ▪ IF YES:
    - How do you think that affects your experience on the job?
      - o Can you think of an experience you have had on the job that shows this?

We've talked about a lot of things and I want to finish up with a couple of broad impressions.

- What do you wish the average person who's not in this line of work would understand about your work?
- When you think of what your expectations for the job were, initially, and how it is now, is there anything that that's different than you expected (e.g. easier or more challenging)?

J. WRAP-UP

We have reached the end of the questions that I have for you. Is there anything you believe I didn't touch on that you would like to add? Do you have any questions for me?

- What was it like talking to me today?

- I just want to tell you that I value everything you've said today, and I'm really honored that you've chosen to share your story with me. You have one of the toughest jobs out there, and I hope that in time my work can help make it a little easier.

  - ▪ We talked about some sensitive and stressful things, so I want to mention that if you're interested in any kind of resources, I compiled some at the participant log-in page on the study website. The password is just [PASSWORD].
- A few last logistical things before we wrap up:
  - ▪ Can I contact you about future work I might do like this project? This would be at least a year or so down the line.
    - Take down name, phone, email, Facebook, any other good way to get in touch with you a few years from now.

EXTEND THANK YOU FOR PARTICIPATION AND CONTRIBUTION TO THE STUDY.

CODES

- Influential Officer Identities
- Mental Health
  - o Causes of Stress or Mental Health Symptomatology
  - o Mental Health Symptomatology
  - o Responses to Stress
- Role Orientation towards Police Work
  - o Motivations for Police Work
  - o Beliefs about the Goals and Responsibilities of the Police Role
  - o Attitudes towards Citizens
  - o Use of Discretion
  - o Acts of Resistance
- Citizen Influences on Officers
- Role Strain
  - o Role Overload
  - o Role Conflict
  - o Role Transitions
  - o Responses to Role Strain
- Organizational Influences on Officers
  - o Formal and Informal Directives for Policing Priorities
  - o Departmental Resources
  - o Quality of Leadership / Supervision
- Other Important Themes

GENERAL CODING NOTES:

▪ Break up codes with the natural breaks in the interview questions (e.g., code each role conflict example separately from others)

▪ For several different, but related, points about one topic, select the entire section as one excerpt related to that code (e.g., if officer mentions high call volume and being understaffed as two issues related to role overload in the same section, the entire section would be one long "role overload" excerpt, rather than two shorter "Role Overload" excerpts. But, if the officer mentions high call volume, then discusses some other points or goes into a lengthy anecdote, and then talks about understaffing, it would be more appropriate to code these as separate "Role Overload" excerpts.)

▪ For any definitive statements about decision-making or officer behavior, as available, be sure to include mentions of motivations in the coded segment as an indicator of officer's thinking and reasoning

DOUBLE-CODING

▪ If subsections of a long excerpt qualify for a second code, double-code the specific sentence or subsection. For example, coding the entire paragraph as *Role Overload*, you would select the mentions of being understaffed and code that as *Departmental Resources*.

▪ This does not mean you cannot ever double code an entire passage. For example, a description of Mental Health stressors may also include a description of the officer's responses to those stressors in the same section. It would be appropriate to double-coded the entire section.

▪ Certain codes lend themselves to double-coding (e.g., "Symptomatology" or "Causes of Stress" may have a "Response to Stress"; "Role Strain" categories may have a "Responses to Role Strain;" "Role Overload" may be linked to "Departmental Resources" Look out for these complementary points.

USING COMMENTS:

▪ All code segments should include sufficient information to allow interpretation of the comment. Where the coded segment is not sufficient, add a comment to provide any necessary context. For example, when a lengthy narrative is necessary to understand coded text, the comment should provide basic information about the referenced narrative to interpret the segment. Similarly, if a previous section of a text references a person, the comment may simply indicate the subject of the coded segment.

▪ If you code a lengthy narrative, please indicate its core value by making a brief note in a comment.

- **Influential Officer Identities**: Statements or anecdotes that outline how officers' identities may be relevant to the experience of police work – whether in the assignment of work responsibilities, interactions with the public or members of the police organization, or in any other regard in which identity is referenced to make sense of the police experience.

Mental Health

- **Causes of Stress or Mental Health Symptomatology**: References to the causes of stress or mental health symptomatology ~~as perceived by the officer~~ (~~not related to role strain~~ which is coded in *Role Strain*). While any stressors can be coded, pay attention to work-related stress and exposure to trauma. If any officer has experienced extraordinary levels of exposure to potentially traumatic events but does not explicitly state that this has been stressful, please code this in *CODE: Other Important Themes* with an appropriate comment.
- **Mental Health Symptomatology**: Descriptions of the officer's mental health status, including stated diagnoses, descriptions or symptoms of stress, substance use/abuse, compartmentalization of feelings to function, suicidal ideation, and PTSD symptomatology.
- **Responses to Stress**: Any mentions of strategies in which the officer engages in response to stress and other mental health symptomatology (~~not related to role strain~~) specific statements related to officers' orientation towards treatment-seeking (or concerns about seeking treatment) as well as particular resources officers rely on to manage the challenges of the job.
- **Orientation towards Treatment-Seeking:** attitudes associated with seeking professional help for psychological problems. Statements can be either favorable or negative towards treatment. Consider statements such as the recognition of need for psychological help; stigma towards mental health treatment; mistrust or confidence in mental health professionals; engagement in formal treatment or programs (e.g., therapy, Employee Assistance Program or similar mental health resource) or rejecting them as a possibility

Role Orientation towards Police Work

- **Motivations for Police Work**: Statements related to an officer's underlying motivation for becoming a police officer. Motivations may include formative experience, statements regarding the impact an officer hopes to make, a desire for a stable career, etc.
- **Beliefs about the Goals and Responsibilities of the Police Role**: statements, anecdotes, and hypotheticals that reveal an officer's broader beliefs about the responsibilities and purpose of the police function.
- **Attitudes towards citizens**: statements and anecdotes that reveal officer's broader attitudes towards and beliefs about citizens, positive and negative, that may impact police work, such as feelings that citizen interactions are difficult / rewarding; level of trust in citizens and beliefs about their intentions; perceptions of likelihood that citizens help or obstruct police; descriptions of people as fundamentally good or bad; explicit attempts to humanize citizens.
- **Use of discretion**: statements, anecdotes, and hypotheticals that reveal an officer's beliefs about the appropriate use of discretion or actual use of discretion. Discretion may be show in behavior towards citizens (e.g., giving a warning instead of a ticket) or officer-initiated, proactive policing efforts that are not mandated. An officer may also use discretion to assistanother officer.
- **Acts of Resistance**: statements, anecdotes, and hypotheticals that describe officer's behavior that pushes back against behavioral norms, supervisory directives or departmental processes perceived to be problematic. Code as *Role Conflict*, if unsure that specific behavior occurred.

Citizen Influences on Officers: Statements and anecdotes that illustrate the ways in which citizen characteristics and behaviors shape the officer experience or behavior on the job. This code can be used to denote features of specific interactions, both positive and negative, that are described as well as broader statements about officer considerations in a given situation. Characteristics and behaviors may include but are not limited to: aspects of citizens' identities; citizen's perception of police; citizen's level of cooperation/resistance, body language, etc.; officer's knowledge of previous justice involvement (e.g., warrant out) or familiarity with the citizen; citizen's mental and physical health; officer's perceptions of danger/risk (e.g., weapon present). Also include descriptions of cues officers are looking as indicators of how an interaction will go.

Role Strain

- **Role Overload**: explicit statements or anecdotes indicating a feeling of being over-extended by role demands should be coded here. This code also includes any descriptions of significant time constraints and time pressure.
- **Role Conflict**: any explicit statements or anecdotes of four types of role conflicts officers may experience, including conflicts between professional roles, roles not related to work (e.g., family roles), and basic roles related to identity. Work-related conflicts may result from demands placed by members of the police organization including coworkers, supervisors and dispatchers (e.g. contradictory demands, behavioral norms and expectations); departmental policies/processes, legal processes, and other organizational constraints (e.g., when they conflict officer's duties); members of the public (e.g., due to different expectations for the police role); family members; the officer him/herself.
- **Role Transitions**: explicit statements or anecdotes that reveal strain experienced due to transitions between different responsibilities an officer is balancing. Transitions may include those between different aspects of the police function or those between officer's work roles and their familial roles.
- **Responses to Role Strain**: explicit statements or anecdotes revealing how officers react, respond to or deal with role strain. Responses may include a perceived inability to respond effectively to role strain, emotional responses (e.g., frustration, stress, anger), strategies for prioritizing work demands, seeking clarification from coworkers or supervisors, or proactively proposing solutions to a conflict.

Organizational Influences on Officers

- **Formal and Informal Directives for Policing Priorities**: statements related to formal and informal directives that provide policing priorities to officers. May include the department's policing missions, descriptions of the department's approach to community policing, call volume, performance measures that officers operate under, formal instructions (e.g., instructions to focus on traffic enforcement or priorities relayed from local or state government), informal priorities relayed by supervisors or via behavioral norms of coworkers (e.g., push for "activity")
- **Departmental Resources**: statements related to departmental resources, paying special attention to any mention of a lack of resources. Resources include but are not limited to: staffing, and the availability and quality of equipment and training opportunities.
- **Quality of Leadership / Supervision**: explicit statements and anecdotes indicating the quality of leadership and supervision in the officer's department. Attention should be paid to especially positive or dysfunctional leadership. Examples to consider are: explicit statements about how "good" or "bad" a supervisor is seen to be; impartiality of supervisors vs. preferential treatment; reasonable and fair decision-making vs. decision-making affected by personal bias or impulse; respectful, fair treatment vs. dismissive, unfair treatment; ability to have voice and open communication vs. no perceived ability to talk to supervisors about issues

Other Important Themes: Subjective code that can be used flexibly to note any themes important to an officer's narrative that are not captured by other codes. This code can be used as a "heads-up" to call attention to potential future analyses. Particular themes to consider are work experiences that have been shaped by extraordinary exposure to traumatic events; officers' desire to be seen as a human; "true" victims or "innocents" or other differentiation between groups of citizens; statements that separate officers from citizens in "us vs. them" statements; unintended consequences resulting from policing decision-making or the futility of police work, especially in terms on an inability to address certain social problems; performing police work with consideration to cultural differences.

Notable quotes: Particularly eloquent, vivid, striking, exemplary statements that relate to the dissertation's research questions or highlight a key facet of officers' experiences or ways of thinking, including those unrelated to the research questions.

CODE	GUIDANCE AND EXAMPLE
CODE: **Influential Officer's Identities**	GUIDANCE: This code should be used for any explicit statements or anecdotes that outline how officers' identities may be relevant to the experience of police work – whether in the assignment of work responsibilities, interactions with the public or members of the police organization, or in any other regard in which identity is referenced to make sense of the police experience. Identities to consider include: sex, race / ethnicity, age, sexual orientation, veteran status, familial status, particular personality traits or other identities referenced by the officer. ------------------------ EXAMPLES "I've been on scenes before where I'll go with a male officer and I'll be talking to them because it's my call, I'm primary, and they will literally, I'm speaking, and they will answer to my partner." "You know when I'm overwhelmed with my own work and they pull me aside to see if I can interview somebody [because I'm a woman], which I'm happy to help them. But again, sometimes it can be stressful with what I am." "I think anytime I stopped anybody on the corner, it was because I was a white person stopping people." "I have children--you know, I know as a mother how I would feel if that happened to my child, and so my response to that is, I will do everything that I would want somebody to do for me. My priority is always the kids. Always the kids." "And once I got to 18 I went in the military and they teach you suppression of your feelings, so being in the military, you know, "C'mon you gotta do this, just don't worry about that, just keep moving forward ok? If somebody dies you gotta keep moving forward." [NOTE: it would also be appropriate to double-code this statement in *SUBCODE: Responses to Stress* because it specifically discusses officer's strategies to mental health]
Mental Health	
SUBCODE: **Causes of Stress or Mental Health Symptomatology**	GUIDANCE: This code should be used for any explicit references to the specific causes of stress or mental health symptomatology as perceived by the officer. While any types of stressors can be included in this category, particular attention should be paid to work-related stress and exposure to trauma. DO NOT USE THIS CODE FOR any stress related to role strain. These should be coded under the appropriate Role Strain code. If any officer has experienced extraordinary levels of exposure to potentially traumatic events but does not explicitly state that this has been stressful, please code this in *CODE: Other Important Themes*.

	----------------------- EXAMPLES "So when the lady killed herself, I just had a mental breakdown." [NOTE: It would be appropriate to double-code this with *SUBCODE: Mental Health Symptomatology* due to the reference to a mental breakdown] "This [LODD of a coworker] was an ambush so you fell right into the trap. So, it [patrol] just feels like you're always falling into that trap." [NOTE: It would be appropriate to double-code this under *SUBCODE: Mental Health Symptomatology* due to the reference to a pervasive feeling of anxiety/fear] "…just a thing that goes through my mind every single day all day is just the stress of staying alive."
SUBCODE: **Mental Health Symptomatology**	GUIDANCE: The code should be used for any descriptions of the officer's mental health status. Attention should be paid to stated diagnoses, and descriptions or symptoms of stress, substance use/abuse, compartmentalization of feelings to function, suicidal ideation, and PTSD symptomatology. PTSD symptomatology may include: - Re-experiencing: unwanted thoughts / memories, nightmares, getting upset when reminded of past events - Avoidance: staying away from places that remind participants of past events or feel too dangerous (this could include generalized avoidance not related to a specific event but an overall sense of danger) - Hyper-arousal: hypervigilance (e.g., constantly scanning/checking for danger even in safe situations), jumpy/exaggerated startle response, sleep problems, irritable/angry; other constrained behaviors - Emotion / Mood: emotional numbing; difficulty connecting to others, blaming self or others strongly, loss of interest in previously enjoyed activities ----------------------- EXAMPLES "So when the lady killed herself, I just had a mental breakdown." [NOTE: It would be appropriate to double-code this with *CODE: Causes of Stress or Mental Health Symptomatology* due to the reference to the suicide as the cause of stress] "This [LODD of a coworker] was an ambush so you fell right into the trap. So, it [patrol] just feels like you're always falling into that trap." [NOTE: It would be appropriate to double-code this under *Causes of Stress or Mental Health Symptomatology* due to the reference to a LODD as a stressor] "It's the basic safety. It's always being on. Even when I'm off, I'm watching my kids' school parking lot."
SUBCODE: **Responses to Stress**	GUIDANCE: This code should be used for any mentions of strategies in which the officer engages in response to stress and other mental health symptomatology, as well as particular resources officers rely on in order to manage the challenges of the job – whether they would be considered adaptive or not. Resources and strategies may include, but not be limited to:

	- Social support (including family, non-LEO, LEO) or social withdrawal - Spiritual / religious life - Maintaining physical health (e.g., working out) or engaging in self-destructive behaviors - Reliance on alcohol / smoking and explicitly rejecting such self-medication - Carrying a weapon to feel safe DO NOT USE THIS CODE FOR any responses to role strain, which should be coded in *SUBCODE: Responding to Role Strain* and statements related to officers' concerns about seeking treatment which should be coded in *SUBCODE: Orientation towards Treatment-Seeking.* ----------------------- EXAMPLES "If you come home to a stressful environment, it just intensifies, but when you figure out how to get that home-life to where you need it to be, it's--to me, that's a stress reliever." "I used to pray before I got in this profession, but now I find myself doing it all the time." "But you just need to take a day out and just do nothing and just you know find yourself again and regroup." "I've had to learn that drinking doesn't help (laughs). Because you know I mean it's so easy to just go out and booze after work and just you know, deal with it that way."
SUBCODE: Orientation towards Treatment-Seeking	GUIDANCE: This code should be used for statements outlining attitudes associated with seeking professional help for psychological problems. Statements can be either favorable or negative towards treatment, as such specific statements related to officers' concerns about seeking treatment should be coded here. Consider statements such as: - recognition of need for psychological help - stigma towards mental health treatment - mistrust or confidence in mental health professionals - engagement in formal treatment or programs (e.g., therapy, Employee Assistance Program or similar mental health resource) or rejecting them as a possibility ----------------------- EXAMPLES "So they sent me to EAP which is you know employee assistance program, and I went there for three weeks and it wasn't enough, so I went on my own."

	You have to be mentally fit to be a police officer and if you land in counseling way too many times - I'm not sure how it works, but I don't know if they'll take my gun away or whatever."
Role Orientation towards Police Work	
SUBCODE: **Motivations for joining law enforcement**	GUIDANCE: This code should be used for any statements related to an officer's <u>underlying motivation for becoming a police officer</u>. Motivations may include formative experience, statements regarding the impact an officer hopes to make, a desire for a stable career, etc. ----------------------- EXAMPLES "So, the police officer came and my mom is still laying on the ground crying [after domestic violence], and, you know, my biological father goes out and talks to him and the next thing I know they're laughing. And then the police officer gets in the car and leaves. And I think I remember…I must have…It must have been subconscious, and I must have said to myself I will never let this happen ever again to anybody else." "You know I come from a family of police. Both my parents were the police. It wasn't something I initially wanted to do. It just kind of came at the right time when my other job wasn't working out well. But then I just learned that it was kind of the right path for me." "INTERVIEWER: What were the reasons that you joined law enforcement? PARTICIPANT: To change. INTERVIEWER: What did you want to change? PARTICIPANT: Wanted to make the community better. To serve my city - it still had lingering effects of line 9/11. Looked up to a lot of police officers and firefighters. So, I feel like I should give back to the city that I grew up in."
SUBCODE: **Beliefs about the responsibilities and purpose of the police role**	GUIDANCE: This code should be used for any statements, anecdotes, and hypotheticals that reveal an officer's broader beliefs about the responsibilities and purpose of the police function. <u>IMPORTANT: if an officer describes an underlying motivation for specific beliefs or decision-making, include those in the coded segment for insight into the officer's thinking.</u> ----------------------- EXAMPLES "You have to treat each individual job and person like it's somebody you've never met and it's new again, even though it could be the same five domestic calls in five different places. That's 10 different people in 10 different places so you can't treat them the same."

	"I'm a big believer in you know having interactions with people that are positive and not negative, and so, you know, it is always my goal and always every day when I come to work I try to have some positive interaction with a citizen." "They called us to a job where some people were fighting, and it was only two guys. So, when I seen it, I called for backup and my partner's like "why did you do that?" I'm like "well think about this. They're fighting. I could probably grab one and you could grab the other, but then we have to tussle with them to get them apart and all that. If they see more officers come and they stop, and we ain't gotta put our hands on them if somebody has to go to jail, we've got a lot of hands. We ain't have to pull out guns and batons and all that." "I'm not really athletic but I carry a baseball glove in my, in my trunk, just in case, kids are playing catch. Or if a kid is by himself, certainly, I want to try to play catch with them for a while. I'm really bad about having cash on me, but I like to try to have a couple bucks on me because, especially when it's warmer, little kids running their lemonade stand, I want to stop and buy lemonade from them, that sort of thing."
SUBCODE: **Attitudes Toward Citizens**	GUIDANCE: This code should be used for any statements and anecdotes that reveal an officer's broader attitudes towards and beliefs about citizens, both positive and negative, that may impact police work. Issues to consider include: officer's overall feeling that interacting with citizens is difficult / stressful or rewarding; officer's level of trust in citizens and beliefs that citizens have bad intentions; officer's perception that citizens tend be more likely to help police or obstruct them; any descriptions of citizens as fundamentally good or bad; explicit attempt to humanize citizens. IMPORTANT: if an officer describes an underlying motivation for specific beliefs or attitudes, include those in the coded segment as they may give additional insight into officers' thinking. ----------------------- EXAMPLES "She was crying and then I started crying and I didn't even know what to do. But I think that reminded me of just being empathetic and looking at every situation as... you just don't know what that person is going through or what their history is prior to meeting a police officer, because that's a big deal too and we don't think about that. We think of sometimes the initial moment and we don't think of their history." "they're good people, but you know, the infrastructure and the family structure is bad, so you know it causes a lot of in-fighting and then relationship wise, when two oppressed people are dealing with each other, it tends to be an issue. Especially if, you know, the guys, the egomaniacs, which most guys are--they gotta win or they gotta come on top and they think they can do everything"
SUBCODE: **Use of Discretion**	GUIDANCE: This code should be used for statements, anecdotes, and hypotheticals that reveal an officer's beliefs about the appropriate use of discretion or actual use of discretion. Discretion may be show in behavior towards citizens (e.g., giving a warning instead of a ticket) or via officer-initiated, proactive policing efforts that are not mandated (such as engaging in aggressive order maintenance, searching for criminal / illegal activity, or

	engaging in relationship-building, community policing or non-enforcement efforts). An officer may also use discretion in order to provide assistance to another officer.

IMPORTANT: if an officer describes an underlying reasoning for their beliefs about the use of discretion, include those in the coded segment as they may give additional insight into officers' thinking.

DO NOT USE THIS CODE FOR descriptions of proactive policing that is mandated, which should be coded in *SUBCODE: Formal and Informal Directives for Policing Priorities*.

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EXAMPLES

"you know in rural areas it can take time to get there, so if I'm close I'm going to catch that for a deputy."

"If I have to work a fatality on a certain road today, tomorrow I'm about to hammer that road, as hard as possible. And you know, they're driving of course crazy and like this just happened yesterday. So that kind of stuff motivates me cause as a citizen or a civilian, any time you see blue lights, the first thing you normally do is make sure you're buckled up and you look at your speed. So, the more my blue lights are on, the more people--it might not last for long, but for a short period of time they're paying attention."

"If we use discretion and try to give someone a break, it will inevitably come back to bite you in the butt, because that person will then go out and cause more chaos. And, or, complain at the same time. Complain on you for giving them a break. It's kind of one of those lovely never-ending cycles."

"For a period of time, we were given a directive to conduct speed enforcement in specific locations for a set period of time….which rubbed everybody the wrong way just because it takes away our discretion of what we want to do and then also some kind of consistency issues where, you know, I typically won't write for the speed that they...They want us to start writing tickets at nine miles an hour over the speed limit. And there are just times when that's not...Well I have never, until then, written a ticket for nine miles an hour over the speed limit. So, for me, it's predominantly an internal conflict of well, this is not what I want to do, but at the same time, I'd like to retain my job and benefits, so I am going to write this ticket. [NOTE: it would be appropriate to double-code this under *SUBCODE: Role Conflict* due to the mention of a conflict about what's prescribed and the officer's own perception of appropriate policing]

"So, like in our school zones; typically, I don't write tickets for speeding in a school zone unless kids are present because that's the whole purpose behind the school zone is to reduce your speed when kids are present. I'll still stop cars if they're speeding and it's around times were kids would be present like beginning or end of school, but typically I'll give them a warning unless kids are present." |
| **SUBCODE:**

Acts of Resistance | GUIDANCE: This code should be used for statements, anecdotes, and hypotheticals that that describe officer's behavior that pushes back against behavioral norms, supervisory directives or departmental processes perceived to be problematic. |

	IMPORTANT: if an officer describes an underlying reasoning for their resistance, include it in the coded segment as they may give additional insight into officers' thinking.
	DO NOT USE THIS CODE if it's unclear that such behavior occurred, which should be coded in *SUBCODE: Role Conflict.*

	EXAMPLES
	"I mean I do what they ask, but I won't do it exactly the way that they asked."
	"Dad was whooping Mom and I pulled up and this little girl, she was probably like eight years old, she runs out of the house. I didn't even get my car door open good and that kid was shaking so bad and was so scared she literally crawled up me and she would not--like she would not stop shaking. It took me--like to make her feel safe, I literally like set--and it's illegal but I did it anyways--I let her sit in my car and I locked my car and I told her she would be safe in there, nobody could get in there because they didn't have a key but me."
	"If they want me to do something crazy, don't say no. Say "Ok sir I'll do it" but then don't do it."
CODE: **Citizen Characteristics and Behaviors Shaping Officer's Approach to Work**	GUIDANCE: This code should be used for all statement and anecdotes that illustrate the ways in which citizen characteristics and behaviors shape the officer experience or behavior on the job. This code can be used to denote features of specific interactions, both positive and negative, that are described as well as broader statements about officer considerations in a given situation. Characteristics and behaviors may include but are not limited to: • Aspects of citizens' identities • Citizen's perception of police • Citizen's level of cooperation/resistance, body language, etc. • Citizen's response to police authority including their level of cooperation/resistance, body language, etc. • Officer's knowledge of previous justice involvement (e.g., warrant out) or familiarity with the citizen • Citizen's mental and physical health • Officer's perceptions of risk / dangerousness of the citizen (e.g., presence of a weapon) Any descriptions of what officers are looking for as cues to how the interaction will go or any specific indicators of a situation being unpredictable (e.g., if they mention scanning body language or scanning for a weapon, etc.) should also be included. IMPORTANT: if an officer describes how a citizen's characteristics or behaviors is interpreted or shapes his/her own behavior, include that with the coded segment for additional insight into officers' thinking -----------------------

	EXAMPLES "It's weird because there are things that people do that you can definitely tell that they are getting ready to do something and you don't always like pick up on it right away, but you pick up on it pretty quick." "I don't even mean to do it, but I always check people for weapons. Like I'm always looking at their hands, looking at their waist. And you know I do that even when I'm at the mall." [NOTE: it would be appropriate to double-code this in *SUBCODE: Mental Health Symptomatology* as an indicator of hypervigilance] "I mean the hardened criminals over there doing bad stuff, they know how the game go and they know when you come and they gotta go to jail--they'll typically put up a little resistance by running, but they ain't gonna really too much fight or whatever, especially if you throw them off kilter by the way you talk to them."
Role Strain	
SUBCODE: **Role Overload**	GUIDANCE: Role overload results when people engage in more roles than they have the resources for. All explicit statements or anecdotal descriptions indicating a feeling of being over-extended by role demands should be coded here. This code also includes any descriptions of significant time constraints and time pressure. DO NOT USE THIS CODE FOR statements indicating feelings of conflict more specifically, which should be coded under *Subcode: Role Conflict.* ----------------------- EXAMPLES "I wish we weren't running six police officers. Having six police officers run shifts for entire town of fifty thousand people." "When we got there. We had to fight him. Because we were down so many--we didn't have enough police officers on the street, so I actually ended up having to go with this guy that I fought with, who was trying to choke me out, to the hospital and sit down with him while he got treatment while I sat there. You know, I had bruises and stuff, but I didn't get medical treatment and then the whole time I was thinking when I'm out, I still have to do the reports for use of force, why I got called so that's a different report. So I didn't get back until like morning (inaudible) so then I had to stay over and finish those reports before I got home. [NOTE: it would also be appropriate to double-code this statement as a person-role conflict due to the officers' need for care while also having to continue navigating work demands] "I am consistently and constantly behind." "I mean I had--I had a month--I swear to god it was a month, and it was just motor vehicle accident, motor vehicle accident, and bad ones too. Disputes, arrests, you know. Everything and anything."

SUBCODE: **Role Conflict**	GUIDANCE: This code designates any explicit statements or anecdotal descriptions of four types of role conflicts officers may experience, including conflicts between professional roles, roles not related to work (e.g., family roles), and basic roles related to identity: ▪ **Intersender** conflict result from contradictory roles that are sent from separate sources (e.g., chief expects officer to engage public in positive ways, but officer's supervisor demands a focus on writing tickets). ▪ **Intrasender** conflict originates from contradictory roles that are sent from a single source (e.g., supervisor asks officer to engage public in positive ways, but also expects the officer to generate tickets). ▪ **Interrole** conflict emerges from contradictory roles that are unrelated to each other (e.g., department requires the officer to aggressively enforce order, but within family life officer is expected to take a gentle approach). ▪ **Person-role** conflict occurs when a role violates an individual's needs, values or capacities (e.g., having to write a ticket, but knowing the ticket does not improve public safety and is a burden to the citizen) Work-related conflicts may result from demands placed by: ▪ members of the police organization including coworkers, supervisors and dispatchers (e.g. contradictory demands, behavioral norms and expectations) ▪ departmental policies/processes, legal processes, and other organizational constraints (e.g., when they conflict officer's duties) ▪ members of the public (e.g., due to different expectations for the police role) ▪ the officer him/herself Conflicts not related to work will typically arise due to work demands that compete with the demands of the officers' other roles (for example, family roles). ------------------------ EXAMPLES "I had one situation. This young girl. I was called to the school because she was cutting herself and she talked about committing suicide. To me, that was the most important thing I could do that day because she was by herself. We took her to the hospital. We were waiting on her mom to come, we didn't know how long that was going to take. And basically, I sat there with her and I just talked to her and talked to her and talked to her. And we start getting calls 'when are you going to close this out? When are you getting back on the street?' "They would get mad at me sometimes because I would take too long on the job, but I'm like "Well I'm not putting a band aid on a bullet wound"… I never was rushed on any job. I took my time. If they got mad, too damn bad. "You know the balance--the balance between doing this job and having children is difficult. We miss a lot. We miss a lot of things. You know, I've been doing this for a long time and my--you know, I've missed a lot of things from my children. I've

	missed, you know, I've missed out on games. I've missed out on, you know just--and because I wasn't available, they missed things too." "It ain't easy working this job, and you got--you know you've got supervisors telling you one thing and then you've gotta get out here and talk to these people and they want you to be a certain way and if you're not, you get ostracized." "I think just with certain supervisors it's just, you know, they don't really want any like--it sounds so horrible. They don't really want to deal with young cops and proactive enforcement. They just don't. And it's like you know I've gotten in like arguments with Sergeants and gotten in trouble because it's like I don't know what your problem is? I don't know--like do you want me to do something differently?" "In Texas, you have to present an indictment within 30 days of the arrest, so you know--I know that seems like plenty of time, well it's really not"
SUBCODE: **Role Transitions**	GUIDANCE: This code should be used to mark any explicit statements or anecdotal descriptions that reveal strain experienced due to transitions between different responsibilities an officer is balancing. Transitions may include those between different aspects of the police function or those between officer's work roles and their familial roles. ----------------------- EXAMPLES "But then, you know, then you have that feel good feeling and then you have to go to like a, you know, another call where you're just dealing with, you know, you're dealing with somebody's "You don't know who I am." You know, "You can't do this" and it's just like what the hell? Now that this went away and now you're pissed off again (laughs)." "It's almost kind of like you get drained by it because you just dealt with something pretty serious and now, you're trying to come back to a level like decompress and be able to talk to people in a different way because it's a completely different situation. But being able to switch back and forth that quickly, I guess that can definitely be difficult. Just the thing that people prioritize like going from trying to deal with people that potentially have you know guns and drugs in the car to having to talk to a victim that's just been beat by her partner. It's I guess hard trying to change your tone and shape just the way that you're going to help them." "Like most officers, what we do is we might go on a horrific call where some woman has just been beaten and beaten or some guy, or something has happened and it's a terrible, terrible thing. It's a terrible thing, and then five minutes later we have to go help, you know, the local grandma get her cat out of the tree." "I like, you know, busted my hump and like my kids didn't see me for like three days [during sexual violence investigation], and you know when I got home, you know, on each of those nights, my kids--and I'm coming in and my kids are going to bed and you know I have to act like Mom. You know? I can't bring that into my--I don't want to bring that into my house. I don't want my kids to know about things like that."

SUBCODE: **Responses to Role Strain**	GUIDANCE: This code, broadly, should be used to mark any explicit statements or anecdotal descriptions revealing how officer's react, respond to or deal with role strain that is experienced. Responses may include a perceived inability to respond effectively to role strain, emotional responses (e.g., frustration, stress, anger), strategies for prioritizing work demands, seeking clarification from coworkers or supervisors, or proactively proposing solutions to a conflict. ----------------------- EXAMPLES "You just kind of keep doing what you're doing. In a police organization, you can't really question things. Especially department policy or anything – they don't like that, so." "Personally, I just let it, just let it roll off your shoulders. I mean, it's…You don't get into a confrontation with them [members of the public] or anything like that." "…every time I did an arrest, a supervisor told me I needed... the person who approved it said that I needed to add something. Not something to change the story line, but some you know "check the gang affiliation" whatever at the end of it. And I was like [00:40:25] "why isn't this uniform?" But eventually, I just went up to the supervisor in the district and said "how do you guys want me to write the end of the arrest?" "If someone's life or safety is in danger, you know, that's going to take priority. You know, as far as like juvenile, you know, neglect and things like that, we need to ensure that they're safe before we can move on to, you know, like a barking dog complaint or something like that." "I even went to my lieutenant and said "you know this…It's too much. I don't know how much really that I can…how much more I can put on my plate before I'm not going to be producing the work that you guys want me to do." "And again, it was just no discretion there and I didn't like writing a ticket when I normally would not write a ticket. And of course, I freely told people that just because that's kind of who I am and I said, you know, "This is not a ticket I would normally write. You are welcome to take me to court and I'll say that in court. But it's a directive from the chief of police, so here's your ticket. Have a great day." [NOTE: it would be appropriate to double-code this under SUBCODE: Role Conflict due to the description of the role strain experienced]
Organization-Level Influences on Officers	
SUBCODE:	GUIDANCE: This code should be used for statements related to formal and informal directives that provide policing priorities to officers. Directives may include the department's policing missions, descriptions of the departments approach to community policing, call volume, performance measures that officers operate under,

Formal and Informal Directives for Policing Priorities	formal instructions (e.g., instructions to focus on traffic enforcement or priorities relayed from local or state government), informal priorities relayed by supervisors or via behavioral norms of coworkers (e.g., push for "activity" or "numbers")

	EXAMPLES
	"I don't think you can have community policing and have tickets and arrest as something that you measure performance with. I think it's conflicting. I think it's more of a revenue generated policing."
	"So, with anything like this, if it's all over the news, it gets up the chain and they want to know what's going on with the case."
	"Oh girl our city council, the only thing they care about is tickets. They are thirsty. They want us to bring in between 300,000 and 400,000 dollars a year in citations to cover our budget. You know, that's where we're at."
SUBCODE: **Departmental Resources**	GUIDANCE: This code should be used for statements related to departmental resources, paying special attention to any mention of a lack of resources. Resources to consider include (but are not limited to): level of staffing, and the availability and quality of equipment and training opportunities. ----------------------- EXAMPLES "I've been very lucky that I've worked for agencies that have provided me with custom-fitted vests. And I'm due for one here, but to be honest I just have--I have not had the time to go get fitted, because they take a while to make. You know, they don't just magically appear, but you know for women, it's--you know I can't use Joe Bob's vest. I'm not going to use Joe Bob's vest, ok? It's not going to happen because I mean it won't fit, but again that's just kind of the way the world works." "So to go hands on with someone you have to do what you have to do, but I feel like tasers are a nice other option rather than just trying to draw your gun depending on what the situation is. There are situations where that's really the only choice you have. I just find it weird in a department where we can be pretty far from other people that we don't have them and I've never really been given a good reason for why we don't." "It seems like in October, November, December is when the administration will start scrambling and realizing that there's, you know, seven officers that haven't had any training at all this year. And then at that point, they'll throw you in a ridiculous class that really…it has nothing to do with, with their jobs. I mean, it does, but… It could have been better." [NOTE: it would be appropriate to double-code this under *SUBCODE: Quality of Supervisory Environment* due haphazard way in which training is approached]

	"PARTICIPANT: As far as like the supervisors, you know, we will speak with other agencies and see how they handle, you know, different types of situations and see how it compares to what we're doing or what we want to do. INTERVIEWER: And then you bring that back to the supervisors then? Or... PARTICIPANT: Yeah, yeah."
SUBCODE: **Quality of Leadership / Supervision**	GUIDANCE: This code should be used to mark explicit statements as well as anecdotal experiences that indicate the quality of leadership and supervision in the officer's department, whether positive or negative. Particular attention should be paid to especially positive or dysfunctional leadership. Items to consider are: • Explicit statements about how "good" or "bad" a supervisor is seen to be • Impartiality of supervisors vs. preferential treatment • Reasonable and fair decision-making vs. decision-making affected by personal bias or impulse • Respectful and fair treatment vs. dismissive and unfair treatment • Ability to have voice and open communication vs. no perceived ability to talk to supervisors about issues ----------------------- EXAMPLES "Yeah, every supervisor is different. Some of them are very you know good and very laid back and whatever you want to do they'll back you up on it and help you out with it. Some of them are very you know I told you to do this, this is what I want you to do tonight, and this is what you're going to do. There are some supervisors that want people being proactive and making arrests and going out there and bringing people back. You know taking things off the streets." "It seems like in October, November, December is when the administration will start scrambling and realizing that there's, you know, seven officers that haven't had any training at all this year. And then at that point, they'll throw you in a ridiculous class that really…it has nothing to do with, with their jobs. I mean, it does, but... It could have been better." [NOTE: it would be appropriate to double-code this under *SUBCODE: Departmental Resources* due to the inadequacy of training opportunities]
CODE: **Other Important Themes**	GUIDANCE: This is a highly subjective code and can be used flexibly to denote any themes that are important to an officer's narrative that are not captured by other codes. This code can be used as a "heads-up" to call attention to potential future analyses. Some suggested themes to look out for are: ▪ work experiences that have been shaped by extraordinary exposure to traumatic events ▪ officers' desire to be seen as a human ▪ "true" victims / "innocents" or other differentiation between groups of citizens; or statements that separate officers from citizens in "us vs. them" statements ▪ unintended consequences resulting from policing decision-making or the futility of police work, especially in terms on an inability to address certain social problems ▪ performing police work with consideration to cultural differences

| | Please include a brief comment for the coded section in order to give your thoughts on the theme as you see it.

EXAMPLES

"Most of the time, you really can't fix a lot of the problems. It's just I mean…I'll give you an example of like an assault of a domestic violence…You know, poverty-stricken area males are the ones that are working. But we take the guy away from the apartment, and now you have the wife and the kids that they have no income. You make things worse sometimes. But it is just the way law is you know, but if you leave him there and then he escalates, and stabs her and you know. That's a no-win situation, sometimes." [NOTE: it would be appropriate to double-code this with *Macrosystem Influences on Officers* due to mention of legal constraints]

 "I don't know, they almost think like you're just like a different breed of human when in reality you're just like anybody else. It's just your job, you know?"

"our Hispanic population, you know they come from places and countries where police officers are not necessarily nice people…so, we have a hard time getting--they're very--they are our most underserved population and they are our biggest population. They don't typically contact the police… it's a machismo thing. They will handle their business on their own" |
| **CODE:**
Notable Quotes | GUIDANCE: Include any particularly eloquent, vivid, striking, exemplary statements that relate to the dissertation's research questions or highlight a key facet of officers' experiences or ways of thinking, including those unrelated to the research questions. This is a highly subjective code and can be used flexibly. |

Appendix D: Case Review Form

Your name:	Participant code:	
Code	**Guidance and Example**	**Your code**
1. Transcript length	How many hours/minutes long is the total interview? Please round to the closest minute and follow the format HH:MM. For example: 01:50 for a 1 hour 50 minute interview.	
2. Transcript pages	How many pages long is the de-identified interview transcript? Please round to the next full page.	
3. Referral source	How did the participant hear about the project? As possible, please note any specific pages or groups that the participant may reference.	▬ Law Enforcement Facebook Group (specify:) ▬ Instagram (specify:) ▬ Reddit (specify:) ▬ Word of mouth (including coworkers, participants, other police officers) (specify:) ▬ Principle Investigator ▬ Other (specify:)
4. Connection to PI	Did the participant know about the PI's connection to law enforcement? NOTE: if it is unclear whether the participant knew about the PI's connection to law enforcement, please copy/paste the verbatim response into the "Unclear" answer.	▬ Yes ▬ No ▬ Unclear (specify:) ▬ NA (unknown, question not asked)
5. Willingness to engage in researcher	Did the participant indicate a willingness to speak with a researcher even without a law enforcement connection?	▬ Yes ▬ No

		NOTE: if it is unclear whether the participant would have spoken to another researcher, please copy/paste the verbatim response into the "Unclear" answer.	▭ Unclear (specify:) ▭ NA – unknown, question not asked
6. Total years in LE		How many total years has the participant been working in law enforcement?	
7. Years in department		How many years has the participant been working in his/her current or most recent police department?	
8. Other work		Did the participant work in any other job prior to becoming a police officer?	▭ Yes ▭ No ▭ NA – unknown, question not asked
	Type of other work	What other type of work did the participant engage in prior to becoming a police officer?	▭ Other first responder (dispatch, EMT, Fire; (specify:)) ▭ Other law enforcement (corrections, federal agent; (specify:)) ▭ Other (specify:) ▭ NA – participant did not work in any other job ▭ NA – unknown, question not asked
9. Other departments		Did the participant indicate having worked at any departments other than the current department in which they work?	▭ Yes, one ▭ Yes, more than one ▭ No ▭ NA – unknown, question not asked
10. Family history of LE		Does the participant indicate a family history of law enforcement? NOTE: A family history should be considered to include both family members who have served as LEOs in the past or family members who currently serve.	▭ Yes (specify who:) ▭ No (copy & paste their statement to this effect:) ▭ NA – unknown, question not asked

11. Specialized unit	Is the participant currently in any specialized unit?	▬ Yes (specify:) ▬ No, but previously served in a specialized unit (specify:) ▬ No, never served in a specialized unit ▬ NA – unknown, question not asked
12. Specialized training	Has the participant completed any specialized trainings? Please specify. NOTE: if it is unclear whether the participant completed any specialized trainings, please copy/paste the verbatim response into the "Unclear" answer.	▬ Yes (specify:) ▬ No ▬ Unclear (specify:) ▬ NA – unknown, question not asked
13. CIT training	Has the participant completed CIT (Crisis Intervention Team) training? NOTE: if it is unclear whether the participant completed CIT training, please copy/paste the verbatim response into the "Unclear" answer.	▬ Yes ▬ No ▬ Unclear (specify:) ▬ NA – unknown, question not asked
14. Current patrol duties	Does the participant currently patrol as part of their work duties? Please distinguish between patrol that is regularly assigned as part of work duties and patrol that occurs only occasionally due to staffing issues or overtime requirements. If patrol is irregularly scheduled, please note under what circumstances the officer may patrol. NOTE: if it is unclear whether the participant currently patrols as part of work duties, please copy/paste the verbatim response into the "Unclear" answer.	▬ Yes, regularly assigned patrol ▬ Yes, irregularly scheduled patrol (specify:) ▬ No ▬ Unclear (specify:) ▬ NA – unknown, question not asked
	Patrol alone or with partner	Does the participant patrol alone or with a partner?	▬ Alone ▬ With partner ▬ NA – participant does not go on patrol

		▬ NA – unknown, question not asked
		▬ Other (specify:)
15. Work context	Briefly describe the participant's work context to provide a sense of the environment in which the participant's department is located and where they spend most of their working time. Please address the following points in your summary: - Population density (how rural or urban) - Size of the jurisdiction - How wealthy / poor - Crime Level and typical crimes seen - Diversity of the population Each of the above categories should be mentioned in your summary, even if to say that a specific category wasn't discussed in detail. *EXAMPLE: The participant works in a rural part of Texas where his jurisdiction spans a very large area. In generally, he described the area as very poor; however, there are pockets of wealth as well. The participant indicates that the crime level is not very high. Crimes commonly seen are drug-related. However, it is also mentioned that a busy highway crosses the jurisdiction, which brings a transient community and some crime with it. The population is described as mostly White; however, there is also a small Hispanic immigrant community.*	
16. Perceptions of danger	Briefly describe the participant's perceptions of danger and fear for their own safety in their current position and work context. NOTE: I specifically query this toward the beginning of the interview and that response should be included. *EXAMPLE: In general, the officer does not feel his patrol area is particular dangerous, however he does speak of always being on high-alert because "anything can happen on this job."*	
17. Citizen perceptions of police	Briefly describe the participant's description of how citizens typically perceive police officers queried toward the beginning of the interview. Specifically, mention how negative/positively police are perceived and to what extent police are supported by the local public.	

	EXAMPLE: In general, the officer feels supported by his community however he emphasizes that members of the public with previous involvement with the law tend to have very negative views of the police.	
18. Mental health diagnosis	Does the participant mention having a formal mental health diagnosis? If yes, please specify the diagnosis and the circumstances that led to the diagnosis. EXAMPLE: The participant was diagnosed with PTSD and depression after witnessing another officer's suicide. NOTE: if it is unclear whether the participant as a formal mental health diagnosis, please copy/paste the verbatim response into the "Unclear" answer.	▬ Yes (specify:) ▬ No ▬ Unclear (specify:)
19. Suicidal ideation	Does the participant mention having had suicidal ideation at any point in their career? If yes, please specify the circumstances around this suicidal ideation and when the participant experienced it. EXAMPLE: The participant disclosed he experienced suicidal ideation when he trained to enter law enforcement because he failed the police field training process. NOTE: if it is unclear whether the participant has experienced suicidal ideation, please copy/paste the verbatim response into the "Unclear" answer.	▬ Yes (specify:) ▬ No ▬ Unclear (specify:)
20. Mental health counseling	Has the participant participated in mental health counseling? Counseling may be through an EAP (employee assistance program), private therapist, peer to peer counseling, web-based application or any other service. Please specify the type of counseling. NOTE: if it is unclear whether the participant has participated in mental health counseling, please copy/paste the verbatim response into the "Unclear" answer.	▬ Yes, mandated (specify type:) ▬ Yes, voluntary (specify type:) ▬ No ▬ NA – unknown, question not asked ▬ Unclear (specify:)
21. Peer support	Has the participant provided formal peer support to other officers?	▬ Yes (specify involvement:)

			▬ No
			▬ NA – unknown, question not asked
22. MH or PH leaves or retirement		Does the participant mention being placed on leave or retiring for mental health or physical reasons? Check all that apply.	▬ Yes, mental health leave
			▬ Yes, mental health retirement
			▬ Yes, physical health leave
			▬ Yes, physical health retirement
			▬ No
	Details: MH or PH leaves or retirement	Please provide details about the circumstances that led to the officer being placed on leave or retiring for mental health or physical reasons.	
23. Children		Does the participant indicate having children?	▬ Yes, participant has children
			▬ No, participant does not have children
			▬ NA – unknown, question not asked
24. High-stress event discussed		What type of events of high-stress events does the participant discuss in detail in course of the narrative? Consider what is discussed in the STRESS, SAFETY, RISK section of interview as well as any other detailed narratives in the interview. Check all that apply. Please provide the relevant details for each type of situation in the prompts below.	▬ Line of duty death
			▬ Life-threatening situation – self
			▬ Life-threatening situation – coworker
			▬ Officer suicide
			▬ Physical Injury
			▬ Other (specify:)
	High-stress event: LODD	For participants who discussed a line of duty death, please summarize the event that is discussed and their impact. Address the following points in your summary: • What was the relationship between the participant and LODD victim?	▬ Participant does not describe experiences with LODDs

	• In what way was the participant involved in the incident that killed the officer? • What type of departmental support did the participant receive and to what extend did they feel supported in the aftermath of the LODD? • How did the participant cope with the events surrounding this LODD? • What was the overall impact of the LODD on the participant? NOTE: if the participant mentioned more than one LODD, please provide a brief summary of each. *EXAMPLE: The participant experienced the line of duty death of a coworker. The participant felt the department did not adequately support him after the shooting – he was required to go back on patrol just weeks after the loss of his coworker. In fact, he describes feeling almost betrayed by the department. He talks about the challenges of dealing with the events and that he hopes to leave law enforcement if possible and states this the loss is something he is still trying to come to terms with. While the department was not supportive of the officer, he talks about a close relationship with his wife and good social support among his coworkers. Overall, this LODD had a significant traumatizing impact on the officer.*	
High-stress event: life-threatening situation (personal)	For participants who discussed a life-threatening situation they personally experienced, please summarize the event that is discussed and their impact. Address the following points in your summary: • Provide an overview of the life-threatening situation. • What type of departmental support did the participant receive and to what extend did they feel supported in the aftermath of the situation? • How did the participant cope with the events? • What was the overall impact of the event on the participant? NOTE: if the participant mentioned more than one life-threatening situation, please provide a brief summary of each.	▬ Participant does not describe experiences with life-threatening situations

	EXAMPLE: The participant describes a traffic stop resulting in a struggle where she was being choked. At the time, she was also in an area without radio contact so she couldn't readily call for backup. Eventually she overpowered the perpetrator and used a cell phone to get back-up. The participant was injured in the incident, placing her on desk duty for several months. In the aftermath of this incident, the participant processed what happened primarily by talking to family (though she kept these conversations fairly superficial) and via support from her coworkers who were regularly checking in on her. The participant feels that this event made her more vigilant about communicating her whereabouts during a call and ensuring that her transmission was heard by dispatch. She also purchased a smart watch that is always on her that could be used to place a call or transmit her location if an emergency should require it. The participant describes wrestling with questions about whether the job is worth her potential loss of life, especially considering how devastated her family would be if something should happen to her. She also feels that these types of incidents can impact how you related to broader society. Her department did not seem to have been particularly supportive, though she describes having a close-knit group of coworkers she can rely on. She mentions that she wishes there had been a debrief after her injury.	

High-stress event: life-threatening situation (coworker)	For participants who discussed a life-threatening situation experienced by a coworker, please summarize the event that is discussed and their impact. Address the following points in your summary:
	   • Provide an overview of the life-threatening situation.
	   • What is the participants perception of how their coworker coped with the events?
	   • What was the overall impact of the event on the participant?
	
	NOTE: if the participant mentioned more than one life-threatening situation, please provide a brief summary of each.
	
	EXAMPLE: The participant describes two officer-involved shootings her coworkers have been involved in. Since she's in a small department where everyone is very close to each other and so these events were acutely felt throughout her department. The participant describes that her
		▬ Participant does not describe experiences with coworkers' life-threatening situations

	coworkers were having a difficult time dealing with having taken someone's life. For example, she mentions the coworkers saying things like they wouldn't know if they could shoot someone again. The participant felt that this event was a definite eye-opener for her in terms of seeing that something like that can happen in her small community. Overall, it made her feel less safe in the job, but she also describes feeling like she's looking at "everybody different" and that she perpetually feels on edge when it comes to interactions with citizens.	
High-stress event: officer suicide	For participants who discussed an officer suicide, please summarize the event that is discussed and their impact. Address the following points in your summary: • What was the relationship between the participant and suicide victim? • In what way was the participant involved in the events surrounding the suicide? • What type of departmental support did the participant receive and to what extend did they feel supported in the aftermath of the suicide? • How did the participant cope with the events surrounding this suicide? • What was the overall impact of the suicide on the participant? NOTE: if the participant mentioned more than one suicide, please provide a brief summary of each. *EXAMPLE: The participant has experienced 5 officer suicides in the course of her career, mentioning that this is the specific motivation she had to participate in the study interview. She describes her desire to help change the culture around mental health in the police community. One of the individual's she lost to suicide is her father (she ascribes his suicide to the police profession), which was the reason she ended up wanting to go into therapy. However, because of concerns for professional repercussions, she describes using a web-based application (on her phone) to engage in therapy. She'd hid her involvement in therapy for a long time, even from her husband. The participant also describes in details the events surrounding her friend's suicide. Since this suicide*	▭ Participant does not describe experiences with officer suicides

	happened in her (small) department, it had a deep impact on the entire police community. Though she emphasizes that everyone had a different way of handling the loss, she personally, is very open about her experiences with this suicide. In terms of departmental support, she felt that the department did try to offer adequate support by bringing in counselors, but she felt that these counselors were completely ineffective and ill-equipped to be helpful.	
High-stress event: Physical injuries (personal)	In the course of the interview, did the participant discuss a significant injury personally sustained on the job? Please summarize the event that is discussed and its impact. Address the following points in your summary: • Provide an overview of the how they sustained their injuries. • What type of departmental support did the participant receive and to what extend did they feel supported in the aftermath of the injuries? • How did the participant cope with the injuries? • What was the overall impact of the injuries on the participant? NOTE: if the participant mentioned more than one injury, please provide information on each. *EXAMPLE: The participant was involved in na on-duty traffic accident with a citizen that has resulted in chronic issues related to her injuries. She continues to work for financial reasons and has hidden her chronic injury from her coworkers/supervisors. The participant talks about the stress she feels from trying not to aggravate her injury so that she isn't forced to leave work. Moreover, her injury is preventing her from taking care of basic household chores and being able to engage in activities with her family that were her main stress relief. In the aftermath of when the injury originally happened, the participant was sent to a worker's comp doctor where she feels she has not been getting good treatment. In fact, workers comp has blocked the suggested treatment for her pain. She had been offered pain medications but she refuses to take them due to the fact that this would make her unable to work. While she doesn't describe significant departmental support in the aftermath of her injury, she does describe that her coworkers have decided to protect her from interaction with the citizen who injured her by refusing to allow her to answer any calls in which the citizen is involved.*	▬ Participant does not describe experiences significant physical injuries

	Other high-stress events	In the course of the interview, did the participant discuss any other impactful event that does not fall in the other categories (for example, injuries sustained by coworkers, etc.)	— Yes (specify:) — No
25. High-stress event: Citizen-involved events		In the course of the interview, did the participant experience any potentially traumatic events that involved citizen injury or death (e.g., ~~the citizen was harmed in some way~~)? These could include participant-involved shootings (with or without fatalities); difficult cases investigated, particularly gruesome scenes, etc.	— Yes — No
	Description: High-stress event: Citizen-involved events	For participants who discussed such an event, please summarize the event that is discussed and its impact. Address the following points in your summary: • Provide an overview of the situation. • What type of departmental support did the participant receive and to what extend did they feel supported in the aftermath of the event? • How did the participant cope with the event? • What was the overall impact of the event on the participant? NOTE: if the participant mentioned more than one such situation, please provide information on each. *EXAMPLE: The participant mentions a very impactful death notification he had to make a few years ago, which he says changed how he's thought about death notifications in general. No mention is made of any departmental support received at this notification (or any other death notification he has made over the course of his career). The participant does not discuss any particular coping strategies to deal with the stress directly, however, he describes having built a relationship with the citizen involved in the event and that they are in regular communication Additionally, the participant describes that the event has changed how he does all death notifications. While he previously tried to disconnect himself from the impact of the death notification, he now recognizes the need to humanize and connect with the citizens on a deeper level when he makes a death notification.*	— Participant does not describe such experiences

CONSTRUCTING OFFICER PERSPECTIVES | 26. Personal resources | How does the participant describe using personal financial resources in the course of their work, if any? Check all that apply. | — to pay for equipment

— to pay for training

— to help a citizen in need

— to pay for community-policing efforts

— completing work outside of regular work hours without overtime payment

— completing work during lunch or not taking any breaks

— taking personal or vacation time to attend trainings

— other (please specify:)

— NA (participant does not mention using his/her own resources in the course of their work) |
|---|---|---|
| 27. Social support | Briefly describe the participant's quantity and quality of social support (e.g., informal support from family, spouse / romantic partner, friends, church, other LEOs, etc.). You do not have to describe every single person the participant mentions - just a general sense of how much help and support he/she generally has what type of support he/she receives. Please address the following points in your summary:
- Family support
- Spousal/partner support
- LEO support
- Non-LEO support
- Spiritual/religious life

EXAMPLE: The participant is not married or in a romantic relationship. While the participant discusses warm and supportive relationships at work, with the exception of her immediate supervisor (whom she clashes wish frequently), as well as strong bonds to her siblings, she doesn't have much other non-LEO support. The reason for this is that she doesn't want | |

	to tell friends or acquaintances about the difficult parts of her job. She specifically mentions one friend who she tried to confide in about a difficult case she had, but unfortunately, she had the distinct impression that the friend couldn't understand, so she now avoids confiding in her in this way again. The participant regularly prays and derives comfort from doing so.	
28. Wishes	What participant the average person who's not in this line of work would understand about their work. Note: I specifically query this toward the end of the interview and that response should be included. However, a participant may also mention specific aspects of their work that they feel are particularly misunderstood by the public in other parts of the interview, which should also be included.	Summarize each of their wishes briefly, feel free to quote if appropriate:
29. Other important information	Other information you think is important or interesting that is not captured by the previous categories. Among other things, this is a space for situations or aspects of a participant's story that are unusual. Use your intuition and good judgment here.	
30. RA questions	Any questions you have about this interview that do not belong elsewhere.	
31. Great quotes: Quotes that really grabbed you or that seem like they would be good to use in papers/presentations drawn from this material. Ideally should not be longer than a few sentences maximum, but use your judgment.		