

LIVING WITH A COP:
A HANDBOOK FOR POLICE OFFICERS AND THEIR FAMILIES

MERLE E. FULLER
B.Sc., College of Great Falls, 1991

A Project
Submitted to the Faculty of Education
Of the University of Lethbridge
in Partial Fulfillment of the
Requirements for the Degree
MASTER OF EDUCATION

LETHBRIDGE, ALBERTA

March 2003

Dedication

For my comforter, counsellor,
My best friend and wife, Elaine Rancier-Fuller,
Who taught me how to laugh, love, let go,
And how to get up and try again.

For my sons, David and James,
The source of much joy and admiration,
And the best sons any parent could ask for.
You are my most prized possessions.

Abstract

Early in my career, I observed a problem in the police subculture: that there was a lack of information and understanding about the attitudinal and behavioral changes new police officers experience when they join a police service and the subsequent dissonance this creates in the lives of officers and their family members. I wondered whether knowing that these changes are likely to occur when an individual becomes a police officer would help mitigate the stress on police officers and on their significant others. The current project provided me with the opportunity to thoroughly examine the issue, produce a book that acknowledges these changes, and empower the reader with information and support. Some may argue that any question is redundant if the answer is obvious; but is an obvious answer to a question necessarily obvious to those living the experience? Reflecting on my personal experience and that of my contemporaries, I suspect that many new police officers struggle with the emerging occupational identity, something not often discussed in the police subculture. Research into this issue provided authoritative data, that identified the cause and nature the attitudinal and behavioral changes, and the subsequent effects this has on the officer's family. Through personal introspection and the exploration of writings by authoritative researchers, practicing police psychologists, and family members of police officers, I learned that the development of an occupational identity, or working personality, is a common phenomenon among police officers across the country. Police officers share a common personality due to the harsh work environment in which they function and through close association with their coworkers. Hypervigilance, cynicism, labeling and social isolation are pervasive personality traits, which some officers are unable to shed when they leave work. These issues can result in

the erosion of personal and nuclear relationships if not acted upon. In my handbook, I specifically address the necessity of developing open communication, social integration, personal organization and holistic wellness as salient measures necessary to sustain a healthy perspective on life and healthy relationships.

Acknowledgments

I want to acknowledge my mother who imparted to me a servant's heart to love and care about people. Your tenderness is your greatest virtue and your legacy.

I also want to acknowledge my father who instilled in me a desire for life long learning. I wish you were here to celebrate this success.

Finally, I wish to acknowledge and thank my most laudable professors, Dr. Robert Runté, Dr. Kris Magnusson and Dr. Patricia Chuchryk, who inspired me to dig deeper, reach higher and settle for nothing less than my absolute best. Thank you for your patience and your dedication to academic excellence.

Table of Contents

Dedication.....	iii
Abstract.....	iv
Acknowledgements.....	vi
Table of Contents.....	vii
PART I: HANDBOOK FRAMEWORK.....	1
Chapter 1: Review of the Literature.....	1
Chapter 2: Handbook Purpose, Design, and Distribution.....	30
References.....	37
Appendix A: Blueprint of Key Issues Identified in Literature Review.....	38
PART II: THE HANDBOOK.....	54
Chapter 1: Introduction.....	1
Chapter 2: Defining Occupational Identity.....	4
Occupational Identity: A Working Personality.....	4
A familiar Story	6
Some Thoughts on John's Story	12
Chapter 3: Understanding the Police Officer Personality.....	14
Why cops develop an Occupational Identity.....	14
Basic Training.....	15
The Police subculture.....	18
Socialization/Cloning.....	20

Aspects of a police officer's Occupational Identity	23
Hypervigilance.....	23
Cynicism	25
Labeling.....	28
Command Presence.....	30
Secretiveness.....	31
Developing Anti-social Behavior.....	33
Developing Social Isolation.....	34
Different Strokes for Different Folks	35
Do all officers experience occupational identity issues?.....	36
Do some officers adjust more easily?.....	38
Are these changes permanent?.....	40
Chapter 4: Learning to Live With a Police Officer.....	43
Knowledge about the issue.....	43
Learning to leave work at work	44
Keeping communication open.....	46
Get Physically Fit to Stay Emotionally Fit	48
Get Organized	50
Get Involved Together	51
Networking with others.....	51

Chapter 5: Summing Up	53
Summary.....	53
Recommended Further Reading	56
References	58
Endnotes	59

PART I: HANDBOOK FRAMEWORK

Chapter 1: Review of the Literature

If someone had told me about the personality changes I was going to experience when I became a Police Officer, I might have had second thoughts about my career choice. Unfortunately, no one even hinted at the fact some major changes in my attitudes, beliefs, and behavior was inevitable. My wife and I were still newly weds when I entered Law Enforcement training and by the time I joined the Police Service we had been married only four years. Yet we were together long enough for her to notice the changes when they came. Some changes were significant, while others were barely noteworthy. According to my wife, my personality began to change from the moment I entered the law enforcement college and yet no one told me, or my college mates, about the changes most police officers experience.

For several years, I was a different person than the one my wife married and my parents raised. My new personality was more aggressive, enquiring, suspicious, analytical, and sometimes even harsh. I shrugged off these changes righteously believing they were somehow necessary for doing the job well. I also cast aside many of my old friends, believing they could not understand what it was like to be a cop. Several years passed before I acknowledged that my personality might have changed a bit. What surprised me the most about this gestalt was how far I had traveled away from the person I once was, and how devastating some of these changes were to my relationships. Not all of the changes were negative. Some changes were practical for the job, while others had a destructive aspect to them. As I wrestled between the old and the new personality, I

found I had many personal questions I needed to answer before I would feel comfortable as me again.

My personal struggle with this issue motivated me to learn more about how and why a police officer's personality is shaped. As I ventured down the path of self-discovery, I learned that there were answers in social science literature that suggested there are some personality changes that many police officers share in common and other personality changes that are as unique as the individual is. As I considered some of the changes I observed in my college mates, I knew this to be true. I deduced that there were indeed tangible issues that could be, and should be, discussed with police officers and their families. Creating a handbook, which speaks to these issues, would be a useful tool to help police officers and their families maintain their relationships. Members of the police community deserve the opportunity to learn more about the general nature of a police officer's "occupational Identity" and to understand how and why it develops. It is equally important for officers to learn how to live with appreciation for the positive aspects of these changes and how to mitigate the more negative aspects. Simply learning that other police officers and their families share similar experiences will normalize and validate these experiences for police families. I believe that the information necessary for this handbook presently exists in texts I have read on this matter.

"Some people are more talented than others. Some are more educationally privileged than others. But we all have the capacity to be great. Greatness comes with recognizing that your potential is limited only by how you choose, how you use your freedom, how resolute you are - in short, by your attitude. And we are all free to choose our attitude." (Koestenbaum, 2000, 49)

As I read this statement by Koestenbaum, I pondered the notion that we ought to have control of our attitude and any changes made to it. Koestenbaum's statement asserts that our attitude is our choice and in essence is the self-portrait of whom we choose to show the world. However, is an attitudinal change freely made or is it sometimes imposed upon the individual? In his text, *Psychological Consultation with a Police Department*, Philip Mann attempts to understand this conundrum and asserts, "attitude is a central psychological state which is one of the determinants of behavior" (Mann, 1973, 111). Mann suggests that there are two possible explanations for attitudinal and behavioral change in police officers. First, "it has been traditional in psychology to assume that attitudes precede and effect behavior in an action sequence" (Mann, 1973, 111). However, based on his own observations and understanding of the Austin Police Department, Mann theorized that behavioral change also occurs to accommodate the job, and subsequently, there is attitudinal change. Mann cites Festinger comment that, "... individuals who are induced to engage in behavior, which is discrepant from their attitudes under conditions of minimal reward will subsequently change their attitudes to conform to their behavior" (*Cognitive Dissonance Theory*, 1957). Mann also concluded that we learn attitudes indirectly through the teaching techniques employed by the department and the skills learned for the job. Based understanding and interpretation of the actions of police officers, Mann's suggests that a large part of the police officer's occupational identity is formed as a result of doing the job itself and from observation of mentors within the job.

Mann's observations are important to the discussion of how a police identity

forms. In essence, Mann suggests that the occupational identity of police officers is simply a matter of association within the police subculture and environment, a notion that sociologist Edwin Sutherland called “Differential Association.” Exposure to situations and to members already working in the environment determines the development of new attitudes and a new personality that simply makes it easier for the officers to do their job. This is important information for the officers and spouses to know in that it normalizes the experience and helps them understand and cope with the changes imposed by the very nature of the work police officers engage in.

By contrast, Clifford D. Shearing, in his text *Organizational Police Deviance*, discusses more precisely, how he believes police officers learn their role in society. From a Structuralist point of view, Shearing examines rules that are both formal and informal within the police subculture, which Shearing suggests transfers knowledge, methodologies, attitudes and rationale from one generation of police officer to the next. Shearing notes:

“Police officers encounter the police subculture once they have completed their formal training and start working within the police organization. During this initial period more experienced police officers contrast the ‘book learning’ of the training with the ‘tried and true’ advice of the subculture” (Shearing, 1981, 30).

In essence, Shearing articulates that police officers learn to replicate the behaviors, attitudes, and rationale of their mentors on the job and tend to abandon their pre-police work notions. Shearing also points out “the police subculture is viewed by police officers as a source of direction and guidance – the ‘rules of thumb’ of police work (Manning, 1977) – that rank-and-file police officers can turn to as they go about their work”

(Shearing, 1981, 20). Police officers also learn to rely on internal police subculture rules to affectively achieve their job.

“As in any occupation, the police develop working recipe rules which provide them with the basis for action (e.g., Manning, 1971, 1977a, 1980). Line officers see these rules as the real or valid basis for what they do, although usually this is with reference, and occasionally with deference, to the law” (Shearing, 1981, 87).

Shearing notes that police organizations, in particular management, recognize that these “rules are important power tools in the reproduction of order” (Shearing, 1981, 83) for keeping consistency within the police membership. Therefore, by imposing these rules and methodologies, the police service reifies the behavior of the police membership and the police subculture.

Though twenty years old, Shearing’s work provides an important insight into the collective effect of the police subculture and its effect on individuals. Shearing suggests that police officers share a common occupational identity because senior members of the police service clone the personalities of younger officer’s both formally and informally, from the moment they begin their careers. So in essence, junior police officers learn vicariously from senior officers the attitudes, the personality, and even the way police officers do things and handle situations. This appears to happen whether or not the “tried and true” methodologies are effectively the best for the job or not. Both Shearing and Mann are addressing the pathology of occupational identity, which helps to answer the question, “How occupational identity develops in police officers?” Again, this information is important to officers and their families because it normalizes their

experience and identifies the fact that police officers are vicariously becoming just like their work mentors from simple association on the job.

A. Daniel Yarmey wrote *Understanding Police and Police Work*, which he based on his study of the Lethbridge Police Service in the mid 1980s. “The central concern of this book is the psychological basis of police officers’ interactions with society” (Yarmey, 1990, xiv). Yarmey’s text describes the development of the personality necessary for effective police work as observed in several venues, which is a similar position to that set out by Mann. Yarmey defines both personality and attitude. “Simply put, personality is an integration of our thoughts, feelings, and actions. It is the combination of characteristics that distinguishes one person from another” (Yarmey, 1990, 31). Yarmey further states that “... an attitude is a central psychological state which is one of the determinants of behavior” (Yarmey, 1990, 111). Yarmey also distinguishes between trait and state personality influences when he asserts the plausibility of some personality predispositions may be determining factors in the degree to which attitudinal and behavioral changes occur. In short, Yarmey suggests that some individuals and personalities may experience fewer changes, or less dramatic changes, if the basic character of their personality was somewhat in line with the police subculture occupational identity to begin with. Accordingly, there may be minimal, or no, perceived attitudinal and/or behavioral change for these individuals. Yarmey’s assessment of the individual’s predispositions is important data to consider when generalizing to the police subculture population because it answers the question, “How does occupational identity

affect different officers?” Yarmey clearly indicates that each officer will react uniquely and will not experience a change in personality to the same degree. For example, police officers raised in a military or paramilitary family are likely to experience fewer changes in personality than officers brought up in families that are more traditional. Thus, one can expect officers raised in a military or paramilitary family may have an easier or shorter period of adjustment into the police subculture than someone raised in a less regimented environment. In short, some police officers will make radical changes in their personality while others appear very similar to whom they were before they were police officers.

Claude L. Vincent, in *Policeman*, focuses his attention on the prevailing attitudes developed by police officers and attempts to explain their pathology. Vincent points out that “Secord and Backman refer the term ‘attitude’ to certain regularities or an individual’s feelings, thought and predispositions to act toward some aspects of his environment” (Vincent, 1979, 93). Thus contrary to Mann, Vincent asserts that attitudinal change precedes behavioral change. Vincent suggests that much of the attitudinal change actually occurs as the officer is preparing for the job, either in a college or academy setting. In addition, senior personnel reinforce attitudinal changes once the new officer actually begins the job, which exposes the new officer to the general membership of the police service.

“Various aspects of the job mold, shape, and form him into ‘the policeman.’ These formative pressures include the total occupational environment, the reality that he is faced with on the job continuous pressures from his peer group, the demands of his superiors, the influence of the older, more experienced men on the rookies, the shift work, the danger, and the boredom and isolation” (Vincent, 1979, 12).

Vincent points out that an officer's uniform, machismo and personal self-identity are also contributing factors to the evolution of the police officer's occupational identity. Vincent goes on to describe that there are three dissenting points of view on how officer's occupational identity evolves.

“Some writers maintain that certain personality types are attracted to the job; others claim that the policeman is formed on the job. ...Some writers... maintain that certain personality types, who are aggressive, conformist, authoritarian, and rigid are attracted to law enforcement and are selected by a screening board who themselves are made up of similar personality types. ...” Still others assert, “they are what they are before they enter the profession and, once on the job, they reinforce each other in accentuating these characteristics, which are rewarded both by peer-group approval and by promotion. ...The contrasting set of views hold that the occupation makes the man regardless of what he is at the onset”.

Vincent accepts the notion that no two officers will share exactly the same experience but somehow they appear to achieve a similar occupational identity. “They tend in the first five years of service to gear or shape their behavior and attitudes to these severe peer-group demands” (Vincent, 1979, 45). Vincent understood that occupational identity created a dissonance between the former civilian personal identity and the forging of a police subculture identity. Vincent suggests that,

“While on the job, a resocialization process takes place, that not only affects the policeman's work, but extends into his private, social, and personal world as well. The degree to which an individual internalizes the occupational role requirements will be partially determined by his basic personality needs”.

Vincent notes that the influence of the police subculture is extremely strong and demanding in the life of junior officers:

“The influence of the peer group is pervasive. His peer group of fellow constables becomes in a sense, the policeman’s occupational family, his new brothers, his main reference group. He will identify with them, tend to adopt their outlooks and see himself from the perspective of the new, all-important, reference group. His peer group, initially, will be made up of men who hold the same rank and who are approximately the same age”.

Vincent also notes that time spent on the job and exposure to police work has a cumulative effect on the individual and over time the occupational identity may become the predominant personality. “Certain behavior comes to be seen as valuable and necessary for the policeman, leading to their internalization as behavioral tendencies, or action tendencies or predispositions to act. Most of the police in this study displayed a number of these tendencies or predispositions in common” (Vincent, 1979, 110). The cumulative effect of these confrontations results in hypervigilance, cynicism, secretiveness, and an impersonal nature that some officers are unable to shed at the end of their shift. Hypervigilance and secretiveness are learned behaviors of scanning one’s environment for crime and danger, and to a large degree, they are necessary for doing the job well. With regard to cynicism however, Vincent notes, “the most important factor shaping the values, attitudes and behavior patterns of the policeman are the crisis situations which he confronts and the impact that they have on him”. Thus, by contrast, cynicism, and an impersonal nature, is an effect of exposure to crisis and other negative aspects of the job. Cynicism develops in officers after extended exposure to abnormally violent events and to persons who deliberately deceive or mislead the police to protect themselves or others. After a period of exposure to these situations, officers tend to expect deception and to expect to find themselves in the middle of chaotic circumstances.

The result is a personality that is constantly scanning for danger and dishonesty in people. Police officers seem to lose sight of the fact that they are only employees in a job. At the end of their shift, police officers must leave the job behind and assume their role within their family.

“Policemen can be compared to actors. Some actors are able to step in and out of a role with a minimum of difficulty. Other actors tend to become the role they play. They completely immerse themselves in the role and live it, both on and off the stage. The occupational role of the police is similar. With a prolonged period of exposure to the role and its demands, the policeman, like the actor, must have a strong, well-developed sense of self to be able to discard the role at will. On the basis of this writer’s observations, the majority of policemen are not able to do this successfully. Furthermore the policeman is so influenced by the role experience that the occupational identity becomes more and more the ‘inner core’ of that self-identity” (Vincent, 1979, 126).

Vincent text contributes much to the collective understanding of the pathology of the occupational identity and provides insights as to how to mitigate the more negative effects of these changes. Vincent suggests that the more time an officer spends in association with persons outside the police community, the more likely it is that the officer will have a lowered hypervigilance and lessened cynical view of the community. These are important factors to consider, which may protect the officer from leaning towards an impersonal nature, which may lead to social isolation. “The police explain that this tendency on their part to gradually dissociate themselves from the general public is one of the many coping mechanisms they resort to in attempts to avoid needless difficulties” (Vincent, 1979, 80). In Vincent’s exploration of police officer social

isolation, he learned that officers developed their own rationale for this behavior, which falls into three general reasons.

“First, it was their own choice... There was an ease of conversation in a relaxed atmosphere... there was a feeling of mutual protection, support, solidarity and trust. ...Secondly, police organization dictated this particular life style. They were always on shift work, involved in overtime work in courts, or on guard duty. ...Finally, they stayed within their own occupational group because of public pressure. They grew tired of people’s complaints against police at social gatherings, just as clergymen complain of being collared by individuals with hard-luck stories. ...In certain ways the policeman is not only isolated from the general public but also from his own family... To spare her the more sordid aspects of the job, or worried that she might leak information about ongoing cases, the policeman denies his wife a part of himself” (Vincent, 1979, 82-83).

Vincent’s work is very important in that it provides two important aspects to the research. First, Vincent describes the resocialization of the officer based on their emergence into the police sub-culture. Exposure to that sub-culture provides the impetus to change in the officer’s attitude, which in turn leads to a change in the officer’s behavior necessary for doing the job well. However, the cumulative affect of these changes, necessary for success in this vocation, also has side effects that the officer needs to learn to recognize and regulate before the changes regulate and control him/her. Though Vincent suggests this new identity can become the dominant personality, he also points to factors that can mitigate the negative changes in personality. Socialization with persons and friends in the community tend to help keep officers on an even keel. Community involvement outside the job, which places an officer in contact with the community in a positive way, appears to alleviate the affects of job related cynicism and in turn prevents officers from slipping into social isolation. These mitigating factors are important

information to police officers and their families, as it can make understanding and living with a cop much easier.

Although his work is twenty years old, I found that Vincent's text resonated with my own experiences and understanding. I believe that what Vincent has to say about the police personality and the police subculture still holds truth for police officers today. Practically, this is what makes Vincent's information useful and insightful for "would be" police officers and their families poised to enter the police subculture.

Larry L. Tifft's *The "COP" Personality Reconsidered* mirrors a lot of the Vincent's work already covered. Throughout his paper, Tifft refers to the police officer's occupational identity as the officer's "working personality", which in essence states it is the dominant personality while the officer is working. Tifft dismisses the notion that police officers develop a common personality because their backgrounds were similar before they became police officers. Tifft further dismisses the notion that police officers develop common personalities based on common training methods because "different police departments recruit, select, and socialize on different bases" (Tifft, 1974, 267). Similar to Mann's position, Tifft believes that much of a police officer's working personality is the result of the work environment and the officer's needs to shift their personality toward a "more active, assertive and self-directed orientation" (Tifft, 1974, 267). In essence, Tifft suggests that police officers create a personality as a shield, or defense mechanism to protect themselves and carry out their jobs unscathed by emotional and cognitive stressors. Tifft's work is strong verification that a police officer's work

environment shapes their personality. Tiff's work is also important because it describes the working personality as due to the stressors present in the lives of police officers. This information is important for police officers and their families to understand because it acknowledges the strain the job places on both the officer and the family. This information is also important because it normalizes the experience of developing an occupational identity in police officers

In Niederhoffer's text *The Police Family*, he thoroughly discusses the effect resocialization on police officers and their families who enter the police subculture. Niederhoffer describes the effects of new stressors in the lives of new police officers as having a significant impact on the shaping of their personality.

“To become a police officer is to become a citizen of a different world that exists in another dimension from our own, but in the same time and place. And like the dominant plot in science fiction, a journey between the two involves some distortion and requires a period of reorientation after crossing the threshold. Values and behavior often clash when the two cultures interact. The point of intersection is the family” (Niederhoffer, 1978, 1).

Like Shearing, Niederhoffer describes the cloning or replication that takes place within the police service between the old cop and the new cop. Both Shearing and Niederhoffer promote a hypothesis that police officers are re-socialized when they enter the police sub-culture and subsequently acquire an occupational identity unique to police officers. Niederhoffer notes that each police officer experiences this re-socialization process and each experience is unique to that officer. The extend of the experience is dependant on several variables, which include the social environment the officer was brought up in, the

community environment the officer was exposed to, and whether or not the officer was married and/or had a family prior to engaging with the police service.

Niederhoffer identifies several changes in the police officer's identity. One such issue is the officer's priorities and loyalties are changed. Niederhoffer suggests that a tug of war exists between the officer and his family and the officer and his job. Niederhoffer states it this way:

“Every police marriage became a ménage a trois with the police occupation a jealous mistress. ...The merger is not a temporary liaison, for a dedicated police officer becomes infatuated by the sensual, irresistible, appeal of the beat, which demands passionate devotion. ...The better the policeman, the more serious the problem of divided loyalty – that tug-of-war between job and family” (Niederhoffer, 1978, 2).

Niederhoffer suggests the core issue is both psychological and sociological. Officers must learn how to turn off the occupational identity switch when they enter the sanctuary of their own home and how to turn on the their own personal identity with which the family is most familiar (Niederhoffer, 1978, 110).

“However, there is no escape from the omnipresent grip of the occupation. Even off duty in the intimate environment of courtship or within the sanctuary of the family, the policeman is vulnerable. The signal for police action triggers the approach-avoidance conflict. Which role should prevail: policeman, lover, husband, or father? Whatever the decision, a residue of guilt remains.” (Niederhoffer, 1978, 3)

A second issue Niederhoffer points out is that the police officer's occupational identity also includes a need for control of situations and persons within his environment. As Niederhoffer notes “the art of police work consists in large measure of techniques to maintain authority and control, to gain compliance from the public without the necessity

of resorting to force” (Niederhoffer, 1978, 42). This is yet another area where the officer’s home environment may come into conflict with the occupational identity. However, officers rarely have control over the relationship between administrators and themselves.

“The police officer projects a paradoxical picture – in the foreground, strong, assertive, and courageous in the interaction with his clientele, the public, and yet submissive, even supine, in confrontations with the department as represented by the omnipresent superior officers. ... The feeling of powerlessness is a component of police alienation, one additional source of stress” (Niederhoffer, 1978, 70).

Thus, a police officer takes control of things and issues that he/she believes they can, which is most often their family.

Another issue Niederhoffer identifies is a police officers developing inclination towards secrecy. According to Niederhoffer, one of the daily conundrums police officers face is “How much of my work should I bring home with me?” Niederhoffer notes that the old cops will often instruct the young cops to “tell your wife nothing ... the less wives know the better” (Niederhoffer, 1978, 73) a directive that may cause a disturbance in the marriage when communication begins to break down. There is some merit in coming home and not telling your spouse “all the gory details.” Unfortunately, some officers are unable to find a happy medium between saying too much about work and keeping their spouse constantly at arms length from the job.

“But the police officer operates on his own wavelength. He finds it expedient not to reveal much about his work. Formulating his own concept, based on the secret society nature of the police force, he learns or is conditioned to be close mouthed about his job. Much of his work is too confidential; much of it is too revealing about conditions within the department or on the beat. Even in an intimate relationship a policeman senses that it would be discreet to keep these matters concealed from his wife” (Niederhoffer, 1978, 107).

Many officers miss the balancing point, which tends to isolate them from the public, and on occasion, from their own family (Niederhoffer, 1978, 108). Social isolation is to many officers a natural response to the harsh environment they work in. "Members of the force try to insulate their families from the dark side of the occupation. One reason is that family security takes the highest priority for the policeman" (Niederhoffer, 1978, 73). The consequence is over control of the family, which can lead to more family discord.

Niederhoffer's text is crucial research for understanding the effects the job and an officer's occupational identity has on the family. Niederhoffer's text answers several questions about the origins of occupational identity and the varying degrees of impact on the individual. Niederhoffer's text is also important because it discusses working strategies developed and presently utilized by police agencies to combat the more negative aspects of the police officer's occupational identity.

"Many of our police wife respondents pleaded for sessions of orientation and training to help them cope with their problems. ...In response to this need, the Los Angeles county Sheriff's Department foresightedly developed a spouses' training program and an annual seminar for wives of law enforcement personnel (always oversubscribed) that 'emphasizes the importance of the wife and family in the life of a law enforcement officer' (Niederhoffer, 1978, 48).

Niederhoffer's research is nearly twenty-five years old, which begs the question does Niederhoffer's data, still hold relevance for today's police officers? In other words, does Niederhoffer's text accurately describe the contemporary police subculture? Even if one assumes that human nature does not change significantly in the course of twenty-five years, subcultures clearly do. As I read his text, I found I related to many of the issues

Niederhoffer discusses, and some that had little meaning to me at all. This, I purpose, is due to the differences in policing over the past twenty to thirty years, which tends to present some of the issues Niederhoffer touches on mute points in today's society, E.G., education is highly encouraged and appreciated by the administration of most police services. What Niederhoffer does offer the reader is pathology of how this process of occupational identity came about and contextualizes this process in the history of a police subculture. This tells the reader that the concept of occupational identity is nothing new, but rather it is a previously little spoken about issue and simply a consequence of doing the job.

Dr. Ellen Kirschman is a psychologist presently working with interventions described by Niederhoffer in Los Angeles County, California. In her text *I Love a Cop*, Kirschman describes the general nature of police work and the effect it has on the personal lives of police officers and their families. The intention of Kirschman's book is to help families and significant others understand the daily rigors of police work and the effect it has on their police officer. Kirschman's book aims to help police officers understand themselves and their police inclinations. Kirschman bases her insights and understandings of this subculture solely on her twenty-five years of experience as a police psychologist in the Los Angeles County area.

Dr. Kirschman describes the effects of the job on the police officers and their families in general terms. Kirschman suggests that in many instances families bare the brunt of a police officer's unresolved pressures of the job that he/she brings home.

Kirschman states that personality and behavioral changes begins early in the career of police officers and persist throughout the length of it. Like Shearing, Kirschman contends that this behavioral change has its pathology in the training police officers go through. Kirschman argues that the behavioral change is due to a progressive change in personality because of stressors associated with the job. In other words, the officer's behavioral change is a subsequent reaction to personality change, which is a reaction to the environment in which they work. As Kirschman points out "rookies are learning to deal with intense emotions as they are exposed to things most of us will never see". Kirschman also points out that to cope with these emotionally intense situations, some officers develop a protective coating of aloofness and super-rationality referred to as the "John or John Wayne syndrome" (Kirschman, 1997, 36).

Like Niederhoffer, Kirschman discusses the major attributes that make up the occupational identity of police officers over the period of a career. Early on in an officer's career, the officer may develop a personality that reflects an attitude of superiority. Kirschman hypothesizes that this notion of superiority is based in the officer's ability to "successfully pass all the requirements – application forms, written testing, interviews, role playing, background investigation, medical and psychological examinations, and so forth – they feel like specially chosen members of an elite club of superior people" (Kirschman, 1997, 32). It is not until about the third to the fifth year, that reality sets in for the young police officer and they begin to see things in the perspective of the disappointments of the job (Kirschman, 1997, 35). At the beginning however, it is a much

different story.

“New officers feel invincible, as though they are fulfilling a kind of hero role – protector, rescuer, powerful, brave defender of justice. They are consumed with police work and eager to discuss shop, especially with other cops on their squad. At this point, the rookies enthusiasm for work obscures any disadvantages of the job, and the officer thinks that he or she can happily do this forever” (Kirschman, 1997, 36).

Without realizing it, rookie police officers are taking on a new identity based on a job they believe is like no other. The result is the development of an occupational identity unlike any other because its attributes are unique to the nature of the work.

One of the first things police officers learn after very little time on the job is that there is a need for emotional control. Abnormal situations, which often evoke emotional responses in others, constantly bombard police officers. Kirschman asserts that,

“From the beginning cops are taught to maintain an occupational persona: a ‘public face’ that makes them always appear to be in control, on top of things, knowledgeable, and unafraid. In fact, much of the stress of police work is a result of trying to hide the stress of the job. Police work is emotional labor. Officers are required to control their own emotions as well as the emotional actions of others – getting civilians to calm down, comply with orders, submit to authority, and so on” (Kirschman, 1997, 18).

Emotional control is essential to doing the job of a police officer. Officers are exposed to daily distress, despair and threats to their own lives. Without this emotional control, officers could place themselves and others in jeopardy, and perhaps even risk their own job security. Thus police officers become expert at turning emotions on and off at will.

However, the lack of emotional flow is also problematic. Kirschman notes that “years of this kind of training compromises an officer’s sensitivity to other forms of nonverbal

expression that make up a large part of how we communicate with each other”

(Kirschman, 1997, 21). The result is that officers may not want to communicate at all and will have a tendency to isolate themselves from both family and community. Officers meet a family’s attempt to break open this self-imposed silence with fierce resistances.

Kirschman also identifies the development of cynicism as a major contributor to a police officer’s occupational identity. Kirschman defines cynicism as the “belief that most human behavior is motivated by selfishness “and it”results from prolonged exposure to the worst in people’s behavior – cops see a lot of that” (Kirschman, 1997, 22).

Cynicism can develop early in an officer’s career. A few ‘on the job encounters’ or disappointments, coupled with the extolling of more experienced police officers, may be all an officer needs to begin the trek down the road of pessimism.

Kirschman also points out that police officers have developed a need to control in their occupational identity. Ironically, “cops probably spend as much time controlling others as they do controlling themselves” (Kirschman, 1997, 23). The very nature of police work brings officers into chaotic circumstances, which necessitate a need to control volatile situations. Thus, a personality develops often referred to as ‘command presence.’

“Command presence is designed to be intimidating and best left in the work locker. It is nearly impossible for friends and family to have a relaxed, mutual conversation with someone trained in interrogation skills, covered with image armor, and filled with over certainty about his or her own views and opinions” (Kirschman, 1997, 25).

For the same reasons a police officers develop their need to control, an officers will also develop hypervigilance. Kirschman equates hypervigilance with paranoia, and describes hypervigilance in the following terms.

“Hypervigilance is a hazardous habit that alters the way cops interact with their environment. It is a hard habit to break because it is so highly reinforced. From day one, cops are taught to see nearly everything in their environment as potentially life threatening and dangerous. They are urged, warned, required and rewarded for developing a habit of scanning the environment for cues to danger” (Kirschman, 1997, 25).

Hypervigilance, like command presence, is necessary for officers to functionally do their job well. It is an essential aspect to detecting and identifying crime and the potential for criminal activity to occur. “The problem arises when cops become so hypervigilant that they actually search for an opportunity to get involved in an emergency because they need that hit of adrenalin to avoid felling depressed or listless” (Kirschman, 1997, 28). Accentuated most when an officer is off duty and at home with the family hypervigilance is a problem. Uncontrolled hypervigilance off duty means the officer has forgotten how to relax in the security of his/her own home. Kirschman states that officers with uncontrolled hypervigilance tend to put themselves at risk emotionally because they are always seeking the adrenalin rush from doing the job. When the adrenalin rush does not come, depression and anxiety often afflict the officer.

“Long term police careers and long-lived marriages in general seem to follow a U-shaped course with satisfaction declining and then increasing in incremental phases” (Kirschman, 1997, 31). As mentioned earlier, of primary concern for Kirschman is the

impact a police career has on families. According to Kirschman central to this issue is the ever-changing nature of daily police work. Like Niederhoffer, Kirschman points out that a three-way relationship exists involving the officer, the job, and the family. Of frequent consideration for spouses and family members is the question of their importance in the whole picture. Police officers who love their work have a tendency to live and breath police work twenty-four hours a day. Spouses and families may begin to feel as though they were there only to help facilitate being a COP. Kirschman reports that for some of the spouses of police officers "...feel as if things are backward, that you exist to support the job instead of the other way around. You may wonder what happened to the person you once knew" (Kirschman, 1997, 36).

The very nature of police work draws officers from one crisis to the next and thus it can be both addictive and draining on the officer. "It is hard to predict what kind of mood your loved one will be in at the end of a shift. Will your spouse be coming home exhilarated after a good arrest or depressed because of a poor performance evaluation" (Kirschman, 1997, 11)? A police family learns that the officer will not always leave his/her cop personality at the office. It is not uncommon for officers to bring home "hypervigilance, emotional control, a command presence, and a skeptical, if not outright suspicious attitude toward others ..." (Kirschman, 1997, 18) all professional habits that are best left at work. As Kirschman points, some officers can be highly critical of spouse and families. Kirschman observes that officers attempt to gain control over things they can, which primarily means their household. The officer's hypervigilance makes him/her

fearful and suspicious on the job, a trait he/she finds hard, if not impossible, to leave at the office. The price paid for this level of control in a household is frequently “an almost total loss of intimacy, spontaneity, and positive regard from” (Kirschman, 1997, 17). It should not be surprising that this side of a police officer is rarely scene in public.

Society tends to hold police officers to a higher standard than the rest of society.

As Kirschman points out, police families frequently learn the same standards apply to them as well.

“Police families often feel pressured to behave discreetly, to have no conflicts and to avoid any ostentatious behavior or conspicuous consumption that would raise questions about corruption. ... Your children will also take the heat for being part of a police family. They will be held to a higher standard and told that, as police officers’ children, they should be better behaved than other kids” (Kirschman, 1997, 15).

Kirschman’s text is extremely useful as it is a contemporary view of policing and the police personality from the perspective of a psychologist who is currently involved with police officers and their families. From a therapist’s perspective, Kirschman’s text addresses two important concerns. First, Kirschman normalizes the experience of occupational identity for police officers and their families. Normalizing the experience for police officers and their families is important because it reassures individuals that what they are experiencing is not unique and it is survivable. Secondly, Kirschman’s provides strategies for helping the officers and their families understand and cope with the life style and changes of becoming a police family. These strategies will help minimize the negative

aspects of occupational identity and improve family dynamics by building on the positive attributes of these changes.

Another significant work is *Cops Don't Cry: A Book of Help and Hope for Police Families*, by Vali Stone. Stone writes her text from the standpoint of a spouse of a police officer and as a caregiver to other officers and their families. What differentiates Stone from Kirschman is Stone's status as a spouse of a police officer. In short, Stone bases her book in antidotal experience rather than in theoretical research or as a psychologist. Because the police sub-culture is a closed society, Stone's peer status lends credibility to her discussion on the issues of personality and behavioral changes. The author chooses to address the myths and the harsh realities of police work and their effect on the officers and families. What sets Stone's text apart from the other writers and researchers previously addressed in this paper is Stone's focus on the family health and well-being. Like Kirschman, Stone offers her audience practical guidance and advice on how to cope with the changes in personality, the rigors of shift work and the stressors placed on the family. This is important information for police officers and their families who are struggling throughout the police career. Stone validates and normalizes the experience of the personality and behavioral changes from the standpoint of one who is on the inside of the police sub-culture. Like Kirschman, Stone's text is a contemporary view of policing and police issues in the twenty first century, which further adds to Stone's credibility as a writer with contemporary insights that are both real and relevant to the issue of a police officer's occupational identity.

Dr. Kevin Gilmartin presents the most unique perspective in his text *Emotional Survival for Law Enforcement: A Guide for Officers and Their Families*. Gilmartin was an Arizona state trooper for his entire police career. In addition to his personal experience as a police officer, Gilmartin also leans on his lengthy history with other police officer and his own research conducted in the area of emotional survival. Like Niederhoffer, Vincent and Kirschman, Gilmartin's identifies the first few years on the job as the most formative and significant in shaping the personality of a police officer. These are the years where the new recruits entering the police sub-culture are attempting to secure their own place. "Being accepted and trusted by the other officers, is the major goal during the first year or two of their careers" (Gilmartin, 2002, 3). Being accepted means fitting in and there is a price to pay for this transition. New friends within the police service take the place old ones. In addition to attitudinal and behavioral changes, new officers face emotional changes as well. "Emotional changes lead to physical changes. ... The emotional changes take place first ... then, as the years pass, physical changes can begin to appear" (Gilmartin, 2002, 4). Though all of these changes are beneficial to an officer's street survival, many are losing the battle of emotional survival. Gilmartin points out that "an average of sixty-nine law enforcement officers died feloniously in the United States each year during the 1990s, but according to the National P.O.L.I.C.E. Suicide Foundation, police suicides averaged more than 300 per year during that same decade" (Gilmartin, 2002, 9). Gilmartin credits most of these deaths to the police sub-culture and administration ignoring the emotional changes caused by police work itself. The on set of

cynicism, labeling and hypervigilance are aspects of the attitudinal, behavioral and emotional changes that signal major changes in the individual. Cops “are experiencing hypervigilance and in many ways live in two different biological worlds. One is typified by alertness, involvement, aliveness, and social engagement, while the other world, at home, is typified by exhaustion, isolation, apathy, and on occasion, unfortunately, anger” (Gilmartin, 2002, 45).

Gilmartin’s text is a powerful and an extremely valuable text because he is the rare individual who is both social scientist and retired police officer. As such, Gilmartin addresses the reader as both clinician and one who experienced these changes first hand. The experience of having lived the life of a cop is what makes Gilmartin’s text so powerful. Though somewhat critical of administration’s lack of interest at times, Gilmartin accurately describes the attitudinal and behavioral changes that place an officer at risk of emotional survival. However, Gilmartin also offers the reader helps to mitigate the effect of these changes both from the individual’s point of view and from the organization’s point of view. Gilmartin emphasizes the need to monitor diets, exercise, life skills, open dialogue and positive self-talk as means to mitigate the effects of these changes of the newly developing working personality.

Each of the authors provides a significant insight into a police officer’s occupational identity. Some common themes that emerge through the literature specifically address the development of an occupational identity and the associated

attributes of that identity. This is what the literature has to say about those issues, and here is how a handbook would address those problems.

Five authors whose texts stand out for their comprehensive approach to the issue of a unique personality development and the associated behavioral changes are Vincent, Niederhoffer, Kirschman, Stone and Gilmartin. Vincent offers readers a clinical look at the police subculture and explains the unique working personality of a police officer. Vincent argues that this working personality is the result of the resocialization of the individual, which began in training and persisted into the police officer's working career. Vincent suggests the result of this resocialization is the development of a working personality, which over time becomes an officer's occupational identity. Strongly reinforced through simply working the job, occupational identity has a tendency, in some individuals, to become the dominant identity of the officer over time. Vincent indicates that the individual characteristics are a normal consequence of working the job and if uncontrolled, these characteristics can be detrimental to the individual's ability to function normally outside the job setting. Vincent further suggests that police officers need to recreationally break out of the police subculture to keep their equilibrium. Written for social researchers to understand more about the police subculture, Vincent's text is comprehensive and not for police officers themselves to read.

Niederhoffer offers an all-encompassing snapshot view of the police subculture, which includes the personal and interpersonal dynamics of a police service. Like Vincent, Niederhoffer speaks to the resocialization process imposed upon the individual.

Niederhoffer takes a much closer look at how this affects the police officer, his/her spouse and the family. Niederhoffer suggests that senior members of a police service deliberately re-socialize the junior members to maintain order, control and uniformity of the membership. Niederhoffer further suggests this is often at the expense of the officer's personal values and identity. Niederhoffer describes the net result of this resocialization is an individual with inclinations toward a need to control, cynicism, secrecy and social isolation. Like Vincent, Niederhoffer sees there are both positive and negative aspects of these changes. Niederhoffer suggests that officers and spouses need to work at controlling the degree to which their job becomes their life. Though Niederhoffer's text is thorough, the intended audience of this text is social science researchers. It is not likely that the average police officer or their spouse will access or read such a text.

In contrast to Vincent and Niederhoffer, Kirschman, Stone and Gilmartin base their texts on contemporary experiences, which give the appearance of present-day relevance to their work. Kirschman's text is nearly exhaustive in terms of defining the police personality and describing the pathology of these changes. Kirschman speaks to the issues on which a generation of police officers and their families has come to her for counselling. Kirschman's text identifies the primary attributes of the police officer's occupational identity as superior attitude, cynicism, hypervigilance, and a need for control and order. Kirschman also assesses when these attributes are detrimental to the officer's personal life. Though the content of Kirschman's text is likely to resonate with the readers, it is my belief that few will take the time to read this comprehensive text.

Similarly, Stone's text is likely to resonate with readers because of its practical peer approach to the issues. However, where Stone's text falls short is that it fails to address the pathology of the issues in any detail. As with Kirschman, Stone's text compels the reader to read a rather large volume of information. Therein lies the problem; during the first three to five years of employment in a new police career, an officer's focus is on learning the job from his/her peers (Vincent, 1979, 45; Kirschman, 1997, 35). The learning curve in police work is high and steep. It is probable that an officer and his/her family may experienced some significant stressors due to the progressive changes in personality before either Kirschman or Stone's texts is read.

Kevin Gilmartin's text is a text that is likely to resonate most with police officers and most researchers as it provides the inside look of the police sub-culture from the perspective of a police officer. At the same time, Gilmartin provides readers a poignant view of people under stress in a vocation that places them at risk both physically and emotionally. As a clinician, Gilmartin provides powerful arguments on the importance of maintaining a healthy lifestyle both physically and emotionally so that neither police officers nor their families will become the next victims of the a career that claims so many.

Chapter 2: Handbook Purpose, Design, and Distribution

In a discussion with Dr. Ellen Kirschman on January 8th, 2002, she indicated that to me, “there is more work to be done re: police families, lots of it. ... I think one of the thorniest, ongoing problems facing police psychologists ... concerns interventions. We are all frustrated at, (1) how to get information home to families, and (2) how to get families, including officers, to use the available resources. What are the practical, personal and institutional barriers?”

These are two central issues I attempted to address with this project. As indicated by Niederhoffer, police officers are in a closed subculture that isolates them and their emotions from the public and often from their families. Thus, even if police officers receive information valuable to their emotional well being, officers may not take any of it seriously if they don't recognize the source of that information as having credibility within their subculture. In other words, the officers need to know that the source of any information, or help, truly understands what it is like to be a cop. To a lesser degree, this is also true with the families of police officers. Nevertheless, the real task is getting this information into the hands of the family members.

Consequently, I argue that the best way to accomplish the task of disseminating and accessing resources, which Dr. Kirschman lays out, is to develop a concise handbook. I have therefore designed a handbook for police officers and their families that succinctly describes the issues of an occupational identity in the police officers' own language and

from the point of view of one who walks in their shoes. Given that the research tends to suggest that many police officers go through personal identity changes upon becoming a police officer, it is important for officers and their families to learn how to deal with work related stress and how to leave that stress at the office. Officers who go through the personality changes without ever understanding how or why these changes occur, may live with unresolved personal issues for many years. Therefore, the handbook needs to be available for each officer and his/her family upon entry into the police career. When this information is available to police officers and their families, it will forewarn them of the personality changes that lay ahead. The use of this handbook may ease much of the confusion and resolve many of the questions that officers and their families frequently struggle with as a police family.

I created the handbook based on the issues identified in the literature review. Tifft suggests that police officers build shields to protect themselves from experiences on the job. Yarmey describes this as developing a personality best designed for the job. Mann concurs that behavioral changes occur to accommodate the job, but suggests that behavior often precedes the attitudinal changes. Shearing describes the behavioral and attitudinal changes as cloned by association with police peers. Niederhoffer agrees with this perspective but believes the whole process is one of socialization. A large part of this handbook therefore addresses the pathology of the police "Occupational Identity" so that officers and their families understand its roots and that the development of an occupational identity is normal.

Niederhoffer also points out that this socialization can result in isolating the officer not only from the public, but from their families as well. Both Yarmey and Niederhoffer suggest that contacts outside the police subculture help mitigated the isolation tendencies. Consequently, the handbook also addresses the consequences to the family and friends of police officers. To that end, Kirschman and Stone agree, police officers and their families need to know what the issues are and how to mitigate the experience in order to maintain the sense of remaining normal and accepting that it is just a job, not a life. The handbook also addresses strategies for coping with these changes and maintaining normalcy within in the family and one's circle of friends.

In designing the handbook, I created a blueprint to ensure a close correspondence between key issues identified in the literature review and the issues addressed in the handbook (see Appendix A).

As previously stated, each section of the handbook needs to be succinct in content delivery. With so much data available, it would have been easy to ramble on about issues and risk loosing the reader's attention. From my personal experience, police officers tend to want the short form of any new information. Nevertheless, some issues took several pages to fully articulate the problem. I also took Chief John Middleton-Hope, of the Lethbridge Police Service, suggestion that I write the handbook from a descriptive rather than a prescriptive approach, as not all suggestions will work in all instances for all officers and families.

While the issues identified within the literature review reflect the research data, it

was important that I write this for the intended audience, which in this case is police officers and their families. I wrote with the assumption that the intended audience has no background in the social sciences, which compelled me to write the handbook in the vernacular of the police community. Had I written as a researcher speaking to sociologists or psychologists, it is likely that I would have lost the message for police families. I want my handbook to be widely read because it presents issues that are real and relevant to police officers and their families, and provides them with practical applications.

The handbook needs to be informative but also attractive to police officers and their families. One important consideration is to ensure this handbook does not appear to be another piece of police policy or a photocopied handout from some greater work. It is my intention to have the publically distributed version of the handbook published in a soft cover format with a colored cover. The size of the handbook will be about 5.4 inches wide by 8.4 inches high. The handbook must appear genuine and immediately capture the interest of the reader. To focus attention on the critical issues, I intend to utilize larger, bolder text imbedded in textboxes to highlight key points contained within the text. This approach will catch the attention the reader and help them find the main point of the section. This approach will also help the readers focus on issues that they may find of personal interest to them. Another attention-getting strategy I intend to employ is to use clip art graphics.

I believe the length of the handbook will determine whether or not the handbook is read. As I indicated earlier, I do not believe that police recruits will take the time to read

an expanded volume of information. Were the handbook too large, it would defeat its intended purpose to provide practical information for police officers and their families in a succinct format. On the other hand, were the handbook too limited, it would have left the reader with more questions than answers. To that end, I will endeavor to keep the handbook as complete as reasonably possible.

I see at least two applications for this handbook. Initially, it is my intention to integrate this handbook into our recruit-training syllabus as a handout. Presently, new police recruits in Lethbridge receive a one-day presentation on dealing with traumatic incidents and post-traumatic stress. Much of the time is given to understanding and dealing with post-traumatic stress due to some rare abnormal event police become involved in, such as police shootings. What police more frequently deal with is the daily events that influence officers' perceptions and attitudes, stressors that Dr. Kirschman identifies as 'general stress.' This is not to say that one source of stress is more harmful or more important than any other kind of stress. I believe, however, that it is more important we address the daily occurrences of 'general stress' issues rather than the infrequent traumatic stress issues that may or may not occur in a career. Recently, I spoke to the Chief of the Lethbridge Police Service, John Middleton-Hope, and presented this project for his review. Chief Middleton-Hope wholeheartedly endorsed the project and stated he would certainly consider utilizing the handbook for the recruit-training syllabus and for the experienced general membership as well.

Secondly, it is my intention to make the handbook available to the families of

police officers as a personal resource. As Dr. Kirschman pointed out, there is a need to get resources, like this handbook, into the hands of the spouses and families of police officers. This handbook will aid partners in understanding and nurturing a continued relationship with their police officer. A venue for distribution of the handbook I considered is through the Lethbridge Police Service Spouses Association, which meets monthly to offer a source of support, information, and encouragement for spouses and families of police members. I recently spoke with Mrs. Trish Wallace who is the current president of the Lethbridge Police Service Spouses Association, and presented this project for her review. Mrs. Wallace was very excited about this project and stated that it fit into plans, which the executive of the Lethbridge Police Service Spouses Association discussed over a year ago. At that time, the executive of the Spouse's Association discussed facilitating a one-day workshop for spouses following a curriculum developed by Dr. Ellen Kirschman and Dr. Lorraine Williams Greene. For one reason or another, their workshop never came together but Mrs. Wallace was supportive of this endeavor. As the Lethbridge Police Service Spouses Association receives limited funding from the Lethbridge Police Association, it is not likely that they would be able to contribute to the costs involved in publishing this handbook.

If the handbook meets with success locally, I will likely also make the handbook available to other police services. Chief Middleton-Hope encouraged me to consider presenting this project to both the Alberta Federation of Police Officers and to the national Canadian Police Officer's Association, recognizing that other agencies may

benefit from handbook. The Alberta Association of Chiefs of Police, which includes representation from the Alberta Justice Department, is also an appropriate venue for a Provincial presentation. One of the responsibilities of the Alberta Association of Chiefs of Police is to discuss policing trends, and to develop and implement innovative approaches to policing in the Province of Alberta. If this handbook proves to be a useful tool in building a more secure and productive police officer in one jurisdiction, it is likely that the handbook will draw the interest of administrators in other jurisdictions as well. In the early 1990s, I utilized this same avenue of approach when I introduced the D.A.R.E. program to the police agencies in the Province of Alberta. Alberta is now the largest promoter of the D.A.R.E. program in Canada. I believe this approach would work for this handbook project as well.

Discussions I held with Chief Middleton-Hope also covered the project's budget and funding. It is the Chief's intention to make the publication of the handbook available to all Lethbridge Police members and their families. This infers a minimal printing of between 200 and 500 copies. If I pursue the Chief's recommendations to make this handbook available to the Alberta Federation of Police Officers and the national Canadian Police Officer's Association, significant additional copies of the handbook will be required. Therefore, I must consider printing a larger number of handbooks that is closer to 1000 copies to accommodate these needs. Chief Middleton-Hope indicated that he would help find the funds necessary to publish the handbook for the Lethbridge Police Service.

References

- Gilmartin, Kevin M. (2002). *Emotional Survival for Law Enforcement: A Guide for Officers and Their Families*. Tucson, Arizona: E-S Press.
- Kirschman, Ellen (1997). *I Love a Cop*. New York, New York: The Guilford Press.
- Koestenbaum, Peter (2000, November). Points to Ponder. *Reader's Digest*, 157, 49.
- Mann, Philip A. (1973). *Psychological Consultation With a Police Department*.
Springfield, Illinois: Charles C Thomas.
- Niederhoffer, Arthur & Niederhoffer, Elaine (1978). *The Police Family*. Toronto,
Ontario: Lexington Books.
- Shearing, Clifford D. (1981). *Organizational Police Deviance*. Toronto, Ontario:
Butterworth & Co. (Canada) Ltd.
- Stone, Vali (1999). *Cops Don't Cry: A book of help and hope for police families*. Carp,
Ontario: Creative Bound Inc.
- Tift, Larry L. (1974). The "COP" Personality Reconsidered. *Journal of Police Science
and Administration*, 2, 3.
- Vincent, Claude L., (1979). *Policeman*. Calgary, Alberta: Gage Publishing Limited.
- Yarmey, A. Daniel (1990). *Understanding Police and Police Work*. New York, New
York: New York University Press.

Appendix A: Blueprint of Key Issues Identified in Literature Review

Theoretical Constructs	Author	Understanding of Constructs	Relevance to Handbook	Application in Handbook
Occupational Identity		The development of a working identity as a result of both attitudinal and behavioral changes.	Central focus of discussion of handbook for police officers and their families.	A construct used throughout the text to describe the collective effect of the attitudinal and behavioral changes.
Freedom of attitude	Koestenbaum, 2000, 49.	Freedom to choose one's attitude.	Individuals are free to choose how they will react to situations and circumstances.	Discussed in Part II. B. - Socialization, & in Part III. A. - Knowledge.
Attitude	Mann, 1973, 2.	Attitude is a central psychological state which is one of the determinants of behavior.	Provides a clinical definition for the term attitude.	Discussed in Part I. A. Introduction.
Behavioral changes	Mann, 1973, 2.	Behavioral changes made to accommodate the job.	Explains that training and learning the job result in behavioral changes	Discussed in Part II. A. - Training; & B. - Socialization.
Behavior affects attitude	Mann, 1973, 2.	Behavioral changes lead to attitudinal changes.	Explains that training and learning the job result in behavioral and subsequent attitudinal changes	Discussed in Part II. A. - Training; & B. - Socialization.
Attitudinal changes	Mann, 1973, 2.	Attitudinal changes learned due to teaching/training techniques.	Explains that teaching techniques employed result in attitudinal changes.	Discussed in Part II. A. - Training.

Appendix A: Blueprint of Key Issues Identified in Literature Review (continued)

Theoretical Constructs	Author	Understanding of Constructs	Relevance to Handbook	Application in Handbook
Formal & informal rules	Shearing, 1981, 30.	Mechanisms, which transfer knowledge, methodologies, attitudes and rationale vicariously from one generation to the next.	Explains how the police subculture is replicated generation to generation.	Discussed in Part II. B. - Socialization & Police Subculture.
Rules of thumb	Shearing, 1981, 83.	Provides officers with real and valid basis for what they do, and are important power tools in the reproduction of order.	Explains why the rules are considered so important by police personnel.	Discussed in Part II. B. - Socialization & Police Subculture.
Personality	Yarmey, 1990, 31.	An integration of thoughts, feelings, and actions in a combination of characteristics that distinguishes one person from another.	Provides a clinical definition for the term personality.	Discussed in Part I. A. Introduction.
Attitude	Yarmey, 1990, 111.	A central psychological state which is one of the determinants of behavior.	Provides a clinical definition for the term attitude.	Discussed in Part I. A. Introduction.
Personality predispositions	Yarmey, 1990, 111.	Determining factors in the degree to which attitudinal and behavioral changes occur.	Explains why there may be minimal, or no, perceived attitudinal / behavioral change for some officers.	Discussed in Part II. C. - Different strokes
Attitude	Vincent, 1979, 93.	Certain regularities or an individual's feelings, thoughts & predispositions to act toward environment.	Provides a clinical definition for the term attitude.	Discussed in Part I. A. Introduction.

Appendix A: Blueprint of Key Issues Identified in Literature Review (continued)

Theoretical Constructs	Author	Understanding of Constructs	Relevance to Handbook	Application in Handbook
Attitude affects behavior	Vincent, 1979, 93.	Attitudinal changes lead to behavioral changes.	Explains that college and pre-employment training result in attitudinal and subsequent behavioral changes.	Discussed in Part II. A. - Training.
Attitudes reinforced by other police officers.	Vincent, 1979, 12.	Senior personnel reinforce attitudinal changes once new officers actually begins the job.	Explains that peer pressure contributes to a police officer's attitudinal change.	Discussed in Part II. B. - Socialization.
First five years shapes officer's working personality.	Vincent, 1979, 45.	They tend in the first five years of service to gear or shape their behavior and attitudes to these severe peer-group demands	Explains why new police officers are influenced in their early years.	Discussed in Part II. B. - Socialization.
Resocialization of personality.	Vincent, 1979, 126.	A resocialization process takes place, that not only affects the policeman's work, but extends into his private, social, and personal world as well.	Explains the attitudinal changes extend over work and home environment.	Discussed in Part II. B. - Socialization.
Certain behaviors valuable.	Vincent, 1979, 110.	Certain behavior comes to be seen as necessary, leading to internalization as behavioral or action tendencies, or predispositions to act.	Explains how some of the behavioral changes experienced by police officers is essential for doing the job.	Discussed in Part II.

Appendix A: Blueprint of Key Issues Identified in Literature Review (continued)

Theoretical Constructs	Author	Understanding of Constructs	Relevance to Handbook	Application in Handbook
Cumulative effect of job stressors.	Vincent, 1979, 129.	Time is a very important factor in this whole process because the influence or impact on his of his experience is cumulative and affects him in ways that he does not always realized.	Explains the emergence of personality traits in police officers.	Discussed in Part II.
Acutely observant (hypervigilance)	Vincent, 1979, 85.	Always on the alert for patterns and behaviors, for details that either fitted or didn't fit the 'usual,'/ 'normal'	Explains the pathology of hypervigilance.	Discussed in Part II. A. i.
Secretiveness	Vincent, 1979, 112.	Holding, or with holding, of important departmental information.	Explains why officers will not always talk about their work.	Discussed in Part II. A. iv. & B. iii.
Cynicism	Vincent, 1979, 110.	When on the job, the police are confronted with a wide variety of situations, approached always with caution, no matter how innocent they may appear. His reaction, his behavior in on the street, is determined largely by what he feels is demanded by the situation and by what he feels his peers and his superiors expect him to do.	Explains the pathology of cynicism.	Discussed in Part II. A. ii.

Appendix A: Blueprint of Key Issues Identified in Literature Review (continued)

Theoretical Constructs	Author	Understanding of Constructs	Relevance to Handbook	Application in Handbook
Disassociation	Vincent, 1979, 110.	The tendency to gradually dissociate themselves from the general public is one of the many coping mechanisms they resort to in attempts to avoid needless difficulties.	Explains the pathology of disassociation.	Discussed in Part II. A. vi.
Police compared to actors.	Vincent, 1979, 126.	Policemen can be compared to actors. ... They completely immerse themselves in the role and live it, both on and off the stage.	Explains how some police officers live and breath the job and fail to leave it at the office.	Discussed in Part II. B. & C.
Mitigating the influences of the job.	Vincent, 1979, 129.	The more limited his non-occupational or non-police contacts are, the stronger will be the impact of his occupation on his outlook.	Explains the result of limited relationships and the value of building relationships outside the work environment.	Discussed in Part III.
Working Personality	Tift, 1974, 268.	The dominant personality while the officer is working.	Defines occupational identity	Discussed in Part I. A.
Development of a working personality.	Tift, 1974, 267.	A police officer's working personality is the result of the work environment and the officer's needs to shift their personality toward a "more active, assertive and self-directed orientation"	Explains pathology of the working personality.	Discussed in Part II. B.

Appendix A: Blueprint of Key Issues Identified in Literature Review (continued)

Theoretical Constructs	Author	Understanding of Constructs	Relevance to Handbook	Application in Handbook
Working personality a shield.	Tifft, 1974, 268.	Working personalities are developed as a defense shield to protect officers physically, mentally, and organizationally.	Explains the value of a working personality from an officers view point.	Discussed in Part II. B.
Resocialization	Niederhoffer, 1978, 1.	To become a police officer is to become a citizen of a different world that ... involves some distortion and requires a period of reorientation ... Values and behavior often clash.	Explains that resocialization is becoming a member of a new society within a society.	Discussed in Part II. B. ii.
Cloning & replication.	Niederhoffer, 1978, 68.	The police are practically cloned with a police genetic code that imparts an occupational personality and ideology.	Explains how one generation of police officer emulates preceding generations.	Discussed in Part II. B. ii.
Individual uniqueness in occupational identity.	Niederhoffer, 1978, 2.	Each police officer experiences this re-socialization process and each experience is unique to that officer.	Explains that not every experience is the same. Each officer will respond uniquely to the pressures of the job.	Discussed in Part II. B. & C.
Divided loyalties between family and job.	Niederhoffer, 1978, 2, 106.	Every police marriage became a ménage a trois with the police occupation a jealous mistress.	Identifies dissonance between loyalty to family and the job.	Discussed in Part II. A. vi.

Appendix A: Blueprint of Key Issues Identified in Literature Review (continued)

Theoretical Constructs	Author	Understanding of Constructs	Relevance to Handbook	Application in Handbook
Learning to leave work at work.	Niederhoffer, 1978, 3, 110.	Officers must learn how to turn off the occupational identity when they enter the sanctuary of their own home and how to turn on their own personal identity with which the family is most familiar.	Describes how an officer brings his work personality into the home and substitutes it for his own personal identity.	Discussed in Part II. A. vi.
A need for control.	Niederhoffer, 1978, 42.	The art of police work consists in large measure of techniques to maintain authority and control.	Explains how the need for control in the work place can be brought into the officer's home.	Discussed in Part II. A. iii.
Inclination towards secrecy.	Niederhoffer, 1978, 107.	Based on the secret society nature of the police force, he learns or is conditioned to be close mouthed about his job.	Explains how the officer's inclination towards secrecy encroaches upon his domestic relationships.	Discussed in Part II. A. iv.
Inclination towards social isolation.	Niederhoffer, 1978, 73.	Social isolation is to many officers a natural response to the harsh environment they work in.	Explains why officers work to insulate their families from society.	Discussed in Part II. A. v.
Counter measures to occupational identity.	Niederhoffer, 1978, 131.	Strategies developed to mitigate negative affects of police occupational identity.	Provides working strategies developed by police agencies to combat negative effects of occupational identity.	Discussed in Part III.

Appendix A: Blueprint of Key Issues Identified in Literature Review (continued)

Theoretical Constructs	Author	Understanding of Constructs	Relevance to Handbook	Application in Handbook
Personality and behavioral changes.	Kirschman, 1997, 20-21.	Behavioral change is due to a progressive change in personality due to stressors associated with the job.	Explains changes police officer's personality and behavior.	Discussed in Part II. A. & B.
John Wayne syndrome.	Kirschman, 1997, 18, 21.	Police officers develop defense mechanisms to deal with intense emotions as they are exposed to things most of us will never see.	Explains why police build defense mechanisms.	Discussed in Part II. A. & B.
Attitude of superiority.	Kirschman, 1997, 32.	The notion of superiority is based in the officer's ability to "successfully pass all the requirements ...they feel like specially chosen members of an elite	Explains why police officers project an air of superiority.	Discussed in Part II. A. & B.
Notion of invincibility.	Kirschman, 1997, 36.	New officers feel invincible, as though they are fulfilling a kind of hero role – protector, rescuer, powerful, brave defender of justice.	Begins to explain why police officers project an image of bravado.	Discussed in Part II. A. & B.
Unique occupational identity.	Kirschman, 1997, 32.	Officers take on a new identity based on a job they believe is like no other ...because its attributes are unique to the nature of the work.	Explains why police officers share a common occupational identity.	Discussed in Part II. A. & B.

Appendix A: Blueprint of Key Issues Identified in Literature Review (continued)

Theoretical Constructs	Author	Understanding of Constructs	Relevance to Handbook	Application in Handbook
A need for emotional control.	Kirschman, 1997, 18-20.	Cops are taught to maintain an occupational persona: a 'public face' that makes them always appear to be in control, on top of things, knowledgeable, and unafraid.	Explains why police build defense mechanisms.	Discussed in Part II. A. & B.
Cynicism.	Kirschman, 1997, 21-23.	Cynicism results from prolonged exposure to the worst in people's behavior – cops see a lot of that."	Explains why police officers are skeptical about society.	Discussed in Part II. A. ii.
A need for control.	Kirschman, 1997, 23-25.	Cops probably spend as much time controlling others as they do controlling themselves	Explains why police officers want to dominate and control situations .	Discussed in Part II. A. iii.
Command Presence	Kirschman, 1997, 23-25.	Command presence is designed to be intimidating and is synonymous with an officer's need to control.	Defines an officer's inclination to dominate and control persons and situations .	Discussed in Part II. A. iii.
Hypervigilance	Kirschman, 1997, 25-29.	Hypervigilance, synonymous with paranoia, is where cops are taught to see nearly everything in their environment as potentially life threatening and dangerous.	Explains why police officers are constantly on alert, scanning and evaluating situations.	Discussed in Part II. A. i.

Appendix A: Blueprint of Key Issues Identified in Literature Review (continued)

Theoretical Constructs	Author	Understanding of Constructs	Relevance to Handbook	Application in Handbook
Three way relationship	Kirschman, 1997, 8, 33 & 36.	Kirschman points out that a three-way relationship exists involving the officer, the job, and the family.	Explains why police officers divide their attention between family and job.	Discussed in Part II. A. vi. & C.
Police work addictive	Kirschman, 1997, 8, 9, & 11.	Police work is driven by crises and responses. This is alluring, even addicting, to many cops who love the variety and spontaneity.	Explains why police officers are so consumed by their work.	Discussed in Part II. B. & C.
Critical of family.	Kirschman, 1997, 13, 15, & 17.	Police officers can be highly critical of their spouse and children and over controlling of their household.	Normalizes the experience of families dominated by police officers who don't leave work at work.	Discussed in Part II. A. vi, B. & C.
COP families held to higher standards.	Kirschman, 1997, 13.	Police families often feel pressured to behave discreetly ... will be held to a higher standard.	Normalizes the experience of families dominated by police officers who don't leave work at work.	Discussed in Part II. A. iii., vi. B. & C.
Overcoming major hurdles to be a police officer.	Gilmartin, 2002, 1.	After months, maybe years, of trying – studying, testing, taking oral boards – recruits finally have a chance to start their careers as officers ...	Indicates the degree of resolve and commitment candidates have to become a police officer.	Discussed in Part II. B.

Appendix A: Blueprint of Key Issues Identified in Literature Review (continued)

Theoretical Constructs	Author	Understanding of Constructs	Relevance to Handbook	Application in Handbook
Abandonment of old relationships.	Gilmartin, 2002, 2.	One of the first costs of the journey through a police career can be the old friendships, the ones that predate police work.	Signals the beginning of attitudinal and behavioral changes.	Discussed in Part II. B. & C.
Struggle for acceptance by the police sub-culture.	Gilmartin, 2002, 3.	Being accepted and trusted by the other officers, the major goal during the first year or two of their careers.	Explains why officers are willing to change who they are for acceptance.	Discussed in Part II. A. & B.
Social Isolation	Gilmartin, 2002, 3.	As the years of a police career continue to pass, officers can experience social isolation from everyone except other cops.	Explains why officers associate generally with only other police officers.	Discussed in Part II. A. vi.
The job becomes the central focus.	Gilmartin, 2002, 4.	The job takes on more and more of the officer's time and becomes more than just a job – it can become the central and defining aspect of the officer's life.	Explains why police officers tend to see the job and their identity as indistinguishable.	Discussed in Part II. B.
Emotional changes leading to physical change.	Gilmartin, 2002, 4.	Emotional changes lead to physical changes. The emotional changes take place first. Then, as the years pass, physical changes can begin to appear.	Explains the link between the emotional (psychological) changes and the physical (physiological) indications.	Discussed in Part II. A. & C.

Appendix A: Blueprint of Key Issues Identified in Literature Review (continued)

Theoretical Constructs	Author	Understanding of Constructs	Relevance to Handbook	Application in Handbook
Changes are progressive and continuous.	Gilmartin, 2002, 5.	The veteran officer retiring after twenty plus years of service may not even vaguely resemble the positive, committed, & highly motivated recruit who began the journey.	Explains the process of change is continuous throughout an officer's career.	Discussed in Part II. C.
A battle for emotional survival.	Gilmartin, 2002, 9.	Although in many ways officers are winning the battle of street survival, they appear to be fatally losing the battle of emotional survival.	Indicates that not all officers handle the strain of the job.	Discussed in Part II. C.
Higher suicide rates than average	Gilmartin, 2002, 10.	Reports that police officers have a significantly higher suicide rate than the general population are even more alarming when one considers that most police agencies pre-screen recruits for psychological problems before hiring.	Indicates the degree to which police officers are not coping well with the stress of the job.	Discussed in Part II. C.

Appendix A: Blueprint of Key Issues Identified in Literature Review (continued)

Theoretical Constructs	Author	Understanding of Constructs	Relevance to Handbook	Application in Handbook
Suicide a form of self-destruction.	Gilmartin, 2002, 11.	Suicide is not the only form of self destruction: Depression, social isolation, and chronic anger also lead to the destruction of many other aspects of officer's lives that are not so readily visible.	Explains other forms of self-destructive behavior that police officers face.	Discussed in Part II. C.
Ruined marriages also a high price paid.	Gilmartin, 2002, 13.	The suicide rate ...not nearly as numerically significant as the number of marriages that are lost and the number of children who grow up emotionally distant from their police parents and, unfortunately, who grow up experiencing the secondhand effects of a police career.	Explains dysfunction in families resulting from career-associated stress.	Discussed in Part II. C.
Social isolation and cynicism manageable.	Gilmartin, 2002, 13.	For most police officers, the concepts of social isolation and cynicism aren't a problem; they are just 'the way the world really is.	Explains how police officers rationalize their behavior.	Discussed in Part II. C.

Appendix A: Blueprint of Key Issues Identified in Literature Review (continued)

Theoretical Constructs	Author	Understanding of Constructs	Relevance to Handbook	Application in Handbook
Cynical: defined	Gilmartin, 2002, 24.	Contemptuously distrustful of human nature and motive.' – Webster's collegiate Dictionary"	Defines how Gilmartin's imputes meaning for cynicism.	Discussed in Part II. A. ii.
Most officers admit cynicism.	Gilmartin, 2002, 25.	Ask police officers if they are cynical and most will respond: 'You bet I'm cynical. You would be too if you saw half the stuff I see everyday at work.'	Defines an aspect of a police officer's working personality.	Discussed in Part II. A. ii.
Labeling	Gilmartin, 2002, 28.	Fewer and fewer people in the officer's life are spared the label. By the time many officers are ready for retirement, they can count on one hand the number of people who are not assholes. Also, the more years someone is an officer, the more different varieties of assholes, or 'proctological personalities,' the officer discovers or creates.	Explains how and why police officers apply labels to people.	Discussed in Part II. A.

Appendix A: Blueprint of Key Issues Identified in Literature Review (continued)

Theoretical Constructs	Author	Understanding of Constructs	Relevance to Handbook	Application in Handbook
Hypervigilance	Gilmartin, 2002, 35.	Hypervigilance is the necessary manner of viewing the world from a threat-based perspective, having the mindset to see the events unfolding as potentially dangerous.	Explains the practical value of hypervigilance to police officers.	Discussed in Part II. A. i.
Knowing what it is like to be a cop.	Gilmartin, 2002, 41.	Cops know what it feels like to be a cop. Just about everybody else is on the outside looking in. the physical reactions and the sensations of being a police officer are the defining parts of the culture.	Explains why cops feel so isolated and not understood.	Discussed in Part II. B.
Hypervigilance like putting on the uniform.	Gilmartin, 2002, 42.	From the beginning of their careers, each time officers put on the uniform and assumes the police role, hypervigilance kicks in. A sense of alertness, aliveness, and quick decision-making becomes the biological and psychological world of the on-duty police officer.	Explains how police officers develop or put on their working persona.	Discussed in Part II. A. i.

Appendix A: Blueprint of Key Issues Identified in Literature Review (continued)

Theoretical Constructs	Author	Understanding of Constructs	Relevance to Handbook	Application in Handbook
Not shedding the working personality.	Gilmartin, 2002, 42.	The subjective state of hyperalertness and elevated thought and emotional responses becomes inseparable from the police role.”	Explains why police officers have difficulties separating their working personality from their off duty personality.	Discussed in Part II. C.

PART II: THE HANDBOOK

Chapter 1: Introduction

If someone had told me about the personality changes I was going to experience when I became a Police Officer, I might have had second thoughts about my career choice. Unfortunately, no one even hinted at the fact some major changes in my attitudes, beliefs, and behavior was inevitable. My wife and I were still newly weds when I entered Law Enforcement training and by the time I joined the Police Service we had been married only four years. Yet we were together long enough for her to notice the changes when they came. Some changes were significant, while others were barely noteworthy. According to my wife, my personality began to change from the moment I entered the law enforcement college and yet no one told me, or my college mates, about the changes most police officers experience.

For several years, I was a different person than the one my wife married and my parents raised. My new personality was more aggressive, enquiring, suspicious, analytical, and sometimes even harsh. I shrugged off these changes righteously believing they were somehow necessary for doing the job well. I also cast aside many of my old friends, believing they could not understand what it was like to be a cop. Several years passed before I acknowledged that my personality might have changed a bit. What surprised me the most about this gestalt was how far I had traveled away from the person I once was, and how devastating some of these changes were to my relationships. Not all of the changes were negative. Some changes were practical for the job, while others had a destructive aspect to them. As I wrestled between the old and the new personality, I

found I had many personal questions I needed to answer before I would feel comfortable as me again.

My personal struggle with this issue motivated me to learn more about how and why a police officer's personality is shaped. As I ventured down the path of self-discovery, I learned that there were answers in social science literature. I learned that many police officers share some personality changes, while other personality changes are as unique as the individual. I knew this to be true when I considered some of the changes I observed in my college mates. I deduced that there were indeed tangible issues that could be, and should be, discussed with police officers and their families. It is important for police officers to learn how to live with appreciation for the positive aspects of these changes and how to mitigate the more negative aspects. Simply learning that other police officers and their families share similar experiences will normalize and validate these experiences for police families.

I desired to write a book for police officers and their families about the complications of living with a cop. My intent is to help police officers and their families maintain their focus on their relationships and on life by understanding the personality changes associated when entering the police subculture. It is my belief that strong and healthy relationships, both at home and at work, influence police officers to become both more productive and more content with life. Research suggests that young officers will eagerly follow the example set before them by the police subculture¹. This should cause us to ponder what kind example our generation is setting for the next. A major task facing police officers in the twenty first century is to model personal relationships that are

healthy and sustainable within the police subculture. Do we care enough to be that example?

*“Other people may be there to help us, teach us, guide us along our path.
But the lesson to be learned is always ours.”*

——Melody Beattie

“The human spirit is stronger than anything that happens to it.”

——C.C. Scott

Chapter 2:Defining Occupational Identity

Occupational Identity: A Working Personality

Someone once said “if it walks like a duck, talks like a duck, and looks like a duck – it’s a duck.” If you saw someone with hair cut short and sporting a moustache twenty-five years ago there was a good chance that the person was either a police officer or a member of the military. With the changing hairstyles of the eighties and nineties, such distinctions were no longer possible. In reality though, outward appearance has very little to do with whether or not a person is a police officer. Yet, it is common for a police officer from one jurisdiction to identify a previously unknown police officer in another jurisdiction simply from observing them. This recognition has little to do with outward appearance and everything to do with the persona the other person is projecting.

Experienced police officers develop what Sociologist Claude Vincent called an “occupational identity.” An occupational identity is simply the internal association of one’s personal identity to one’s vocation. Over time, the occupational identity can actually replace an officer’s personal identity if it is not self-regulated. An occupational identity is a common phenomenon observed in vocations such as teachers, nurses, doctors, and firefighters. Another sociologist, Larry L. Tifft, calls this phenomenon the “working personality.” Tifft describes the working personality as the dominant personality while the officer is working. Like Vincent, Tifft believes that much of a police officer’s working personality is the result of the work environment. Consequently, an individual will develop work habits, mannerisms, and attitudes that collectively make up an occupational identity. An occupational identity is unique to each vocation and

recognizable to members in that vocation. If an officer sees familiar mannerisms in an unknown individual that reflects the mannerisms of his or her co-workers, such as, scanning one's environment from a controlled vantage point, the officer is likely to recognize the unknown person as a fellow police officer.

Continued work on the job, association with fellow officers and with the public reinforces the occupational identity as well. At some point in time most police officers hear their introductions in these terms, *"I'd like you to meet John. He's a cop."* What is so important about being a cop that people need to know them by their occupation? Police officers represent many things to many people. For example, police officers are public figures in uniform that have authority to arrest people and to take charge of situations that get out of control. Police officers are also protectors of the community who investigate and look for the truth. Police officers are both the 'keepers of the peace' and 'social workers' who make house calls. While some members of society hold police officers in great respect others hold them in contempt. Police officers rarely know which side the coin will land on and subsequently regard each meeting and each call for service with caution.

The result of this is a clearly identifiable personality unique to police officers, which some officers learn to use to their advantage while at work. For others it is not so simple. Some officers find it difficult to leave work at work. Troubles begin when the occupational identity comes home with the police officer at the end of shift. Claude Vincent compared police officers "to actors. Some actors are able to step in and out of a role with a minimum of difficulty. Other actors tend to become the role they play"². If left unchecked there is a risk that over time the occupational identity will replace the officer's

personal identity.

A familiar Story

For as long as John could remember, he always wanted to become a cop. John grew up in rural Alberta where the only police officers around were the Mounties, and for many years John did not realize there were municipal cops. John thought the Mounties were the be all and end all in police work. They were brave, cool, aloof, and highly respected by nearly everyone in the community. The thought of being a cop seemed very exciting. If something major was going on, guaranteed the cops were always in the middle of it, taking charge of the situation. What made Mounties really unique was the fact that only the best, a select few, received the opportunity to join their ranks. That made them special and if you joined them, that made you special too.

To gain the best advantage to eventually join the ranks, John went to a law enforcement college where he met others who shared the same aspiration of wearing the uniform. College was John's first insight into the fact that there were other options, other police services, besides the Mounties. John's instructors were all retired police officers whose stories seemed to hold the keys to a future as a police officer. Under their influence, it did not take long for John and his classmates to emulate the attitudes and verbal rhetoric of their instructors. After the first month of classes the most serious candidates cut their hair, walked taller, and presented an air of confidence about their future. Competition for jobs was fierce and this carried over into the classroom. Working to outperform one's classmates was necessary if one were ever going to get the attention of a police service. By the end of the first year of college, it was clear who was serious

about becoming a cop and who was not. The serious candidates gravitated to each other, which only reinforced their belief that they were somehow better than the rest.

By the end of the second year of college, police services hired most of the serious candidates even before they graduated. Less than twenty percent of their class became police officers, which only reinforced their honest belief that they were the best of the best. When John landed his job with Metro, it was a total surprise to him. He had always heard the service was partial to hometown boys, so this was a real gift. John received two other job offers from police departments who also wanted his talents. Without any doubts in his mind now, John knew he was a valued commodity in the police world. To John it seemed like such a waste of time for all the other classmates who never made it.

Once on the job, John felt he had finally arrived. He was finally doing the job he was born to do. Now he was in a position to really make a difference. Though Metro acknowledged John's college education, they also had their own recruit-training program. It was hard for John to bite his lip at times because he felt like he already knew all this stuff. John's training went well and it was easy to complete the recruit-training program near the top of the class. Now a full member of the Metro police service, John received a complete uniform including gun, pepper spray, and baton. He felt great wearing it and everyone that knew him before he was a cop told him how good he looked in it.

Field training was not quite what John expected. Television did not show cops picking up drunks covered in their own vomit or excrement. Nor did television show the verbal and physical abuse cops face at large house parties or bar disturbances. Television did not show how slow and boring it could be on the street between 4:00 A.M. and 8:00 A.M., not to mention those hours spent just sitting in court. Though John was doing the

job he had always dreamed about, it was not everything he thought it was going to be. However, the job did have some benefits he had not counted on. John now had a formal title that everyone used – Constable. He was no longer simply John Smith he was now Constable Smith when on the job. It was also interesting that people who did not know him would automatically address him as Constable. Even when John was not in uniform, people who recognized him would still call him Constable. It was not long until John simply accepted Constable as his other name. John soon learned that constable was synonymous with both his rank and the prestige it held in the community.

One of the things John had not expected was the constant staring of people when he was in uniform. What were they looking at? Was something wrong or were they just curious about what he was doing? It took a long time but eventually John accepted the fact that people were just going to gawk at him when he was in uniform. However, it was not all bad. Cops got many benefits on the job. Besides a lot of attention, cops often got free coffee, discounts on their meals, and attention from young women he had never met before. The whole experience made John feel even more special and privileged in his community. In fact, if John did not get a free cup of coffee, it would annoy both him and his partner and they would likely boycott that restaurant in the future.

John soon slipped into his new peer group with zeal. Cops had a little saying that ‘we work hard and play hard’, and it was true. Cops enjoyed seasonal sports and if you wanted to fit in you joined their team or participated in some fashion. Cops worked together and played together. Literally, they were their own best friends. Cop land was an elite club for the special few. Occasionally, cops hung out with firemen or nurses because of their professional relationship with these people. Living and working with cops so

closely caused John to change in attitude and behavior. John's vocabulary changed and so did his attitude and treatment of people. After listening to John describe some lower level of humanity, an experienced officer told John, it was obvious who his training officer was. This both pleased and shocked John all at the same time. John really appreciated the knowledge and experience his training officer had. John also knew how foul mouthed and condescending his training officer was at times. Did he really sound like that? John decided to try to tone things down a little.

It was impossible to prevent all the changes. Bad guys were synonymous with 'dirt bags, scum, pukes and assholes' and they were everywhere just waiting to happen. John expected that during any given shift those bad guys would lie to him, try to outwit him, try out running him, or even try to inflict injury on him. It was rough out there and there was a bad guy behind every tree. Only another cop would really understand this. John and his coworkers often mused that if the public knew how dangerous it was out there and how few cops there were on the street at times, no one would sleep at night. Such talk reinforced the belief that cops were so important in the community and so under appreciated. This talk further alienated John from his old friends. Old friends did not understand John's work or the city as he described it to them. They lived in a different world than he. It was not long before John abandoned his old mates and insolated himself within the police community.

John and Gwen met right out of high school. After a brief courtship, they were married just before John became a police officer. Gwen supported John's lifelong dream, as she knew it would make him happy and it was a secure job for them on which to start a family. Yet, after John started attending college, Gwen began to see changes in him. John

seemed consumed with police work and the notion of becoming a cop. Every conversation somehow turned to the topic of law or law enforcement. Gwen also noticed John's attitudes were changing. John was more assertive in conversations and more dogmatic in his positions on issues. The biggest changes, however, came when John joined Metro and became a full-fledged cop. Now, somehow, John thought he was 'all that.' John's job became the most important thing in his life. Gwen slipped back into second place. For example, John was meticulous about his uniform kit. When he was dressed in uniform, he would not even let Gwen hug him. John said it was a habit he was taught at work where no one is ever allowed to put a hand on an officer without a consequence. Regardless, Gwen was beginning to feel shut out by her husband.

In the beginning of his career, John would often come home all pumped up from work and tell Gwen every little detail of the excitement that happened during his shift. As time went on, however, John shared less and less about the events at work. "Oh it was just the same old stuff," he replied, "you wouldn't understand it all anyway." Conversations became a chore, even when they were not about work. When John shut down their discussions about work, he also shut down contact with old friends. This left Gwen in an awkward spot as the only one still interested in getting together with old friends. Eventually she quit pushing the matter and let them go as well.

Over the first few years on the job, John progressively became paranoid about his environment. John obsessed about locking the cars, the gates, and the house. He watched every stranger in the neighborhood as a potential threat to him and his family. When out for meals, John insisted on taking a booth or table in the corner of the restaurant from which he would constantly scan the room. A walk with John was never just a walk for

pleasure or exercise. John continuously scanned and watched people with suspicion. Even when in his own home, he always seemed on edge and hardly ever relaxed. John's sense of insecurity grew to the point where he did not want to leave his sanctuary on his time off.

Another one of John's new friends came in the form of alcohol. An occasional drink soon became a habit for him, and John insisted he only drank to help him relax and refocus. Getting John involved in anything but his job or his work friends became increasingly difficult over time.

When John and Gwen started a family he had been a cop for only five years, but a casual observer would have thought it a lifetime. John was hardened, and over protective of his kids to the point of doing background checks on all potential baby sitters. Not feeling secure living in a city he policed, John moved his family to a country acreage where he could find privacy from his neighbors. As his children grew up, John monitored whom their friends were and who their parents were as well. John argued that it was better to be safe than sorry. As the children grew, so did John's impatience. Gwen frequently admonished John for interrogating the children rather than just accepting things at face value. Nothing went unnoticed and John could make a mountain out of a molehill better than could anyone else Gwen knew.

At work, John became a senior member on his squad and so tasked with training new recruits from time to time. For all his experience, John was relentless in his complaining and unrealistic expectations of his coworkers. Though he was doing the job he dreamed of as a youth, it was no longer satisfying. It was all too dark, too serious, and it was not getting any better. But for the pension, John would have quit a long time ago.

John convinced himself that he could do another twelve years. His biggest concerns now were if he would be normal when he retired, and would he ever forget all the stuff he had seen over the years.

Some Thoughts on John's Story

If different aspects of John's story sound familiar to some officers, it is because John represents the collective experience of many. It is unlikely that any single police officer possesses all of the attributes to the degree described in John's story. Having said that though, John's story is not uncommon, unique, or extreme; it simply represents how different officers fail to shed their working personality at the office and begin to live their occupational identity at home as well. Officers such as John run the risk of allowing their occupational identity to rule their life. This has serious consequences for how officers view the world. The pervasive and negative aspects of this shift in personality can seriously affect the officer's family members as well. Dr. Kevin M. Gilmartin in his text *Emotional Survival for Law Enforcement* suggests that we become like the people with whom we spend significant time³. In other words, we emulate the attitudes and behaviors of our coworkers. In turn, our families may begin to emulate our attitudes and behaviors as well. Vicariously, police officers can influence their families to be more pessimistic and cynical. Yet, there are exceptions. Police officers can choose to influence their families with more constructive personal attributes. It really depends on which personality the officer will allow to dominate his or her life.

When away on courses, I have sat in lounges with other police officers and listened to them describe situations and circumstances in their own police department.

Remarkably, the only things that change from one police department to the next is the faces and names. Most police officers, whether male or female, whether in Vancouver, Ottawa, Los Angeles, or New York, share similar experiences and complain about the same issues. The police subculture is quite similar globally and it has everything to do with the harsh work environment to which officers are daily exposed. Sadly, for some this means punishing our families and ourselves with a pervasive occupational identity.

*“No punishment anyone might inflict on them could possibly be worse
than the punishment they inflict on themselves
by conspiring in their own diminishment.”*

——Parker Palmer, *Let Your Life Speak*

Chapter 3: Understanding the Police Officer Personality

“Without insight into what changes are taking place, the significant people in the officer’s personal life can find themselves pushed aside, searching for a way to adapt to these changes or risk losing the relationship.”⁴

Why cops develop an Occupational Identity

In this chapter, I intend to explain how, why and when police officers develop their occupational identity. I also intend to describe what the common general attributes of occupational identity are and what impact they have on the individual. Finally, I will explain how individual police officers are still all unique, even though we possess a common occupational identity.

In the last four decades, there has been a lot of research in to the workings of the police subculture. In recent years, some researchers specifically examined the general nature of cops, what attracts us to police work and why we tend to all develop the same personality and work habits. Some researchers view a common occupational identity as the result of simple association with other police officers and a common work environment⁵. Other researchers believe that the police subculture re-socializes police officers into their society⁶. Still other researchers believe the innate nature of the people drawn and selected to do the job shapes the occupational identity⁷. Some researchers believe police officers develop occupational identity because of the formal and informal rules of the police subculture, which daily govern their work lives⁸. Research tends to suggest that police officers across North America develop a common occupational identity because of exposure to various aspects of their work environment. Likely, a combination of all of these variables ultimately causes police officers to experience

changes in attitude and behavior, which lead to a new working personality.

What researchers do agree on is that the first five years of a police officer's career are the most formative years and largely determine how an officer's working personality develops⁹. Police officers continue to evolve over the course of their entire career, however, and are generally very different people upon retirement from the excited new recruits they started as.

Basic Training

"To become a police officer is to become a citizen of a different world that exists in another dimension from our own, but in the same time and place ..."¹⁰. What Niederhoffer is referring to is the police subculture and entry into the police subculture begins with recruit training. This phase in a police officer's career sets the stage for who they will become later on, and is highly dependant on how the recruit reacts to all the new stressors in his or her life. Frontline police work exposes recruits to experiences that are both frightening and horrifying. Real police work is nothing like that portrayed on television. The reality of an officer's chosen vocation stares them in the face the first time they step into the middle of a violent fight, walk through pools of blood, urine, human excrement, or cradle the body of a dying victim. Dispatched to situations that are by definition abnormal events for average citizens, cops are expected to take it all in stride, as if it were all in the course of a normal day's events. Calm, cool, and controlled is the order of the day for those called to do an extraordinary job. The impact of all these new stressors causes an officer's personality to change almost immediately.¹¹

Many of the personality changes occur, however, before the recruit police ever

dons a uniform for the first time. Attitudes of superiority often emerge during the basic training phase. The notion of superiority is rooted in the officers' perceptions of their ability to successfully pass a barrage of application requirements, which include application forms, written tests, interviews, polygraph examinations, role playing, background investigations, medical and psychological examinations, and so forth. Chosen and trained to perform an extraordinary job, new police officers tend to believe they are special and elite members of a club of superior individuals.¹²

The reality is that no amount of testing or classroom training prepares police officers for the rigors of the street. "Actual police work can be portioned into one-quarter crime prevention and three-quarters service to the community, much of it demanding the counseling and therapeutic skills of the officer as he assists people in trouble"¹³. Faced with this reality, young police officers tend to abandon this notion of superiority early on in their career. Initially, however, the sense of superiority far exceeds what one might consider healthy self-esteem.

Another phase many new police officer's go through is the notion of invincibility. Some new officers believe that they are acting in the capacity of a hero, protector, or rescuer in their community and, view themselves as powerful, brave keepers-of-the-peace and defenders-of-justice¹⁴. Some refer to the Messiah syndrome, in which young officers believe that they and they alone will save their community by setting all injustices right. Nice ideal, but this is hardly the reality of the situation. Most young officers barely comprehend the depth of the career they have entered, let alone all of the entire intimate details and influences of the job. Again, no amount of book reading or classroom training can ever replace the practical experience that time on the street provides officers. So

where do these misplaced beliefs and attitudes originate?

New police officers often appear to emulate the attitudes portrayed in television's version of police work. Real police work is not often exciting and dynamic. Cops are not always involved in car chases, foot chases, or stumbling upon major crimes in progress and saving the day. The reality is that the majority of police work is mundane and lacks the glamour of the television depictions that originally lured the recruit. A police officer's personal vulnerability and limitations soon drive home the fact that the only hero role in police work is for those who come home safe every day at the end of their shift.

The police subculture must accept some of the responsibility for attitudes of superiority and invincibility. Cops tend to present a public image of being 'all that' and all together. Police officers tend to project an aura of strength, assertiveness, and courageousness in their interaction with their clientele and with the public¹⁵. This appearance is a façade, however, at least initially. Modeling by field training officers and basic training cause police officers take control of their personal emotions and present an image of strength and bravado. "In the beginning, emotional control may feel like acting. After a while, it becomes a habit an officer cannot turn on and off at will"¹⁶. Police officers must also maintain their emotional control when around their coworkers. Loss of control is viewed a sign of inadequacy that presents a hazard for doing the job well. Hence, the police subculture actually encourages the maintenance of this façade.

This façade, however, can mark the beginning of bigger issues for police officers who maintain their emotional control when in the sanctuary of their own home. Rigid emotional control can usher in a breakdown in communication between spouses erode their level of intimacy. Officers frequently find the relief valve for their emotional control

in alcohol abuse, or extra marital affairs, which only further complicates issues in the home.¹⁷

The Police subculture

Most of the attitudinal and behavioral changes that police officers experience have their roots in the influence of the police subculture itself. The police subculture operates as a closed society that only admits those approved by the administration after much official screening. New officers find that entrance into this society may make them a member of the brotherhood of officers; however, he or she will not enjoy all the privileges of that society until they have paid their dues and proved their worth with time and experience spent on the street¹⁸. “The older officers have paid their dues and are in a position to assist the young officers in obtaining full citizen membership in the police culture”¹⁹. Though assisted by senior officers, this is still an extremely difficult and stress-filled time for new recruits. Recruits learn there is a balancing act of trying to please one's sergeant and one's training officer while all the time impressing one's coworkers²⁰. “Being accepted and trusted by the other officers is, for most new officers, the major goal during the first year or two of their career”²¹. The task is ominous and frequently successful entry into the police subculture comes with a price.

One of the first costs new officers may experience is the loss of relationships they developed before they were cops. Commitment to study and time spent with one's new peer group tends to crowd out the old friends. Without even realizing it, most new officers let these relationships drift away and are not even aware of the loss until some time later²².

The loss of old friends is not the only relationship that takes a battering. In many instances, entrance into the police subculture more closely resembles the marriage into a police family. Niederhoffer described this relationship as a “ménagea trois with the police occupation a jealous mistress”²³. In fact, the demands placed on the new officer by the occupation are not a temporary liaison. Once officers experience the allure of the ever-changing street environment, most do not find it too difficult to give the new mistress as much time as she demands.²⁴ It does not take long for new officers to bond with the job and their new peer group, sometimes to the exclusion of their families. In his study of the police family, Arthur Niederhoffer noted, “The better the policeman, the more serious the problem of divided loyalty – that tug-of-war between job and family”²⁵. Ellen Kirschman observed, “For cops, dedication to the job, not the family, seems to be the important consideration, both for belonging and for promotion”²⁶. Police work provides an adrenaline rush for officers because every shift is different from the last one and each call for service a potential crisis in the making. Affected most by this allure, new officers tend to believe that only those who work with them will understand how important this job really is. Whether or not that is true, it does tend to shut the family out of the previously normal relationship. New relationships developed after recruitment into the service tend to have evolved from an association with the job. If you want to get a cop's attention, talk to him or her about their job.

Teasing and testing, by the more senior members of the squad occurs often. If a rookie can take this punishing assault and still come up smiling, it will only further solidify his or her place on the squad. Much of this friendly bantering resembles the cajoling that occurs in a sports locker room. Officers swap stories, build egos, and

ultimately the bonds between members deepen. For decades, the brotherhood of the police officers has influenced the lives of new and experienced police officers alike. “Historically, the police occupation defined its domain as a male territory; it was quasi-military and off limits to women, except for the occasional incursion of an Amazonian interloper. ...Interaction with outsiders was discouraged”²⁷. Cops stick together and work toward common goals as though they were a gang unto themselves. In fact, outlaw motorcycle gangs are known to refer to the police as the largest gang in the world. In other words, the outlaw motorcycle gangs view the police as another rival gang seeking to gain and maintain control of their domain. By defining whom the police are in terms of ‘us and them’ new police officers focus and deepen their commitment to the police subculture in the battle against crime. New officers continuously exposed to the police subculture will knit their own new identity with that of the police subculture as though married into a new family.

Socialization/Cloning

Much of a police officer’s occupational identity is the result of the way cops train other cops. When a new police officer enters the police subculture, training officers or supervisors immediately convey the rules to the new members. Sociologist, Clifford Shearing, asserts there are two sets of rules, the formal and the informal, which the police subculture bestows upon new officers. Formal rules are those rules of law and departmental policy, which govern police officers and when followed present an image of social conformity. Formal rules transfer societal expectations of how police officers perform the job according to law. Police officers may however, justify stepping around

the formal rules, if it does not bring justice into disrepute, to get the job done. The informal rules, sometimes referred to as working rules, or the 'rules of thumb', are prescriptive in nature. These recipes provide police officers with the tried and true methods for getting the job done in a uniform manner. Both formal and informal rules serve to maintain the hierarchy and ensure uniformity and maintenance of the status quo by transferring the knowledge, the attitudes, the methodologies and the rationale from senior personnel to the new officers.²⁸ The rules within a police subculture ensure the general identity of the police subculture is preserved. Ironically, there are also some informal rules that no one understands, but are accepted simply because "we have always just done it that way".

Socialization into the police subculture amounts to the cloning of attitudes and behaviors and is yet another way the police subculture works to preserve its identity. "Thrown into the hopper of the police occupation, members of the force are practically cloned with a police genetic code that imparts an occupational personality and ideology composed of male chauvinism, conservatism, authoritarianism, and cynicism"²⁹. Resocialization more accurately describes a process in which new police officers enter the tightly guarded private society of the police. Why so tightly guarded, though? "Cops know what it feels like to be a cop. Just about everybody else is on the outside looking in. The physical reactions and the sensations of being a police officer are the defining parts of the culture"³⁰.

But its not just about being a cop, it is also about thinking and acting like all the other cops. Police officers find they are under immense pressure to conform to the group's way of thinking³¹. Though this is not stated outright, cops who cut against the

grain soon discover they are on the outside looking in, a very lonely and uncertain environment in which to work. Cops tend to believe they need to stand shoulder-to-shoulder on issues and there is no other acceptable side of the coin. Cops also tend to believe that how a police officer views and approaches their work and their community is a matter that only other cops should discuss. To do otherwise may weaken their ability to succeed in their fight against crime.

As previously mentioned, police officers have their own view of the world. This view tends to be pessimistic in nature due to daily encounters with the dark side of society. The result is that police develop new attributes in their personalities that are supposed to help them cope with the rigors of the job. These attributes include hypervigilance, cynicism, command presence and labeling, issues I will discuss in more detail in the next section of this book. Police officers learn these attitudes and attributes vicariously from the police officers with whom they work, a process likened to cloning. Why do cops do it? Senior officers intend to pass on their knowledge and information; however, it is not always their intention to pass on their personality as well. New police officers, especially young police officers, tend to view their mentors as seasoned professionals who possess vast amounts of knowledge and expertise. Admiration runs high as new officers receive the opportunity to learn alongside their childhood heroes. At this point in his or her career, an officer's greatest need is acknowledgement. New police officers adopt both the work habits and associated mannerisms of their mentors, believing that it is a package deal and a recipe to success and acceptance.³² As a result, new police officers tend to walk like, talk like, act like and ultimately to think like their mentors.

Aspects of a police officer's Occupational Identity

“The veteran officer retiring after twenty or more years of service may not even vaguely resemble the positive, committed, and highly motivated recruit who began the journey.³³”

Having discussed the effects of police subculture, training, and socialization, we now turn to the more common attributes of a police officer's occupational identity, from both the positive application to the police officer's work, and the negative impacts it can present if carried over into the officer's personal life. Hypervigilance and cynicism are the first two aspects I will address. Even though these aspects influence officers in different ways, they both arise out of the habit of looking for crime and generally finding it.

Hypervigilance

One of the first lessons new recruits learn is to keep their eyes open and their mouths shut. New officers watch and learn, and try to wrap their brains around what they witness. As a junior officer, I was always amazed when George, one of my partners, would wheel the car around to pursue a vehicle we had just passed. George would say, “That's a good check.” I had no idea what he saw and I had missed. As my time and experience with him grew, I learned that George was constantly scanning his environment. He was literally a human radar that seemed to stumble into more crime in progress than I could imagine. Scanning is hypervigilance and is an essential and useful tool in police work. Without it cops would likely drive by a lot of crime or the potential for crime without recognizing it. Hypervigilance requires officers to look for particular activities that present red flags to the investigator. This develops naturally, when police

officers work in the hustle of the inner city or are assigned to traffic detail which requires a proactive approach to law enforcement. Hypervigilance is also essential for a police officer's personal safety. Street survival teaches officers to assess each situation before they engage it. Knowing who and where everyone is in the room is as important as knowing when to call for backup. Being ready for anything at any time in any circumstance may just save one's life. "Hypervigilance is the necessary manner of viewing the world from a threat-based perspective, having the mindset to see the events unfolding as potentially dangerous"³⁴.

The downside to hypervigilance is that it can, and too frequently does, become a habit that haunts the officer at home as well. Gilmartin suggests that the public frequently experiences the effects of hypervigilance when they encounter police officers they later describe as rude, too serious, or unfriendly. In fact, the officer is only reacting to potential threats in the manner prescribed by training.³⁵ When taken to the other extreme, however, Kirschman equates overactive hypervigilance with paranoia.³⁶ Both Gilmartin and Kirschman point out that the effects of hypervigilance are both psychological and biological in nature. Psychological training may push the officer to utilize hypervigilance, but the body incorporates these changes in biological ways in the brain. When officers exercise hypervigilance, they experience heightened alertness, quick wittedness, and a renewed sense of vitality, which is similar to the adrenalin rush experienced by athletes in the heat of competition.³⁷ For those affected, the heightened sensations are both alluring and addictive; it is one of the reasons cops describe police work as 'a job like no other.'

Hypervigilance takes its toll at the end of the shift. After completing their shift, many officers retire to their home exhausted, quiet and withdrawn from their family. This

can occur for two reasons. First throughout their shift officers, expend a vast amount of physical and emotional energy in the performance of their job, which tends to leave them drained. Secondly, officers need time to unwind and make sense of all that they have seen and been involved in during their shift. Coming home from a busy day in cop-land is not necessarily anticlimactic; officers are simply physically and emotional wasted and need their down time to recover.

When is hypervigilance simply too much or dangerous? One indication that hypervigilance is becoming a problem is when an officer shuts out family and unconsciously resists attempts to become engaged in family dialogue or family activities. Gilmartin suggests that it is quite normal to tune out a family member while trying to watch television, but becomes problematic when the officer resists engagement with family members by avoiding the unwanted association, or by physically moving people away.³⁸ Another warning sign that hypervigilance is becoming a problem is when off duty cops seek opportunities to get involved in emergent situations that may snap them out of the doldrums. Cops who live for the adrenalin rush of the job may also have trouble in relaxing off the job. To these hypervigilant junkies, life is passing them by and they need to get back into the groove at work. For these officers, there is no such thing as a walk for the sake of enjoying the fresh air, or Sunday afternoon drives in the country³⁹.

Cynicism

Cynicism is another aspect of occupational identity that comes from expecting the worst and finding it. Webster's Collegiate Dictionary describes cynicism as "contemptuously distrustful of human nature and motive"⁴⁰ So how do cops get to this

point?

It would be impossible for the police officer to maintain his psychological equilibrium under this battering if there were no defense mechanism available to him. He copes by forging a shield of cynicism toward the job, toward the public, and toward his life in general. This cynicism, for which the police are usually criticized, serves as a potent tranquilizer, reducing the impact of the shocks in police work, alleviating frustration and stress, and soothing anxiety.⁴¹

Arthur Niederhoffer is not excusing cynicism; he is merely explaining how pervasive the effect of police work is on the psychological state of police officers. Most officers tend to come from social backgrounds unfamiliar with street people, drug abusers, prostitutes, or organized crime. Unfortunately, this clientele tends to represent a disproportionate amount of a cop's daily business. At the beginning, all police officers have a general excitement and exuberance about the job, but it does not take too many incidents of deceit and disappointment to turn a police officer down the road towards cynicism.⁴² Research indicates that the longer an officer is on the street, the farther down the road he or she will go. Ellen Kirschman points out that “cynicism results from prolonged exposure to the worst in people’s behavior – cops see a lot of that”⁴³.

Consequently, many experienced police officers have a tendency to cynicism and to view their community as a micro-model, or reflection, of how they perceive the world to be.⁴⁴ Cops are inclined to believe they alone have special insight into the underbelly of society because only they constantly observe and vicariously participate in activities that “normal” people do not even realize exist. Cops see themselves as the buffer between the underside of society and the rest of the world who simply move along in ignorant bliss. At best, this misguided belief is an exaggeration of the officer’s perception of the true nature of society. Cynicism is the police officer's attempt to reconcile the daily stresses of the job with life as previously experienced. As a result, these beliefs skew an officer’s perception

of the community in which they live, which causes officers to view their community through the veil of cynicism. This in turn leads cops to constantly size up situations and circumstances in an attempt to uncover hidden motives or agendas. Consequently, they may come across to other citizens as untrusting, suspicious and frequently rude.

The long-term effect of cynicism occurs when officers can no longer shed their attitude at work. Cynicism in the officer's home has a dangerous and degenerative affect on the family. Cops who bring their cynicism home tend to face both domestic and social problems. Domestically, cynicism can translate as suspicion, paranoia and pessimism to the family. Cynical cops frequently alienate their families by cross-examining their spouses and children on their activities and whereabouts, and by attempting to control with whom they may associate. Cynical cops also display paranoia about neighbors and events they do not understand or do not know.⁴⁵

Police officers often underestimate the impact and influence they have in the lives of their children. Cops who cannot leave it at work are also modeling these cynical and pessimistic behaviors for their spouses and children. It may not be long before the family of the officer are themselves sporting these same negative attitudes.

So too is it with police officers and their work environment. "Ask police officers if they are cynical and most will respond: 'You bet I'm cynical. You would be too if you saw half the stuff I see everyday at work'".⁴⁶ Cops know they work in harsh conditions, but very few truly understand the impact it has on their personality. In general, we become like the people with whom we most associate. Cops tend to view this process simply as fitting in or becoming streetwise.

"Does being distrustful of human nature and motive have a purpose? Yes, it keeps

cops alive”.⁴⁷ As Gilmartin points out, cynicism does have a practical purpose in the lives of police officers. In the same way cops use hypervigilance to identify the potential of threat to the person, cops also utilize cynicism to assist them in evaluating situations and circumstances. Cynicism leads cops to dig deeper and attempt to understand motive and purpose in the minds of their clientele. Without it, cops would be naive and crippled in their quest to uncover the truth. To police officers, discovering the truth is always the point of any investigation. After a few revelations in close succession, it is likely that the recruit will no longer accept the truthfulness of a street interview at face value. Young officers soon learn to shed their innocence and learn to scrutinize and analyze any statements put to them. Employing cynicism in this way is a means of uncovering the truth from clientele who habitually engage in shell games.

Labeling

The practice of labeling is directly related to cynicism. Labeling is an activity that police officers easily fall into and utilize daily without even a second thought. Human nature is predisposed to package and label persons, objects and concepts to reduce complexity and to increase predictability. We tend to label things by definition or grouping and then attach general attributes to those labels. Cops have perfected the labeling process, which is now part of their daily work language. Police officers, however, do not stop at simply labeling items, they also create fancy acronyms to further abbreviate the labeling process. For example, cops label people who resist police officers in some fashion as “assholes”. If these people resist or make life miserable for cops on a regular basis, they are “terminal assholes.” Because cops like to share this information

with other cops over the radio, they will abbreviate the label to “T.A.” Now when the first cop tells the second cop that Joe Cool is a “T.A.”, both cops immediately understand the implications of that label to mean that Joe Cool is consistently a "pain in the ass" with an attitude towards cops.

Cops label criminal behavior and deviancy as the true nature of society and by doing so they underscore the importance of their job to protect the rest of society. For cops, labeling individuals is a way of making sense of their environment. However, it does not stop there. Increasing negative experiences tend to make it easier for police officers to apply labels liberally to anything or anyone they do not understand, do not appreciate, or simply makes them feel uncomfortable.

Anyone they don't agree with 'is just an asshole.' All 'alternate life forms' are assholes. That means anyone officers don't like, don't trust, are uncomfortable with, or don't even know is an 'asshole' ... Fewer and fewer people in the officer's life are spared the label. By the time many officers are ready for retirement, they can count on one hand the number of people who are not assholes. Also, the more years someone is an officer, the more different varieties of assholes, or 'proctological personalities,' the officer discovers or creates.⁴⁸

Unfortunately, this behavior over time is damaging to the officer and to his or her family. By labeling and defining their environment, officers are also knowingly, and sometimes unknowingly, pushing good people away from their sphere of influence. The result is a toxic mix of disgruntled cops who put on "shit colored glasses" every morning. This form of pervasive pessimism has an effect on the attitudes of family members and their ability to make friends as well.

Command Presence

Police officers tend to feel they control very little in their life. When they show up for work there are supervisors and administrators who tell them what to do and frequently what they have done wrong. Supervisors tell them what and where their work assignment will be. When they get into the job itself, cops soon discover that the work environment is extremely fluid in nature. There is no control over what is coming at them next. For some officers this is, in and of itself, the allure of the job that keeps them coming back. In police work, no two days are ever the same and one never knows what kind of call for service will confront one next. While this is exciting, it is also a cause for anxiety.

Officers soon learn that they must appear to be in control at all times.

But as they gain experience and confidence, their duties frequently translate into a harsh type of regulation. While serving, they order their clients, they threaten them, they control the behavior of others. ... The art of police work consists in large measure of techniques to maintain authority and control, to gain compliance from the public without the necessity of resorting to force.⁴⁹

When officers come to a scene of utter chaos, the first thing they attempt to do is take control and slow things down. "Cops probably spend as much time controlling others as they do controlling themselves"⁵⁰. Cops learn to fire questions and commands with little regard for the feelings of others. Even if they are not certain what to do next, a cop must never display fear or apprehension in the face of danger. It does not take long for cops to develop a personal body armor known as Command Presence. Even when off duty, police officers tend to exude the characteristics of command presence. Their personality comes to reflect a habitual reliance on demanding rather than asking. Cops dictate their orders and expect compliance without question. According to Niederhoffer, "What police dislike most is challenge to their control and authority."⁵¹

Individuals who encounter the police professionally on a regular basis understand this behavior, or at the very least expect it from cops. Family members, however, find it difficult to reconcile the personality changes they experience in their loved one. As Kirschman points out, command presence assists officers to take and maintain control of their environment by presenting a personality that is both assertive and intimidating. However, “it is nearly impossible for friends and family to have a relaxed, mutual conversation with someone trained in interrogation skills, covered with image armor, and filled with over certainty about his or her own views and opinions”⁵². Failing to remove this body armor of command presence before leaving the office will effectively alienate the officer from both their family and former friends⁵³.

Secretiveness

When someone becomes a police officer one of the biggest changes family members and friends observe is in communication. Previously open communication is now strained or somehow always directed toward police related issues or the job itself. Initially, the whole experience of becoming a police officer is very exciting for rookies and there is much to share about living out their dream. Rookies can find a way of turning any conversation towards “shop talk”, a discussion of their daily experiences on the job. After a while, this can be a time of information overload and even boredom for family and friends. Though family and friends may share the officer’s excitement about finding a job they love so much, not everyone wants to hear all the gory details. However, rookies soon learn the rules of engagement from their peers when it comes to telling tales out of class. Cops simply do not talk about certain things outside of their circle of peers.

As time passes, the rookie “finds it expedient not to reveal much about his work. Formulating his own concept, based on the secret society nature of the police force, he learns or is conditioned to be close mouthed about his job. Much of his work is too confidential; much of it is too revealing about conditions within the department or on the beat”⁵⁴. Shortly into a career, it is not uncommon for officers to come home with little to say about their work.

Niederhoffer notes that from the early to the mid-twentieth century, the barrier between work and the home had a dual purpose in those police departments struggling with internal corruption. Telling spouses nothing at all about work ensured that families remained detached from the illicit activities, and for some, facilitated a nightlife with the ‘boys’ or sustained relationships with other women⁵⁵. At the close of the twentieth century, however, officers had very different reasons for remaining silent about their work. Police work became increasingly dangerous and frequently involved traumatic situations. The public also became increasingly vocal, resulting in more complaints against police, which in turn increased the stress on police officers. Most officers simply choose not to involve their families in these matters in order to shelter them from these high levels of stress. Consequently, it is not uncommon for officers to cut off communication about work, or at least to reduce the flow to a dribble of inconsequential information, to satisfy the still curious.

Developing Anti-social Behavior

Secretiveness can lead to anti-social behavior and to officers withdrawing from previously close relationships. Anti-social behavior occurs for several reasons.

Sometimes, it occurs because old friends simply get tired of hearing all the “cop talk”, or do not appreciate the significance of the dialogue for the officer. The longer officers are on the job, however, the more likely they are to spend an increasing proportion of their time off with other cops. Cops are at ease only when in the company of other cops, who share the same interests in their work and the same viewpoints about society as they do. Eventually, the new peer group replaces the old friends.

In addition to secretiveness, anti-social tendencies may emerge in new officers due to pressure from within the police subculture. In the first half of the twentieth century, “interaction with outsiders was discouraged. A police officer who ate or drank with a civilian had to report these transgressions to his superior under pain of dismissal”⁵⁶. Though there is little evidence of this harsh policy today, cops still tend to associate mostly with other cops. As time progressed over the years, police departments became more aware of the social benefits of having their officers actively involved with their community, which fostered mutual understanding and support within the community. Today police services seriously look at the extent to which an individual is socially involved in the community as one of the performance indicators in the recruitment process. Yet, in spite of this new attitude, anti-social behavior still occurs because officers simply feeling more comfortable with their own kind. Cops get “tired of people’s complaints against police at social gatherings, just as clergymen complain of being collared by individuals with hard-luck stories”⁵⁷. As a result, cops tend to depend on relationships with other cops where they feel they receive mutual protection, support, solidarity and trust.⁵⁸ Regardless of why police officers become antisocial, it invariably affects the family as well. Police officers have a tendency to closely monitor with whom

their family associate. The less threatening relationships usually involve children of other police officers. Kids from the "wrong side of the tracks" are a definitely a cause for concern from a cop's perspective.

Developing Social Isolation

Untamed anti-social tendencies can lead to complete social isolation. This is a rare occurrence but does happen on occasion when an officer's cynicism or paranoia works overtime. "For most police officers, the concepts of social isolation and cynicism aren't a problem; they are just 'the way the world really is'"⁵⁹. Social isolation generally occurs because the officer honestly believes there is a need to protect the family from the dangerous society to which police are exposed and in which they work⁶⁰. "Their fears and anxieties for the family's safety may be so extreme that they over restrict the family's activities and do not permit family members to have a normal range of motion in the world or to choose for themselves what friends they will have and what activities they will pursue"⁶¹. Social isolation occurs in several forms. One form is to isolate the family from social contact and events that occur within the community. Though the cop's family lives in the community, the members are not permitted to form relationships or bonds with individuals in the community that might compromise the sanctity of the home. This form of social isolation amounts to domestic marshal law where going out with friends or having friends over to the home is strictly limited. Social isolation can also exclude the family from community events, recreational activities, and sometimes cultural or religious activities as well.

Another form of social isolation involves moving the family outside the

community and away from unwanted social contact. These instances are extreme and rare to say the least, but they can occur. A few officers move to acreages in neighboring communities where they find anonymity and isolation from the perceived dangers of the society in which they work. However, not all cops who move their families out to the countryside are doing so to socially isolate the family. Some families simply prefer a quieter country life, something many of us grew up with and still find attractive. There are a few, however, who prefer limited or no unwarranted contact with the outside world apart from the necessity of work or school. They choose to live in remote acreages with walls and fences to ward off invasions of their privacy. Though intended to keep the family safe, it often has the reverse effect. This self-imposed isolation builds walls around their family's social life and can inhibit the natural socialization process.

Different Strokes for Different Folks

When I began writing this book there were two observations that really jumped out at me: First, how much cops are alike, and second, how different we all are. Police officers share many attitudes and behavioral tendencies in common, but at the same time, we differ markedly on a wide variety of matters⁶². As demonstrated by television and movies, there seems to be a mystique about cops and Doctors that draws people to them. "Each calling can point to a long and honorable tradition. The local constable and the family doctor tower as quasi-folk heroes in the growth of our country"⁶³. Yet, what people fail to recognize is that police are just as ordinary individuals like anyone else out there. We all put on our pants one leg at a time. It should not be surprising to anyone, then, that we all bring our own baggage to the police service. Following Alfred Adler,

Claude Vincent believes we are all the product of our experiences, and since we all experience life in unique ways, it is only natural that our personalities should also develop uniquely.⁶⁴ In this next section, we will address three questions dealing with the development of an individual's occupational identity, how each officer adjusts to that identity, and how long before the old self reemerges within the cop's new identity.

Do all officers experience occupational identity issues?

Police officers all experience a change in personality to some degree as a result of their new vocation. However, not all officers experience all of the occupational identity issues. There is an adage that if it looks like a duck, walk like a duck, and talks like a duck, it is a duck. Though cops might all appear to look like, and dress alike, and act like ducks, if you observe cops more closely you will see that they all have their own unique appearance, walk and talk. “Such an analysis does not suggest that all police are a like in ‘working personality,’ but that there are distinctive cognitive tendencies in police as an occupational grouping”⁶⁵. The experience of occupational identity is as unique as each individual is unique, even though there are some common patterns that emerge. For instance, all cops learn to be hypervigilant, learn not to take everything at face value, and learn to control their emotions. Without these basic skills, cops would not survive long on the job. Just like anything else, however, some cops are better at learning and adaptation than are other cops. Some researchers of human behavior seriously question whether there is such a thing as midlife crisis, arguing that it is only a crisis if the individual chooses to make it so. I believe this is also true of the dysfunctional aspects of a police officer's occupational identity: It may only be create a crisis for the individual if that

individual chooses to allow the stressors and changes to erode one's core identity.

All cops work frontline police work at some point in their career. They all arrest drunks, they all receive abuse from the people they are called to serve, and they are all immersed in abnormal situations that eventually come to be seen as normal. This leads one to question how different or unique police officers can really be. If one asks a group of cops individually about their views on the sentences handed out by the courts, one is likely to hear very similar responses. This is only natural from a group who share the experience of working far harder to obtain convictions than is always reflected in the sentences handed down.

Yet, if one took the same group of cops and asked them how they would solve a problematic situation, one would likely get a wide variety of responses. Niederhoffer points out that “actual police work can be portioned into one-quarter crime prevention and three-quarters service to the community, much of it demanding the counseling and therapeutic skills of the officer as he assists people in trouble”⁶⁶. This service to the community through problem solving, which is at the heart of twenty-first century policing, is dependant on the experience of the individual. Individuals learn to problem solve through their own experience and their analysis of their successes and failures. For new police officers, this means having to reconcile the demands of their new job with the changes in their personality. All cops will develop a new occupational identity that is dependent on the officer’s ability to learn, adapt, and problem solve. Thus, for some officers, occupational identity will be more pronounced than it is for others.

Do some officers adjust more easily?

In the same way that officers experience occupational identity to differing degrees, officers also adjust to these changes in their own time. As pointed out earlier, the first five years of service tend to be the most influential in the development of an officer's occupational identity⁶⁷. Vincent suggests that "the job does affect the man depending on the personality, the motivation, the previous experiences, and the intelligence of each policeman"⁶⁸. In other words, Vincent believes developing and adjusting to an occupational identity is dependent on the individual's predispositions in coming into the vocation, which include past experiences of successes and failures, personal motivation to accommodate change, and the intelligence or understanding to accept and adapt to a new environment. If an officer comes from a sheltered environment that was not socially active or exposed to some of the more harsh realities of society, that individual is likely to have a harder time adjusting to and coming "to terms with the shock of their daily ...environment where blood, excrement, and death are normal conditions"⁶⁹. Individuals coming from a more sheltered past tend to be less likely to understand or appreciate the aspects of their job that exposes them to a steady diet of human tragedy alien to their own experience.

Conversely, officers who come from environments where they were exposed to a broader section of the community and actively involved in team sports are likely to adjust more easily to their experience of becoming a police officer. Active social involvement and exposure to highly competitive environments tends to equip individuals with the skill sets to better adjust to the social realities of police work. Though these officers tend to adjust more easily, it would not be prudent to hire only officers with past exposure to a

broader section of the community. Regardless of a person's upbringing or social background, regardless of whether one is a cop, paramedic, nurse or physician, most individuals facing human tragedy on a regular basis tend to react initially with shock, fear and apprehension.⁷⁰ Those with higher skill sets tend to adapt faster and get on with the job. Those lacking experience simply need more time to absorb the realities of the society they pledged to protect. Coaching and mentoring is the key to developing the correct mind set in either case.

For some it is difficult to reconcile the changes in personality required for a police officer to adjust and functionally still do the job. The issue is one of knowing and remaining true to one's self.

One former policeman, speaking about this, confessed that he had felt a strong pressure to conform, to share the views of the others. He admitted that he had joined the force with an idealistic, even reformist attitude and soon found that he was odd-man-out. Rather than change his views, he decided to leave; he had found it virtually impossible to work satisfactorily with men with whom he disagreed almost constantly and rather fundamentally.⁷¹

Rare is the individual who dares to challenge or change the police subculture. Many new recruits enter the police subculture determined to save the world, or at least make a difference in their community. This does not mean there are not individuals who join the police service and then discover they are round pegs in square holes. I admire people who, upon close examination, admit that this is not the job for them. Quite simply, some new officers feel like a round peg in a square hole. If this experience does not change with time and experience, there is no shame in leaving this vocation behind. It is better to find your true vocational calling than to stay in a job that disagrees with you. Enduring years of internal conflict only for the sake of pride and pension is not reason enough to stay in any job. Those who begin to countdown the years until retirement early on in their

career illustrate this very point. Learning how to enjoy your career and the journey along the way is so important. If we are not learning how to have fun now, what makes us think we are going to know how to have fun once we do reach retirement?

Are these changes permanent?

No, the changes in personality are not permanent but they are progressive. The first five years may be the most influential but the whole experience of being a police officer continuously reshapes and molds the individual's personality. Police officers should not expect their original personality to return anymore than they can disregard the experiences life lays on them. Rather, consider the development of new personality as progressive in nature as it continuously evolves over the course of one's career. Much of this change is simply due to growth in wisdom and understanding that only time and experience can provide. As Gilmartin points out "the veteran officer retiring after twenty or more years of service may not even vaguely resemble the positive, committed, and highly motivated recruit who began the journey"⁷². However, this does not have to be a problem if the officers and their families are aware that changes in personality are inevitable in any career. If handled correctly, progressive change will reflect the personal growth of the individual. What makes being a cop so different, as compared to other careers, is the expectation that police officers should react normally to abnormal situations. This pressure comes not just from society but from peers within the police subculture as well⁷³. Acknowledging that personality changes are inevitable due to inherent stressors of the job is vital in sustaining a healthy self-image throughout a career. Without this perspective, officers and their families may believe that unlike others, they

have not dealt with the job pressures well and have lost something permanently. Most cops will acknowledge they have their own ways of doing business; in fact, very few officers react exactly the same way to any given situation. In spite of these obvious differences, cops still prefer to hide the fact that some situations evoke different emotional reactions than their peers may experience. To admit this difference is tantamount to admitting a weakness, something one is not likely to hear in the police subculture anytime soon.

But according to Shearing, police officers not only develop a common occupational identity over the course of a career, cops also develop several specific personality profiles, which are common among members of the police subculture. Shearing assessed that the progressive development of these specific personalities provides cops with a niche in the police subculture that is consistent with their personal position or philosophy about their vocation. These personalities are the result of the officer's interaction with the police subculture and the realities of the job.

Shearing identified four personality types: Wise Officers, Real Officers, Good Officers, and Cautious Officers. Shearing describes the Wise Officers as cops morally committed to the police administration and to the police subculture who are eager for promotion. Wise Officers have the notion that they possess a "world wise" attitude, which they attribute to their own perceptions and to the transcending knowledge of the police subculture. By contrast, Shearing describes Real Officers as the "real" heroes of a police service who are equally committed to the goals of the police subculture but have no interest in department politics. Often labeled hardnosed, Real cops do their job simply because they believe in the social values they are defending and because it is the right

thing to do. Opposite the Real Officers are the Good Officers who do not identify with the values of the police subculture and honestly believe that upper administration shares their same fervor for police professionalism that they do. According to Shearing, doing the job well and by the book is often more important to Good Officers than whether or not what they do is actually beneficial to practical police work. Finally, Shearing describes the Cautious Officers as cops who only want to make it to the end of their shifts with as little difficulty as possible. Cautious Officers are disengaged from their careers and care little about the values or day-to-day politics of the administration or their peers because they had been either hurt once too often or are simply too close to retirement to care anymore.⁷⁴

Many officers who just read this section could likely identify with Shearing's personality profiles by placing themselves and some of their peers in to one or more of the personality groupings. This is a healthy exercise, which demonstrates just how much cops are alike in spite of the fact they may have experiences or political views within the police subculture. Shearing's personality profiles further assists officers and their families to understand how normal it is to develop an occupational identity apart from one's original personality. This is not say that officers are predestined to arrive in one or more of these profiles or that these are the only possible outcomes. But having said that, "few there are if any, who do not change appreciably or who can withstand the cumulative effects of membership in the police subculture"⁷⁵.

Chapter 4: Learning to Live With a Police Officer

“Known as the ‘cop’s other half’, we can’t believe that the same gentle giant we married has become this independent, self-respecting, dynamic, tough and keen-for-action machine who deals daily with situations we might only see in our nightmares.”

——Vali Stone.

To this point, I have discussed some of the common personality developments that occur in individuals when they become police officers and begin interacting within the police subculture. Most spouses and family members likely expect to see some changes in their loved one, but unless there is another cop in the family, few are ready for the depth of these changes. In the next section, I will offer some insights and suggestions that have helped other police families reconcile the changes from civilian to cop. No two experiences are exactly the same, so it is unlikely that these suggestions will work for everyone in the same way. They are simply a place to start. The rest is up to your own imagination and your understanding of your cop.

Knowledge about the issue.

Knowledge about an issue is critical to understanding all the changes the police officer, and vicariously, their family goes through. Fear of the unknown and of an uncertain future can be an incredible motivator, especially if one does not understand or cannot explain changes in the person one loves or lives with. Yet, this is the common reality for many who are married to police officers. This new reality is not isolated to just the spouses; it can shock parents, siblings and friends alike. It is the fear of not knowing what is happening that creates insecurity in people. “Without insight into what changes

are taking place, the significant people in the officer's personal life can find themselves pushed aside, searching for a way to adapt to these changes or risk losing the relationship",⁷⁶.

Knowing that certain changes are inevitable is probably the best advantage anyone can have in maintaining their relationship, even if there is nothing one can do to prevent these changes. The simple fact that one knows about these changes and understanding that it is not 'about you' or anything one has done is very stabilizing in a relationship. Reading this book is a good first step in understanding what it means to be a cop or what it means to live with a cop, but is intended only as a general overview, so please consider digging deeper. Some other excellent books, written from a variety of standpoints, are listed in the appendix entitled "Recommended Readings."

Learning to leave work at work.

To maintain equilibrium in their personal lives, police officers must learn to leave work at work. Young officers sometimes have a difficult time stepping away from their exciting new role as a cop bestowed with powers and responsibilities of control and arrest. Cops are often told that they are police officers 24-7-365, which is true only up to a point. Just because we see a breach of the law does not mean we must always respond to it as a cop. There exists a naive belief that if one does not do something about it, this particular offence, then crime in general, will flourish uninhibited. Ergo, some cops believe it is their duty to always be vigilant and step up to the plate as required. Those officers are experiencing the "Messiah syndrome", the mistaken belief that their twenty-four hours a day role as a police officer literally means they must do what they can to

save the world around them. “Because every action has an equal and opposite reaction, the high demand for more elevated alertness that is required for on-duty police work will produce, unless corrected, an extreme reaction in the opposite direction when off duty”⁷⁷. The reality of the situation is that life on the streets went on without them before they were cops and life will continue on just fine without them when they are off duty or on holidays.

For some officers, the experience of leaving work at work means learning to leave their occupational identity, developed to cope with the stressors of the job, at work. The last thing a family needs is to have the cop continue the cynicism and hypervigilance at home. Without realizing it, cops begin to interrogate their children and lock down the home, effectively isolating the family from the rest of the community. Vincent compared police officers to actors and suggested that it was important for cops to learn how to step in and out of their role. “With a prolonged period of exposure to the role and its demands, the policeman, like the actor, must have a strong, well-developed sense of self to be able to discard the role at will”⁷⁸. Unfortunately, Vincent also observed that the majority of policemen are not able to do this successfully.

Stepping in and out of the working personality is as important as stepping in and out of one's work cloths. Many officers simply leave their uniforms at work and change at the beginning and at the end of their shift. This act not only protects a cop's off duty identity but also serves as a sustained metaphor that reminds them that they are no longer on duty. Like their uniform, cops must learn to leave their occupational identity, their working personality, at work where it also rightfully belongs.

Keeping communication open.

Researchers note that communication breakdown is a common concern expressed by spouses.⁷⁹ It is not unusual for police officers to work late and come home tired and distant, and still preoccupied by their latest experiences. Kirschman notes that this is quite normal because of the strain and stress officers experience throughout their shift from both internal and external sources.⁸⁰ Paradoxically, police officers “come home physically fatigued and yet psychologically wide-awake. Asking your officer to come right to bed may be the wrong thing to do. Some time out before retiring is healthy if the officer is going to shake off the experiences of the day before letting his or her head hit the pillow”⁸¹. Cops need their down time at the end of a shift to psychologically regroup and shed the experiences of the shift. For some, this means time spent over a couple of beers with their coworkers, or time in the gym, or simply time in front of the television in their favorite chair. During this period of downtime it may be essentially impossible to engage the off duty cop in any kind of meaningful conversation.

The adage ‘you can lead a horse to water, but you cannot make him drink’ is true for cops in this context. It is important to maintain intimate communication with your spouse and at times it may feel as though you are playing second fiddle with no way to compete with the allure of police work. Some spouses report they feel they are alone even when their spouse is in the house with them; and their “psychological stance cries out for open and full communication to prove intimacy and trust”⁸². With persistent patience and trust, spouses can get communication flowing again. “As things come up, communicate them to your mate in a timely fashion. ...police spouses, recommend starting in the first

year to bargain hard for your relationship”⁸³. Vali Stone suggests that spouses need to learn good communication skills. “Talk to each other about the day’s events and any problems that might arise. Share your future goal. Talk, talk, and talk, but then know when not to talk. Don’t forget to listen. Anyone can listen, but it takes skill to really understand what’s being said and to be able to read between the lines”⁸⁴.

Know your spouse’s interests, likes and desires. The key is meeting them where they are at and taking them to a place you know they enjoy. Taking your spouse on a walk, to a hockey game, or engage in an activity that you are both personally interested in. Recreational activities can act as a catalyst to open and better communication. Begin by making the conversation light and frivolous. Do not jump in with the hard issues and expect the conversation to just take off. The last thing a cop wants to do at the end of a shift is to make more decisions. Be patient in your pursuit of dialogue. Once you establish a flowing conversation, you can then branch out into other areas of life. Help your cop find his or her sense of humor at the end of the day. Moreover, help them see and appreciate the beautiful things in life.

Conversely, officers themselves need to quit withdrawing at the end of the day and blaming it on the stress of the job. For some cops, the job is a convenient “scapegoat” which allows them to avoid responsibility for both their attitudes and actions at home.

“Some people are more talented than others. Some are more educationally privileged than others. But we all have the capacity to be great. Greatness comes with recognizing that your potential is limited only by how you choose, how you use your freedom, how resolute you are - in short, by your attitude. And we are all free to choose our attitude.”⁸⁵

One way to take control of your life is to admit that you are personally responsible for your attitude and actions. Venting your frustrations of the day is a good way to relieve

stress and so is physical exercise of almost any kind. You can choose to slump into your easy chair and stew on the negative events of the day while you watch reruns on television, or you can talk it out while you walk it out. The benefits are then two fold; you stay physically and emotionally healthy and so does your relationship.

*“Here dies another day
During which I have had eyes, ears, hands
And the great world round me;
And with tomorrow begins another.
Why am I allowed two?”*

—G. K. Chesterton

Get Physically Fit to Stay Emotionally Fit

Physical fitness is not a luxury for law enforcement officers; it is a basic requirement if they are to become emotional survivors. The pendulous swing between the highs and the lows of the rollercoaster are the body’s way of attempting to recalibrate or balance the effects of extreme physical reactions caused by hypervigilance. This need to balance, or find homeostasis biologically, is a necessary process and it can be facilitated by aggressive physical fitness.⁸⁶

As Gilmartin points out, our physical and emotional condition is dependent on how resilient we are in our ability to adapt and react to the stressors of the job. Yet, cops tend to abuse themselves further by depriving themselves of the very things that can correct their internal balance. Police services across North America have strict hiring standards for everything including physical fitness. However, fitness is frequently one area that slips away apparently unnoticed as time and years pass by. Time and experience has a way of making cops more complacent and lackadaisical in some aspects of their job and personal life. Two areas affected in the personal life are eating habits and physical fitness, both directly influencing one’s personal psyche and energy level.

Not knowing when the next break is coming or if they will get a chance to finish their meal without interruption, cops learn to wolf down their food and over time may

become less particular about the type of food they push past their palate. Fast foods, greasy burgers and fries cause one's physically distressed digestive system to fight back with chronic heartburn, indigestion and sometimes inflammatory bowel disease. "A diet lacking in nutrition can greatly effect an officer's health and productivity"⁸⁷. In North America, we tend to eat roughly three times a day. This habit should not change just because of shift work. Pending calls need not threaten an officer's opportunity for a meal if a healthy homemade lunch is at hand. Following the *Canada Food Guide* with a variety of sources of nutrition is a healthy alternative to fast food that is high in fats, sugar and salt. The result will be an increase in energy and mental alertness.⁸⁸

Old cops tend to think they can talk their way out of nearly anything and if there is any running to do, the rookies are going to be the ones to do it. In addition to poor dietary practice, officers tend to find it difficult to make the time to stay in shape, and soon physical neglect begins to sets in, leading to increased levels of detachment, isolation, apathy and fatigue. Even in a police service that supports a fitness program during one's shift, calls for service will dictate otherwise. For most officers, the barrier to physical fitness is the lack of available time and personal commitment. Though many police services now have weight training facilities, aerobic exercise provides the greatest benefit to counteract the effects of job related stress. Running, walking, biking, and other active sport activities provide the greatest benefit to physical fitness and mental well-being. Officers need to discipline themselves to make time for physically and emotionally beneficial activities. "The very act of engaging in physical fitness means the officer is taking control and responsibility for his or her time and actions each day"⁸⁹.

Get Organized

A major source of stress for police families is shift work and the lack of organization in their life.⁹⁰ Irregular sleep patterns, family time and financial management all contribute to this sense of a lack of organization. For many people across the country, organization comes from the routine of getting children up, sending them off to school and then getting themselves to work. Shift work tends to make scheduling a nightmare for families of police officers on rotating shifts. Yet, the family routine is still important for everyone else in the family. The police officer just needs to know when and how they can plug into the families activities. A posted calendar is an important tool for bringing stability into this area of the family's life. Cops need to plan their days, weeks and months ahead of time so that they are meaningfully involved in the lives of their family when they are not at work. A family calendar will actually bring security into the relationship as it builds a sense of dependency on a key family member whose work tends to draw them in and out of the family's routine.

One needs to keep one's finances organized as well. One of the leading causes of stress in any relationship is strained financial resource in the face of mounting financial commitments. Frequently, young officers will spend their newfound wealth on prestige vehicles, as they see all their friends purchasing new vehicles. The strain of high rent payments coupled with a car loan can seriously impede an individual's ability to have a little fun in life. Budgets are generally about housing, utilities, clothing and the like. Budgets also need to include some fun money set aside to bring relief from the stressors in life. Without a disciplined approach to managing money, finances will always seem strained and consequently, so will nerves.

Get Involved Together.

Police work in general tends to rob relationships of spontaneity.⁹¹ Couples need to organize time when officer and spouse can get together for a date. It is important not to sit back and wait for it to happen because it will not unless provided for. Make plans that include a particular activity and baby-sitting if necessary. “Without doubt, the factors in the police job that are often cited as the causes of high divorce rates – the schedule, the tension, the shock of police experience, the low status and salary – have been ameliorated in the last decade”⁹². Find a way to participate in activities together as a couple and at times with others. Then take steps to make it happen. Do not get side tracked or back out simply because one is too tired or does not feel like it. One's marriage depends on staying involved together and enjoying each other's company. Niederhoffer notes, “During the first three years of police work, the most vulnerable period, divorces surged. Interestingly, in the ranks of captain and above, divorce rates were one-half those in the lower echelons”⁹³. Ellen Kirschman also noted, that “divorce rate among female cops appears to be twice as high as for male cops”⁹⁴. The message here is simply to get into the habit of making time for each other early on in one's career or risk becoming another divorce statistic.

Networking with others.

It is not enough to just do things together. Officer's and their spouses need to plug into their community in addition to the social functioning of the police service. This involvement is important for both partners in maintaining a healthy perspective on life

after working in an environment riddled with negative encounters. As a rookie, an older friend who spent time in the U.S. military leaned on me with some good advice. Frank told me that for every hour you spend on the job in a negative environment it important for you to counteract that experience with an hour of something positive. If you do not you may loose touch with what is real and important in life. Officers and their spouses need to plug in to their community as individuals as well as couples. Encounters outside the police service reaffirm that there is a “normal life” out there and persons outside the police subculture will keep one connected to it.

Where police officers enjoy the luxury of conversing with their peers every time they go on shift, their spouses rarely get an opportunity to share their own experiences with other spouses who make up their peer group within the police subculture. Niederhoffer noted in his study, “many of our police wife respondents pleaded for sessions of orientation and training to help them cope with their problems”⁹⁵. Los Angeles county Sheriff’s Department was perhaps the first police agency in North America to develop a training program specifically for the spouses of their members.⁹⁶ Some twenty years later many police services now have spouse associations created to offer support and understanding and to facilitate open discussion on what it means to be married to a cop. Participation in spouses association is strongly encouraged as it not only normalizes the experience of other spouses but it frequently provides information and training sessions by professionals, and facilitates interaction with other police families by involving them in social and recreational events.

Chapter 5: Summing Up

Summary

When I started my career, I became aware of the changes in my life largely as the result of my new vocation. There is overwhelming evidence in the literature that the experience my family and I went through is not unique. Shortly after an individual begins his or her career in law enforcement, close friends will begin to notice changes in both personality and behavior. Initially, the allure and excitement of the new job causes the officers to cleave to the new relationships forged with their vocational peers. This has an eroding effect on old relationships. From the perspective of the new officer, friends and family simply do not understand what it feels like to be a cop. Coworkers who share similar experiences unique to the police profession replaces old associations.

At the same time officers are adding to and abandoning relationships, the weathering effect of all the new job stressors causes a myriad of attitudinal and behavioral changes in the new officers. Recruit training and field training begin a process that molds new recruits to the image and thoughts of the new vocational peer group. The experience is not unlike cloning. Though the first five years of an officer's career are the most influential in determining what kind of person the young cop will become, the pressure to conform to the general image of the police subculture is pervasive throughout the career. Regardless of the any standardized training that officers receive, each officer will experience individualized attitudinal and behavioral changes simply due to exposure on the job. Some predispositions such as family dynamics, community involvement and social interaction will make the transition from civilian to cop easier for some

individuals. However, exposure to peers, regular clientele and other on-the-job stressors creates a common working personality, or occupational identity.

This working personality is both a blessing and a curse for the individual. The cop's working personality is ideally suited to police officers and allows them to effectively deal with the stressors of the job while effectively functioning through a myriad of events and crisis's without becoming emotionally involved in any of them. Certain attributes of the cop's working personality, such as hypervigilance, cynicism and command presence, are effective tools officers must learn to successfully use in their job. Without these, an officer would be handicapped on the street and criminals would frequently avoid detection and apprehension. However, the same working personality can cause strain on relationships in the officer's personal life. Like the uniform, officers need to learn to shed their working personality at the office before going home. Frequently, officers bring home hypervigilance, cynicism and antisocial attitudes that tend to taint domestic relationships. Like an actor, a cop must learn to step in and out of their role of crime fighter and defender of the peace.

There are steps police officers and their families can take to minimize the effect of the cops working personality on the individual and on the family unit. If officers fail to acknowledge the effects of the working personality on their lives, they risk increasing the strain in the personal lives and that of their family. Learning and understanding the global effect the job has on them is the first critical step, which needs to start in basic training and continue throughout the officer's career. Maintaining open communication is the next most important thing the officer and his family can do to sustain their relationship. Each day officers need examine the stressors facing them and determine how important these

issues really are in big picture. Focus on taking each day one day at a time and enjoying the journey with anticipation and interest.

Though the job is exciting and provides a great source of income and security, it is stressful, and full of negative encounters. Frequently, the notions the officer has about policing are nothing like the realities of the job. As years continue to pass, some officers stay in a career they do not enjoy much simply for the security and the payoff of a good pension, a notion Gilmartin calls the “golden handcuffs.” Experience, learning, and continuous open communication about the issues of the journey make it easier to view these situations more clearly. Identifying the stressors and determining how much attention each situation deserves influences how cops will deal with these stressors. Ultimately, this helps cops acknowledge their control over situations and assists them to take responsibly for their happiness and contentment in the job.

Other things cops and their families can do to make the journey from recruit to retirement more pleasant and rewarding involve lifestyle. Officers need to take care of their physical and emotional health. Dedication to physical fitness, either through training or recreational activity, promotes emotional well-being by increasing blood flow and relieving stress. In turn, officers generally view life more optimistically and tend to let the little things go that previously caused them some distress.

Officers and their families also need to get organized both domestically and financially. Families need some routine in their lives. It is possible to create routine even when shift work is involved. A schedule on a family calendar helps the family make time for time and activities together. Finances are a strain for most families but developing a budget and tracking the financial flow is an important to minimize this source of stress.

Finally, officers need to get involved with their spouses or partners and with their family. Take time to make time and do activities together that take their attention away from the job. Plan events in advance and create the anticipation of quality time spent together. Networking with others who share the police career experience is also important. Interaction with other cop families and spouse support groups will normalize the experience of being in a cop's family by identifying common concerns and finding solutions to common problems.

Learning how to enjoy your career and the journey along the way is so important. If we are not learning how to have fun now, what makes us think we are going to know how to have fun once we do reach retirement? Obviously, the answer is learning to enjoy life and the career before we get there. We are all on this road together and we are only alone on this journey if we choose to be. Maybe it is time to car-pool for a while so that we all enjoy it together.

Recommended Further Reading

The intent of this text is not to provide all the answers but simply to acknowledge that being a cop or being married to a cop is a tough business. It was my intent to provide the reader with validation for all the mysteries and restlessness this vocation brings. In doing so I hope that others will take a mentoring role in their police service and help new police families find acceptance and security in their lives as a cop family. Nothing can ever prepare one for the changes that come from wearing the uniform and the new personality forged out of the old. Nevertheless, reading the relevant literature and stable relationships may help ease the discomforts and provide the hope that "if others have

made it and so can I".

Here are some texts that I found extremely helpful in writing this book. Some of the books I recommend are quite in-depth and so provide greater insights and suggestions for families struggling with a new occupational identity. Some books are likely to resonate with readers immediately, while others may cause be put down because they are hitting too close to home. Nevertheless, pick up the book and keep reading. These reactions only verify how typical one's own experience really is, how normal one's feelings and reactions are, and how abnormal are the experiences cops go through.

I Love a cop: What Police Families need to Know.

By: Ellen Kirschman, Ph.D.

ISBN: 1-57230-192-9

Emotional Survival for Law Enforcement:

A Guide for Officers and Their Families

By: Kevin M. Gilmartin, Ph.D.

ISBN: 0-9717254-0-3

Cops Don't Cry:

A Book of Help and Hope for Police Families

By: Vali Stone

ISBN: 0-921165-62-5

References

- Gilmartin, Kevin M. (2002). *Emotional Survival for Law Enforcement: A Guide for Officers and Their Families*. Tucson, Arizona: E-S Press.
- Kirschman, Ellen (1997). *I Love a cop*. New York, New York: The Guilford Press.
- Koestenbaum, Peter (2000, November). Points to Ponder. *Reader's Digest*, 157, 49.
- Mann, Philip A. (1973). *Psychological Consultation With a Police Department*. Springfield, Illinois: Charles C Thomas.
- Niederhoffer, Arthur & Niederhoffer, Elaine (1978). *The Police Family*. Toronto, Ontario: Lexington Books.
- Shearing, Clifford D. (1981). *Organizational Police Deviance*. Toronto, Ontario: Butterworth & Co. (Canada) Ltd.
- Stone, Vali (1999). *Cops Don't Cry: A book of help and hope for police families*. Carp, Ontario: Creative Bound Inc.
- Tifft, Larry L. (1974). The "COP" Personality Reconsidered. *Journal of Police Science and Administration*, 2, 3.
- Vincent, Claude L., (1979). *Policeman*. Calgary, Alberta: Gage Publishing Limited.
- Yarmey, A. Daniel (1990). *Understanding Police and Police Work*. New York, New York: New York University Press.

Endnotes

- ¹ See, for example, Claude L Vincent, *Policeman*, (Calgary, Alberta: Gage Publishing Limited, 1979), p. 42; Arthur Niederhoffer & Elaine Niederhoffer, *The Police Family*, (Toronto, Ontario: Lexington Books, 1978) p. 43; and Ellen Kirschman, *I Love a cop*. New York, New York: The Guilford Press, 1997), p. 33.
- ² Vincent, p. 126.
- ³ Kevin M Gilmartin, *Emotional Survival for Law Enforcement: A Guide for Officers and Their Families*. (Tucson, Arizona: E-S Press, 2002) p. 2-4.
- ⁴ Gilmartin, 4.
- ⁵ Philip A. Mann, *Psychological Consultation With a Police Department*. (Springfield, Illinois: Charles C Thomas, 1973), p. 2.
- ⁶ Niederhoffer & Niederhoffer, p. 68; and Vincent, p. 12.
- ⁷ A. Daniel Yarmey, *Understanding Police and Police Work*. (New York, New York: New York University Press, 1990)
- ⁸ Yarmey, p. 30.
- ⁹ Niederhoffer & Niederhoffer p. 70; Vincent, p. 12; and Kirschman, p. 33.
- ¹⁰ Niederhoffer & Niederhoffer, p. 1.
- ¹¹ Niederhoffe & Niederhoffer, pp .41-43 and Kirschman, p. 18
- ¹² Kirschman, 32.
- ¹³ Niederhoffer & Niederhoffer, p. 44.
- ¹⁴ Kirschman, p. 36.
- ¹⁵ Niederhoffer & Niederhoffer, p. 59.
- ¹⁶ Kirschman, p. 20.
- ¹⁷ Kirschman, p. 16.
- ¹⁸ Niederhoffer & Niederhoffer, pp. 2-4.
- ¹⁹ Gilmartin, p. 18.
- ²⁰ Vincent, pp. 42-43.
- ²¹ Gilmartin, p. 3.
- ²² Gilmartin, p. 3.
- ²³ Niederhoffer & Niederhoffer, p. 2.

- ²⁴ Niederhoffer & Niederhoffer, p. 2 and Kirschman, p. 11.
- ²⁵ Niederhoffer & Niederhoffer, p. 2.
- ²⁶ Kirschman, p. 8.
- ²⁷ Niederhoffer, & Niederhoffer, p. 9.
- ²⁸ Clifford D. Shearing, *Organizational Police Deviance*, (Toronto, Ontario: Butterworth & Co. (Canada) Ltd, 1981), pp. 83-102.
- ²⁹ Niederhoffer & Niederhoffer, p. 68.
- ³⁰ Gilmartin, p. 41.
- ³¹ Vincent, pp. 37-39.
- ³² Niederhoffer & Niederhoffer, pp. 41, 43, 69; and Vincent, p. 44.
- ³³ Gilmartin, p. 5.
- ³⁴ Gilmartin, 35.
- ³⁵ Gilmartin, 41.
- ³⁶ Kirschman, p. 25.
- ³⁷ Gilmartin, pp. 37-38 and Kirschman, pp. 28-29.
- ³⁸ Gilmartin, p. 53.
- ³⁹ Niederhoffer & Niederhoffer, p. 45.
- ⁴⁰ Gilmartin, p. 24.
- ⁴¹ Niederhoffer & Niederhoffer, p. 71.
- ⁴² Vincent, p. 44; Kirschman, p. 22.
- ⁴³ Kirschman, 22.
- ⁴⁴ Kirschman, 22.
- ⁴⁵ Gilmartin, pp. 29-30.
- ⁴⁶ Gilmartin, p. 25.
- ⁴⁷ Gilmartin, p. 24.
- ⁴⁸ Gilmartin, p. 28.
- ⁴⁹ Niederhoffer & Niederhoffer, p.42.
- ⁵⁰ Kirschman, p. 23.
- ⁵¹ Niederhoffer & Niederhoffer, p. 42.
- ⁵² Kirschman, p. 25.

- ⁵³ Vincent, p. 119 and Kirschman, p. 45
- ⁵⁴ Niederhoffer & Niederhoffer, p. 107.
- ⁵⁵ Niederhoffer & Niederhoffer, p. 73.
- ⁵⁶ Niederhoffer & Niederhoffer, p. 9.
- ⁵⁷ Vincent, p. 82.
- ⁵⁸ Vincent, p. 82.
- ⁵⁹ Gilmartin, p. 13.
- ⁶⁰ Niederhoffer & Niederhoffer, p. 73.
- ⁶¹ Kirschman, p. 22.
- ⁶² Vincent, pp. 13, 126.
- ⁶³ Niederhoffer & Niederhoffer, p. 41.
- ⁶⁴ Vincent, p. 13.
- ⁶⁵ Vincent, p. 125.
- ⁶⁶ Niederhoffer & Niederhoffer, p. 64.
- ⁶⁷ Vincent, pp. 45, 71; Niederhoffer & Niederhoffer, p. 70; and Kirschman, p. 23.
- ⁶⁸ Vincent, p. 13.
- ⁶⁹ Niederhoffer & Niederhoffer, p. 41.
- ⁷⁰ Niederhoffer, p. 41.
- ⁷¹ Vincent, p. 47.
- ⁷² Gilmartin, p. 5.
- ⁷³ Vincent, p. 47, and Kirschman, pp. 18-20.
- ⁷⁴ Shearing, pp. 30-41.
- ⁷⁵ Vincent, p. 127.
- ⁷⁶ Gilmartin, p. 4.
- ⁷⁷ Gilmartin, p. 46.
- ⁷⁸ Vincent, p. 126.
- ⁷⁹ Gilmartin, p. 114; and Vali Stone, *Cops Don't Cry: A book of help and hope for police families*. (Carp, Ontario: Creative Bound Inc, 1999) p. 169.
- ⁸⁰ Kirschman, pp. 17, 53.
- ⁸¹ Kirschman,

⁸² Niederhoffer & Niederhoffer, p. 107.

⁸³ Kirschman, p. 37.

⁸⁴ Stone, p. 198.

⁸⁵ Koestenbaum, Peter "Points to Ponder", *Reader's Digest*, (2000, November) 157, p. 49.

⁸⁶ Gilmartin, p. 124.

⁸⁷ Stone, p. 214.

⁸⁸ Stone, pp. 214-215.

⁸⁹ Gilmartin, pp. 128.

⁹⁰ Gilmartin, p. 112.

⁹¹ Stone, p. 217; and Gilmartin, p. 217.

⁹² Niederhoffer & Niederhoffer, p. 160.

⁹³ Niederhoffer & Niederhoffer, p. 161.

⁹⁴ Kirschman, p. 203.

⁹⁵ Niederhoffer & Niederhoffer, p. 48.

⁹⁶ Niederhoffer & Niederhoffer, p. 131.