The double edged sword of depersonalization: An examination of depersonalization's role in the police profession

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The Double Edged Sword of Depersonalization: An Examination of Depersonalization's Role in the Police Profession

An Abstract of a Thesis
Submitted
In Partial Fulfillment
of the Requirements for the Degree
Master of Arts

Michael J. O'Connor
University of Northern Iowa
December 2000
ABSTRACT

The role of depersonalization is the central focus of this study. A major issue in examining the role of depersonalization is whether the present concept of burnout is an appropriate indicator of burnout for police officers. The commonly accepted conception of burnout is a process of emotional exhaustion that leads to depersonalization, followed by a reduction in work accomplishment. Depersonalization, by this conception, is a symptom of burnout. By definition, depersonalization is the psychological distancing of emotional and psychological trauma in stressful situations—a coping technique.

For police officers, depersonalization acts as a shield of emotional armor to maintain a sense of emotional balance. Depersonalization is a way for police officers to psychologically distance themselves from their emotions and feelings in dealing with the trauma of others. Findings, however, have indicated that depersonalization is playing a dual, paradoxical role, for police officers, as both a coping technique and symptom of burnout occurring at the same time.

An explanation of depersonalization's duality is the suppression of emotions and feelings that allows police officers to carry out their assigned duties. Over time the suppression of emotions and feelings builds up to cause an imbalance between depersonalization's positive and negative attributes. Depersonalization still allows police officers to cope with stress, but the negative attributes intensify the positive attributes to where depersonalization becomes symptomatic of burnout. The imbalance occurs because of depersonalization's...
reciprocating tendency, the movement between coping techniques and symptoms of burnout.

Ethnographic interviewing techniques were used to obtain data from six police officers. Domain and componential analysis of the data, and identification of cultural themes, supported the study's hypotheses that depersonalization does play a paradoxical role, is a learned response, and is not a valid indicator of burnout for police officers.

The paradoxical roles of depersonalization led to the formulation of enhanced definitions of burnout and depersonalization more appropriate for the police profession. In redefining burnout and depersonalization, a new model of depersonalization was developed. The definitions and model add another dimensional level to depersonalization where tolerance (coping techniques) and callousness (symptoms of burnout) become terms for depersonalization's positive and negative attributes, respectively.
Dedicated to the memory of my brother, Thomas J. O'Connor; 28 Golf Handicap, California style.
ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I would like to thank Professor Clemens Bartollas, chair of my thesis committee for his support and belief in me. I would also like to thank Professor B. Keith Crew and Professor David Whitsett, thesis committee members. Their comments and suggestions guided me in completing this paper.
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CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

They cannot trust anyone. They have learned to be guarded and closed off. Being guarded protects them from danger, and being closed off protects them from the overwhelming emotional assault they experience on the job. (Kroes 1988:26)

The constant stress and the exposure to life-shattering experiences often create disillusionment and loss of respect for society and its members in the officer's years on the job...Policemen deal with almost all people in their worst moments. (Stratton 1984:85)

The intent of this study was to analyze the relevance of Maslach and Jackson's (1979, 1981, 1986) theory of burnout in police officers, with specific focus on the concept of depersonalization. This study hypothesized that Maslach and Jackson's (1979, 1981, 1986) use of depersonalization as an indicator of burnout is not appropriate for the police profession. It is not appropriate because police officers learn how to use depersonalization as a coping technique in dealing with the psychological and emotional trauma of their profession. As a learned coping technique, it was hypothesized that depersonalization is acquired by police officers during their socialization into the police culture (Bahn 1984; Bennett 1984; Kirkham 1974, 1976; Pogrebin and Poole 1991, 1993; Stratton 1984; Violanti and Marshall 1983). Finally, it was hypothesized that depersonalization is playing a dual, paradoxical role in policing as both a coping technique and symptom of burnout. That is, depersonalization has a positive affect on stress, and can at the same time, have a negative affect on stress.
In analyzing the role of depersonalization in the police profession, the guiding question was why does depersonalization in policing not fit the commonly accepted definition of depersonalization as used in the burnout syndrome. The commonly accepted definition of burnout (Schaufeli 1998), as developed by Maslach and Jackson (1986), defines burnout as a, “syndrome of emotional exhaustion, depersonalization, and reduced personal accomplishment that can occur among individuals who do ‘people work’ of some kind” (p. 1). Emotional exhaustion refers to the depletion of emotional resources in dealing with the psychological, social, or physical problems of other people, in that solutions to these problems are often complicated and difficult to carry out, which leads to further frustration. Depersonalization is the negative and cynical attitude towards the person, and reduced personal accomplishment is the tendency to look at yourself in a negative fashion concerning your work with people. A person becomes unhappy and dissatisfied about their work (p. 1).

According to Maslach and Jackson (1979, 1981, 1986), depersonalization is a negative and cynical attitude resulting from prolonged interactions with other people and their problems. Depersonalization, then, is a negative consequence resulting from chronic stress. In policing, though, “police occupational norms [consider depersonalization] as [being] necessary for effective police work” (Violanti and Marshall 1983:393). In this sense, depersonalization is a coping technique necessary for good police work. Herein lies the problem. Depersonalization is viewed as a positive coping technique and a symptom of
burnout. At issue, then, is the role that depersonalization plays in the police profession.

The occupational stress literature is not clear about the definition, or role of depersonalization. Or for that matter, burnout. Burnout has been described by 132 symptoms in five psychological categories: active, cognitive, physical, behavioral, and motivational (Schaufeli 1998:19-21). Early definitions of burnout were symptom orientated and static in nature, making it nearly impossible to have one encompassing definition. Burnout is dynamic in nature, but very few definitions have described it as such. Maslach and Jackson’s (1979, 1981, 1986) view of burnout is process orientated (Schaufeli 1998). This could be the reason for its wide spread acceptance.

Given the conceptual confusion on burnout, depersonalization also fell prey. What can be gleaned from the literature is that depersonalization is consistently described as something good (coping technique) or something bad (symptom of burnout), but involves the detachment of emotions. In relationship to stress, two descriptions of depersonalization have emerged. Some researchers maintain depersonalization is a dysfunctional attitude and behavior of excessive stress (Jackson 1984; Maslach and Jackson 1979, 1981, 1986). The dysfunctional attitudes and behaviors are characterized by cynicism (Niederhoffer 1967), dehumanization (Schaufeli 1998), and derogatory humor (Pogrebin and Poole 1988). Others describe depersonalization as a functioning coping strategy (Folkman and Lazarus 1990; Lazarus 1963, 1981, 1982; Shirom
1989; Vaillant 1977), such as psychological distancing (Renninger and Cocking 1993), emotional distancing (Lazarus and Lazarus 1994), and detached concern (Maslach 1993).

One study by Wallace and Brinkeroff (1991) suggests that depersonalization plays a dual role in certain occupations, as both a coping technique and negative consequence of stress. This would appear to be the phenomenon at work in the police profession. The speculation by Wallace and Brinkeroff (1991) would place depersonalization in a dual, paradoxical role in the police profession.

Stress in Policing

Stress, for the purposes of this study, is defined as, “a relationship between the person and the environment that is appraised by the person as taxing or exceeding his or her resources and as endangering his or her well-being...Stress is a particular relationship between the person and the environment” (Folkman 1984:840). Policing, as well as many other occupations, deal with two types of stress, chronic and acute. Chronic stress, “arises from harmful or threatening, but stable, conditions of life, and from the stressful roles people continually fulfill at work and in the family” (Lazarus 1999:144). Acute stress is, “provoked by time-limited, major and minor events that are harmful or threatening at a particular moment in life or for a relatively brief period” (p. 144). Major acute stress incidents can contribute to chronic stress (p. 145).
What makes police work unique, with regards to stress, is the hazardous and stressful environments of investigations and arrests of law breakers, the organizational and work stressors, the people served by police officers, the officers' family environment, and the toxicity of the criminal justice system (Alkus and Padesky 1983; Bartol 1995; Berkeley Planning Associates 1977:865; Maslach and Jackson 1979; Terry 1981; Stratton 1984:113-118; Graf 1986). The American Institute of Stress had identified police work as one of the top ten most stress producing jobs (Newsweek, April 25, 1988:43). Although not all of police work is stressful, the stressful experiences that do occur are most often extreme and unexpected. Police officers feel the need to be in a constant state of physical and psychological readiness (Alkus and Padesky 1983:55) to deal with the violence inherent in the job, knowing that little, if anything can be done to reduce this particular stressor (Li-Pang Tang and Hammontree 1992:506).

Also, the toughest adversary police officers faces is, "ironically, the very law which [an officer] must struggle against...It is the smugness and complacency of courts and legislators, which spin out a hopelessly entangling web of procedural restraints upon men [and women] who are charged with the awesome responsibility of protecting our society" (Kirkham 1974:132). In addition, the public expects police officers to be fair and impersonal, except when the police stop them for a traffic violation. The officer should let them go because they are not the problem; it's the other person causing problems (Brown 1981:34, 183). Related to this, officers must deal with the constant fear of serious injury or
death. This fear, usually denied by most officers, is still at the back of their minds (Anderson, Swenson, and Clay 1995:75). Stratton (1984) points out the contradiction of emotional responses in police work:

Officers can’t have emotional releases or breakdowns over every incident. They must be in control. However, many behavioral scientists believe that emotional releases are better for individuals than keeping feelings bottled up. The emotional release is seen as a step in the process of avoiding stress-related diseases. An emotional release is normal, yet law enforcement is an occupation which demands that people be objective, unemotionally involved, and not affected. (P. 229)

Because of the stressors police officers encounter, they tend to depersonalize the people they deal with (Bonifacio 1991; Kirkham 1974, 1976; Maslach and Jackson 1979; Pogrebin and Poole 1991; Stratton 1984; Violanti and Marshall 1983). That is, police officers objectify their emotions by emotional detachment from the psychological trauma generated from the stressful encounters of their work (Folkman and Lazarus 1990; Kroes 1976, 1986; Lazarus 1963, 1981, 1982; Shirom 1989; Vaillant 1977; Violanti and Marshall 1983;).

This coping technique allows police officers to carry out their duties despite the human carnage they encounter (Baker 1985; Kirkham 1974, 1976; Maslach and Jackson 1979; Pogrebin and Poole 1991,1993; Stratton 1984; Violanti and Marshall 1983).

Because the police profession has more sources of stressors than other occupations (Alkus and Padesky 1983; Bartol 1995), depersonalization is inherent. Since police officers have to deal with the traumatized victims of crime that may be severely injured or dead, police officers turn off their feelings as a
way to cope and control their own painful emotional reactions (Anderson, Swenson, and Clay 1995:3-4). These types of stressors produce a working personality of policing.

A working personality is defined as, "a set of emotional and behavioral characteristics developed by members of an occupational group in response to the work situation and environmental influences" (Cole and Smith 1999:127). Depersonalization, then, becomes an essential, learned value/norm of policing emphasized at the police academy and field training of new recruits/officers (Bahn 1984; Bennett 1984; Cole and Smith 1999:128; Pogrebin and Poole 1991, 1993; Stratton 1984; Violanti 1983, 1992; Violanti and Marshall 1983).

Constant public exposure also affects the working personality of police officers. The constant public exposure helps two differing personalities to emerge. One personality promotes community relations, and the other personality deals with the arrests of violent suspects (Alkus and Padesky 1983:56; Anderson, Swenson, and Clay 1995:51; Cole and Smith 1999). The differing natures of these two personalities center on the emotions of officers. Frowned up by both the public and values of policing is the expression of emotions. Officers need to express their emotions for mental stability, but are expected to restrain those very emotions. Increasing stress levels between these differing personalities is the autonomous city government, hierarchical police administration, and judicial system. All three institutions cause erosion of the officers’ emotions, making it difficult to maintain two differing personalities.
The erosion is from the lack of support by these institutions (Baker 1985). The more worn the emotions become, depending on the situation officers are dealing with, they are less able to switch from one personality to another. The movement between a public relations personality involved in unlocking a person's vehicle that the keys were locked in, to then encountering an armed robbery suspect, requiring a different personality, wears on both personalities from the constant switching back and forth. The increased stress of switching from one personality to the other increases the chances of police officers burning out.

**Importance of Study**

Only recently have police administrators started becoming concerned about the emotional hazards of police work. Their concern centers on how occupational stress affects officers' alertness, physical stamina, and their ability to effectively carry out their duties (More 1992:174). Ultimately, the stressful environments of police work produces psychological trauma, the mental and/or behavioral responses to emotional stress. Psychological trauma is what disrupts or impedes the emotional stability and well being of police officers (Baker 1985; Hunt and Magenau 1993; Kroes 1976; Lazarus 1999:129; Maslach and Jackson 1979; Skolnick and Fyfe 1993).

Psychological trauma is a major contributor to "broken officers" (Kroes 1988), as police officers have the highest rate of heart disease and stomach disorders, with compensation claims six times higher than other occupations. Of those claims, 50 percent were for high blood pressure and 30 percent for
psychological problems. In addition, psychological trauma contributes to a
divorce rate twice as high as other occupations and suicides twice the national
average (Alkus and Padesky 1983; Lord, Grey, and Pond 1991:139; Violanti
1983:211). In fact, 10 times as many police officers commit suicide than police
Psychological trauma, whether consciously perceived or not, is a major
occupational hazard of policing that leads to serious health problems in police
officers (Ayers 1990:3).

Contribution of Study

It is hoped that this study will provide greater understanding of
depersonalization's role in the police profession. This is important because of
the multiple, stress producing environments that police officers must face. Since
depersonalization has been characterized as a coping technique, its
effectiveness at reducing stress levels can lead to improved work satisfaction,
with less turnover and absenteeism. The effectiveness of a coping technique
benefits the police officer and the police department (Havlovic and Keenan

In addition, given the high rates of divorce and suicide in the police
profession (Alkus and Padesky 1983; Law Enforcement New_1995; Lord, Grey,
and Pond 1991:139; Violanti 1983:211), and increased stress disabilities that are
leading to “broken officers” (Alkus and Padesky 1983; Honing and Reiser 1983;
Kroes 1988; Lord, Grey, and Pond 1991:139; Violanti 1983:211; U. S. Congress,
House 1991), the effectiveness of coping techniques must be examined. If coping techniques are not examined, it is believed that the current trends of divorce, suicide, and broken officers will continue.

**Theoretical Support**

Berger and Luckmann (1966) provide a theoretical explanation of depersonalization being a socialized value/norm of the police culture. Their discussion of secondary socialization shows how members of a society, already socialized, acquire new values and norms when entering another culture.

“Secondary socialization is the internalization of institutional or institution-based ‘subworlds’” (p. 138). The subworlds internalized in the process of secondary socialization, in part, come from one’s primary socialization, where learning sequences are socially defined (pp. 136, 138). It is through language that the socialization is communicated via training. The person learns from others, that is, taught by others already established in the culture (p. 139).

Berger and Luckmann (1966) discuss a problem in secondary socialization. Secondary socialization, “presupposes a preceding process of primary socialization; that is, that it must deal with an already formed self and an already internalized world” (p. 140). Frustration, then, is present for the new member when conflicting values and norms are observed. Teaching and training the new values and norms, “presupposes conceptual procedures to integrate different bodies of knowledge” (p. 140).
Depersonalization, as a coping technique, is usually something new for those beginning in law enforcement. According to Berger and Luckmann (1966), depersonalization could be considered part of the primary socialization of new officers. The agent of socialization would be the media, with various police shows on television and the movies that emphasize a detached demeanor of police officers in dealing with the routine tragedies of other people. This aligns with a conceptual procedure (Berger and Luckmann 1966) already in place before the new recruit attends the academy and receives there on the job training. Although there is frustration for the new recruit, the desire to be part of the group supercedes the frustration arising from conflicting values and norms (Stratton 1984). The academy instructors, along with the police-training officer, are the conceptual procedures that internalize new values and norms in new recruits. In this case, depersonalization becomes internalized as new officers learn and are taught the skills necessary to be a police officer.

The degree of effort by academy and training officers to reinforce particular values and norms is dependent upon the institutionalized necessity of those particular values or norms. Coinciding with this is the commitment of new recruits to their occupation. The higher the commitment, the greater chance for the internalization of those necessary values and norms (Berger and Luckmann 1966:145-146). Therefore, depersonalization is highly necessary for effective police work (Violanti and Marshall 1983).
CHAPTER TWO
LITERATURE REVIEW


Only a few studies of police officers have examined the specific consequences of stress in relationship to collective coping strategies of a physiological or psychological nature, not on specific psychological coping strategies (Burke and Deszca 1986; Fiskin 1987; Maslach and Jackson 1979; Violanti, Marshall, and Howe 1985).

In earlier police stress studies, an assumption was that police officers developed an emotional response to their stressful environments (Diskin, Goldstein, and Grencik 1977:61). The emotional response did not have a specific name. In addition, the cause and/or development of those emotional responses was not determined.

The plan of the following sections is to provide a history of the depersonalization and burnout research. That history will show the lack of clarity that surrounds the concept of depersonalization in the literature. The final section will explore the possibility that depersonalization is a socialized coping skill of police officers.
Depersonalization and Burnout

Before Maslach and Jackson’s (1979, 1981) research on burnout in human service occupations, depersonalization was considered a defense mechanism in explaining the ways people coped or mediated emotions of stressful encounters. Depersonalization, as a defense mechanism, was supported by qualitative and quantitative research (see Aldwin 1994; Folkman et al. 1986; Folkman and Lazarus 1988a, 1990; Lazarus 1981, 1982, 1991; Lazarus and Folkman 1984; Pearlin and Schooler 1978 for extensive explanations in the development of coping). Because Maslach and Jackson describe depersonalization as a consequence of stress, not a coping technique, an inconsistency has emerged. Nowhere in their research is the possibility of depersonalization playing a dual role in certain occupations discussed (see Cordes and Dougherty 1993; Golembiewski, Munzenrider, and Steveson 1986; Maslach and Schaufeli 1993; Schaufeli, Maslach, and Marek 1993 for historical and recent developments in burnout research).

Some researchers describe depersonalization as a dynamic effect of emotional exhaustion that affects a person’s accomplishments at work in a negative way (Maslach and Jackson 1979, 1981, 1986). However, Golembiewski, Munzenrider, and Steveson (1986) and Golembiewski and Munzenrider (1988) agree that depersonalization is a component or indicator of burnout, but place depersonalization as the cause of emotional exhaustion, not the result. In reaching their respective conclusions about depersonalization,
each group of researchers used different samples, which contribute to the conceptual confusion about depersonalization in the police profession.

Golembiewski and associates (1986, 1988) were focusing on the work descriptors of business organizations in producing either good or bad stress and their impact on the individual worker. Maslach and Jackson (1979, 1981, 1986) were concerned with the negative implications of stress in the relationships between the worker and those they served in the human services field, or a worker-client relationship, not with work descriptors of business occupations. In addition, the worker-client relationship and depersonalization are strongly associated with human services occupations, with little significance elsewhere (Garden 1987). This could account for the differences in depersonalization's role by Maslach and Jackson, and Golembiewski and associates.

The sample used by Maslach and Jackson (1981) in creating their burnout measure was of human service occupations, including policing. Police officers were only 13.8 percent of a sample of occupations that included agency administrators, counselors, attorneys, teachers and a category of others (Maslach and Jackson 1986:30). This is not aimed to be critical of the work by Maslach and Jackson. It is through their efforts that research has advanced greatly in the study of burnout and its components, emotional exhaustion and depersonalization. However, policing's representativeness is minimal and not similar to many of the occupations used. Because of this, inferences derived may not be representative of specific occupations.
The inherent qualities of an occupation depreciate when combined with other occupations. For example, when cooking using various ingredients, e.g., carrots, onions, meat, etc., the flavor of each ingredient is diminished and changed by the others in making a new flavor or taste. This research contends that this is what has taken place with the police profession; its original flavor was diminished or lost when examined within a category of occupations. Characteristics that may be representative of a category of occupations may not hold true for individual occupations within that category.

Depersonalization and Policing

Violanti and Marshall (1983) examine the relation between police occupational stressors, individual stressors, and police coping responses. They indicated depersonalization and authoritarianism are stressors, with cynicism being a coping strategy. The purpose was to see what effect each factor had on the other. A sample composed of police officers given a questionnaire designed by Violanti showed a strong positive relationship with depersonalization and stress due to, “police occupational norms [consider depersonalization] as [being] necessary for effective police work” (Violanti and Marshall 1983:393). Although this study supports the main premise of the present paper, that depersonalization is necessary to reduce harmful effects of stress, the cause of depersonalization was not determined.

O'Connell, Holzman, and Armandi (1986:309) concentrated their study on the development of a new instrument to measure organizational and work
cynicism in police officers. Theoretical foundation of their instrument was laid in Émile Durkheim's concept of anomie, and Robert K. Merton's development of the concept, Modes of Adaptation. One mode of adaptation, retreatism, has relevance to this examination. Retreatism is defined as retreating into a safe place to protect yourself. This is consistent with the definition of depersonalization (Folkman and Lazarus 1988b, 1990; Jackson 1984; Kanter and Mirvis 1989; Lazarus 1963, 1982; Maslach and Jackson 1979, 1981, 1986; Niederhoffer 1975; Pogrebin and Poole 1991; Vaillant 1977; Violanti and Marshall 1983; Violanti, Marshall, and Howe 1985).

A relevant finding by O'Connell, Holzman, and Armandi (1986) was the positive correlation between cynicism and retreatism. This leads them to the conclusion that cynicism is multidimensional, not unidimensional as indicated by past research (see Langworthy 1987 for an extensive explanation of research on this issue concerning Niederhoffer's 1967 study). Bonifacio (1991) and Stearns and Moore (1993), who found a correlation between cynicism, authoritarianism and depersonalization in their examinations of police officers to support this conclusion. Considering the preceding examinations, it is reasonable to assume that depersonalization was contrived to deal with cynicism, cynicism being multidimensional with depersonalization just one aspect. This supports the idea of depersonalization being a coping strategy, with cynicism being a behavioral and cognitive response to stress. However, as indicated by Langworthy (1987), past studies have not explored the dimensionality of cynicism.
Findings from Stearns and Moore’s (1990) examination of police officers found that depersonalization acts as a coping device. This conclusion was reached by using the Maslach Burnout Inventory (MBI [Maslach and Jackson 1986]), where a high score of depersonalization and low score of emotional exhaustion would be supportive evidence of depersonalization’s coping effectiveness. Schaufeli and Van Dierendonck (1993) agree with this conclusion because emotional exhaustion is the core element of burnout. Anything reducing emotional exhaustion is considered a defense mechanism or coping strategy.

Depersonalization: A Learned Coping Technique

Stratton (1984) states police officers hold a unique position in society because they are in the public eye more than any other occupation in society. Police officers live in a world of daily violence that distorts their view of the work environment and personal life. The distortion impedes how they handle their emotions. Related to this distortion is society’s expectation of how people should handle their emotions. Society’s expectation of a show of emotions goes against the values of the police subculture. It is a sign of weakness, and society expects officers to be emotionally detached. It is this type of distortion that leads to the depersonalized attitude and behavior of police officers, as well as the different type of humor used by police officers.

Older officers have learned from their experiences on the street that certain types of attitudinal and behavioral responses work at reducing the emotional, psychological trauma of dealing with other people’s misery, and they
are able to pass this on to new recruits/officers. Stratton (1984) devoted portions to the new recruit/officer in how they acquire many of their stress reducing skills, whether they work or not. Stratton refers to this as a life long process, "From Idealism to Cynicism to Equilibrium" (pp. 77-78). New recruits are confronted with numerous destructive incidents combined with a hostile public and emotional onslaughts that, "the fledgling police officers may begin to form an invisible shield [that] they use with increasing skill to protect themselves from undue battering, both emotional and physical" (p. 78). The "invisible shield" is what develops to cope with the dangers of police work, a defense mechanism, "to what psychologists call reaction formation, i.e., the repression or driving into one's unconscious of thoughts which are unacceptable and the conscious assertion of the very opposite" (p. 135). The academy training received by new officers emphasizes the dangers of the job. Tragedies are just part of the job, something for which one is paid to handle, therefore, non-emotional responses are necessary (p. 226).

The "invisible shield" begins developing in the training new recruits receive in dealing with the situations encountered on the streets. The training leaves no room for ambiguity, that training gives a black and white perspective to human situations, with very little room for gray area (Stratton 1984:78-79). It is argued that this perspective leads officers to objectify the people with whom they deal. The new recruit/officer begins to reify the person, which allows the recruit/officer to remain emotionally detached. Emotional detachment is a form of

Stratton (1984:80) demonstrates how new recruits/officers develop depersonalization as a coping skill, emphasizing that depersonalization is socialized:

Young police officers [are] equipped with an idealistic image of police work, and wanting to be accepted, may hurriedly model themselves too closely to their field training officer, and may indeed have to in order to be accepted. They adapt manners, attitudes and approaches which may well be legitimate for their senior but are not completely appropriate for their own personality. The more unconsciously this occurs without reflection or self-examination, the more likely they are to acquire habits which do not bring out the best in them...He feels like an outsider and must find ways to enter what he perceives as the elite circle of seasoned cops. One way to do this is to actually become one of them by imitating as closely as possible their ways of thinking and handling the job.

Further emphasizing how depersonalization is a socialized norm of policing:

One of the first things the cadet learned in the academy was that it was important to keep their feelings out of the way. But they might not have known the distinction between acknowledging their feelings, particularly negative feelings such as fear, anxiety or doubt, and denying them. And no, when they enter the streets, not only do their field training officers again repeat this warning, but they model it for the young officers. The rookies, knowing their field training officer is considered a good cop, models his behavior. (Stratton 1984:82)

Stratton’s (1984) information comes from interviews with numerous police officers. One thing emphasized repeatedly in this book is that feelings of police officers are not talked about. An emotional outburst is a sign of weakness. Since younger officers want to be part of the team, they emulate the older officers. By emulating the older officers, the younger officers internalize the value that emotional outbursts are a sign of weakness. At the same time,
younger officers learn what the older consider to be appropriate responses, either by attitude or behavior, how not to do this. Once internalized, these attitudes and behaviors become the norm for the younger officers.

A difficult feat carried out each day by police officers revolves around being emotionally detached. Police officers handle one emotionally charged situation, then move onto the next one. All the while, they remain emotionally detached. The expectation for police officers is:

Officers can't have emotional releases or breakdowns over every incident. They must be in control. However, many behavioral scientists believe that emotional releases are better for individuals than keeping feelings bottled up. The emotional release is seen as a step in the process of avoiding stress-related diseases. An emotional release is normal, yet law enforcement is an occupation which demands that people be objective, unemotionally involved, and not affected. (Stratton 1984: 229)

Because police officers cannot have emotional breakdowns in fight or flight situations, they must stay and carry out their duties. This hampers the well being of police officers because in order to do this, they must be objective and emotionally detached (p. 106). Depersonalization allows police officers to go against the flight of the fight or flight response to stressful situations.

When continually going against the fight or flight response, police officers can be compared an electrical socket. The electrical socket can only take so much power. When exceeding the power limit of the electrical socket, it blows a fuse. Police officers have a limit as to how many emotional traumas they can handle. The detaching of emotions or suppressing emotions make police officers like the electrical socket. When the officers have dealt with too many unresolved
emotional traumas, they blow a fuse (Stratton 1984:104). The officers become "broken officers" (Kroes 1988).

Police officers are healthy, normal people when they enter this occupation. The hiring process confirms their fitness through medical examinations, physical agility tests, and psychological examinations (Cole and Smith 1999). However, by the time officers' retire, the opposite is true. They are below average in physical and emotional health, have shorter life spans, both compounded with high suicide and divorce rates. Most states have a presumptive clause pertaining to law enforcement persons. It is considered job related, if after five years of service, if a police officer has a heart attack. In fact, the, "Connecticut Supreme Court has ruled that if officers have heart attacks on or off duty, they should be compensated," and, if they die, their families should receive the compensation (Stratton 1984:102). Since life is a process of adaptation to circumstances, police officers must adapt to different experiences than the general population. "Because of the stress involved, it is easy to develop habits that are personally and professionally destructive to a successful cop and human being" (p. 102). Depersonalization, when acting as a negative consequence of stress, is a destructive habit clearly learned from a police officer's socialization into the police profession.

An ethnographic study of police officers by Pogrebin and Poole (1988) showing that humor, "is situationally grounded in the social construction of reality of the police occupation." They felt that humor was a complex pattern based on
interpersonal interaction that severed specific functions for police officers (p. 186). “Humor entails a set of joking relations that support group values, beliefs, and behaviors...Humor represents a strategic tool in testing the attitudes, perceptions, or feelings of other group members,” leading to group solidarity (p. 183). In gathering their information, Pogrebin and Poole looked at two places where officers gather on a regular basis, briefing and debriefing meetings (p. 186).

Pogrebin and Poole (1988) observed the use of humor routinely in briefing. Briefing is a time of gathering before officers start their assigned patrols. In briefing, activities of prior shifts are communicated, along with pertinent information for the coming patrol. It is during this time that humor is present, especially before and after routine matters are taken care of. Officers can “cool out” from the emotional impacts of particular incidents. They can discuss their feelings about the job and job environment, especially the administration. Humor serves as a means to relieve stress, a safety valve to release pent-up emotions (188-189). However, to understand the types of humor used requires insider knowledge (Goffman 1959).

Pogrebin and Poole (1988:189, 194-195, 197, 201-202, 205) came up with four types of humor used by police officers. The four humors are: jocular aggression (humorous attacks on supervisors/management); audience degradation (humor used to belittle persons who create the “dirty work” that officers must deal with); diffusion of danger/tragedy (value/norm of not showing
fear is handled through humor); and normative neutralization (deals with "street justice", as the system does not always work, by defining, “the working ideology of patrol officers, providing examples informal standards and expectations for behavior by which officers may be judged", and humor justifies discretionary street justice that overlooks departmental policies).

Humor for police officers reinforces the, "collective self-confidence" vital for group independence and solidarity. The experience of working the streets with other officers provides the basis for esprit de corps. Humor allows officers to express and even diffuse concerns with fellow officers and the command structure without jeopardizing relationships and the cohesiveness that has developed (Pogrebin and Poole 1988:205-207).

It is through humor that police officers put down the distasteful situations they must deal with (Pogrebin and Poole 1988:196-197). Humor allows officers to avoid their feelings, thus, humor is a type of depersonalization. Moreover, since humor is a socialized aspect of the job, depersonalization is also a socialized component of how officers deal with stress. It would appear that depersonalization would correlate with audience degradation and normative neutralization. Since neutralization is a form of depersonalization (Lazarus 1963; Vaillant 1977), how valid can depersonalization be as an indicator of burnout?

The display of emotions is limited in the police culture. Emotional norms are to be calm and in control, to keep one's emotions guarded at all times (Pogrebin and Poole 1991:395). Social distance is expected, allowing police
officers to maintain a detached emotional distance from people and their problems (p. 396). If officers cannot control their emotions, the handling of serious, life and death situations is severely compromised (p. 397). In the attempt to manage their emotions, police officers have adapted a detached or disinterested demeanor (p. 398).

New police recruits learn this detached or disinterested demeanor from their role models, their training officers and older officers of the police department. The new police recruits come to depend on their role models for teaching things not taught in formal training (Pogrebin and Poole 1991:400).

In confronting tragic situations, police officers, according to Pogrebin and Poole (1991):

Become increasingly cognizant of the negative label they may acquire if they are unable to control personal feelings. Being perceived as emotionally predisposed, whether for expressions of anger or of sympathy, can lead to suspicions and concerns on the part of others regarding the office's ability to withstand the pressures of police work...An officer's perceived emotional make-up is thus critical to this or her acceptance as a regular cop. (P. 398).

Depersonalization is, thus, a coping skill deeply imbedded in the norms of police work. Because older officers reinforce depersonalization, group solidarity enhances, confirming the group identity. (Pogrebin and Poole 1991:399).

Summary

There is a great deal of confusion surrounding depersonalization. The confusion centers on the possibility that a coping mechanism to reduce and deal with stress may also be adding to that stress. As suggested by Wallace and
Brinkeroff (1991), depersonalization may play a dual, paradoxical role in some occupations. If this is the phenomenon occurring in policing, it is imperative to understand depersonalization’s dual nature. Malloy and Mays (1984:219) suggest that future research on police stress, “may be most productive if it focuses on the nature of stressors peculiar to law enforcement, individual differences in response to stress, and stress inoculation strategies that promote an adaptive response to stress.” With depersonalization being an adaptive response to stress, better understanding of its unique nature in policing is encouraged. For on the surface it appears that depersonalization is a double-edged sword that is cutting into the lives of America’s police officers’ emotional stability and well being.
CHAPTER THREE

METODOLOGY

The purpose of this study is exploratory. An exploratory research design was chosen because it meets two of the three basic purposes of this type of research: "(1) to satisfy the researcher's curiosity and desire for better understanding, [and] (2) to test the feasibility of undertaking a more careful study" (Babbie 1992:90). In addition, this research is breaking new ground, which is appropriate for exploratory research (Babbie 1992:91). As Cohen (1991:261) states, "Research is designed to provide the means for comparing alternative explanations and eliminating some of those compared."

In this study, three explanations of depersonalization are examined. One, depersonalization is a coping mechanism to deal with stress. Second, depersonalization is a negative consequence of excessive amounts of stress resulting in pessimistic attitude and behavioral changes. Finally, depersonalization is both a coping technique and a negative backlash or consequence of excessive stress.

All explanations center on one of the basic themes of this paper; because depersonalization is hypothesized as being a socialized coping technique, the validity and reliability of depersonalization becomes questionable as an appropriate indictor or measure of excessive stress and/or burnout in police officers.
By using a qualitative approach, data were compiled by interviewing several police officers. Interviews were aimed at eliciting their accounts and descriptions of when, how, and why officers use depersonalization, focusing on a question of, what does it mean to “do” depersonalization? Interviews and analysis followed guidelines of ethnographic interviewing from James P. Spradley (Spradley 1979).

**Interviews**

Officers interviewed were personally known by the researcher. Four of the officers were assigned to the uniform patrol division, one was retired on disability but spent his entire career in the uniform patrol division, and one officer was a sergeant assigned to the drug task force.

The interviews lasted anywhere from a half-hour to an hour and half. The interviews were tape recorded, with the permission of the officers. To protect the confidentiality of the officers, they will be referred to as, Officer One, Officer Two . . . Officer Six.

The questionnaire used for Officer One (Appendix A) is different from the questionnaire used for the other officers (Appendix B). The reason Officer One was interviewed twice, certain questions were found not to be useful and it was during the analysis of the first interview data that tolerance and callousness emerged as possible characteristics of depersonalization's dual nature. This became the reason for the second interview of Officer One, with questions
concerning tolerance and callousness included on the remainder of the interviews.

**Analysis**

Analyzing the interviews followed Spradley's (1979) guidelines. In these guidelines, the term symbol is important. "A symbol is any object or event that refers to something. All symbols involve three elements: the symbol itself, one or more referents, and a relationship between the symbol and referent. This triad is the basis of all symbolic meaning" (p. 95). It is this triad of meaning that leads to discovering the relationships among the symbols germane to a culture that develops cultural meaning (pp. 96, 97).

Domain analysis, "involves a search for the larger units of cultural meaning" (Spradley 1979:94). Domain analysis was used to discover relationships between depersonalization, burnout, and stress. Domain analysis involves identifying domains which are any, "symbolic category that includes other categories" (p. 100). The structure of domains includes three components: cover term, included terms, and semantic relationships. Cover terms, "are names for a category of cultural meaning" (p. 100). Included terms are "folk terms that belong to the category of [meaning] named by the cover term" (p. 100). Each domain has at least two or more included terms. The final component is semantic relationship, where "two folk categories are linked together" (p. 100). For example, a child asks her father, "What kind of car is that?" The father replies, "It is a Ford Mustang." The semantic relationship is the
Ford Mustang is a kind of car, as is Ford a kind of car. The terms have a connection, each referring to the other.

Seven domain analyses were done for each officer. One domain analysis dealt with stress and strict inclusion semantic relationships. Two domain analyses of burnout dealt with semantic relationships of attributions and cause-effect. Four domain analyses of depersonalization were completed with semantic relationships of attribution, cause-effect, means-end, and rationale. The following table describes the various semantic relationships. Appendix 2 is a sample domain analysis worksheet.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Semantic Relationship</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Strict inclusion</td>
<td>X is/are a kind of, or source of Y</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Attribution</td>
<td>X is an attribute of Y</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cause-effect</td>
<td>X is a result of Y</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Means-end</td>
<td>X is a way to do Y</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rationale</td>
<td>X is a reason for doing Y</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Questionnaires started out by having officers define stress, then burnout, and finally, depersonalization. This approach yielded more information than simply asking direct questions specifically about depersonalization. This approach is consistent with Spradley (1979) and did reveal the hidden meanings surrounding depersonalization's role in policing. This approach led to identifying
depersonalization as both a coping technique and consequence of stress. In addition, behaviors were revealed that characterize depersonalization as a coping technique and behaviors that characterize depersonalization as a consequence of stress.

After completing domain analyses, further analysis was completed with componential analysis, the discovery of attributes associated with a cultural symbol. An attribute is, "any element of information that is regularly associated with a symbol" (Spradley 1979:174). This analysis looks for any contrasts among the attributes in a particular domain, that is, the multiple relationships between included terms and a cover term. This research has postulated a dual role of depersonalization in policing. Componential analysis did reveal this dual role as well as identifying another dimension or level of depersonalization. The duality of depersonalization was revealed by an approach that Spradley calls, "psychological reality," that limits itself to discovering only attributes as described by those interviewed. In addition, by using structural reality, where the researcher imposes attributes not seen by those interviewed, the underlying meaning of included terms emerges. Also, by using dimensions of contrast with binary values, that is, dimensions of contrast are made of two values, as in yes or no to an included term being a coping technique. For example, is detachment of emotions a coping technique? This question is answered by either yes or no (Spradley 1979:174-175, 180). Appendix E shows the results of componential analysis for each officer.
A final level of analysis will be discovery of cultural themes, "a postulate or position, declared or implied, and usually controlling behavior or stimulating activity, which is tacitly approved or openly promoted in a society" (Spradley 1979:185). Cultural themes are suggested by the recurrence of a single idea across domains and the relationship connecting those domains (pp. 187, 189). This type of analysis is important because many cultural themes are at the tacit level of knowledge of the interviewees (p. 188). "War stories," experiences or comments from the officers interviewed will be used to illustrate cultural themes.
CHAPTER FOUR

FINDINGS

This chapter will present the findings (data) from domain and componential analysis. Findings are more appropriately termed, ethnographic narrative (Berg 1998). Presented for each officer are the ethnographic narratives and narrative accounts. Where appropriate, analysis, referring to the interpretation of the data, is included (Berg 1998).

Ethnographic Narrative

Domain Analysis

Officer One. Domain analysis of stress by strict inclusion identified stress as being a pressure. The pressure can come from having to second-guess decisions in handling family disturbance calls, or dealing with people in violent settings. Second-guessing also occurs if an officer goes through an internal investigation. What adds even more pressure to second-guessing the decisions an officer makes is the anticipation of what may or may not occur next.

Officer One indicated that more stress comes from the hierarchical command structure of the police department than working the streets. The following account details where various sources of stress are and the police department's lack of support:

I'd been on less than six months and I already had been before the grand jury twice. One case was a shoplifting, where JC Penney security detained a 17 or 18 year old shoplifter. My partner and I went there and took the kid to the station. Nothing out of the ordinary occurred. But when we went before the grand jury, according to them, we pinned this kid on the ground, we jumped on him with our knight sticks and balancing
ourselves on them while on him, and they just criticized us because we didn't have anything in our reports about this. Wasn't in our report b/c we didn't do what they accused us of. We even got criticism from our own command staff. Took the word of the person arrested over Penney security and ours. Everybody was always after you. (Officer One, interview by author, tape recording, 1999, Cedar Falls, IA)

Domain analysis of burnout by attribution identified various types of attitudes and behaviors. Attitudes related to burnout included not caring anymore about life in general, about your work, or the people you deal with. Officer One indicated, "You just do what you have to do, just so you can get by, get to the end of your shift" (Interview by author, tape recording, 1999, Cedar Falls, IA). The non-caring attitude affects your behavior by putting people off or taking out your own frustrations on those people.

There is a lack of tolerance in dealing with people indicated by anger toward things in general. The lack of tolerance can cause an officer to become paranoid about life and people. Paranoia can cause an officer to over depersonalize and treat people in a callous way. The lack of tolerance can also cause an officer to become frustrated to the point of not giving that extra effort in helping people. The officer sees the problems of other people as a waste of time. All of these factors, the lack of tolerance, paranoia, and frustration can cause an officer to isolate from people, all characteristic of burnout.

Domain analysis of burnout by cause and effect detailed what produced burnout. Burnout causes an officer to become sick of the job; to where he/she does not care anymore about the job, especially, the people dealt with. The job...
is just going through the motions. Officer One, in the following account, shows his frustrations about the job:

Near the end, the surgeries and stuff on the shoulder. I guess it was burnout too cause I was tired. I didn't care anymore. There was an assault case. I kept putting the people off. I knew the case wasn't going anywhere. It was a waste of my time. I went through the motions but I didn't put any extra effort into it. I did what I had to do to get done with it. I know I didn't treat the person very well. They kept calling me, wanting to know why this wasn't done. I just put them off. I knew the county attorney wouldn't do anything. Finally, I just told them that. It's a waste of my time and theirs. (Officer One, interview by author, tape recording, 1999, Cedar Falls, IA)

Burnout further causes officers to second-guess their decisions. In second-guessing their decisions, officers become less tolerant of people and their problems. Officers begin to belittle or make derogatory remarks about people in a joking fashion, and this becomes a way to disperse the anger that builds up:

I know there were times when people were handcuffed and spit on me or kicked me and I just wanted to do something to them, but you had to "gut it out". That is when you might make fun of the them by just physically making fun of them or jokes about them, that way, you could get your anger out instead of physically going after them. (Officer One, interview by author, tape recording, 1999, Cedar Falls, IA)

Derogatory humor helps officers to fight through their emotions so they put them out of their minds. Derogatory humor is beneficial in achieving tolerance by "gutting it out" when people are at their worst.

Paranoia develops from being burned-out, indicated by feelings of apathy and worthlessness. In addition, the paranoia feeds into an officer's
dissatisfaction with the courts, the judges, the county attorney, the police department, and just everything in general.

Domain analysis of depersonalization by attribution identified both roles of depersonalization. Many of the attributes were symptoms associated with burnout. The major symptom is a lack of patience and tolerance. Officer One viewed depersonalization as over depersonalizing, as indicated here:

When an officer is over depersonalizing, they are tired with an attitude of not caring about things in general, especially the job. The officer is not pleasant to people. The officer is not concerned about other people. You treat some like you don’t care who they are. You just treat them like shit. You don’t try to be halfway pleasant to them. (Officer One, interview by author, tape recording, 1999, Cedar Falls, IA)

Officer Two. Domain analysis of stress by strict inclusion saw the dealings with people, whether it be the command structure of the police department or the people dealt with in traumatic situations, all producing stress or pressure. In addition, the holding back of emotions becomes another source of stress. Officers must constantly push aside their emotions so they can carry out their duties as shown in this account of a gun call:

We got a call one day; two guys are sitting in a truck, 400 block of Center Street. The guy has got a gun. There’s two of them in a red pickup truck. An individual, who knew these two people, knew the one man was carrying a gun, a 45 automatic. We pull up and get out. They are walking across the street. We gunned them, told them to stop. They kept coming and kept coming. We told them to stop, to get down on the ground. They kept coming. It’s to the point to where do I shoot or don’t I shoot. Finally, one guy takes off and the other guy who happens to be smart enough, the light goes on, I’d better get on the ground or my ass is gonna get shot. He was carrying a 45 automatic. (Officer Two, interview by author, tape recording, 1999, Waterloo, IA)
Officer Two stated stress comes from several areas. One area is the "routine" situations of dealing with people. In police work, nothing is routine because of the impulsiveness of people. The violence of police work is another source of stress because it is always present. The violence can range from murder and mayhem to simple assaults. Stress, then, is always present for a police officer.

Domain analysis of burnout by attribution and cause-effect did show the number of years that Officer Two has served. Officer Two admitted to being burned-out from too many years of doing the same thing and the realization that his efforts were not really making a difference. Officer Two thought this contributed to his lack of enthusiasm for work.

Officer Two characterized burnout as a negative, non-caring attitude toward people and most particularly, the brass or command structure of the police department. Officer Two also saw that being non-professional, cynical and having a lack of tolerance in dealing with people all characterized burnout. Burnout causes officers to become callous and numb. Officers act as if nothing bothers them, but are quickly angered. Burned-out officers cannot joke around anymore. It is as if they lost their emotions and feelings. The job is no longer important.

Domain analysis of depersonalization by attribution, cause-effect, means-end, and rationale did illustrate the duality of depersonalization. Depersonalization as a coping technique was characterized by included terms of
tolerance, being objective, being impartial, acting and looking professional, and being calm. These included terms show how officers use depersonalization to put their emotions aside in order to carry out their job. It is in this way that officers make proper decisions because those decisions do affect people's lives.

Depersonalization allows an officer to problem solve in an objective manner in situations of high emotional trauma. Depersonalization becomes a façade, something that you put on when you come to work. The following account of a fatality traffic accident demonstrates depersonalization as a façade:

You have to detach yourself. I can remember an incident years ago where there was a serious accident and I don't know who the officer was that assisted me, and the man was decapitated. We were very professional, showed no emotion. We were doing our job. I had a lady come up to me and say, 'You now, what's wrong with you?' I said, 'What do you mean?' She said, 'This man, his head is gone and you act like it's just no big deal.' I told her, 'Lady, do you want me to sit down on the curb and cry my heart out. I am hired to do a job whether I like what I see or not. I have an obligation to you, to that person that's dead and to his family. I'm suppose to keep my cool. I'm suppose to do my job. What would you think of me if I sat down on the curb and balled my eyes out?' The lady said, 'I wouldn't think very much of you.' I said, 'okay, I have a job to do, whether deep down it bothers me, the public expects me to do my job and that's what I'm doin.' (Officer Two, interview by author, tape recording, 1999, Waterloo, IA)

Officer Two, by his own account, demonstrates that depersonalization allows officers to put their feelings aside, to detach themselves from high emotional trauma. Because of the detachment, an officer can be calm, is tolerant of peoples action and is able to be patient with people.

On the other end, Officer Two saw too much depersonalization as being harmful. Too much depersonalization leads to burnout, to an officer being
cynical and not caring about people or their job. Over depersonalizing causes officers to become callous, to be numb to everything they see and do.

Overall, Officer Two felt that depersonalization was a fail-safe to protect officers' sanity, to protect them from the stress they deal with.

Officer Three. Domain analysis of stress by strict inclusion for Officer Three described stress as being an internal conflict. The internal conflict of second-guessing yourself, of dealing with the frustrations in dealing with the command structure and city officials, and post-shooting investigations.

Shooting someone is stressful. The post-shooting investigations, however, cause more stress. This type of investigation causes more stress because the officer investigated is kept in the dark about the findings. In addition, the length of time necessary to complete all facets of the investigation by the various agencies involved wears on an officer. The time factor gives officers time to go over and over the shooting to the point of second-guessing their actions. Since the officer is on administrative leave, without something to fill that time, the mind works overtime. Officer Three felt that since you begin to second-guess yourself, you start doing that in all areas of your life.

Clearly, for Officer Three, more stress comes from the relationships with command structure and other criminal justice agencies. Dealing with the dangers of working the streets, and even shooting someone, is not as stressful as having to deal with the bureaucratic nature of the criminal justice system as shown in this statement, “You hear it from the public, the mayor, your
administrators, you should not do so much of this, and the time you do that, somebody complains about you doin that, there's no winning, you're just bangin your head against the wall" (Officer Three, interview by author, tape recording, 1999, Waterloo, IA).

Domain analysis of burnout by attribution and cause-effect revealed burnout as producing internal conflict for an officer. The internal conflict leads to frustrations with work and having to deal with people. An attitude of hating people develops to where an officer behaves in a nasty and mean way. The officer has a loss of empathy, a loss of emotions; an overall callous approach to life.

For Officer Three, burnout leads to a reduction in the work ethic. “You’re thinkin, what difference does it make whether I go out and work my butt off this eight hours or drink coffee for that eight hours. I get paid the same. And I’m a hell of a lot less likely to get a complaint filed on me if I'm drinking coffee than out arrestin people” (Officer Three, interview by author, tape recording, 1999, Waterloo, IA). For Officer Three, doing less is away to avoid some of the job's frustrations.

Other attitudes and behaviors associated with burnout were a lack of tolerance in dealing with people and being quick to anger. This results in a non-professional manner because of becoming hardened and callous to the job. Burnout, then, is a having a sharp edge to depersonalization.
Domain analysis of depersonalization by attribution, cause-effect, means-end, and rationale view depersonalization as playing a dual role. As a coping technique, depersonalization helps officers to act professionally to separate themselves from tragedy by not taking things personally. It allows officers to block out their emotions. “If you want to be successful in a police function, you have to separate yourself from the tragedy. Otherwise your feelings or emotions are going to cloud your judgment and investigative skills.” Officer Three continues about depersonalization:

Depersonalization can be where you as a person deal with a lot of human suffering, homicides, 1050F’s (traffic accident with fatalities) and traumatic things and you have to walk in there and act in whatever capacity you are as an investigator and be professional. You can’t set there and grieve over this person, or how the family is feeling, you can’t have those thoughts and be successful. You have to go in there and put all those human feelings aside and just be an investigator, like what are the physics involved in this accident that resulted in the person’s death. You’re not doin anything to really give this family closer or anything. A + cosign = this dead piece of meat laying here on the road. It’s not a person; it’s a piece of meat laying there. You got to go to a lot work to figure out what happened when it doesn’t affect you what so ever. (Officer Three, interview by author, tape recording, 1999, Waterloo, IA)

Officer Three recounts his first use of depersonalization:

I remember the first time I recognized I was depersonalizing was my first fatality accident. The one fatality no longer became a human being the longer I was the scene, it was just a piece of meat laying on the road. The next day, I was questioning myself, shouldn’t I be more upset about this than I am? I’m in an official capacity and I have do have a job to do. It made it easier for me to deal with by turning my emotions off. (Officer Three, interview by author, tape recording, 1999, Waterloo, IA)

Officer Three felt that humor does play a role in depersonalization. Humor helps to take the edge off the tragedy you deal with. Further:
Humor helps in the depersonalization as far as if you're very serious about everything going on, then it's in the forefront of your mind. If you make light of it, you keep that distance. The joke about the decapitation, Ma'am is this your son? No, he was taller than that. How about now? (Officer places his head on his shoulders). This a funny joke, most cops think so. The humor keeps my mind relaxed so I can carry out my investigation. And joking back and forth with fellow officers helps to keep them from getting too serious (supports the socialization of depersonalization) not to get too personal with what you're dealing with. Morbid humor, warped sense of humor that a lot of people don't understand. (Officer Three, interview by author, tape recording, 1999, Waterloo, IA)

Officer Three saw depersonalization as allowing for various degrees of tolerance in dealing with people:

You're dealing with someone you have just arrested and they start a personal attack, verbal or physical, and you just have to deal with it and not take it personally and remember that he's not mad at me, but the officer standing there in front of him. You have to depersonalize that attack. (Officer Three, interview by author, tape recording, 1999, Waterloo, IA)

An interesting insight of Officer Three indicated that depersonalization allows for an intellectual response. That in making decisions, depersonalization allows the use of reason to take the correct action in certain situations. This insight is consistent with past research (Lazarus 1963, 1981, 1982; Vaillant 1977; Shirom 1989; Folkman and Lazarus 1990). The intellectualization helps people focus on their duties.

On the downside, when an officer is not making rational decisions could be an indication that depersonalization is no longer effective as a coping technique. Other indications of a depersonalization as a negative consequence are the lack of empathy, being callous by treating people with a mean and nasty demeanor. Concerning callousness, Officer Three states:
Goes hand in hand with burnout and depersonalization. It's depersonalization taken a step further. You have to depersonalize to a certain point to perform your job functions, but if you get to the point where you not only depersonalize, you have a sharp edge to the depersonalization. You have absolutely none of that human emotion at all, and coupled with stress, you start to be mean. (Officer Three, interview by author, tape recording, 1999, Waterloo, IA)

Officer Three told a story of having worked in investigations and working sexual abuse cases. This story shows the restraint demonstrated by Officer Three and his ability to detach personally from the principal person involved. Before completing his tour back to investigations, he worked a sexual abuse case involving an 11-year-old female. When transferred back to the uniform patrol division, this case was not completed and was turned over to another investigator.

Several days after being back in the uniform patrol division, Officer Three received a message to call the son of the suspected perpetrator of the sexual abuse. Officer Three did so. The son was highly agitated at Officer Three for accusing his father of sexual abuse. Calmly, Officer Three explained the progress of the investigation and that he was no longer involved with it. The son was told to call the other investigator if he had more questions.

This did not satisfy the son, who proceeded to verbally assault Officer Three. As Officer Three stated, “he called me everything but a white man”. The son threatened Officer Three and his family, stating that he was going to own him and his house. Officer Three continued to try to explain the facts of the case, but
to no avail. Finally, Officer Three, seeing that the conversation was going no where, hung-up.

Later that same shift, the son called again. As before, the verbal assault continued. Officer Three discussed the situation with a supervisor. It was determined to arrest the son for verbal harassment and the threat of harm to Officer Three and his family.

Because the son lived in a different city, Officer Three had the other city's police officer meet him and another officer at the son's residence. The son was home and was placed under arrest, through a mist of verbal confrontation. Officer Three transported the son to the jail for booking with another officer following him.

Before reaching the jail, the son started kicking at the left, rear door window. Then, the son started to bang his head against the window. Officer Three pulled over and with the assistance of the other officer, tried to restrain the son. The violent behavior of the son forced Officer Three to call for additional officers. When these officers arrived, the son was securely restrained and transported to the jail.

Several days later, Officer Three was notified of an internal investigation of his actions in the arrest of the son. The son accused Officer Three of beating him up. The son stated that Office Three pulled into a dark alley, took him out of the car and started to beat him with a baton. Officer Three was exonerated of any wrongdoing. Officer Three stated that he wished he had done what the son
accused him of because of all the problems he caused. Officer Three said by detaching from the situation, he could pull his emotions away and not take things personally. However, when the son threatened his family, it became personal. Officer Three, though, still maintained a detached demeanor. Officer Three acted in a procedural way to go after the son. This demonstrates that emotions and feelings needed to be put aside in order to effect a proper arrest based on probable cause and proper procedures.

**Officer Four.** Domain analysis of stress by strict inclusion described stress in terms of a lack of control over situations. Within the situation, psychological trauma always involved stress which increased as the lack of control over the situation increased. The lack of control always produces additional stress.

Domain analysis of burnout by attribution and cause-effect found the lack of emotion, a callous demeanor, acting in a non-professional manner, and being antisocial all contributing to burnout. The grind of dealing with people all the time led to the aforementioned attributes. An officer started to view people as an irritant, rather than people needing a particular police service. This perspective of people as irritants caused some officers to be short tempered. The perceived irritation of people can be a factor in an officer constantly getting into fights when making arrests.

In addition, related to the perceived irritation of people, officers can “turn a blind eye” to what takes place. Although the officer becomes involved in more fights, the officer, overall, wants to avoid conflict. This leads to the antisocial
behavior. When officers cannot ignore something taking place, their lack of
tolerance allows their temper to be out of control, thereby, getting into more
fights.

Domain analysis of depersonalization by attribution, cause-effect, means-
end, and rationale, described depersonalization as a coping technique and a
negative consequence of stress. In describing depersonalization as a coping
technique, it is a tool. Depersonalization made it easier to get the job done by
keeping an officer’s emotions away from what was taking place. It allowed
officers to make effective decisions because their minds were clear of the
emotions involved. Depersonalization allows you to endure the emotional trauma
by keeping your feelings in check, thus, psychological trauma does not affect job
performance. Depersonalization is similar to a pain tolerance as shown in this
experience from Officer Four:

I worked a traffic accident where a five-year old kid got hit crossing the
street. I mean when I pulled up there, I saw that the kid laying there and
he had red arterial blood you know coming out of his head and he was
looking at the paramedic and he was crying and he was scared and I
almost started crying. I felt so bad for him, but as soon as I saw, that I
knew the paramedics were doing what they had to do, I started doing what
I had to do, getting witness information and talking to the driver and things
like that. I just focused on the task at hand and set the other stuff aside.
(Officer Four, interview by author, tape recording, 1999, Waterloo, IA)

In this next account, Officer Four describes a vehicle pursuit, where had
he thought about his emotions, he would have taken a different course of action:

I just go. I don’t even think lots of time. Instincts take over. Like this
morning I got into a pursuit going down Newell Street, going ninety miles
per hour, chasing this guy all the way to where he was working. He had to
go to work. He pulled right in there. I got out and there are people coming
out from the shift change. There is twenty-five people standing there and here I am fighting with this guy. I didn’t even think about them people. So, if I would have actually had to think about it, I probably wouldn’t have done anything, fuck, they are going to jump on me and kick my ass, but I didn’t even think about it. (Officer Four, interview by author, tape recording, 1999, Waterloo, IA)

By describing depersonalization as being similar to a pain tolerance, it indicates officers can only handle so much stress. By exceeding that capacity, depersonalization becomes a negative consequence. In addition, as officers’ tolerance levels decreases, their tempers shorten. The result is that officers are less willing to deal with people in a professional manner.

**Officer Five.** Domain analysis of stress by strict inclusion found boredom a source of stress. Boredom in that, “getting really tired of doing the same thing that you’ve done repetitively for a long period” (Officer Five, interview by author, tape recording, 1999, Waterloo, IA).

Domain analysis of burnout by attribution and cause-effect found years of service a contributing factor. When an officer deals with the same thing day in and day out, a robotic like demeanor can appear. This is another indication of burnout and is usually found in officers with many years of service.

Domain analysis of depersonalization by attribution, cause-effect, means-end, and rationale described depersonalization as either a coping technique or a negative consequence of stress. As a coping technique, depersonalization allows officers to have tolerance and patience with the people they deal with. Tolerance allows officers to put their feelings aside despite the irrational behavior of others. In this way, they can deal with others in an objective manner and
make rational decisions. The objective manner, at times, comes across as a robotic demeanor. As indicated in the preceding paragraph, a robotic demeanor can be a symptom of burnout, but also a coping technique. Officer Five described depersonalization like this:

I have a situation where I've got somebody that is completely irate, completely belligerent, calling me names and then I, I you know, pull my emotions away from that and just kind of stand there like a robot and not let it affect me. Not take it personally. (Officer Five, interview by author, tape recording, 1999, Waterloo, IA)

Officer Five felt that tolerance was a type of depersonalization that he used in situations where people were very upset. "I use tolerance to try and obtain or maintain my objectiveness, my right state of mind, because when emotions start flying being rational kind of goes out the window." In addition, "Somebody that's completely irate...I think you definitely have to get away from your emotions. Because if somebody walks up to you, 'You're a fucking cock sucker and I'm going to beat the shit out of you'...with their fist clenched, what's your general reaction, to take either a defensive stature or to pound the shit out of them" (Officer Five, interview by author, tape recording, 1999, Waterloo, IA).

As a negative consequence of stress, depersonalization's attributions are being less tolerant with people, acting tired and a non-caring about what is going on. An officer acts as if things are not worth doing anymore. When depersonalization is working correctly, it does allow an officer to cope better with stress by remaining more objective and rational in situations of high emotional trauma.
**Officer Six.** Domain analysis of stress by strict inclusion described stress as coming from situations of emotional trauma and/or uncertainty. Officer Six, now in a supervisory role, sees less stress coming from the bureaucratic structure of the police department. Officer Six, when a patrol officer, remembers the additional stress because of the command structure. The stress emanated from policies, rules and regulations, the lack of support from commanders in controversial situations, and inconsistency in application of policies and the rules and regulations. The following excerpt discusses the patrol officer and supervisor stress levels:

> When you are out on the street you are dealing with peoples' problems and trying to handle peoples problems and you are in direct front of those problems, every night somebody else has a different problem that you have to solve for them. Plus the danger makes the job more stressful especially when you are in uniform answering these calls, answering fight calls, then making traffic stops. You know I used to be one of the ones that was the first one to the door now being the Supervisor, I don't have to worry about that. Even on the tact team as a supervisor I am never the first one to the door-I shouldn't say never but if the plan goes right I'm not and that is not as stressful. (Officer Six, interview by author, tape recording, 1999, Waterloo, IA)

Because of his supervisory position, Officer Six felt he could identify officers nearing burnout better than when he was a patrol officer. Officers Six felt burnout was associated with an, “I don't give shit attitude” and treating people as numbers, not people. It is having a non-caring attitude that negatively affects work performance and causes being mean in your dealings with people. Being a police officer is no longer a career; it is just a job where you just go through the
motions of working. An officer finds no enjoyment in his work, so he becomes impersonal to a point of being callous.

Domain analysis of depersonalization by attribution, cause-effect, means-end, and rationale described depersonalization in both roles. Depersonalization, as a coping technique, can lead to a sense of peace because the detachment of emotions makes it easier to carry out the job. The emotions of others do not get in the way of making decisions to handle the present situation. "When you are in situations for example, injury accident or someone got shot or a kid got molested or something like that - then you would have to detach your emotions from what's going on" (Officer Six, interview by author, tape recording, 1999, Waterloo, IA). Depersonalization acts as a kind of immunity in dealing with high trauma situations to where an officer can tolerate the emotional pain.

Humor is way to do depersonalization because it acts like a type of immunity to tolerate emotional trauma. "Yeah, guys at work will, you know, crack jokes sometimes to make light of the situation, to make it more depersonalized. I think, they will crack jokes or say something funny to maybe take your mind off what you had just witnessed or what you just saw happen" (Officer Six, interview by author, tape recording, 1999, Waterloo, IA).

On the negative side of burnout and depersonalization, attributes include treating people negatively and not caring about people in general. Officer Six was clear that depersonalization does play a dual role, that it does have positive benefits and negative consequences.
Componential Analysis

Arranging the three dimensions of contrast into their respective dimensions of yes/yes, yes/no, and no/yes, Table 2 represents the included terms for each contrast of dimension. What emerges out of this analysis is the dual role of depersonalization as both a coping technique and symptom of burnout. In addition, Table 2 shows which characteristics were associated with depersonalization as a coping technique and as a symptom of burnout. See Appendix E for componential analysis for individual officers.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Included Terms</th>
<th>Dimension of Contrast: Tolerance</th>
<th>Dimension of Contrast: Callousness</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Non-caring attitude about people</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not being pleasant to people</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Callousness</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Poor job performance</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Anger</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Patience</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>No</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tolerance</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>No</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Derogatory humor</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>No</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Keeping emotions in check</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>No</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(table continues)
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<tr>
<th>Included Terms</th>
<th>Dimension of Contrast: Tolerance</th>
<th>Dimension of Contrast: Callousness</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Isolation of emotions</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Frustration with work</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Go overboard in depersonalizing</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Feeling worthless</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tiredness</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Putting emotions somewhere else</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>No</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Negativity about things in general</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lack of tolerance</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Can't joke about things</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cynicism</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Putting on a façade</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>No</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Acting professional</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>No</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not acting professional</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Being numb to what you deal with</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Attitude of what you do doesn't matter</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Impartiality</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>No</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trouble sleeping</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(table continues)
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Included Terms</th>
<th>Dimension of Contrast: Tolerance</th>
<th>Dimension of Contrast: Callousness</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sharp edge to depersonalization</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Loss of empathy</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lack of work motivation</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Being antisocial</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not taking things personally</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>No</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Short temper</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lack of reasoning in taking actions and decision-making</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Constantly getting into fights when making arrests</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tunnel vision</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>No</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not getting emotionally charged</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>No</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Building tolerance, like pain tolerance</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>No</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Robot demeanor</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Growing immune to emotional trauma</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Being mean and nasty</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Dichotomizing the yes/no and no/yes dimensions of contrast (Table 3) and naming each category, revealed a different way to describe...
Table 3. Attributions of Tolerance and Callousness

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tolerance</th>
<th>Callousness</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Patience</td>
<td>Not being pleasant to people</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Derogatory humor</td>
<td>Poor job performance</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<tr>
<td>Putting on façade</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Acting professional</td>
<td>Feeling worthless</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Impartiality</td>
<td>Tiredness</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not taking things personally</td>
<td>Negativity about things in general</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Building tolerance, like pain tolerance</td>
<td>Lack of tolerance</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tunnel vision</td>
<td>Can't joke about anything</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not getting emotionally charged</td>
<td>Not acting professional</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Focus: keeping mind clear of emotions</td>
<td>Attitude of what you do doesn't matter</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Trouble sleeping</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Sharp edge to depersonalization</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Loss of empathy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Lack of work motivation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Being mean, nasty, and short tempered</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Being antisocial</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Constantly getting into fights</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Lack of reasoning in taking actions and decision-making</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
depersonalization. Depersonalization as a coping technique is tolerance, and callousness for the negative consequences.

Table 3 is further representative of the negativity in policing. It is easier to spot the negative attributes. The positive attributes do occur, but in a limited fashion. It was apparent that the officers still in the uniform patrol division had the most negative outlook. Officer Six, who is a supervisor, had a positive outlook on things in general. Officers One and Two, having served the longest of the officers interviewed, had the most negative attitudes. They had less enthusiasm for work. Their attitude was to just get their eight hours in and go home.

Because police officers see the negative side to society, this becomes the basis for their values and norms (Kroes 1988:63). For overall, the public regards police officers as a paranoid group of people, but with the daily occurrences of violence and anticipated violence; police officers do become paranoid, suspicious, and cynical. It becomes part of their personality because of their first hand experience in cleaning up the aftermath of senseless violence (Kirkham 1974; Kroes 1988; Maslach 1979).

**Summary**

The analysis of the data clearly indicated the dual nature of depersonalization. The officers agreed that depersonalization was something they all did when dealing with situations where emotions are involved. Also, the descriptive terms used by the officers to say what depersonalization is, showed...
two definite sets of attributes, one being positive, the other, negative. The examination of depersonalization, up to this point, is supporting the hypothesis that depersonalization is playing a dual role in policing. Chapter Five adds more plausibility to this hypothesis and the other two hypotheses, where depersonalization is a learned response by police officers and depersonalization, as presently defined by Maslach and Jackson (1979, 1981, 1986), may not be appropriate as an indicator of burnout in police officers.
CHAPTER FIVE

INTERPRETATION OF FINDINGS

Results comprise the analysis of the findings. Analysis, as used here, is the interpretation of the findings (Berg 1998). Although cultural themes are not findings, in the general sense, they are interpretations of the data and included in this chapter. Additionally, analyzed are two police shootings showing how training and depersonalization are related, followed with a discussion of the hypotheses.

Cultural Themes

For review, a cultural theme is, "a postulate or position, declared or implied, and usually controlling behavior or stimulating activity, which is tacitly approved or openly promoted in a society" (Spradley 1979:185). That is, cultural themes are woven in the actions and interactions of participants in a particular culture. The interactions become a vehicle for the transfer or socialization of knowledge.

One cultural theme woven throughout the interviews was the inappropriateness of showing emotions and feelings. The emotions and feelings that were appropriate centered on derogatory humor resulting from the emotional trauma of others, whether it be in the police station or out in the streets. This theme connects tolerance and callousness to depersonalization because both deal with the detachment of emotions.
Something important to all officers was being able to perform their job in situations of high stress. Although the older officers lacked the enthusiasm of the younger officers, all wanted to maintain that aura of a police officer, the professional investigator, able to handle anything. All the officers agreed that depersonalization allowed them to do this.

The professional, detached manner was also a public expectation. "The police are expected to protect people, to be fair and impersonal, and to uphold the law as well as enforce it; but they encounter hostility, requests to temper enforcement to mitigating circumstances" (Brown 1981:34). All officers felt these expectations related to being under a microscope of scrutiny because of having to defend and justify any action taken. A common point made by all officers, you had to fight them on the streets (the public) and then fight them inside (the supervisors). Instead of getting support from supervisors, officers' actions were questioned. It became tiring to defend one's actions on two fronts. The tiredness contributed to the negative attributes of depersonalization to filter into officers' attitudes and behaviors. This process is similar to wearing down of the land. Over using the land does not allow it to give back what it once did. The same is true here. As the effectiveness of depersonalization erodes away by having to act in a depersonalized manner, an officer becomes burned-out. The officer becomes less productive.

Another theme recurrent in the interviews was the negativity in policing. In all of the stories told by the officers, a positive outlook was absent. The only
positive outlook emerges from the negative situations of other people by the use
of humor (Pogrebin and Poole 1988). The negativity, as a theme, connects
tolerance and callousness to depersonalization because, regardless of the
situation, depersonalization only emerges out the negative aspects of an
interaction with others. Even though effective at the displacement of emotional
trauma, the negativity of policing surrounds depersonalization.

One theme that was apparent in only a few officers interviewed, were the
officers that had opportunities to work in other divisions of the police department.
Officers Three, Five, and Six had worked in other divisions besides the uniform
patrol division. Their answers to questions were less cynical than the other three
officers, whose careers have been entirely in the uniform patrol division. This
finding is consistent with Niederhoffer (1967, 1975) concerning cynicism. It
appears on the surface that those officers working in more than one division are
less at risk of burnout than officers spending their entire careers in just one
division.

The officers indicated a theme supported by prior research. This theme
dealt with where officers felt the most stress, that is, what environment produced
the greatest amount of stress from their perspective. Officers felt that the stress
on the streets was nothing compared to the stress caused by their
administrators. Stress from the organization can be, at times, six times more
stressful than stress from the streets (Crank and Cladero 1991; Violanti and Aron
1993).
Related to the stress from the organization is the para-military bureaucratic structure of the police department. This type of organization creates an environment favorable to depersonalization. Its very nature perceives the task of policing as technical, thereby, taking away the human element (Ayers 1990). This theme adds more support to the notion of depersonalization being a learned technique. Although not the intended purpose of the para-military structure, it does nevertheless, cause officers to develop depersonalized techniques in dealing with stress.

The public believes that physical danger is the greatest source of stress for police officers. Police officers, however, do not consider it to be a major source of stress (Alkus and Padesky 1983; Anderson, Swenson, and Clay 1995; Farmer 1990; Goolkasian, Geddes, and DeJong 1986; Kroes, Margolis, and Hurrell 1974; Violanti and Aron 1993; U. S. Congress 1991). The officers interviewed remarked about physical danger in relationship to depersonalization. Depersonalization was a way to put the physical danger to the back of your mind. The aspect of danger is always present because of its unexpectedness. This does create a sense of anticipation. The officers felt that depersonalization, as a coping technique, made it easier to push the anticipation aside, thereby, making physical danger just a part of the job.

When adding time to the last theme, the anticipation of danger, it can cause some police officers to become paranoid. All officers identified paranoia as a symptom of burnout. The anticipation of danger makes an officer paranoid.

One final theme from the officers interviewed, burnout was a condition that occurred over time. Burnout resulted from the routine exposure to dealing with the same people and the same situations for many years, coupled with not having an impact in making a difference in peoples' lives. The officers' felt when they were no longer contributing the non-caring attitude begins. The lack of caring seeps into all aspects of an officer's life, but this does depend on the individual officer. Some officers handle and deal with stress better than others, while the negativity of depersonalization traps some officers. This view of burnout is consistent with Maslach and Jackson's (1979, 1981, 1986) definition.

**Training and Depersonalization**

Supporting the cultural theme of training as teaching depersonalization is past research from Bahn (1984) and Bennett (1984). The academy teaches depersonalization by the type of survival training given. A great deal of time is spent on self-defense tactics, firearms training, weapon retention, and various levels of force and what force you can use to counter those levels. All of this, compounded with a uniform and various weapons that are capable of killing another human being, begins the attitude of "we versus them", which separates the new officers from society. This starts to reinforce depersonalization.
What continues the reinforcement of depersonalization is hearing all of the war stories told by academy instructors and field training officers. As the rookie officers are hearing about human tragedy and suffering, they see their mentors laughing about it, or making it appear to be humorous. The rookie officer, whether conscious of it or not, internalizes this in their knowledge of coping for it appears that the suffering of others has not bothered the older officers because they joke about it (Bahn 1984; Bennett 1984; Pogrebin and Poole 1988). They learn by example (Berger and Luckmann 1966; Kirkham 1974, 1976; Pogrebin and Poole 1988, 1991; Stratton 1984; Violanti and Marshall 1983).

Depersonalization, then, is in place before the new officers begin their assigned duties. It is in place because of the socialization process when coming into the culture of policing (Berger and Luckmann 1966). The interview questions on training and where the officers learned about depersonalization coincides with past research. The next section, Officer Shootings, are two examples of the training/depersonalization connection.

**Officer Shootings**

Two of the officers interviewed had been involved in shooting another person (for purposes of anonymity and confidentiality, these officers will not be identified due to possible future court proceedings). In their accounts of these shootings, the actual shooting of the person was not a decision that the officers' debated in their consciousness. Rather, they just did what they needed to do. Their only thoughts were about training. The training, in effect, acted as an...
attribution of depersonalization allowing the officers to pull the trigger of their weapons without regard to emotional issues of possibly taking a human life. Training, therefore, does teach officers how to depersonalize but it is a latent consequence of the training.

What follows is part of the interview with one of the officers who did have to fire his weapon, taking a human life. All names of those involved are replaced with the following: Suspect, for the person shot; Police 1 and Police 2 for the officers mentioned. The circumstances of the incident surrounded a domestic disturbance. For reasons of confidentiality, omitted are specific circumstances of the shooting. The interview excerpt is long, but shows the thought process of the officer involved:

We went to the back door. We all went in and the house was, the door was unlocked and we went in. It was pretty well dark upstairs. So we started looking around, calling the guy's name and couldn't come up with him. And then we went down into the basement that is shaped like an “L”. We started walking towards the far side or opposite side, heading toward the West Side of the house, or the front of the house and shining our flashlights because there was no lights on. Then we saw him underneath a Ping-Pong table that had all kinds of junk piled around it and he was squatted down under it. We dropped down to our knees and we saw that had a fillet knife in his hand. So, I automatically drew my weapon.

I was scrunched down with my back to a pillar and a bunch of clothes and we couldn’t go any farther b/c this was over in one corner. [Officer 1] was yelling at the guy to put his knife down. All [Suspect] kept saying was, “You’re gonna have to kill me. I am not gonna come out. You’re gonna have to kill me”. 

And it’s kinda funny. We’d just gone through training with [Officer 2] on weapon retention and a big thing on knives. [Officer 2] went through some scenarios with us. Everything he said fit this guy to a “T”. He glanced over at [Officer 1], but he constantly locked on me. He’d glanced over at [Officer 1], then back to me. I knew, I knew, there was no doubt in my mind that he was gonna lunge at me with that knife. Just target recognition had set in with this guy and I just knew. And sure enough,
then he came at me and then, so I fired and I hit in the head cause he was squatted down and I was squatted down, so there was no torso shot and like [Officer 2] said, the head shot was they only thing you could have done. Body shot, you're still would have probably been stabbed, but through the head shot, goin into the brain, he just lost control. Everything went.

The other officer involved in a shooting, had similar thoughts about his training. The officer is talking to the driver of a vehicle suspected of drunk driving.

The driver, being verbally uncooperative, eases off the brake, moving forward.

The officer, standing next to the vehicle, tells him to stop. The driver does not comply. The interview excerpt starts from that point:

I just reached in the window and I just put my hands on him. My right hand on his left shoulder and my left hand on his left forearm, and when I did that I said something to the effect of "No just stay here" or just stop or stay where you are at. And when I did that, boom, he was off the brake fully and on the accelerator, and I don't know whether it was a reaction or instinct or whatever and I guess I must have grabbed on to him a little bit harder just from the surprise. He starts to take off and I start to yell at him to stop, stop the car and took a couple of steps along beside the car to try to keep up with it to keep from losing my footing. But by that time he had accelerated so much I was losing my footing and it was kind of a smaller car and as I started to get dragged, I thought that my feet might get caught up in the back wheel and it might pull me underneath the car. Or if I let go that I was going end up on the ground I have absolutely no doubt about that and that you know I was going to get hurt; how seriously I don't know, but I thought it could be pretty serious.

So instead of letting go or just holding on and being dragged, I tried to pull my feet up of the ground to keep from being dragged and by doing that, I pulled my upper body through the open drivers window and the whole time I am yelling at the guy to stop the car.

Getting scared, now that he is accelerating, because I can hear the engine accelerating more and more. I am looking at this guy and it's like he had that thousand yard stare they talk about. He is right here, I am right here in his face and it didn't seem to me like he saw me. He was looking right past me, right through me to what was ahead of him. And as I am yelling at him and trying to get him to stop the car, and holding on for dear life...he is squealing out of the parking lot down an alley onto the street.
I guess what really jarred me back into thinking; I felt something come hit the bottom of my left boot across the sole of my boot, it was kind of a glancing blow and I thought it was a telephone pole or something like that. Well, I found out later that it was another car; traveling the opposite direction down the street...I knew that I had come very close to being scrapped off the side of this car. I knew, even though I wasn't looking out the windshield, I knew where we were at the whole time and I knew that he was coming through a curve to a straight portion of the street where he could really pick up some more speed, right down town I am thinking there might be some other drunk drivers out here on the road that can't avoid this guy or he might slam into someone else with me on the side of the car like that. I just knew that I had to do something to get stopped and I didn't consciously think about it at the time but I remembered some of the training we had. [like] when you are running in place warming up and he is having you sing the cadence on a high risk call, I will survive and things like this. I think that some of that really kicked in that survival instinct and it was just sort of I need to do something to get this guy to stop this car because if he doesn't, I am going to die.

And I didn't immediately reach for my gun. In fact, I reached up and I tried to choke this guy. I didn't have a baton with me. I wouldn't have known how to use one in that situation as it was. The pepper spray, I was laying on top of it. I am not sure I could have used it in that situation either. But I tried to choke the guy, if nothing else to shock him into thinking...this cop is going to hurt me if I don't stop. I know I couldn't have done that for very long but it seemed a lot longer and as I tried to choke him he was not reacting at all. It is like he was doing the same thing the thousand yard stare dead ahead, never said a word, never. He never reacted at all...And when that didn't work, I guess the only other thing I could think of at that point was to use my gun.

And I knew when the time came to reach for that, that I was going to use it. Nope I am going to pull my gun out and shoot and that is what I did. You know when I shot him, I was looking at the gun. I wasn't looking at him. I was looking at the gun and we were so close together when I pulled it out of the holster and turned it towards him, the barrel of it was right up against his left side and when I pulled the trigger I knew it went off. Heard some of the stories about police officers being involved in shootings and they would say that it sounds like a cap gun going off, well it didn't. It sounded like a 40 caliber going off. It was loud. But my ears never rang.

I saw that the slide never came back, it never extended the casing and so I knew that the gun had malfunctioned then. I can't shoot again. But he doesn't know that. I got nothing else. It is time to start bluffing. I am going to bluff. I raised it up and pointed it right in his face and told him if he didn't stop the car I was going to blow his fucking head off. And by
the time the car rolled to a stop. So the only thing I can think of, is that once I fired he must have gotten off the gas immediately and hit the brake. Now of course then, once the car stopped, it was strange because some things I remember consciously thinking and other things I was sort of on autopilot and one of the things that when it seemed like I was on autopilot was that, boom, now the car is stopped. This guy went from 10 seconds ago, being a threat to my life to now someone who needs my help. And the first thing I did was try to call for help, try to call for an ambulance for this guy...I had gone back to the car to try to unbuckle him and see about getting him out of the car and doing what I could, but by that time I saw the other officers rolling up, and I sort of just one of the last things I thought was they are here, I can separate myself from this guy. I can let them handle it. I just walked away.

Both accounts by the officers demonstrate how training does teach a type of depersonalization. This is not the intended function of the training, but clearly demonstrated is the socialized nature of depersonalization. As indicated by several of the officers interviewed, doing your work in a procedural way is a type of depersonalization.

Discussion of Hypotheses

This discussion provides a summarization of the entire study and how the findings support the hypotheses. Discussed first are Hypotheses 2 and 3 because they provide the support for Hypothesis 1.

Hypothesis 2 dealt with the socialization of depersonalization acquired as new police officers enter the police culture. Support of this hypothesis was evident by the officers discussing their training in terms of learning specific skills dealing with self-defense, firearms training, first aid training, and the procedural way of doing police work. All officers discussed listening to the academy instructors, especially if they had been prior law enforcement officers. Their
credibility was high because of their "war" stories. The officers felt this is where they learned some of the techniques associated with depersonalization, but did not realize at the time.

In addition, more depersonalizing techniques were learned when the new officers start their on-the-job training. Here, new officers were able to watch how veteran officers handle the various degrees of psychological trauma. They would see the veteran officers making jokes about the trauma others had encountered. The new officers learned by example and internalized what they see the veteran officers doing (Berger and Luckmann 1966; Morris 1967). Since we are not totally consciously aware of how we learn the values and norms of a culture, this supports the notion that depersonalization is not an intended result of police training. And since training is part of the socialization process of new officers, depersonalization is past on by the attitudes and behaviors of veteran officers.

Hypothesis 3 was supported by this study. All officers identified depersonalization as a coping technique, but described more negative attributes of depersonalization as a symptom of burnout. The attributes of depersonalization as a symptom of burnout were easier to identify. However, depersonalization was a positive coping technique, but as Officer Three pointed out, depersonalization as a symptom of burnout is depersonalization with a sharp edge.

In looking at Hypothesis 1, depersonalization's appropriateness as an indicator of burnout for police officers, it appears that depersonalization is not an
appropriate indicator of burnout for police officers. Although the literature is split about depersonalization's exact role, both roles identified in this study are within the descriptions of past research (Folkman and Lazarus 1990; Lazarus 1963, 1981, 1982; Jackson 1984; Maslach and Jackson 1979, 1981, 1986; Shirom 1989; Vaillant 1977). As suggested by Wallace and Brinkeroff (1991:88), some occupations, by having unique environments of stress, may see depersonalization playing a dual role as a coping technique and symptom of burnout. The evidence of this study is suggesting that police work does have unique environments of stress and that depersonalization does play a dual, paradoxical role. Is there enough evidence to confirm this hypothesis from the evidence of this study? Given the limitations of this study (see Chapter Six), no. What this study does suggest is that further research needs to be conducted exploring depersonalization's role in the police profession.

Summary

This chapter has shown the dual, paradoxical nature of depersonalization in the police profession. It has shown that depersonalization is something learned by new officers coming into the culture of policing because depersonalization is considered a valuable coping technique in dealing with the psychological trauma of this profession. Further, although the officers considered depersonalization a coping technique, they also identified certain attributes of depersonalization as being symptoms of burnout. In fact, some
attributes could be both a coping technique and symptom of burnout at the same time.

An important insight of this chapter is adding another dimension to depersonalization to indicate its dual nature. As a coping technique, depersonalization falls under the broad category of tolerance. When depersonalization is characteristic of burnout, the broad category of callousness is appropriate.

The cultural themes have shown how depersonalization is both a coping technique and symptom leading to burnout. As a coping technique, the showing of emotion as not appropriate behavior, acting in a professional, detached demeanor to carry out one's work are themes supported by officers' ethnographic narrative. The negativity in police work was a source of stress that could lead to burnout, and at the same time, became a way to cope with the stress of negativity. In addition, the structure of police organizations forced officers to detach from the organization, thereby, becoming a learned response. This particular learned response is reinforced every working day for the officers. All themes point to depersonalization as a necessary beneficial and harmful value and norm of policing.

Overall, the officers felt depersonalization was a coping technique. They did see how depersonalization contributed to burnout, but at the same time, clearly saw the need for emotional detachment. Depersonalization, from the viewpoint of these officers, does play a dual role.
CHAPTER SIX
DISCUSSION

The major goal of this study was to realize a better understanding of the role of depersonalization in policing. Chapters Four and Five presented some qualitative evidence toward that goal. The evidence suggests a dual nature to depersonalization for police officers. Since the duality of depersonalization does not fit within the commonly accepted definitions of burnout and depersonalization as developed by Maslach and Jackson (1979, 1981, 1986), new definitions would seem appropriate for the police profession. With new definitions, development of instruments to measure burnout would be more reliable. Consequently, this chapter presents new definitions of burnout and depersonalization for the police profession. Based on these new definitions, I propose a new model of the dual nature of depersonalization in the police profession. I call this model, Depersonalization's Reciprocating Tendency. Directions for future research and closing remarks follow.

Offered first are some opening remarks. Within the opening remarks are some of my relevant experiences to emphasize the findings in this study. In addition, although my bias is obvious, that same bias becomes the basis of insights that otherwise might have been missed (Johnson et al. 2000). Appendix F is a brief biographical sketch of the author's law enforcement background. This approach is becoming the norm in qualitative research (Berg 1998; Wolcott 1990; Wood 1999).
Opening Remarks

At the time I was on the police department, burnout and its various components were still in their infancy in the research process. Supervisors would constantly blame the individual officer, not realizing the impact of the several environments of stress that officers deal with. In addition, supervisors had no knowledge about the impact of the para-military, bureaucratic organization on officers. In fact, supervisors had no knowledge at all about burnout and depersonalization. I know, because I was burned-out. I did not realize it at the time, nor did my supervisors. This created problems for me at work and home. Some of the effects still trouble me today.

Some of the effects of being burned-out are best described by Kroes (1988:x):

Job stress, police burnout, call it what you will, the results are the same: a broken individual. How the officer breaks can vary. It may be physical—heart attack, chronic ulcers, diabetes, severe dermatitis, or a host of other health-related problems induced by and resulting from extreme stress. At times it is purely psychological—alcoholism, suicide, pronounced depression, debilitating phobic reactions, excessive anxiety, etc. Frequently, the results are both the physical and psychological. And for every cop who breaks to the point of no return, there are at least ten other cops not so severely affected, but painfully affected nevertheless.

What follows are some personal experiences that show the psychological trauma that police officers must learn how to deal with. These experiences also demonstrate one of the cultural themes in this study, the use of humor to dissipate psychological trauma.
The first incident was a “jumper” (a person jumping from a high structure to commit suicide) on a downtown bridge:

Just as my partner and I pulled up to where another police officer was standing on the bridge, the person dove headfirst into the river, which was low, with large rocks showing. The victim hit headfirst into the rocks. As I got to the point where the person jumped, the officer reached into his breast shirt pocket, pulling out his note book and wrote something on it. He then held it up for the rest of us to see; it said $8 \frac{1}{2}$.

The eight and one half indication was a score for the victim’s dive into the river, similar to scores given divers at diving events. This example would fit Pogrebin and Poole’s (1988) strategic use of humor as, audience degradation. Audience degradation is, “humorous remarks...used to belittle those individuals who create the ‘dirty work’ that officers are called upon to perform” (p. 195).

The following suicide incident that I assisted on again demonstrates audience degradation (Pogrebin and Poole 1988). In this suicide, the victim was given an "A" for ingenuity. His suicide was well thought out and meant to be remembered by someone close to him well into the future:

Upon our investigation, we found that the victim had sat in a chair in the living room, with a loaded shotgun pointed at his chest. Tied to the cocked trigger was a string that was wrapped around the legs of several pieces of furniture, being tied off at the front door. When the victim’s girl friend arrived home and opened the door, boom. The victim’s heart could be seen inside his exposed chest cavity. His heart was still beating, but only for a short time. We gave him an “A” for ingenuity because we assumed that he wanted his girl friend, whenever she touched a doorknob, to be reminded of this night.

I believe this incident shows how officers try to find something that can be exploited into something humorous, someway to push aside the psychological...
trauma present. Perhaps some people would call this being cruel and insensitive, but in the world of policing, it is called psychological survival.

Some human tragedy is too painful to completely put aside. The following is one such incident:

I remember working a drowning during a hot summer. It was at "The Sand Pits"; an area of numerous drinking parties at night with several small ponds. Swimming is not permitted but people swim any way. It was a common place of gathering for drinking, partying, and swimming. Also, an area of many drownings and several murders.

I think I was about the second one to arrive, with the fire department ambulance and boat following me. A crowd was gathered around one of the small ponds. I noticed one young lady, frantically running back and forth along the beach, yelling someone’s name. It was her little sister’s name. The lady was supposedly babysitting.

The fire department put their boat into the pond and went to the area where the little girl was last seen. I tried to get some information, but she was too hysterical. She went into the pond and started swimming to where the fire department boat was going. We yelled at her to come back, that she was making things worse. She didn’t hear us. I don’t think she could hear anything. She kept swimming around, yelling her sister’s name. The fire department guys tried to get her into their boat, but she would swim away from them.

The firemen put their hook over into the water and began the task of trying to hook the little girl. After about twenty minutes, the fire department completed the task, and pulled the lifeless little girl into their boat, rowing back to the beach. The sister went ballistic, sobbing, completely out of control. As the boat reached the shore, she ran to the boat and grabbed her sister, hugging her, sobbing hysterically. I tried to pull her from her lifeless sister. She held on tighter. It was one of the saddest things I think I had seen up to that point in my career. It was hard not to yell at this girl for bringing her little sister to this dangerous place to swim and then not properly watch her. She was more concerned about being with her friends than watching her younger sister. But at the same time, my heart just ached for what she must be going through; the guilt, the sense of loss, I just couldn’t imagine. I still had a job to do, though, to get the required information. I don’t remember getting the information, but I must have because I completed the report. I tried to comfort her by putting my arm around her. But how do you comfort someone at a time like this? That’s something you’re not taught in police training. There is no way to train someone to deal with this.
All I remember is the scene at the pond, the young lady hugging her lifeless sister. You put your emotions aside and most of the time it works so you can get the job done. Sometimes, though, you have to choked down the tears and not let yourself feel the pain. Most of the time you can forget what happened, but sometimes, you can't. Like this time, it is still vivid in my mind and the feelings are still real.

How do you deal with the senselessness of the things people do? One incident that comes to mind was a homicide of a 21-year-old male, shot by his best friend. They were wrestling around on the floor of the victim's house with the victim's loaded gun. He was a security guard. The gun went off. When I walked into the house and looked at this young man lying on the living room floor, I knew he was going to die. His pasty, gray skin color told the story. Although he was conscious and talking, I knew he wasn't going to make it. And he didn't. Putting that aside, I started the investigation. We arrested his best friend, charging him with involuntary manslaughter and parole violation.

Depersonalization allows an officer to put the human qualities aside. In effect, depersonalization allows for the objectifying of emotions. By taking the feelings and emotions out of the incident, it is just a matter of procedure, connecting the dots to get the job done.

New Definitions for the Police Profession

Burnout

Schaufeli and Enzmann (1998) have suggested that a single all encompassing definition of burnout may be elusive. They did, however, from their review of past research come up with following definition of burnout:
Burnout is a persistent, negative, work-related state of mind in ‘normal’ individuals that is primarily characterised by exhaustion, which is accompanied by distress, a sense of reduced effectiveness, decreased motivation, and the development of dysfunctional attitudes and behaviours at work. The psychological condition develops gradually but may remain unnoticed for a long time by the individual involved. It results from a misfit between intentions and reality in the job. Often burnout is self-perpetuating because of inadequate coping strategies that are associated with the syndrome. (P. 36).

This definition is general in terms of symptomatology, but does narrow the 132 symptoms into a, “core indicator, (exhaustion) and four accompanying, general symptoms: (1) distress (affective, cognitive, physical, and behavioural); (2) a sense of reduced effectiveness; (3) decreased motivation; (4) dysfunctional attitudes and behaviours at work.” Also suggested is that burnout may be self-perpetuating, although this may not be initially recognized (p. 36).

Is this definition applicable to policing? This research is suggesting that even this definition does not adequately capture burnout in the police profession. It suggests that burnout is self-perpetuating because of inadequate coping strategies, but fails to indicate how those strategies cause the self-perpetuation. I propose the following, more “police” oriented definition:

Burnout in the police profession is manifested by psychological distancing techniques (depersonalization) that become ineffective at completely dispersing the psychological trauma of acute and/or chronic stress incidents, to where the unresolved psychological trauma becomes stored within the working personality of a police officer. Once a police officer exceeds the ability to store unresolved psychological trauma, it reciprocates back into the working personality of the police officer. As unresolved psychological trauma reciprocates into the coping techniques of the officer in an acute and/or chronic stress incident, the positive attitudes and behaviors (tolerance) become callused. Over time, the more unresolved psychological trauma accumulated, the callused attitudes and behaviors become more pronounced.
The extensiveness of this definition is necessary given the dual nature of depersonalization.

Depersonalization

The following definition, that I propose, is an attempt in bringing depersonalization’s duality into focus for the police profession:

Depersonalization is a technique of psychological distancing, latently learned by police officers, to emotionally distance themselves from psychological trauma produced by acute and/or chronic incidents of stress. Depersonalization, in the form of psychological distancing, characterizes itself in forms of tolerance. Given the reciprocating tendency of depersonalization, psychological distancing becomes symptomatic of burnout (psychological reciprocating distress) where it manifests itself in characteristics of callousness in an officer’s attitude and behavior.

New Model: Depersonalization’s Reciprocating Tendency

The assumption surrounding the reciprocating tendency of depersonalization is its dynamic nature. Depersonalization’s character, depending on the circumstances in which it is applied, can have lateral movement between coping techniques and negative consequences or be a combination of the two. For example, the idea of putting on a façade of detachment when dealing with people in situations of high emotional trauma, a coping technique, can also be an attitude of not caring, or being antisocial, indicating a negative consequence or symptom of burnout. Depersonalization’s unique dual nature feeds upon itself. In that, the more officers depersonalize or psychologically distance themselves from emotional trauma, the more the depersonalized attitudes and behaviors come into play, and the more
Depersonalized attitudes and behaviors come into play, the greater chance of those depersonalized attitudes and behaviors becoming ineffective at resolving psychological trauma.

Depersonalization's reciprocating tendency begins when a positive correlation exists between coping techniques and negative consequences of depersonalization. At the start of an officer's career, the assumption is coping techniques (tolerance) and negative consequences (callousness) have a negative correlation. That is, an increase in tolerance decreases callousness, indicating depersonalization acting as a coping technique. Given time of the job and the handling of numerous stressful incidents, depersonalization becomes out of proportion in trying to deal with new psychological trauma as well as old, unresolved psychological trauma. In effect, this exaggerates or intensifies the coping techniques of depersonalization to where they now appear as symptoms of burnout.

Although the psychological trauma will continue to be blocked out by the officer, psychological distancing causes its own impairment. It causes its own impairment by the officer's inability to properly deal with the psychological trauma encountered. The officers have pushed themselves past the healthy limits of psychological distancing. We can view the officer as having an "emotional box" that contains the unresolved psychological trauma. When that "box" becomes full, the unresolved psychological trauma seeps back into the officer's attitudes and behaviors.
Figure 1 graphically displays how coping techniques and negative consequences are constantly striking the individual officer and the environments in which the officer must interact. The two large arrows surrounding the officer’s stress producing environments are the social forces from the contexts of society, the criminal justice system, and the political system. The five single-headed arrows, moving left to right, represent an officer dealing with an incident of stress. Although the officer copes with the stress by distancing or detachment, the emotions are present and remain unless dealt with later. The double-headed arrows, being thicker, indicate that the negative consequences or unresolved emotions are intensified as they continue in the loop. So, when another stress producing incident occurs that requires psychological distancing, the unresolved emotions filter into the coping technique and then back again to the other side. This intensifies the negative consequences to become symptomatic of burnout.

Figure 1 further puts depersonalization into a more realistic picture. Depersonalization is not a simple single-dimensional concept. Depersonalization is multi-dimensional in positive and negative styles. The styles range from productive coping techniques to negative consequences of over exposure to psychological trauma coupled with an over use of depersonalizing techniques.

In other words, depersonalization is playing both roles as a coping technique and negative consequence, reciprocating back on itself. This is the reciprocating tendency of depersonalization. Reciprocation by once completing the cycle from coping technique to negative consequence, the negative
consequence reciprocates back to the coping technique, bringing that unresolved psychological trauma back into the loop.

Figure 1. Depersonalization's Reciprocating Tendency

The police value of not showing or expressing one's emotions serves to intensify the callous side of depersonalization. Compound this with depersonalization's reciprocating tendency and it becomes a constant source of stress. This source of stress not only intensifies unresolved psychological trauma, resolving that trauma becomes negligible. When the pressure of unresolved psychological trauma becomes greater than an officer's "emotional box" can hold in, something gives. What gives is the officer's essence of self, his humanity. Alcoholism or suicides, unfortunately, become a reality for some police officers.
Limitations of the Study

There are several limitations to this study's research design. One limitation was the questionnaire sample with only six participants. A reason for the small number does stem from one of the values of policing, the distrust of outsiders or non-police persons (Brown 1981; Kirkham 1974, 1976; Niederhoffer 1967). In trying to maintain some sense of representativeness, police officers with different years of service were chosen. It was possible to obtain more participants, but they would have had considerable years of service, which could have distorted the findings. Although I had been a former police officer with this department, the younger officers would not talk with me. This accounts for the small number of participants.

Another limitation was the number of interviews. Ideally, two or three interviews of each participant would have given more plausibility to the findings. Given the time restraints with this study, it was not possible. Another concern was the directness in asking specific questions about depersonalization. The officers' answers, however, do not support this limitation. They were familiar with the term and their experiences gave specific examples of depersonalization's use in this profession.

The aforementioned limitations, however, do not invalidate the results of this study. Although there were few participants, several recurrent themes surfaced from all participants. The fact that depersonalization was described in terms associated with past research and the insight gained about tolerance and
callousness as ways to further define depersonalization, all indicate the
limitations were not great enough to reduce the importance of the findings. The
limitations only point to areas for future research.

**Directions for Future Research**

The findings of this study show a possible flaw with Maslach and
Jackson's (1979, 1981, 1986) conception of depersonalization, as applied to
specific occupations. Maslach and Jackson (1986) do have a specific burnout
inventory for teachers. This indicates that teaching differs somewhat from the
sample of occupations used in deriving and defining burnout. This supports the
notion of this study that policing differs from the other occupations to the degree
that the MBI becomes ineffective at indicating burnout in police officers. Further,
it supports the idea that police officers need a different instrument for burnout
measurement.

Based on the findings of the present study, a closer look at
depersonalization's attributes of tolerance and callousness is an area of future
research. As this study has proposed, a more in-depth analysis of tolerance and
callousness has the potential to yield an instrument to measure when police
officers use of depersonalization is becoming symptomatic of burnout. An
instrument of this type has great potential in helping to maintain the emotional
stability of police officers.

Given the above information, future research needs to focus the emotional
side of policing. Because of the nature of police work, psychological trauma
cannot be eliminated (Brown 1981; Kirkham 1974, 1976; Li-Pang Tang and Hammontree 1992). Therefore, better ways of identifying potential burned-out police officers becomes an important goal for future research.

Because of the limited number of officers interviewed, generalizing is not appropriate. However, given that the officers had total agreement on depersonalization' dual role in policing, it is highly probable that this occurs in other police departments. In effect, this study has provided a starting point of redefining depersonalization with characteristics of tolerance and callousness, providing a direction for future research. A broader, multiple police department, quantitative examination, is now possible.

One question for future research becomes; at what point does depersonalization begin its dual role? This research has provided a plausible explanation for that point, but lacks the quantitative support. A study using the attributes of tolerance and callousness is needed to see how those concepts correlate with depersonalization.

Concluding Remarks

This study has provided a deeper understanding of depersonalization's role in policing. This deeper understanding provides insights into why police officers appear, on the surface, to be unemotional in dealing with human tragedy (coping technique) and yet, at the same time, show signs of burnout. This paradox relates to the unique nature of depersonalization. Because of this, police officers need different ways of dealing with stress. If more effective coping
strategies are not developed, police officers will continue to relate to the emotional happenings of their job and home life in terms of law and logic (Maslach and Jackson 1979:59). Moreover, for some police officers, the emotional on/off switch will become stuck in the off position (Bailey 1989; Brown 1981; Kirkham 1974; U. S. Congress 1991). The need for a better understanding of stress and all its aspects is crucial for the emotional health of America's police officers.

This research has fulfilled a desire to better understand depersonalization in the hopes of providing something useful for police officers. It is a profession that I believe keeps our society from collapsing in on itself, a profession that allows us to be individuals. This research does have a biased slant, but has been objective in trying to discover a better understanding of what is perceived to be a serious problem within the police profession. One way to better this profession is to make the individual police officers healthier in dealing with the unchangeable environments that they must work in. Making police officers healthier, I believe makes our society healthier. Yes, I am prejudiced towards police officers, but then, I have been there, in the “trenches”, so to speak, and seriously affected by the circumstances of those trenches.
WORKS CITED


APPENDIX A

FIRST INTERVIEW QUESTIONS

1. How would you define stress?
2. Can you give an experience from your police background?
3. How would you define burnout?
4. Can you give an experience from your police background?
5. How would you define depersonalization?
6. Can you give an experience from your police background?
7. How would you classify depersonalization, a coping skill or consequence of stress?
8. Can you give an example from your police experience?
9. What do you think typically occurs in policing?
10. What type of physical space, or setting, does stress usually occur?
11. Who are typically the people involved?
12. What type of activity is taking place to cause the stress?
13. Are there typically any physical objectives involved?
14. Are there typical actions by one person producing the stress?
15. What events are taking place or have taken place to produce the stress?
16. If events are occurring, is there a time sequence to the stress occurring?
17. In the stress producing situation, do you have a goal to be accomplished?
18. What emotions or feelings are you experiencing in a stress producing situation?
19. What type of physical space, or setting, does burnout usually occur?
20. Who are typically the people involved?
21. What type of activity is taking place to cause the burnout?
22. Are there typically any physical objectives involved?
23. Are there typical actions by one person producing the burnout?
24. What events are taking place or have taken place to produce the burnout?
25. If events are occurring, is there a time sequence to the burnout occurring?
26. In the burnout producing situation, do you have a goal to be accomplished?
27. What emotions or feelings are you experiencing in a burnout producing situation?
28. What type of physical space, or setting, does depersonalization usually occur?
29. Who are typically the people involved?
30. What type of activity is taking place to cause the depersonalization?
31. Are there typically any physical objectives involved?
32. Are there typical actions by one person producing the depersonalization?
33. What events, if any, are taking place or have taken place to produce the depersonalization?
34. If events are occurring, is there a time sequence to the depersonalization occurring?
35. In the depersonalization producing situation, do you have a goal to be accomplished?
36. What emotions or feelings are you experiencing in a depersonalization producing situation?
37. Do you remember your training at the academy?
38. If so, can you recall the overall mood of the training, that is, was it geared toward certain emotional responses?
39. Can you describe a typical day at the academy, the activities you were involved in?
40. On this typical day at the academy, what was the demeanor of your instructors?
41. Were they sympathetic if you made a mistake?
42. What was the attitude of the instructors?
43. Did the instructors influence your perception of police work?
44. If so, how and in what type of situations?
45. Focusing on depersonalization, does humor play a role?
46. If so, how and what role does humor play?
47. Are there certain aspects or activities of the job where depersonalization is being used?
48. Describe a typical briefing.
49. Where does briefing occur?
50. Who are the people involved?
51. What specific activities take place?
52. How are new rookie officers treated?
53. Can you describe an experience that showed how rookie officers were treated?
54. During briefing, are prior calls discussed?
55. If so, how are they discussed, that is, how are they communicated, what types of words are used, what is the demeanor of the person telling about the incident?
56. How do you deal with the stress of policing?
57. Are there any special techniques that you use?
58. When dealing with an incident where there is high emotional trauma, how do you handle that so you can do your job? For example, a traffic accident with multiple fatalities including a small child.
59. Are you aware of how you deal with the stress of your job?
60. Do you have any stories that show how either you used, or another officer used certain ways to deal with stressful incidents?
61. In getting ready for work, do you go through any mental preparation to deal with any stressful incidents you may have to deal with?
62. If so, what do you do?
63. After work, is there any mental activities that you go through to deal with any stressful incidents?
APPENDIX B

REVISED INTERVIEW QUESTIONS

1. How would you define stress?
2. Can you give an experience from your police background?
3. How would you define burnout?
4. Can you give an experience from your police background?
5. How would you define depersonalization?
6. Can you give an experience from your police background?
7. How would you classify depersonalization, a coping skill or consequence of stress?
8. Can you give an example from your police experience?
9. What emotions or feelings are you experiencing in a stress producing situation?
10. Can you give an experience from your police background?
11. If events are occurring, is there a time sequence to the burnout occurring?
12. If so, what events occur in what time sequence?
13. What emotions or feelings are you experiencing in a burnout producing situation?
14. What type of activity is taking place to cause the depersonalization?
15. If events are occurring, is there a time sequence to the depersonalization occurring?
16. If so, what events occur in what time sequence?
17. What emotions or feelings are you experiencing in a depersonalization producing situation?
18. Do you remember your training at the academy?
19. If so, can you recall the overall mood of the training, that is, was it geared toward certain emotional responses?
20. What was the demeanor of your instructors?
21. Were they sympathetic if you made a mistake?
22. What was the attitude of the instructors?
23. Did the instructors influence your perception of police work?
24. If so, how and in what type of situations?
25. Focusing on depersonalization, does humor play a role?
26. If so, how and what role does humor play?
27. Are there certain aspects or activities of the job where depersonalization is being used?
28. How are new rookie officers treated?
29. Can you describe an experience that showed how rookie officers were treated?
30. During briefing, are prior calls discussed?
31. If so, how are they discussed, that is, how are they communicated, what types of words are used, what is the demeanor of the person telling about the incident?
32. When dealing with an incident where there is high emotional trauma, how do you handle that so you can do your job? For example, a traffic accident with multiple fatalities including a small child.
33. Are you aware of how you deal with the stress of your job?
34. Do you have any stories that show how either you used, or another officer used certain ways to deal with stressful incidents?
35. In getting ready for work, do you go through any mental preparation to deal with any stressful incidents you may have to deal with?
36. If so, what do you do?
37. After work, is there any mental activities that you go through to deal with any stressful incidents?
38. Define tolerance?
39. How is tolerance used.
40. In what situations would tolerance be used?
41. Does tolerance allow you to carry out your job?
42. How tolerance allow you to carry out your job?
43. Can you give an example from your police experience?
44. How do you deal with pressure in stressful situations?
45. How is decision-making stressful?
46. What makes decision-making stressful?
47. How do you make decisions in stressful situations?
48. How do you maintain objectivity in making decisions in stressful situations?
49. Can you give an example from your police experience?
50. What does tolerance mean to you?
51. Is tolerance an emotional response to stressful situations?
52. Is tolerance a source of stress?
53. Does a lack of tolerance indicate anything, i.e., burnout?
54. Is tolerance a way to handle psychological trauma (strain) of stressful situations?
55. How do you use tolerance?
56. How is training used to develop tolerance?
57. Is tolerance a way of being objective in making decisions?
58. Can you give an example from your police experience?
59. Is tolerance a way to endure pain or hardship?
60. Can you give an example?
61. Does tolerance allow you to keep your feelings in check?
62. Can you give an example from your police experience?
63. Does becoming callous evolve out of being tolerant?
64. What characterizes a callous person?
65. What characterizes a tolerant person?
66. Can you give an example from your police experience?
67. When do officers use depersonalization?
68. How do officers use depersonalization?
69. Why do officers use depersonalization?
70. What does it mean to “do” depersonalization?
APPENDIX C

INTERVIEW PROTOCOL

Interview protocol will involve taking necessary precautions to safeguard subjects' rights and interests, their anonymity, and complete confidentiality of information provided. To ensure this, subjects will have access to interviewer's notes, tape recordings and copies of the interview. The subjects will also be given a completed copy of the project/thesis.

Because of the suspicious nature of police officers, tape recording the interview could be a problem. However, in this case, being a former police officer who is very much aware of the suspicious nature of police officers, no problem is anticipated. The nature of the research does not deal with the policies of the police department or city government, nor any unethical or illegal activity on the part of participating subjects. Subjects will also be assured that no information will be provided to the police department.

To ensure anonymity, interviews will be conducted at the subject's residence or a place of their choosing.
APPENDIX D
INFORMED CONSENT

A. This research is aimed at getting a better understanding of the role that depersonalization plays in the police profession. Within this role it is anticipated that a more precise definition of depersonalization for the police profession will be realized. Also, what are the characteristics of depersonalization, that is, how is depersonalization played out by police officers and in what situations does this occur.

B. As a participant of this research project, you will be interviewed at least once, but not more than twice.

C. There are no experimental procedures in this research.

D. There are no foreseeable risks or discomforts associated with this research.

E. As a participant, you can expect to gain a better understanding of the stress in police work, which can lead to more effective handling of that stress.

F. The recordings of the interview will be destroyed once they are transcribed. When the research is concluded, and the thesis is completed, the interviews will be destroyed. Only the interviewer will know the identity of those participating.

G. Participation is voluntary.

H. Michael O'Connor, graduate student, home phone number, 236-0516.

I. Professor Clemens Bartollas is the advisor of this research, Department of Sociology, 273-2559.
J. Participants may contact the Human Subjects Coordinator, University of Northern Iowa, (319) 273-2748, with any questions concerning this research.

I am fully aware of the nature and extent of my participation in this project as stated above and the possible risks from it. I hereby agree to participate in this project. I acknowledge that I have received a copy of this consent statement.

(Signature of subject or responsible agent)

Date

(Printed name of subject)

(Signature of investigator)
APPENDIX E
COMPONENTIAL ANALYSES OF OFFICERS

Table 4. Componential Analysis of Depersonalization; Officer One

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Contrast Set</th>
<th>Dimension of Contrast; Coping Skill</th>
<th>Dimension of Contrast; Consequence</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Treat people like you don’t care</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not being pleasant to people</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tiredness</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Callousness</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Poor job performance</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Anger</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tolerance</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>No</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Being patient</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>No</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bad attitude</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Preparing yourself mentally for the job</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>No</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Survival attitude</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>No</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Keeping emotions in check</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>No</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Putting emotions somewhere else</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>No</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fighting through your emotions</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>No</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Guttting it out</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>No</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Derogatory humor</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>No</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Belittle someone</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(table continues)

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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Contrast Set</th>
<th>Dimension of Contrast; Coping Skill</th>
<th>Dimension of Contrast; Consequence</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Teasing</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>No</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Isolation of emotions</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not being polite to people</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Don't care anymore</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sick of the job</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Want out of the job</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Feel peoples' problems are a waste of my time</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Putting people off</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No extra effort helping people</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Frustration</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Go overboard in depersonalizing</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Take frustrations out on the public</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Isolation</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Second guessing yourself</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Feeling worthless</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 5. Componential Analysis of Depersonalization; Officer Two

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Contrast Set</th>
<th>Dimension of Contrast; Coping Skill</th>
<th>Dimension of Contrast; Consequence</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Don't care anymore</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Negativity</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Contrast Set</th>
<th>Dimension of Contrast; Coping Skill</th>
<th>Dimension of Contrast; Consequence</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Callousness to peoples problems</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tired of dealing with the same old people and families</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Anger</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Can't joke around</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Having a lack of tolerance</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Being cynical</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tragedy doesn't bother you</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not acing professional</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Being numb to what you see</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Having set answers to every question</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>No</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Feel your contributions don't matter anymore</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Being calm doing your work</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>No</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Put emotions aside so you can understand what is going on</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>No</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Relieve tension by joking</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>No</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maintain objectivity</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>No</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Being impartial</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>No</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Being procedural</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>No</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Putting on a façade</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>No</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(table continues)
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<thead>
<tr>
<th>Contrast Set</th>
<th>Dimension of Contrast; Coping Skill</th>
<th>Dimension of Contrast; Consequence</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Detaching yourself</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>No</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Putting feelings about emotional trauma in the back of your mind</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>No</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Telling yourself to think a certain way</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>No</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Being cynical</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 6. Componential Analysis of Depersonalization; Officer Three

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Contrast Set</th>
<th>Dimension of Contrast; Coping Skill</th>
<th>Dimension of Contrast; Consequence</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Frustration</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Poor attitude, in that I get paid whether I work or don't work</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Too much bother to even go through the motions</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Feel like you're banging your head against the wall</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trouble sleeping</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not being professional</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Anger</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not caring about people</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tired of dealing with people</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lack of tolerance</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Callousness</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(table continues)
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Contrast Set</th>
<th>Dimension of Contrast; Coping Skill</th>
<th>Dimension of Contrast; Consequence</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sharp edge to depersonalization</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Being nasty and mean</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Loss of empathy</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lack of work motivation</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lack of reasoning in your actions</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Separating myself from some people</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>No</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Act professionally</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>No</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Putting feelings aside</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>No</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not taking things personally</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>No</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Turn emotions off in dealing with tragedy</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>No</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Morbid humor</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>No</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tolerance</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>No</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Intellectual response</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>No</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No human emotions</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Block out emotions to perform investigation</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>No</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Keeping mind from being clouded with emotional issues</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>No</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 7. Componential Analysis of Depersonalization; Officer Four

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Contrast Set</th>
<th>Dimension of Contrast; Coping Skill</th>
<th>Dimension of Contrast; Consequence</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Don't like your job</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Performance goes to hell</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Turn a blind eye to stuff</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Being antisocial</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sort temper</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Derogatory humor</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>No</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Keeping your focus on the task at hand</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>No</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lack of tolerance</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Being callous</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Don't show any emotions</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lack of motivation</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Professionalism decreases</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bark at people</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>People grind on you</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>People irritate you</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Constantly getting into fights when making an arrest</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Beating on somebody when you shouldn't be</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Being short with answers to questions</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(table continues)
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Contrast Set</th>
<th>Dimension of Contrast; Coping Skill</th>
<th>Dimension of Contrast; Consequence</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Tunnel vision</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>No</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not getting emotionally charged</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>No</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Building tolerance like a pain tolerance</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>No</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Keep feeling in check</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>No</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clearing your mind</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>No</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Don't think too much</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 8. Componential Analysis of Depersonalization; Officer Five

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Contrast Set</th>
<th>Dimension of Contrast; Coping Skill</th>
<th>Dimension of Contrast; Consequence</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Don't want to do your job anymore</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stand there like a robot</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Very tired</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>General feeling of being down</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Getting really tired of doing the same thing that you've done repetitively for a long period</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Job isn't worth doing anymore</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lack of tolerance</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not letting people upset me</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>No</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not taking the job or people personally</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>No</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(table continues)
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Contrast Set</th>
<th>Dimension of Contrast; Coping Skill</th>
<th>Dimension of Contrast; Consequence</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Keeping emotions out of situations so I can act rationally</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>No</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Humor</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>No</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rational thoughts</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>No</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Objectivity</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>No</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Things are Not worth doing</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>No</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Patience</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>No</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Controlling emotions</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>No</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 9. Componential Analysis of Depersonalization; Officer Six

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Contrast Set</th>
<th>Dimension of Contrast; Coping Skill</th>
<th>Dimension of Contrast; Consequence</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Don't give a shit attitude</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Treating people as numbers, not people</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Non-caring attitude</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Poor work performance</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Being mean</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not personable</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fed-up with what you’re doing</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Just a job, not a career</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Detachment from emotions</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(table continues)
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Contrast Set</th>
<th>Dimension of Contrast; Coping Skill</th>
<th>Dimension of Contrast; Consequence</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Not letting emotions affect the way you do your job</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>No</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Making light of a high stress situation with humor</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>No</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grow immune to emotional trauma</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tolerating situations or someone</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>No</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Don't let the job bother you</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>No</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Callousness</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not personable</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Humor</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>No</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tolerance</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>No</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
APPENDIX F

BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH

My experiences in law enforcement began in 1973 when I started riding with a local police department. It was a community relations program, allowing the public to ride with an officer. Most did this only once, however, I did it on a weekly basis for over one year. In 1974, I became an auxiliary police officer in a larger metropolitan police department. For the next two and half years, I spent, on average twenty hours per week working in this capacity.

In July of 1976, I became a sworn police officer in a metropolitan police department. It was in December of 1991 that I was forced to retire on a medical disability. I was badly assaulted in October of 1986, sustaining back, pelvic, and spine injuries that never fully healed. Given the nature of these injuries, compounded with further assaults and vehicle accidents, I was no longer able to perform my duties.

My career was in the Uniform Patrol Division. I spent 12 ½ years on second watch and four years on third watch. There brief assignments with the investigative division that included vehicle theft investigations, robbery details, and presidential security details. In addition, I attended numerous schools on intoxicated drivers and drug recognition. From 1985 until retirement, I was a state certified instructor in standardized field sobriety testing, intoxicated drivers, and drug recognition. From my training and experiences, I became an expert witness in the area of intoxicated drivers, having testified in federal court in that
capacity. Occasionally, as an expert witness, I am called to testify or give an
opinion in the areas of intoxicated drivers, domestic abuse, and police
procedures.