ABSTRACT

Title of Dissertation:	WARRIORS, GUARDIANS, WOLVES, AND SHEEP: OFFICER PERCEPTIONS OF POLICE-CIVILIAN IDENTITIES AND THE PERSISTENCE OF ORGANIZED INEQUITY
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Despite nearly a decade of community engagement and police reform efforts guided by the Warrior/Guardian paradigm, there remains little evidence of police culture change and rates of racially disproportionate police misconduct remain a social problem. In this work, I bring officers into this conversation and leverage the Warrior/Guardian paradigm as a starting point for an exploration of how identity structures constitute police organizational culture and practice, its consequences, and its potential for change.

The present work contributes to the public and scholarly discourse on police culture and the role of identity processes in the reproduction of organizational practices. I characterize police culture as a set of identity schemas that connect people, practices, and social resources. I chart three domains of symbolic interaction that characterize the intersection of police structure, police culture, and public culture and account for police organizational rules and practices that distribute law enforcement outcomes and pattern organized inequity.

WARRIORS, GUARDIANS, WOLVES, AND SHEEP: OFFICER PERCEPTIONS OF POLICE-CIVILIAN IDENTITIES AND THE PERSISTENCE OF ORGANIZED INEQUITY

by

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Chapter 1: Introduction

Police officers routinely enter stressful situations where they face potential or actual harm to themselves and others from the people they are sworn to protect. These unique job stressors lead officers to suffer inordinate stress-related consequences, including cynicism, drug and alcohol abuse, divorce, and suicide (Carleton et al. 2019; Ricciardelli 2018; Gilmartin 2002; Violanti 1997; Brown and Campbell 1990). Compounding the traditional stressors that officers experience, a growing source of stress for officers comes from increased public outcries for police accountability and reform. These calls challenge police leadership to make their practices transparent and hold misconduct accountable, but it also challenges all officers to reconcile themselves with evolving perceptions of American police.

Police-community relations turned into a crisis in 2014. On July 17, 2014, Eric Garner, a 43-year-old Black man was killed by NYPD Officer Daniel Pantaleo using a prohibited chokehold. The follow month, on August 9, 2014, unarmed Black 18-year-old, Michael Brown, was shot and killed by Ferguson Police Department's Officer Darren Wilson. Shortly after, on November 22, 2014, Black 12-year-old, Tamir Rice, was shot and killed by Cleveland Police Department's Officer Timothy Loehmann. In response to this horrific series of events, protests, social unrest, and calls for police reform erupted across the United States (Branch 2014; Anderson et al. 2014; Fitzsimmons 2014)

Public scrutiny of law enforcement prompted politicians, community leaders, and officers to confront a crucial question: how can we ensure that law enforcement conducts itself in an ethical and just manner? To address this question, President

Obama signed an executive order to create the President's Task Force on 21st Century Policing (E.O. 13684 of Dec 18, 2014). Comprised of police, academic, and community leaders, the purpose of the Task Force was to provide guidance to "strengthen community policing and trust among law enforcement officers and the communities they serve". On May 18th, 2015, the Task Force published its final report (Department of Justice 2015).

The report asserts that officers should receive more comprehensive education and training in de-escalation techniques, cultural responsiveness, and implicit bias awareness. Additionally, officers should be trained, equipped, and regulated in the use of body-worn cameras and less-lethal tools. It asserts that policies and laws that regulate use-of-force must be clearly established and understood by officers. Those who act outside of policy or law should be held accountable in a manner that is transparent with the public. Importantly, however, while the authors proclaim that these changes will mitigate and manage officer misconduct, they recognize that such changes are superficial without buy-in from the law enforcement officers who are expected to carry them out. Deeper and more long-lasting reform requires a change in police culture. As such, the Task Force's first recommendation is to transform police culture away from a "Warrior mindset" toward a "Guardian mindset". In other words, police should come to see themselves as defenders of the community rather than combatants against it.

"1.1 Recommendation: Law enforcement culture should embrace a Guardian mindset to build public trust and legitimacy..."

– Final Report, Taskforce on 21st Century Policing, 2015

Since the final report of the President's Task Force, the Warrior/Guardian paradigm has become a prominent framework for understanding and guiding police cultural reform in the United States. The Warrior/Guardian paradigm describes one way to conceptualize how officers relate to their profession and the community they serve. Changing these perceptions is expected to influence policing practices and police-community relations. It is believed that, if officers leave the Warrior mindset behind and take up the Guardian mindset, police misconduct will diminish, while cooperation and trust between police and the community will strengthen. However, despite nearly a decade of community engagement and police reform efforts guided by the Warrior/Guardian paradigm, there remains little evidence of police culture change and rates of racially disproportionate police misconduct remain a social problem.

Left out of the conversation is how officers are adapting to changing landscapes of their department and local communities. In this work, I bring officers into the conversation. I draw upon interviews with a diverse group of fifty officers that I and colleagues collected between 2018 and 2021. I leverage the Warrior/Guardian paradigm as a starting point for an exploration of how identity constitutes police organizational culture, practice, its consequences, and its potential for change. In doing this, I examine how officers make sense of their profession in their own words and in the context of role, race, and gender relations. I describe three ways that officers

conceptualize police-community relations argue that these interacting perceptions shape the affective and material structure of policing, the formal and informal organizational rules that guide police practices, and inequality in law enforcement. In brief, I find that police and public culture collide in police-civilian and police-police interactions in ways that characterize a negotiation of an evolving police identity and organizational structure.

The present work contributes to the public and scholarly discourse on police culture and the role of identity processes in the reproduction of organizational practices. I consider why the Warrior/Guardian paradigm seems to be an ineffective model for police reform. I bring sociological theories of identity into the study of police culture and police-community relations to conceptualize how organizational and public cultures reciprocally manage social structure; in the context of policing, this includes the reproduction of misogyny, racism, and an 'us-versus-them' mentality that suppresses accountability and impedes justice.

I characterize police culture as a "theory of people" or a set of identity schemas that connect people, practices, and resources. The question guiding this work is, *how do identity schemas connect organizations to the broader social context to shape organizational practices and the distribution of social resources that contribute to social stability and change?* In the context of policing, I explore how officers connect identity meanings to practices that contribute to the social structure of policing and perpetuate inequity.

In the following chapter, I review the literature on two popular theories of police identity and the sociological and criminological research on police culture and identity.

Chapter three describes the informed grounded theoretical design of the present work, including data collection methods, materials, participants, and analytic strategy. Chapter four reports the findings about the characteristics, feelings, and practices associated with officer perceptions of Warrior and Guardian police identities. Chapter five reports the characteristics and interactional processes associated with the "Sheepdog" analogy. Chapter six examines police roles/social identity processes and assesses how the broader social context shapes police intra-professional relations and organizational structure. The seventh chapter provides a reflexive analysis of the findings, provides an analysis that integrates the three ways of conceptualizing police identity structure, and discusses the implications of this work for theory and research. The work concludes with a summary of the findings and suggests action.

Chapter 2: Background

2.1 Popular Theories of Police Culture

2.1.1 The Warrior/Guardian Paradigm

Scholars examining the Warrior/Guardian paradigm argue that traditional and contemporary policing is characterized by the Warrior mindset which emphasizes honor, duty, resolve, and a willingness to use righteous violence (Stoughton 2016). Officers with a Warrior mindset are associated with violence. They are believed to see themselves as soldiers on the front line of a battle to preserve law and order against crime and chaos. The Warrior mindset has been associated with attitudes that prioritize force over cooperation in law enforcement situations ("control priority", Rahr and Rice 2015; McLean et al. 2020). Given this preference, the Warrior mindset is believed to increase the likelihood of police use-of-force misconduct. If the Warrior mindset increases the likelihood of misconduct, the Warrior mindset is expected to harm public trust toward law enforcement, reduce civilian cooperation with police, and jeopardize officer wellbeing. The Warrior mindset is believed to be the cultural source of adversarial police-community relations.

If the Warrior mindset is at the foundation of poor police-community relations, an alternative mindset seems necessary. The Warrior/Guardian paradigm offers the Guardian mindset as an alternative. The Guardian mindset has been characterized by respect for human dignity, empathy, patience, and inclusivity (Stoughton 2016). Officers with a Guardian mindset are associated with compassion. They are believed to see themselves as community allies and protectors. Guardianship is associated with

attitudes that prioritize cooperation over control in police-civilian interactions ("communication priority", McLean et al. 2020). With preference for communication and cooperation, the Guardian mindset is believed to be associated with less police use-of-force misconduct and the building of public trust in law enforcement. The Guardian mindset is expected to inspire positive police-civilian relations and promote safety and wellbeing for all.

The Warrior/Guardian paradigm has sparked lively debate among law enforcement and community rights groups (Davis 2015; Blake 2016; Rahr and Rice 2015). However, there remains a lack of empirical evidence to indicate whether or how these mindsets operate within law enforcement. Limited evidence indicates that officers (in surveys) tend to report individual-level preferences for either physical force or communication in law enforcement situations (McLean 2020). A preference for physical force may be associated with the Warrior mindset, while a preference for communication may be associated with the Guardian mindset. It remains unclear what the Warrior/Guardian paradigm means to police. If the Warrior/Guardian paradigm is to be used as a framework for police cultural reform, do officers see it as a valuable pathway?

One significant limitation is that the Warrior/Guardian paradigm has developed outside of the law enforcement community. The paradigm represents a conceptualization of policing that the public projects onto officers. The present work brings officers into this conversation and leverages the Warrior/Guardian paradigm as a starting point for an exploration of how police identity meanings constitute police organizational culture and practice, its consequences, and its potential for change.

2.1.2 The Sheepdog Analogy

While the Warrior/Guardian paradigm developed outside of the law enforcement community, alternative concepts of policing and police-community relations have proliferated within. The most comprehensive alternative is characterized by the work of former Army ranger and professor of psychology at West Point, Lieutenant Colonel Dave Grossman (Grossman 2008; Grossman 2009). Grossman's books are required-reading within the Marine Corps, FBI academy, and police academies across the country. Over the last 20 years Grossman has regularly performed speaking engagements to propagate his concepts across law enforcement agencies. However, Grossman's ideas have been criticized by the public and law enforcement administrators for promoting the Warrior mindset (Smith & Williams 2016; Georgiades 2018; Hauptman 2021)

The Warrior/Guardian paradigm portrays police identity as a function of officer self-concept. On the other hand, Grossman describes police identity as a function of professional duties. To Grossman, all officers are fundamentally Warriors because all officers are in a war against criminals. Officers are obligated to confront life-threatening situations and, under appropriate circumstances, utilize lethal force. It is the Warrior's duty to confront lethal danger with lethal force. Those who fight and lose are "Victims", and those who avoid the fight are "Sheep".

> *"If you are in a war, you are a Warrior. There are only two types on the battlefield: Warriors and victims. Sheep avoid the battle or refuse to participate."* (Grossman 2009, p. 138).

Grossman further differentiates between "Good" and "Bad" Warriors. "Sheepdogs" are the Good Warriors who use violence to protect Sheep, or would-be Victims. "Wolves" are Bad Warriors who use violence to victimize Sheep. In Grossman's analogy, Police officers are the Good Warriors: the Sheepdogs who use righteous violence against Wolves to protect Sheep.

> *"Most citizens are kind, decent people who are not capable of hurting each other, except by accident or under extreme provocation. They are sheep. Then there are wolves… the wolves feed on the sheep without mercy… Then there are Sheepdogs… [who] live to protect the flock and confront the wolves…*
>
> *If you have no capacity for violence then you are a they and productive citizen: a sheep. If you have a capacity for violence and no empathy for your fellow citizens, then you have defined an aggressive sociopath- a wolf. But what if you have a capacity for violence, and a deep love for your fellow citizens? Then you are a Sheepdog"* (Grossman 2009, p. 180-181).

Like the Warrior/Guardian paradigm, the Sheepdog analogy suffers from lack of empirical evaluation. It is unknown whether and to what extent this conceptualization of policing informs police organizational practices and structure. Like the Warrior mindset, scholars have suggested that Grossman's framework may inspire hypervigilance and prime officers to use inappropriate force (Eisenberg 2023) particularly when Sheep are misidentified as Wolves (Lengbeyer 2021). Moreover, the

framework may provide a justification for "righteous" police violence against the perceived morally inferior (Langbeyer 2021).

In the present work, I address how officers associate meanings with Sheep, Wolve, and Sheepdog identities to examine how police roles guide police organizational behaviors. Moreover, the Sheepdog analogy serves as a comparator to the Warrior/Guardian paradigm. The Sheepdog analogy unifies police and differentiates between "good" and "bad" community members. On the other hand, the Warrior/Guardian paradigm unifies the community and differentiates between "good" and "bad" officers. I examine how these differences pattern the meanings that officers associate with the models and consider what the relational meanings between the models reveals about police organizational culture, practice, and change.

Ultimately, the Warrior/Guardian paradigm and Sheepdog analogy provide a foundation for examining the police identity meaning structure and its consequences. Analysis of these popular frameworks will speak to the academic understandings of police identity and culture.

2.2 The Study of Police Culture

Sociological and criminological research on police culture characterizes patterns of police values and behaviors. Foundational to these themes is the recognition that police culture is bound to a legal and institutional role structure that specifies appropriate performance while permitting significant discretion (Grimshaw and Jefferson 1987). Police culture may be understood as a function of the formal role expectations and occupational conditions that officer navigate, as well as the implicit norms and

standards that guide police perception and decision making (Campeau 2015; Engleson 1999).

Primary among the occupational conditions that guide police culture are danger, authority, efficiency (Skolnick 1994) and a "sense of mission" (Reiner 2010). Policing is dangerous. Officers maintain unique legal privileges such as the power to arrest and use force. Law enforcement is under public pressure to reduce crime and maintain order. This context situates officers as having a moral mandate to protect law and order by manifesting the state's values and traditions (Reiner 2010; Brogden 1988; Manning 1977).

Scholars have drawn on these foundations to make sense of the central themes within police culture. Police culture has been characterized by cynicism (Banton 1964; Chan 2003; Reiner 2010), suspicion (Rubinstein 1973; Holdaway 1983; Chan 2004; Loftus 2009; Cockcroft 2013; Charman 2017), solidarity (Clark 1965; Westley 1970; Reiner 1978; Crank 2004; Loftus 2009; Cockcroft 2013), masculinity (Graef 1989; Young 1991; Westmarland 2001, 2017; Silvestri 2017), and prejudice (Crank 2004, Skogan & Frydl 2004, Vitale 2017, Stelter et al. 2022). Despite these central themes, scholars recognize variation across regions (Banton 1964; Manning 1978; Liederbach and Frank 2003; Sun and Chu 2009; Stelter et al. 2022), ranks or organizational positions (Gerber 1996; Waddington 1999; Campeau 2015), and social positions (Gerber 2001; Rabe-Hemp 2008; LeCount 2017).

2.2.1 Cynicism

Officers enter stressful situations where they face potential or actual harm to themselves and others. Likewise, officers are often exposed to victims of crime, those

injured in accidents or by self-harm, those in critical health situations, and those subjected to poor social conditions including poverty and homelessness. Among officers, these experiences have been observed to influence a sense of pessimism or cynicism toward their career and society (Banton 1964; Reiner 2010). This cynicism appears to strengthen through repeated exposure to negative events throughout the career course (Chan 2003).

Police cynicism is associated with negative feelings toward the public (Reiner 2010; MacAlister 2004) and minority groups (Chan 2003) which are viewed as the source of crime and criticism against police. Police cynicism is also directed toward police administrators (Chan 2003) and the judicial system (Skolnick 1994; Punch 1978) which are viewed as limiting police and criminal justice efficacy. Politicians and the media are viewed as using crime and the appearance of police support for political or financial gain (Cockcroft 2013; Wilson 1968).

Police performance and wellbeing are impacted by cynicism. Distrust towards administrators and the criminal justice process is correlated with an enmity towards bureaucratic processes which demand paperwork, professionalism, and accountability (Reiner 2010; Crank 1998; Fielding 1988). Police cynicism is associated with a host of stress-related consequences including burnout (Carleton et al. 2019), feelings of inauthenticity and job dissatisfaction (Ricciardelli 2018), drug and alcohol abuse (Gilmartin 2002), divorce (Brown and Campbell 1990), and suicide (Violanti 1997).

2.2.2 Suspicion and Solidarity

The inherent danger of policing is also related to police suspicion and solidarity. The potential for danger and the blurred lines between ‘criminal’ and ‘noncriminal’

encourages officers to maintain suspicion toward the public (Skolnick 1994; Crank 1998). Suspicion is socialized as an integral part of 'police craft' in academy and field training to prepare officers for danger and improve investigative efficacy (Campeau 2015; Crank 1998). Central to suspicion is attention toward incongruity. Officers tend to be suspicious of events that appear 'out of place' or do not comport with their expectations of the social world (Mooney & Young 2000; Smith & Gray 1983; Reiner 1978).

The conditions that motivate suspicion of the public likewise motivate solidarity among officers. Solidarity among officers is generated from a shared sense of struggle against danger in law enforcement situations and against threat from public and administrative scrutiny (Whitaker 1964). Solidarity is strengthened as officers rely on one another for social support. Officers report a belief that the collectiveness of police culture allows officers to primarily and at times solely rely on each other because only another officer can understand what they go through (Brown 1988; Chan 1996). Likewise, the uniqueness of policing from other professions isolates officers from others who cannot relate (Paoline and Terrill 2014; Paoline 2003).

Together, suspicion and solidarity contribute to an 'us-versus-them' mentality which situates officers against the public, and in some instances, against police administrators (Boivin et al. 2020; Reiner 2010; Van Maanen 1978). This mentality may influence a greater likelihood of police use-of-force misconduct (Boivin et al. 2020). Likewise, it may limit police accountability and transparency. Studies have consistently identified a 'blue code' or 'blue wall of silence' where officers protect one another from public or administrative scrutiny, including from investigations of

misconduct (Punch 2009; Skolnick & Fyfe 1993; Fassin 2013; Chan 2003; Westmarland & Rowe 2016; Westmarland & Conway 2020).

2.2.3 Masculinity and Prejudice

Police culture maintains stereotypically masculine characteristics (Reiner 1992; Maguire and Norris 1994; Silverstri 2003), for instance, imagery of hunting and warfare (Heidensohn 1992). Officers express a preference for male coworkers because men are perceived to be more competent in managing dangerous use-of-force situations (Smith and Gray 1983; Punch 1985; Skolnick 1994). As such, male officers report avoiding emotional expression for fear of being perceived as feminine and incompetent (Pogrebin & Poole 1995; Martin 1994). Combined with the negative consequences of police cynicism on officer wellbeing, hegemonic masculinity is believed to influence underreporting and undertreatment of police mental health issues (Marshall et al. 2021) and a reliance on negative coping strategies including alcohol and drug use (Reiner 2010; Gilmartin 2002; Smith and Gray 1983).

Male officers tend to take on more highly valued roles within the institution and in law enforcement situations (Westmarland 2008). A test of officer personality attribution in patrol dyads found that male and higher rank officers tend to take on a more dominating disposition in law enforcement interactions. Inversely, female and lower rank officers tend to take on a more expressive or empathetic disposition (Gerber 1992, 2001). Consistent with this finding, Policewomen report electing lower-status community policing roles to avoid negative performance evaluations (Dick and Cassell 2004; Rabe-Hemp 2008).

Hegemonic masculinity within policing is associated with prejudiced perceptions and biased treatment of the public. Officers tend to emphasize the need to protect women civilians and minimize use of force against them (Holdaway 1983). Officers describe being motivated to protect civilian women in moral terms, rather than the legal terms they use for men (Emsley 1991; Rawlings 2002). Despite elevating the moral importance of protecting women, research indicates women victims are less likely to be trusted when reporting crime, particularly gendered crimes such as sexual violence (Geller & Fagan 2019; Payne et al. 2017; Krashka & Kappeler 1995).

Policing in the United States is a historically white profession (Cockcroft 2001). A wealth of scholarship notes the role of racial discrimination against minorities, particularly black people. Black Americans are more likely than white Americans to be stopped and searched (Stelter et al. 2022; Kramer & Remster 2018; Meares 2014; Gelman et al. 2007), perceived as verbally abusive or noncompliant (Geller & Fagan 2019) subjected to force (Legewie 2016; Lyle & Esmail 2016), and arrested (Western & Muller 2013). Black officers report intra-professional harassment form colleges and witnessing discriminatory speech and actions against the public (Wilson et al. 2015; Martin 1994). The intersection of blackness and maleness appears to operate as a symbol of threat within police culture (Remster et al. 2022; Reiner 2010).

2.2.4 Variation in Police Culture

Despite the central tendencies within police culture, which may characterize an "organizational ideal" (Conti 2010), scholars have identified variations or police *cultures* that vary across region, rank/role, and social position.

Research indicates that the location of the police agency informs officer biases and role behaviors. The organizational strategy of the agency, whether oriented toward community policing or broken windows policing may inform the use of force behaviors of officers within the agency (Wypulski & Champion 2012; Reisig 2010). The degree of racially biased enforcement within a department correlates with the county-level racial prejudices of the community (Stelter et al. 2022). Comparing US policewomen to non-US policewomen indicates that policewomen in the United States are less likely than others to select into "aggressive" roles, such as patrol or special weapons and tactics units (Sun & Chu 2008). These findings suggest that officer attitudes and behaviors are influenced by the social norms of both the agency and the area. However, police culture may also be influenced by regional structural differences, for instance, population density and wealth. Despite similar rates of crime, officers in smaller, rural, departments appear to spend more time community-building than enforcing compared to larger, urban departments (Liederbach & Frank 2003). Poorly funded agencies may rely more heavily on fine-and-fee revenue and therefore enforce more strictly than well-funded agencies (Beck 2023).

Officer organizational position may be associated with variations in police culture. Among patrol officers, higher ranked officers tend to be aggressive or masculine performing than lower ranked officers who take on a more empathetic disposition (Gerber 2001). However, the interpretation of police culture may vary by the context in which it is measured. For instance, patrol officers may appear more cynical and prejudiced when in private peer situations than when in public-facing situations (Hulst 2013; Waddington 1999). This may inform rank differences. Officers appear to be

divided by patrol culture and administrative culture, yet the majority of police culture research examines patrol culture. Patrol officers appear to be more cynical and traditional than police administrators due to economic differences, exposure to different occupational situations, and different social pressures (Reus-Ianni 1983).

Officer social position may also inform variety in police cultures. Policewomen are more likely to utilize cooperative rather than controlling policing strategies compared to policemen (Rabe-Hemp 2008; Gerber 2001). Black and white officers differ in their racial attitudes. Back officers express significantly less anti-black bias (although maintaining anti-black bias, LeCount 2017).

Notably missing from both the police culture literature is how police culture and public culture inform one another. Police culture research treats organizational culture as a unique set of characteristics that are largely devoid of the broader social context (Wesmarland 2008). Indeed, research on police socialization consistently argues that police academy and field training transforms civilians into officers in a way that supersedes a priori habitus: the once civilian becomes the 'organizational ideal'. Variation is treated as marginalized deviance from the central police culture that those seeking police culture change might reconstitute as the dominant. The underlying group processes that manage and reproduce police culture in light of variation remain unexamined.

In sum, the study of police culture provides a description and explanation for trends and variations in police attitudes and behaviors and underscores recognized social problems. The consequences of cynicism, problematized by hegemonic masculinity, impact both officer personal and professional wellbeing and the wellbeing of those who

depend on effective policing. Police prejudice directs unfair violence and criminal justice consequences against minority, usually Black, individuals and communities. An 'us-versus them' mentality which encourages a 'blue wall of silence' jeopardizes accountability and transparency which is necessary to address these problems. Moreover, the study of police culture informs an understanding of police-community relations.

2.2.5 Police-Community Relations

Examining police culture provides an understanding of police-community relations from the perspective of officers. Police cynicism indicates broad negative feelings toward the public, particularly the minority public. Police suspicion and intra-professional solidary constitute an 'us-versus-them' mentality which situates the public as the enemy of the police. Police prejudice places officers at great odds against minority communities. The implications of these cultural characteristics on police-community relations are recognizable: a biased us-versus-them mentality is likely to influence bias police misconduct and harm police-community relations. While these conclusions may be reasonable, research on police-community relations does not generally consider the values, attitudes, or norms of policing. Rather, studies of police-community relations primarily consider public perceptions of police.

Research on police–community relations emphasize the role of civilian attitudes toward police as a determinant of civilian cooperation and therefore officer behavior. Civilian attitudes toward police emerge from interactions with officers and shared narratives within communities. Studies taking this relational approach generally treat public trust and organizational legitimacy as the primary predictors of civilian

cooperation. Civilians gain a sense of trust towards police when officers are perceived as fair (Weitzer & Tuch 2005) and treat civilians with respect and dignity (Geller & Fagan 2019). Civilians maintain a sense of organizational legitimacy when the criminal justice system and officers' behaviors are believed to be procedurally just (Worden & McLean 2017, pp. 42–68).

Civilian perceptions of police vary by group. Black Americans tend to have a more negative perception of police than other racial groups. This negative perception has been attributed to negative contacts that occur between officers and Black people, particularly younger Black men and boys in lower- class and urban communities (Geller & Fagan 2019, Payne et al. 2017). Contact with other criminal justice institutions that follow from police–civilian interactions (indictment, litigation, incarceration) may likewise lead to negative contact and negative mental health outcomes that contribute to legal cynicism (Sugie & Turney 2017).

While research examining the mechanisms that influence civilian perceptions of police is valuable, the study of police-community relations is limited. This sample demonstrates that police-community relations research attends to how public perceptions can be managed, not the underlying structure of the relation. The literature does not address the *reciprocal* perceptions or feelings of police with others, rather it is concerned with the production of public cooperation and compliance.

A comprehensive analysis of police culture and police community relations demands the leveraging of contemporary sociological theories of identity. This involves investigating officers' "theory of people" (Mackinnon & Heise 2010) or how officers think and feel about themselves, their colleagues, and the public as a cognitive

network of identities or "identity schema" (Stryker & Serpe 1994). The narratives associated with these relational thoughts and feelings can inform an understanding of police behavior, the reproduction of police culture, and the maintenance of police-community relations. Moreover, it elucidates an affective substrate of policing constitutes, from the bottom up, organizational values and practices.

2.3 Police Culture as a Theory of People

The limitations of police culture and police-community relations research may be addressed by leveraging sociological theories of identity and emotion. Rather than framing police culture as a set of normative attitudes and behaviors among police, sociological theories of identity and emotion encourage us to consider police culture as a "cultural theory of people".

A cultural theory of people is constituted by the cognitive and affective meanings associated with labeled categories of people (noun and adjective) and their relations to one another in a semantic symbolic structure (Mackinnon and Heise 2010; Berger & Luckmann 1966). I use the term "cultural theory of people" to refer to the exhaustive set of labeled people and meanings within a cultural/linguistic group. Viewing police culture as a theory of people emphasizes how police culture is inextricably interwoven within the broader cultural context: police and nonpolice share a linguistic "classification system for categorizing and objectifying people" (MacKinnon & Heise 2010, p. 22). This perspective encourages the present investigation to consider the breadth of labeled people. "Warrior", "Guardian", "Wolf", "Sheep", "Sheepdog", and others reside together in a semantic space, but their relations to policing differ. The Warrior/Guardian analogy comes from nonpolice, while the

Sheepdog analogy has been fostered within. These differing directions draw the present work to broadly consider how social change operates through the emergence, competition, and loss of identity labels within culture and subculture.

I use the term "identity schemas" to refer to related subsets of labeled people and meaning. Identity schemas are the cognitive and affective organization of identities (Stryker & Serpe 1994) that are constituted by expectations about how categories of people will behave, termed "identity standards" (Burke & Stets 2009). In other words, culture can be characterized by how people understand identities and their relationship to one another. This work examines a diversity of identities, each grounded by a generalized relationship to "police".

How officers make sense of themselves and their colleagues as "police" and the public as "nonpolice" characterizes a most basic framework. However, understanding how officers make sense of their social world, and how that conceptualization guides police organizational rules and practices, requires an examination of officers' own descriptions of people and their relationships. Popular theories of police culture provide a starting point for an identity-grounded conceptualization of police culture. "Warriors", "Guardians", "Sheep", "Wolves", and "Sheepdogs" are identity categories that relate to one another in hypothesized police identity schemas.

Together, the cognitive and affective structure of police identity schemas may provide insight into a police theory of people that constitutes a conceptualization of police culture structured by language and meaning. The present work leverages popular theories of police culture to guide discussions with officers that reveal how they categorize, think, and feel about themselves and others. I begin by investigating how

officers understand and relate to the Warrior/Guardian paradigm and Sheepdog analogy. Then, I examine police role, race, and gender identity processes to develop a identity schema that is characterized by the intersection of police identities.

2.3.1 Identity

Officers come to understand themselves as police through formal socialization and everyday interactions. Police formal socialization begins in the training academy and continues through field training. Training instills technical competencies, an understanding of police role performance expectations, and a sense of what it means to be an officer (Campeau 2015). While police culture research tends to treat police colleagues, instructors, and supervisors as the source of police socialization, sociological research recognizes that all interactions and relations inform how individuals come to understand themselves and others (Mead 1934; Cooley 1902). As an officer embodies the police identity, the ways that others behave toward them reveal their social position, how they are expected to be treated, and how they are expected to treat others.

Theories of identity encompass a range of research that examine how social structures influence identities and behavior (Stryker 2002), how identities influence behavior in interactions (McCall and Simmons 1978), and how identities inform psychological processes within individuals that influence behavior (Burke and Stets 2009). An identity is a set of meanings attached to a self while in a particular role (i.e., patrol officer, police chief, Stryker 2004), group (i.e., race/gender, “the police” Stets and Burke 2000), or when comparing oneself to another (i.e., more/less competent, higher/lower status Burke and Stets 2009).

Identity standards, the meanings associated with identities, guide how individuals interpret situations and expect themselves and others to behave (Stets 2019; Stets & Burke 2014; Burke & Stets 2009). For instance, an officer can attach the meanings "protect and serve" or "law and order" to police identity. One who attaches "protect and serve" to police identity might associate policing with Guardianship and expect themselves to behave in ways that are more helpful, cooperative, or forgiving, while one who attaches "law and order" might associate policing with Warriorship expect themselves to behave in ways that are unsympathetic, forceful, or strict. These police identity associations may vary among officers and civilians, possibly based on the set of identities that they hold. Likewise, the identity meanings associated with civilians, police leadership, or other labeled persons may vary. The present work must consider how officers label and attach meaning to categories of people, and how these labels and meanings are associated with group relations and interactions.

Officers experience and enact police work through a lens of their multiple identities while situated in unique networks of communities and organizations. Officers are not just officers, they are local community members, family members, and members of various demographic, political, religious, or other groups. Differing identities among officers are expected to influence different behaviors. Identity theory predicts that individuals enact behaviors associated with an identity when the identity becomes activated in a situation (Stryker 2002). Identities are more likely to become active when an individual is more committed to that identity, or when the identity has greater psychological prominence. "Identity commitment" refers to the extent a person is tied to a specific identity in social networks, and the degree a person would feel discomfort

if they were no longer associated with that identity (Stryker 1981, 2002; Serpe 1987; Stryker and Serpe 1994). "Psychological prominence" refers to the value that an individual places on a specific identity relative to other identities they hold (Stryker and Serpe 1994; McCall and Simmons 1978).

The relationship between identity schemas and situational meanings influences identity activation. Roles that are related to one another as counter-roles (e.g, bully/victim) or related identities (e.g., child/playmate) are more likely to become active together (Stryker 2002; Stryker & Burke 2000). Identities that are congruent with the situational context are more likely to become active (Stets et al. 2020). Multiple identities may be activated simultaneously when identities share, or maintain separately, meanings that are relevant to a situation (Stets 1995).

The relationship between the set of identities and meanings that officers associate with themselves influences the identities that become active. The present work must consider how the intersection of identities informs differences in the probability of enacting particular identities in interactions, officers' attachment to police or other identities, and how this variation may reciprocally influence differences in group relations. For instance, how does hegemonic masculinity within police culture inform differences in the performances and experiences of policemen and policewomen? How does racial prejudice inform differences in the performances and experiences of Black and White officers? How does the intersection of police and gender/racial identities shape different types of police-police and police-nonpolice interactions? How might these differences inform the social meaning structure of policing?

Identity research demonstrates ways that identities interact to inform outcomes in group processes and relations (Hogg & Abrams 1988, Turner et al. 1987). Broadly, individuals tend to minimize within-group differences and maximize between-group differences, favor in-group members (Hogg et al. 2017; Brewer 2010) and experience a sense of competition between groups (Prislin et al. 2011). Together, these processes drive polarization; the magnification of the perceived and real difference in attitudes and evaluations between group members (Iyengar, Sood and Lelkas 2012). While police culture literature tends to focus on how polarization manifests in a police-versus-community mentality there is evidence that social identities also influence polarization among police. Gerber (2001) found that officers in two-partner patrol pairs tend to differentiate their role performances by relative rank. Higher ranked officers in a partnership tend to take on a stricter "enforcer" role, while lower ranked officers tend to take on a more sympathetic "protector" role. Martin (1994) found that Black female officers reported higher levels of workplace harassment than other officers, experiencing both sexual and racial discrimination from coworkers in the primarily White and male profession. Identities (e.g., rank, race, gender) serve as the basis for within-police differences in behavior and treatment. The ways that categories of officers think about, and interact with, categories of others serve as signals of identity variation; they point to behaviors and practices that structure social hierarchies. The present work must consider how the relationships between identity categories inform ingroup and outgroup interactions in both police-police and police-nonpolice relations.

In sum, the ways that officers categorize and assign meaning to different types of people provides insight into a police theory of people that guides patterns of

behaviors and group interactions/relations. Moreover, identities provide the skeleton upon which emotions are grafted. The relationship between identities and emotions can reveal the internal processes that motivate behaviors that challenge or reproduce the social structure of policing.

2.3.2 Emotions

Identity processes shape discrete emotions and social stress (Stets and Burke 2014). Identity-control research examines how both identity-consistent and identity-inconsistent experiences influence emotions and stress (Heise 2007; Burke and Stets 2009). Studies of familial identities (Burke and Harrod 2005) occupational identities (Stets and Asencio 2008; Stets and Osborn 2008), and moral identities (Burke and Stets 2014) have found that when individuals believe that others see them as failing to meet identity expectations, they experience negative emotions. However, when people believe that others see them as meeting or surpassing identity expectations, they experience positive emotions. In the context of policing and the present work, feelings act as indicators of expectations or standards associated with police identity, the relationship between police identity and other social identities, the distribution of psychological consequences associated with these relationships, and ultimately how emotion processes reproduce the social structure of policing.

Emotion processes manage the social structure through the distribution of feelings. Broadly, high or rising status or power is associated with positive emotions such as joy and pride, while low or diminishing status or power is associated with negative emotions like sadness and shame (Kemper 2011; Lucas & Lovaglia 1998). Stress process research indicates that people of varying social position experience and

react to stressors differently. Social stress exposure and social coping resources pattern the unequal distribution of feelings.

Studies on exposure demonstrate that people who hold disadvantaged social statuses such as women (Simon 2014; Lively et al. 2010) and those of lower socioeconomic status (McLeod 2013) experience more frequent distressing events and fewer pleasant events. Studies on vulnerability indicate that social positions moderate the effects of distressing events on wellbeing. For instance, studies find that men and women tend to engage in different coping styles (Simon and Nath 2004; Thoits 1991), men tend to have higher (more protective) self-esteem than women (Thoits 2010; McMullin and Cairney 2004) but less social support (Turner and Turner 1999). These differences are associated with differences in response to equal stressors. Women tend to be more reactive to family-related stressors while men tend to be more reactive to employment-related stressors (Conger et al. 1993; Simon and Lively 2010). Consistent with these studies, research on minority stress emphasizes how exposure to stigma, discrimination, and prejudice elevates risks to mental and physical well-being (Williams et al. 1997; Meyer 2003; Rostosky et al. 2009).

Identity and stress process research indicates that police officers of varying social position are likely to experience and react to stressors differently. Minority officers are likely to be exposed to more or different distressing events, respond differently from their majority colleges, and have access to different coping resources. Officers who are more exposed to occupational stressors and are more vulnerable to negative stress consequences including feelings of burnout and inauthenticity within their role (MacKinnon and Heise 2010; Stryker and Gottleib 1981). The present

research interrogates how police theory of people is bound to emotion processes. Moreover, it considers how these emotion processes act to manage a particular social structure within policing.

An understanding of police identity stress becomes more critical when considering police-community and police-community relations. Police-community differences in police identity expectations may drive differences in the quality of police-police and police-nonpolice interactions. For instance, White officers are more racially biased than Black officer and White/Black nonofficers (LeCount 2017). This difference may correlate to White officers experiencing more negative emotions in police-community interactions than Black officers. How might differences in the emotional outcomes of police-community relations influence police-police relations? The present project must consider how officer social positions are associated with differences that influence the quality of interactions with the public. Moreover, it must consider how social proximity, or the degree of similarity and difference, between categories of police and the community reciprocally influence police culture.

2.4 Police Departments as Identified Organizations

The present work contributes to the public and scholarly discourse on police culture and the role of identity processes in the negotiation and reproduction of organizational practices. I address why despite nearly a decade of community engagement and police reform efforts guided by the Warrior/Guardian paradigm, there remains little evidence of police culture change and rates of racially disproportionate police misconduct remain a social problem. I consider how a popular theory that has developed among police might provide insight into police culture and the underlying

structure of policing. I bring sociological theories of identity into the study of police culture and police-community relations to conceptualize how police and public culture reciprocally manage the social structure of policing; including the reproduction of misogyny, racism, and an 'us-versus-them' mentality that impedes justice by suppressing accountability and transparency.

This work is also a contribution to a theory of racialized organizations. Drawing on structural theories of race (Bonilla-Silva 1997; Sewell 1992; Jung 2015), Ray (2019) argues that "organizations are racial structures- cognitive schemas connecting organizational rules to social and material resources" (p.26). Racialized organizations are the battleground where feelings manifest social inequity. As such, racialized organizations are "central to the contestation over racial meaning, the social construction of race, and stability and change in the racial order" (p.46).

Chapter 3: Methods

3.1 Research Questions

The aim of this work is both theoretical and applied. I seek to understand how the broader cultural context contributes to diversity in organizational members' conceptualizations of organizational culture, and how these differences motivate group processes that reciprocally pattern organizational structure. In the context of policing, I seek to understanding the ways that officers conceptualize patterns of police-community and police-police relationships, and how these relationships organize policing practices that constitute policing inequity, stability, and change. To do this, I draw upon identity and emotion sociology to characterize police culture as a "theory of people" or a set of identity schemas that characterize types of people, the performances that are expected of them, and the treatment or social resources that they deserve. I ask, *how do identity schemas connect organizations to the broader social context to shape organizational practices and the distribution of social resources that contribute to social stability and change?*

I examine this question in the context of policing. I ask, what are the schemas? *How do officers categorize and associate identity meanings to different types of police officers and civilians?* I use the popular theories of the Warrior/Guardian paradigm and the Sheepdog analogy as starting points, then consider how police social and role identities pattern and operate as schemas.

I ask, *how do police identity schemas relate to police feelings and behaviors, the quality of police-police and police-community interactions, and the distribution of social resources including status, stress, enforcement, and accountability?* What are

the schema-related practices and their consequences? How do the ways that officers categorize people shape enforcement practices, police accountability and transparency?

Finally, I ask *how might these identity, emotion, and behavior processes contribute to the social structure of policing and perpetuate inequity?* In what ways is the schema-practice-consequence order fixed or negotiable? How can an analysis of police identity schemas, organizational practices, and the distribution of social resources inform a theory of identified organizations and a theory of police culture change?

3.2 Design

To address these research questions, I use semi-structured interviews with fifty officers from seven police departments representing a range of race and gender identities, police rank, units, and regions. This approach allows for an in-depth exploration of the varieties and complexities of police identities, relations, and practices. I employ purposive sampling to ensure a diverse representation of experiences and perspectives within the police force.

Interviews took place between 2018 and 2021 in the context of a broader IRB-approved research program organized by University of Maryland, Department of Sociology's Lab for Applied Social Science Research. The program took place within the Lab's space on the university campus, in police facilities, or virtually. The program involved an interview, a survey, and a virtual reality simulation experiment (demonstration if virtual). 138 officers participated in at least one portion of the program (interview, survey, or experiment). Due to time constraints or lack of consent, fifty officers participated in the interviews. The primary goals of the program were to evaluate police decision-making bias in law enforcement situations and evaluate the

efficacy of virtual reality as a tool for police training and social science research. The secondary goal was to collect data for each co-investigator's research agenda. The data for the present study primarily comes from questions I included for my own work.

The program was carried out by two professors, two graduate research assistants, and a group of undergraduate research assistants. I acted as the lead graduate research assistant and was involved with every aspect of the program. In collaboration with colleagues, I designed the thematic interview guide and survey instrument; carried out experiments, conducted interviews, and administered surveys; coordinated undergraduate assistants to perform the experiments and administer the surveys; and managed data and participants as they moved throughout the lab space.

The data used for the present project come from the interviews, however, my participation in this broader program inevitably influences my analyses. As such, this project leverages an informed grounded theory approach (Thornberg 2012). This framework provides a systematic, flexible, and transparent structure for exploring key themes that emerged through my interactions. I examine officers' descriptions of police identity, their interpersonal relationships within the force and with the community, perceptions of policer roles and responsibilities, and the impact of policing culture and experiences on individuals' attitudes, feelings, and behaviors. Further, I examine how my social position, formal and informal interactions with officers, and the situational context of an interview may inform officers' responses and paint my analyses.

Central to the interview process is the utilization of the Warrior/Guardian paradigm. This paradigm offers a structure for discussing categories of police identities. By engaging participants in discussions about their understanding of the paradigm and

their enactment of Warrior and Guardian identities, I aim to uncover the ways in which it shapes their perception of their profession, decision-making processes, and interactions with the public. Moreover, this dialogue structure is repeated as officers discuss different categories of police, for instance, higher/lower rank, Black/White, male/female, and older/younger. Likewise, it is repeated as officers discuss different categories of non-police, for instance, supporter/critics or criminals/victims.

In line with grounded theory methodology, data analysis involves iterative coding and thematic categorization of patterned interview responses, recurring themes, and divergent perspectives among participants. I utilize NVivo, a qualitative analysis software, to facilitate data organization and interpretation. Intercoder reliability was established with the collaboration of an undergraduate research assistant who was not involved in data collection.

Analysis also involves explicit reflexivity, evaluating the influence I exerted on data production and analysis, and the influence officers exerted on me. The thoughts and emotions that emerged as officers shared their professional struggles and perspectives on law enforcement conduct are examined. Special attention is given to how engagement with hundreds of officers over more than three years has challenged or influenced my beliefs.

Last, I critically engage with existing organizational research on police culture and structure, and sociological research on identity, emotions, and group processes. I compare the findings with popular theories and empirical research to identify response categories that are consistent with, or contradict, findings within the field. By situating this analysis within the broader theoretical landscape, I aim to contribute to theoretical

research on the relationship between identity and organizational processes, provide an identity-grounded conceptualization of police culture, and inform evidence-based strategies for fostering positive organizational change and effective policing practices.

3.3 Data Collection

Data come from one-on-one, in-depth, semi-structured interviews that took place from 2018 to 2021. The interviews were conducted either virtually, at a police facility, or in a lab space at the University of Maryland. Participants were active sworn law enforcement officers. Myself and three other co-investigators conducted the interviews, which were recorded and transcribed. Participants were generally matched to interviewers by race and gender. I primarily interviewed White male officers; however, I also interviewed a handful of others due to logistical constraints.

The interviews were situated in the context of a broader program that involved an interview, a survey, and a virtual reality simulation experiment (demonstration if virtual). Participants were exposed to the virtual reality simulation first, then the survey, and the interview was last. The data collection process lasted about 1.5 hours on average. Officers were financially compensated for their participation.

The interviews contained a range of topics, some of which are not used in the present study. The interview topics used in this study include police identity and culture, police-community relations, race relations, mental health, and enforcement tactics/strategies. See the appendix for a complete list of the questions.

In the “police identity and culture” section, officers were asked about the identity meanings and relations that they associate with “Warrior” and “Guardian” identities. They were asked whether they identify as a Warrior or Guardian. They were

asked if they thought the Warrior/Guardian paradigm was characteristic of police culture and useful for police reform efforts. Participants were asked if there are any other ways to characterize police culture. Through this question, the Sheepdog analogy emerged. Questions about the Sheepdog analogy were added as it became relevant.

Further, officers were asked about their perceptions of police culture, their department's culture, their relationship to these cultures, and how these cultures relate to policing attitudes and practices. In describing these cultures, participants were asked to provide specific examples of the policies and practices that characterize the cultures. Participants were asked to reflect on the similarities and differences between cultures, and how the relationship affects their experience navigating each. Particular attention was given to how race, gender, and role informed their relationships and experiences. The discussion provoked in this section addressed whether officers recognized separate police identity meanings, and how their identity informs their experience of and adherence to standards and practices.

The "police community relations" section addressed the identity labels and meanings that officers associate with types of nonpolice and how those perceptions related to interactions. The police-community relation section examined officers' relation to "the community that you work in" and the border national/political/media context. Participants were asked to describe what "community" means to them, and to describe the community that they work in. Participants discussed the expectations that they believe the community holds, and how those expectations differ relate to their own.

In the “race and policing” section, participants were asked about the quality of the police-community relations and interactions, and how the relationship could be harmed or improved. Participants were asked about their attitudes towards social movements including the defund and abolition movements, Black Lives Matter, and blue lives matter. The race and policing section concluded with a discussion of police shootings of unarmed Black people, its representation in the media, and what, if anything, police should do about police shootings of unarmed Black people. After the killing of George Gloyd in 2020, questions about Derek Chauvin’s conduct and related protests were added here. Likewise, After the January 6th, 2021, event at the US Capitol Building, questions about officer perceptions of event were added.

In the final section, “policing tactics and strategies”, participants were asked how they identify suspicious behavior while patrolling and how they respond to different types of behavior. They discussed how they decide to use discretion, and how they decide to use force. Interviews concluded with a discussion of whether the officer always wanted to be a police officer, why they became a police officer, and why they remain a police officer.

3.4 Participants

Fifty officers were recruited using non-random sampling methods. The objective of sampling was to capture the range of racial, gender, and occupational positions. This was achieved by underrepresenting White, Male, and Patrol Officers. Officers from the Midwest (5) and Mid-Atlantic (12) regions were recruited using

snowball-sampling. Officers from the Southern (33) region were recruited using purposive quota sampling.

Region	Count	Percent
South	33	66
Midwest	9	18
Mid-Atlantic	8	16
Total	50	100

Fourteen police occupational positions are represented, ranging from the lowest to the highest rank, Patrol Officer to Chief. Patrol officers make up the majority of the sample (10, 20%), but are successfully underrepresented, followed by Police Instructors (7, 14%), Detectives (6, 12%), and Sergeants (5, 10%). Patrol officers are intentionally under-represented.

Occupational Position	Count	Percent
Patrol Officer	10	20
Police Instructor	7	14
Detective	6	12
Sergeant	5	10
Chief	4	8
Recruitment Officer	4	8
Outreach Officer	3	6
Captain	2	4
Corporal	2	4
Internal Affairs	2	4
K9 Officer	2	4
Command Staff	1	2
Lieutenant	1	2
SWAT	1	2
Total	50	100

Another way to characterize officer organizational positions is by their role. 52% of participants perform an "enforcement" role (Patrol Officers, Detectives, Sergeants, Corporals, and K9 Officers). 20% perform an "administrative" role (Chief, Captain, Internal Affairs, Command Staff, Lieutenant). 14% perform a "community oriented" role (Outreach Officer, Recruitment Officer). 14% are police instructors.

Role	Count	Percent
Enforcement	26	52
Administration	10	20
Community Oriented	7	14
Instructor	7	14
Total	50	100

Race	Count	Percent
White	27	54
Black	19	38
Other	4	8
Total	**50**	**100**

Gender	Count	Percent
Male	39	78
Female	11	22
Total	50	100

White officers (54%) are successfully underrepresented, and Black officers are overrepresented (38%). Given the small sample size of "other" racial identities, this project will primarily attend to Black-Whtie racial differences. Male officers (78%) are modestly underrepresented while Policewomen (22%) are modestly overrepresented. Most participants are White Policemen (48%), followed by Black Policemen (24%), Black Policewomen (14%), and White Policewomen (6%).

Race	**Gender**		
	Male	Female	**Total**
White	24	3	27
Black	12	7	19
Other	3	1	4
Total	39	11	50

3.5 Analytic Strategy

A third-party service transcribed the interviews, and I performed three rounds of coding using NVivo, a qualitative data analysis software. An intercoder reliability check was applied on the final round. Results were reported, then a reflexive analysis of the findings was performed. The final analysis involved relating the initial findings to one another and to the reflexive analysis.

The initial coding was "structural". I categorized and described interview responses that address the interview questions about Police identity and culture, the Warrior and Guardian paradigm, and the Sheepdog analogy. I identified and labeled themes associated with Police identity, Warrior/Guardian identity, and Sheepdog identity. This broadly characterized the meanings and contexts associated with identities; however, deeper analysis was needed to find connections to related themes.

The second round of coding involved connecting related themes and categories identified in the first round. I connected characterizations of identities, their attributes, situational contexts, and emotions. This included categories like "law enforcement situation", "violence", "trauma", and "criminal". I stopped relating codes at the point where there was no clear association. From there, I structurally coded the rest of the of the relevant sections.

An undergraduate research assistant volunteered to perform a reliability check. She independently coded the "police identity and culture" and "mental health" interview sections. Once she was complete, we compared codes and negotiated interpretations. Codes that were in accordance were maintained.

Chapters four, five, and six report the results of the interview analysis. In chapter seven, I provide a reflexive analysis that addresses how my social position, beliefs, personality, and numerous formal and informal experiences with hundreds of officers throughout my research career,

3.6 Reflexivity

I am a White man who grew up in the suburbs of Cleveland, Ohio. I was in my late 20s during data collection. Although my friends have shared traumatic stories involving law enforcement, neither myself nor my family have ever experienced a negative interaction with an officer nor received more than a traffic citation (although I have had the opportunity). As I compare my experiences to those of my friends, I get the impression that I have been advantaged. Seeing my friends disadvantaged, I am critical of police bias and violence.

This sentiment strengthened in 2015 as I conducted my first ethnographic study with the University of Cincinnati Police Department. My goal was to understand how racial socialization operates in the training of student security workers by university police officers. In spring 2015, I conducted interviews and was trained to surveil the campus in ways that associated Blackness with university outsiders and criminality. During this time, I met Officer Ray Tensing. Officer Tensing and I were friendly. We shared interests and, like me, he was a young White man from an Ohio suburb. On July 19th, 2015, Officer Ray Tensing fatally shot Samuel DuBose, an unarmed Black man, during a routine traffic stop. Tensing was wearing a Confederate flag under his uniform at the time of the killing.

The university police enacted a campus-wide lockdown the day that the body-worn camera footage showing Tensing's misconduct was released. The footage sparked justified outrage. Rallies, protests, and vigils were held at the university and across the city. I was horrified and angered by the killing and the university's response. I felt confused and guilty that I had such congenial interactions with Tensing in the months prior. Simultaneously, I felt inspired by the community's advocacy for police reform. Reflecting on my research, I realized that I could use my social position to gain access, build rapport, and study White spaces in ways that others cannot. It became my mission to use my education, skills, and position to mitigate inequity in law enforcement and beyond.

The work presented here represents my commitment to advance police research and reform. The relationships that I have developed with officers through this program represent the leveraging of my position. I aimed to put my criticism aside and maintain a neutral or passively supportive attitude when interacting with officers. I leaned into my naivety and genuine interest in policing practices. I expressed appreciation to officers for their professional expertise and personal sacrifice.

My interactions with officers through this program were generally cordial. Outside of interviews, I bantered and shared tobacco with officers as they waited to participate. When they described "war stories", I recounted dangerous situations that I have encountered (although my experiences paled in comparison). We discussed mutually interesting topics including public attitudes toward police, guns, and motorcycles. I found that these rapport building strategies lead officers to sincerely share their policing experiences and concerns in interviews.

Despite this fraternization, I remained an outsider. Some officers recognized that I am ignorant of policing. They used the interview as an opportunity to explain or justify their practices and perspectives. Although I found some descriptions disagreeable, I valued those conversations as honest representations of their feelings and ideology. Other officers seemed to assume that the goal of the research was to identify and persecute biased officers. Although they were assured of their anonymity and that the work would be used to bring their voice into the scholarly discourse, some participants provided thin, brief, responses or refused to be interviewed. On one occasion, I teased a small group of officers to encourage their participation. I felt particularly like an outsider when they lashed out in offense.

The sample of officers included in this study are those who were willing to discuss police-community relations and public criticism of racialized police violence. Indeed, some officers, particularly Black and female officers, enjoyed the opportunity to express their criticisms of policing and offer their vision of what policing could be. These interviews felt relaxed compared to those with officers who were more supportive of traditional police conduct. Although I responded similarly to each type of officer, it became clear that more progressive officers felt comfortable with the research program while more traditional officers felt defensive.

Conversations with officers about the Warrior/Guardian paradigm are characterized by two types of experiences. On one hand, I was made to feel naïve as officers reacted to the paradigm as a veiled attack on police use-of-force or as an oversimplified outsider perspective of policing. This experience was generally related to interviews with officers who identified as Warriors, or neither/both Warriors and

Guardian. These officers used the question as an opportunity to justify police use-of-force as necessary and compassionate, or to explain that policing fundamentally entails both hard power strategies as warriorship and soft power strategies as guardianship. I recall feeling particularly naïve when Police Instructor Chistopher overtly rejected the Warrior/Guardian paradigm as a foreign and irrelevant concept to officers:

> *"If you want to call an officer a Guardian or a Warrior then know, that's a term that other folks* [non-police] *have tried to assign. I don't know any officers who claim to be one or the other. I don't. I have yet to run into to an officer who says, "I'm officer such and such and I'm a Warrior."*
>
> - Police Instructor Christopher, White, Male, Southern

This feeling contrasted with a sense of hope I experienced when officers who generally identified as Guardians treated the paradigm as a model for police reform. Like public proponents of the Warrior/Guardian paradigm, those officers described guardianship as the progressive future of American policing. I experienced this sense of hope when Chief Catlin stated,

> *"The public demands it* [reform]*. I don't get caught up in the abolitionist movement. You need the police, right? But the demand for accountability, the demand for transparency. We have the technology. I mean, you can't lie about the stuff that's depicted on body cameras or cell phones. So, I think there's going to be necessary reforms. I'm excited for what the future holds for the profession."*
>
> - Chief Catlin, Black, Male, Midwestern

These conflicting experiences left me with a cynical impression that the Warrior/Guardian paradigm provides false hope: the guardian police force that the public demands is impossible because warriorship is fundamental to policing. This contradiction led to a sense that guardianship operates as a police rebranding strategy, not as a cultural reform effort. I became suspicious that some officers identified as Guardians, not because they see themselves as Guardians, but because it circumvents a negative association with violence. Officers reveal a recognition that violence is indispensable to policing and that guardianship is socially desirable. Following a reflexive strategy, I lean into these types of feelings and impressions to guide conversations and analysis throughout this study.

Through relations and discussions that invoke the range of officer responses, I have become familiar with a diversity of policing perspectives and practices. My friends joke that I have developed "cop brain" or the capacity to think like officers. While my training, experience, and professional background are distant from policing, I acknowledge that I have been influenced. I have become more mindful of personal safety and attentive to dangerous situations. However, I am also mindful of the potential for having learned problematic lessons. I find it easy to avoid a sense of generalized fear that some officers espoused. This may be because I am not exposed to the types of situations that officers regularly encounter. I am more concerned with the ways that officers justify violence. I can hardly imagine justifying violence in the most extreme circumstances. Officers challenged me to consider the justification of violence in seemingly less extreme situations.

In chapter seven, I summarize the interview findings section and emphasize areas where I recognize how my own perceptions informed the analysis. I reflect on the thoughts or feelings that may be associated with the content itself, experiences in data collection or analysis, and reactions to results or their implications. After summarizing and reflecting on the work, I integrated the findings into a systematic whole that is informed by reflexive insight.

Chapter 4: Findings 1 – Warriors and Guardians

"Some days I'm a Guardian, because I took this kid, and reported to CPS because they are in a bad home, or their house caught on fire and I'm there to give them a stuffed animal. Some days I'm a Warrior in battle because I'm in a fight with someone who just beat up their girlfriend and they don't want to go to jail."

- Police Instructor Laura, White, female, Southern

In this chapter, I examine the meanings and relationships associated with Warrior and Guardian police identities. What does it mean to be a Warrior or Guardian police officer? To what extent do officers identify themselves with Warrior and Guardian identities? How do Warrior and Guardian police identities interact with officers' understanding of their profession and relationships with colleagues and the community? In sum, I investigate how the Warrior/Guardian paradigm may characterize a police identity schema that guides policing practices and the distribution of social resources.

I find that officers broadly conceptualize Warriors as those strong, brave, aggressive, officers who go after "criminals". Warriors are associated with the hard power of police social control and with racial bias. They are characterized as problem with police violence, bias, and police-community relations. Guardians are conceptualized as those friendly officers who foster positive police-community relations. Guardians are associated with cooperation and persuasion or the soft power of police social control. They are associated with racial progress and the mitigation of

violence within policing. They are characterized as the "solution" to police-community relations.

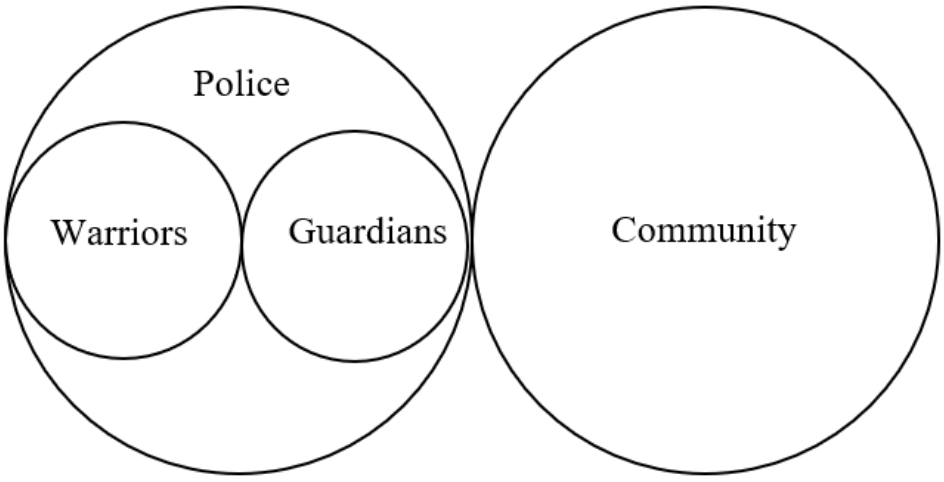
While many officers I interviewed identify as a Warrior or Guardian, other officers identify as both or neither. Rather than appearing as an all-encompassing police cultural orientation, the Warrior/Guardian paradigm appears to describe two faces of policing. The paradigm provides insight into how officers' duty to both enforce as Warriors and protect as Guardians reciprocally shapes officer identity meanings of self and others.

Ultimately, the Warrior/Guardian paradigm portrays how police identity is bifurcated along the law enforcement role structure. Officers who are associated with use of force to are ascribed Warriorship, officers who are not associated with use of force are ascribed Guardianship. However, this labeling is not static. Throughout the workday or the career course, Warrior and Guardian identities become situationally activated. Officers tasked with more dangerous or enforcement-oriented roles such as SWAT, drug, or gang assignments are more concerned physical safety and control; the Warrior identity is salient. Conversely, the Guardian identity appears to become active among officers who are tasked with community or service-oriented roles such as community policing or administration. While officers' assignments shape the identities that they embody, officers likewise appear to attach different degrees of psychological prominence or commitment to one identity or the other. The ways that officers see themselves and others guides their performance of police identity.

Many officers assert that law enforcement necessarily includes both Warrior and Guardian policing. Police must foster cooperation to serve and protect the community.

However, officers must also be prepared to manage situations when cooperation fails. In other words, police hard-power is necessary, but police soft-power is efficient. A broader understanding of the Warrior/Guardian paradigm reveals how both the organizational functions associated Warrior and Guardian policing are integral to effective police social control. Such an understanding challenges the call to transform police culture from the Warrior mindset to the Guardian mindset: To demand officers abandon the Warrior identity is to demand that officers no longer perform control functions inherent in policing. Moreover, embracing Guardianship may not necessarily do away with biases embedded in criminal justice. Glorifying Guardians as ideal and unbiased officers and demonizing Warriors as biased brutes may be counter-productive in the efforts to change police culture and improve police-community relations. In this way, the Warrior/Guardian paradigm is an interpretation of policing that fails to adequately map onto the police role structure. Therefore, it may inform our understandings of police culture and its mechanisms for change, but it may not be a path to police cultural reform.

Fig 1. The Warrior/Guardian Identity Schema



The figure above displays a model of the Warrior/Guardian identity schema. The Warrior/Guardian police identity schema divides officers into two categories: Warriors and Guardians. The schema makes no categorical distinctions within the non-police community. Within this framework, each group can be understood to have a perception and relation to each other. For instance, an officer who identifies as Warrior maintains certain emotional and cognitive understandings (identity meanings) of Warriors, Guardians, and the community. Just as each group has a perception of each group, each group maintains a perception of how they believe each group views them. These meanings describe how officers understand each identity and their relations to others. They guide how officers think, feel, and behave towards themselves and members of each group. As such, making sense of how officers see themselves, others, and how others see themselves, provides insight into officers' thoughts, feelings, and behaviors.

Of the officers I spoke with, 47% self-identified as Guardians, 9% identified as Warriors, 29% identified as both, and 15% identified as neither. This skew toward Guardian and away from Warrior identification may be an artifact of the politicization of the Warrior/Guardian paradigm. Officers who are familiar with the Warrior/Guardian paradigm seem to recognize the stigmatization of Warriors and social desirability of Guardians as described by the Task Force on 21st Century Policing. Further, the high proportion of officers who identify as neither or both suggests that the Warrior/Guardian identity schema may not be fully relevant to them or fails to capture independent identity constructs. Indeed, this is demonstrated in a previous survey that indicates Warrior and Guardian attitudes are correlated. Officers

who strongly hold Warrior attitudes are more likely to also hold Guardian attitudes strongly (McLean et al. 2019).

In the following sections, I examine how officers categorize themselves and understand the characteristics and relationships of Warriors and Guardians. I describe officers' interpretation of Warrior and Guardian identity characteristics and highlight the positive and negative, supportive and critical, ways that officers evaluate these characteristics. I describe how officers interpret and identify with the characteristics of Warriors and Guardians, their attitudes, feelings, and relationship to the community. After, I examine the perceptions of officers who describe themselves as both Warriors and Guardians, and of those who identify as neither Warrior nor Guardian. This chapter concludes with a discussion of how the Warrior/Guardian paradigm helps us to understand police culture and police cultural reform. Ultimately, the Warrior Guardian identity schema provides a foundation for understanding police culture and provides insight into how identity schemas structure organizational rules, behaviors, and the distribution of social resources.

4.1 What is a Warrior?

The idea of a Warrior invokes images of a well-trained and disciplined soldier who is motivated to fight an enemy. A Warrior may hold certain values, such as those of the US Army: loyalty, duty, respect, selfless service, honor, integrity, and courage. A Warrior risks their life, perhaps even sacrifices their life, to fulfil their duties. These are the types of characteristics I anticipated as I asked participants to describe a Warrior officer. The officers I spoke with, however, were less concerned with abstract Warrior

images and values. To these officers, Warrior policing is not a distant ideal but an active part of their professional life.

I identify four characteristics that officers associate with Warrior police: combat orientation, violent compassion, traditionality, and prejudice. Aside from prejudice, officers describe "good" and "bad" aspects in each. Taking the good and leaving the bad might characterize the ideal righteous Warrior officer, while maintaining the bad might characterize a corrupt Warrior cop. I make no distinction and treat both positive and negative elements as characteristic of the Warrior officer. The first four subsections below describe each of these characteristics.

Officers describe how the Warrior mindset shapes the Warrior's perception of the community and their emotional experiences. Warrior officers are aware of the possibility of danger in all situations. As such, Warriors see non-officers as potential threats. Consequently, Warrior police are highly vigilant both on and off duty. Officers associate this vigilance with the preservation of themselves and their loved ones, but they also recognize such vigilance as a constant stressor. The fifth and sixth subsections below describe how the Warrior mindset relates to perceptions of the community and officer feelings.

While any officer may maintain a Warrior mindset, the mindset appears to be most strongly associated with older and more masculine officers, particularly those with special assignments in which use-of-force is more prevalent. Indeed, the only officers to self-identify as Warriors work within use-of-force training and special assignments which require additional training and competency in use-of-force (i.e., SWAT, K9, gang, drug, and riot control teams).

4.1.1 Combat Orientation

Past literature identifies "control priority" as the primary distinguishing characteristic of Warrior police. Control priority refers to Warriors' central attention to maintaining physical control over subjects during law enforcement interactions (McLean et al. 2019; Stoughton 2016; Rahr and Rice 2015). Conversations with officers indicate that this Warrior characteristic extends beyond the law enforcement interaction and informs Warrior identity, attitudes, behavior, and feelings more broadly. I term this more holistic concept of control priority "combat orientation".

Combat orientation appears to be the most defining feature of the Warrior mindset. Combat orientation refers to the perception that a use-of-force situation will occur, and when it does, the officer must be capable of effectively using force to control the subject and mitigate harm to themselves or other potential victims. Officers with a combat orientation must be willing and able to resolve a situation in which someone resists them or threatens violence. Officer Jack, a police training coordinator, and self-identified Warrior with 16 years' experience in a southern metropolitan police department, explains the central themes of the combat orientation; the expectation of resistance and the determination to overcome it:

> *"We are involved in situations where we have to fight, where we have to take a life, where we have to chase people. The Warrior mindset is, "we're not going to quit if we're in a fight. We will win the fight. If somebody runs, we will chase them."*
>
> - Police Instructor Jack, White, Male, Southern

Michael, an unarmed-combat training instructor, self-described Warrior, and coworker of Jack with nearly 10 years of law enforcement experience similarly describes the combat orientation of the Warrior mindset. To Micheal, the officer's job is to *"survive"* and *"vanquish the bad guys"*, in other words, "win the fight". However, whereas Jack explains that officers face threatening situations, Michael generalizes the threat. A dangerous situation may involve dangerous individuals, but a *"hostile environment"* implies a hostile community.

> *"Warrior policing is that we are soldiers put into a hostile environment and our job is to survive that and vanquish the bad guys."*
>
> - Police Instructor Michael, White, Male, Southern

To these Warriors, the Warriorship is rooted in the perception that situations will occur in which it is the officers' duty to physically outcompete a resisting, violent, or "hostile" subject. The key elements of this conception are that violent adversaries are present, they will attack, and Warriors must fight and win. Accepting this hostile "reality", a Warrior officer must be adequately prepared.

To prepare for the perceived inevitable conflict, Warriors focus on training. Officer Christopher, another instructor who works with Jack and Michael instructs a course entitled "Warrior Survival Training". Christopher teaches officers to be aggressive and competent in combat-relevant skills including general fitness, the ability to identify potential threats, and the use defensive, non-lethal, and lethal tactics. He explains, *"we train people [officers] to protect themselves and save the lives of themselves and others.*

It takes a certain amount of aggression to make sure that happens." The Warrior is trained to be skilled and aggressive to survive and outcompete resistance. To Christopher, Warrior police are more dedicated to their combat preparation. *"Warrior officers train more and tend to read books and study jujitsu and different techniques."* The Warriors put extra effort into preparing for success against resistance.

Beyond accepting and preparing for combat, Warriors possess the ability to remain calm in stressful situations. Training coordinator Jack explains that Warriors can handle stress and *"embrace chaos."*

> *"There're people who handle stress well and there're people who don't. There're Warriors who embrace chaos and like it. That's why they got into policing, right? To be in the middle of the action. And some people don't, that's not why they got into policing."*
>
> - Police Instructor Jack, White, Male, Southern

A Warrior maintains composure in the face of stressful policing situations. For some officers, this embrace of chaos goes beyond remaining calm under pressure and ventures into revelry. Officer Thompson, a self-described Warrior, firearms instructor, and special assignment officer in the protest and riot control unit in a southern metropolitan police department, describes his experience at a George Floyd protest which evolved into a riot (as defined by the department's administrators). While other officers in his department described the situation as scary, Thompson describes it as

fun, exciting, and as a high. More than remaining calm, Warrior officer Thompson reveled in the chaos.

> *"It was wild. It was like the apocalypse. To be honest, most people that join the police, like yeah, you want help your community and help people, but it's fun, it's fun job at times. Getting in foot pursuits and chasing vehicles and all this stuff, it's fun, it's exciting. Although it was very stressful, it was very exciting. It was a high. […]*
>
> *An officer's lying to you if they tell you they don't get anxious going to hot calls. It's an excitement. If there's a hot call that goes out, a shooting or a stabbing or a, an armed robbery that just happened, we want to get there and get there when the person's still there and catch them. That's the fun part of the job, "I got them" or "I'm chasing them" or something. The excitement aspect, but they also would be lying if they tell you they didn't get scared at some points".*
>
> - SWAT Officer Thompson, White, Male, Southern

Thompson describes officers as particularly aggressive: they pursue hostile situations. Likewise, while many officers described Warriors as aggressive, some described them as too aggressive. More critically, Internal Affairs (IA) Officer Stasha, a self-described Guardian and Black female in a midwestern metropolitan police department, described Warriors as "arrogant", an attribute that is reflective of the machismo of traditional police culture (Bowling et al. 2019). Similarly, IA Officer

Omar, Stasha's Black male colleague, explains that Warriors want to fight for their own personal glory and to show off their strength.

> *"Warrior policing means, 'I'm going in. I'm kicking ass and taking names.' You know, 'I want to make a name for myself.' (…) I can't stand working around officers that are Warriors, wanting to flex and everything. "*
>
> - IA Officer Omar, Black, Male, Midwestern

Warrior officers appear to take pride in their use-of-force competency. To those officers, this pride is justified by a perceived necessity to manage dangerous situations with force. As Police Instructor Christopher, a White male in a southern metropolitan police department puts it, *"when the bullets are flying, that's not the time to try to deescalate with conversation. There's work to be done. You have to do that work."* But this perceived necessity to confront force with force may not require the hyper-aggression that IA Officers Stasha and Omar associate with Warriorship. Christopher teaches a course titled "Warrior Survival". He is a well-spoken proponent and exemplar of Warrior policing, but he recognizes that hyper-aggression, or an excessive Warrior mindset, can be dysfunctional.

> *"If every day you come to work all you want to do is kick in doors, crawl through windows, and try to choke people out or something like that, you've probably got the wrong mindset. You're already in trouble. You won't be around long."*
>
> - Police Instructor Christopher, White, Male, Southern

In sum, the Warrior mindset is combat-oriented. Warriors perceive that *"the fight"* will occur. As such, they train for vigilance, aggression, and use-of-force efficacy. When the fight occurs, the Warrior officer can *"embrace chaos."*, *"survive"* and *"vanquish the bad guys."* However, bringing aggression into situations where force is not warranted is recognized as a problem. Officers criticize hyper-aggression. While Warriors may necessarily be aggressive as a function of their duties, they may not necessarily be hyper-aggressive. The combat orientation of Warriors may be tempered by the second characteristic of Warriors: compassion. However, Warriors maintain a particularly violent perception of compassion.

4.1.2 Violent Compassion or Misconduct

Combat orientation situates Warriors as purveyors of violence. Compassion, or concern for the suffering of others, is not a characteristic one might expect to associate with a Warrior. However, officers describe two types of compassion that Warriors maintain. The first type involves using violence for the protection of others. The second type involves using violence as a corrective or an alternative to perceived harsher punishment. While protective and corrective violence may both be viewed as righteous violence, only protective violence appears broadly accepted by officers. Violent compassion refers to the expression of care through force.

The associations of violence with compassion that these officers express provide an interesting contrast to the violent misconduct that the Warrior/Guardian paradigm ascribes to Warriors. In describing violence as compassionate, these officers undermine the Warrior/Guardian paradigm and justify violence as necessary of the protection of victims, or as a lesser punishment that criminal justice actions.

Instructor Christopher explains the first type of Warrior compassion as protective righteous violence. To Christopher, Warrior officers are uniquely situated to perform the violently protective duties that he sees as fundamental to the occupation. In this sense, Christopher suggests that the Warrior identity is a essential aspect of policing.

> *"Warrior officers train because they want to go home at the end of the night. They want you to go home at the end of the night should you need them. […]*
>
> *At the end of the day, it takes a certain skill to make sure that you go home at the end of the day, right? It takes a certain skill to protect a third person from what you believe, or reasonably believe, to be the use of deadly, physical force. You have to be able to tap into that ability. When the bullets are flying, that's not the time to try to deescalate with conversation. There's work to be done. You have to do that work."*
>
> - Police Instructor Christopher, White, Male, Southern

The "work" that Christopher describes is the righteous use of violence for the preservation of self and others. Violence is seen as a method to show compassion for a victim or potential victim. The Warrior shows compassion for others by controlling or *"vanquishing"* those who threaten them. Notably missing is compassion for the individual who the officer uses force against. This type of Warrior compassion does not appear to express any concern for the individual perceived as a threat. Moreover, it's interesting to notice the centrality of self-preservation, "Warrior officers train because they want to go home at the end of the night". This compassion for others to

some extent seems secondary to concern for personal wellbeing which may be associated with concern for familial wellbeing.

The second type of Warrior compassion was described by Tyrell, a patrol sergeant in a midwestern metropolitan police department. Tyrell is in his mid-50s, despite his relatively old age he continues to work patrol. A relatively old age at a relatively low rank suggests little upward career mobility. The compassion Tyrell describes is corrective righteous violence and, as he admits, reflects a more common attitude of the past. He looks upon the past fondly but recognizes that the expectations of law enforcement are changing.

> *"I think the use of body cams and cell phone cameras has turned us more Guardian, but I definitely think we were more Warrior back in the day. I think it's mostly a good change, but I do think that some of these people can be turned around with a good old-fashioned ass whoopin'.*
>
> *A lot of times the police officers would whoop your ass and let you go, and you just didn't do it again, you know, whatever it was. But those days are over. Now the guy/girl who would've just took an ass whoopin' now has a felony, now can't get a job, and now going to jail. […]*
>
> *Those occurrences are few and far in between, but they did happen. This is going to sound stupid, but if you were whippin' someone's ass for a good reason, that worked. That works sometimes, but you can't do that anymore because you're going to jail if you do."*
>
> - Patrol Sergeant Tyrell, Black, Male, Midwestern

In this second type of Warrior compassion violence itself is compassionate towards its subject. Violence is viewed as compassionate for two reasons. First, violence is corrective, *"the police officers would whoop your ass and let you go, and you just didn't do it again"*, *"that worked"*. Second, violence is preferrable to formal criminal justice, *"the guy/girl who would've just took an ass whoopin', now has a felony, now can't get a job, and now going to jail."* As such, Tyrell explains how a Warrior may view violence as good if it serves a good purpose or mitigates harm. This logic is consistent with the justification of protective violence, expect that it is not conditioned on necessity.

The two types of Warrior compassion are inextricably linked to violence. Righteous protective violence against a threat "Criminal" is compassionate to those threatened "Victims". Righteous corrective violence is compassionate to the subject who the Warriors believe will benefit from it. These Warriors express more support for protective than corrective violence. The view that corrective violence is righteous may reflect the views of the past. As such, the Warriors' tendency for violence may generally be conditioned on its necessity. Violence remains central to the Warrior identity both in combat orientation and compassion.

4.1.3 Traditionality

Traditionality refers to positive evaluations of, or desire to preserve, the attitudes, policies, and practices of the past. In Tyrell's statement above he associates righteous corrective violence with the old ways, prior to body cameras and cell phone cameras. Tyrell looks fondly upon the past practice, but recognizes, "you can't do that anymore

because you're going to jail if you do". As such, Warrior traditionality maintains a perception that contemporary policies that increase transparency and accountability (e.g., publicly available records, public oversight) or that limit officers' use of certain tactics that they believe are effective (corrective violence) are a threat to policing. Similarly, financial reforms, such as police defunding, are viewed as another limit to police efficacy through the restriction of tools, use-of-force training, and personnel.

When asked if officer training records should be publicly available, Warrior officers shared concerns for increased accountability and transparency. Self-described Warrior Ryan, a younger White male who works in the recruitment division of his southern metro police department, fears the consequences of transparent. When asked if he believes police training records should be publicly available, he explains how they could be used against officers. Moreover, he suggests that officers intentionally underperform if they believe such records might be used against them.

> *"They* [training records] *should only be controlled by training* [division/officers]. *I don't want something scenario-based* [scenario-based training] *to be the basis of discipline or scrutiny down the road. People have said, "I will never be an expert or sharpshooter on the range because a hundred percent proficiency tells the world that I don't make mistakes." So, people would purposely throw one because they don't want someone to go back to the training record and say, "look, he never misses. So that [hypothetical use-of-force incident] must have been intentional." Training is designed to make training better. I don't want*

someone to be able to have a record and then use that as a critique or discipline down the road because of a use-of-force incident."

- Recruitment Officer Ryan, White, Male, Southern

Ryan expresses concern that increased transparency, through the public availability of officer training records, would cause inappropriate officer accountability and influence officers to perform less effectively in training. However, Ryan does not believe that these problems would arise if training records were only maintained by training officers. He indicates that training records held within the department are not a threat to officers or police efficacy, but records that are available to the public are. This attitude reflects a combat orientation which frames police as friends and nonpolice as foes.

While increased transparency and accountability through the public accessibility of training records is a hypothetical policy change, the increasing use of cameras (both by civilians and law enforcement) is a real change that has occurred in recent decades (Ariel 2016; Davis 2015). I asked Instructor Christopher how the proliferation of cellphone, body-worn, and dashboard cameras has impacted officers. Christopher describes a feeling that officers are less able to do their job.

"I feel like officers now are less able to do their job. I compare this to tools on our belt. They're kind of like taking away your pepper spray option, your baton option, and your taser option, taking all those away. Now all you have, is your hands and your gun. Now, if you start getting beat up, you don't have an escalation of force to

go to, now all you have is a gun. So, they're basically taking out another force continuum that will keep you from having to use a higher force.

Now they've taken that out of the equation because they think that's what people want, but they're going cost lives, possibly putting officers at a risk of getting into a use of force encounter, putting officers and the public at risk."

- Police Instructor Christopher, White, Male, Southern

When asked about the effects of increased police transparency through the proliferation of cameras, Christopher expresses the sense that officers' tools are being taken away from them (despite no real changes in his agency). Christopher's fear reflects a perception that increased transparency heightens public scrutiny against use-of-force tactics that officers were once able to deploy with impunity. This public scrutiny is one form of "oversight" or "accountability", but Christopher experiences it as a limitation to his use-of-force options. Consequently, Christopher believes that officers have fewer ways to manage resistance and are ultimately less effective, "putting officers and the public at risk". As such, a Warrior perspective that prioritizes officers' capacity to manage violent situations with force may oppose greater transparency, accountability, or oversight. These reforms are understood to limit the officers' ability to perform the use-of-force and crime-fighting duties that are fundamental to the Warrior's perception of their role within policing.

I received a similar sentiment when asking Warrior officers about financial reforms. I asked Thompson, the SWAT officer who described how Warriors "embrace chaos", what types of reforms the community is demanding from his department. In response,

Thompson attacks the ideas of police defunding and abolition as ignorant and dangerous. He argues that funding is what enables agencies to maintain high performance standards, and that high standards of policing protect the community from dangerous actors and police misconduct. Thompson's statement draws upon the Warrior's combat orientation and violent compassion to justify resistance to financial reforms. To Thompson, without Warriors there is no one to *"vanquish the bad guy"* and *"protect a third person."* Without Warriors, there is no one to respond when *"the 90-year-old grandmother gets assaulted."*

> *"I don't think they know what they're asking for. If you say your department needs more training, they need better equipment, they need better this; how you going to defund them and expect them to be better? There's a group that wants to abolish police. Well, what happens when the 90-year-old grandmother gets assaulted? What happens when a three-year-old gets molested or assaulted? How does that get handled without the police?*
>
> *I couldn't imagine a society for one day left to police itself. And so when we start talking about these Defunding the Police movements, I don't think they know what they're asking for because then you're asking for that standard to be lowered, to hire a lesser person whose really going to give you a police problem. I think they need to be very careful with what they're asking for."*
>
> - SWAT Officer Thompson, White, Male, Southern

To Thompson, police reform means defunding or abolishing police. Defunding or abolishing the police means that police will not be able to respond effectively to the threats that the community faces. This perspective asserts that "the fight" will occur, and defunding or abolishing the police eliminates the ability for police to take on that fight. Similarly, defunding means that police will be less capable when the fight does occur. These attitudes frame reforms as diminishing the power of law enforcement and empowering *"the bad guy"*. Believing that reforms will heighten threats to police and the community, Warriors appear to starkly oppose financial reform efforts.

In sum, Ryan, Christopher, and Thompson illuminate how the Warriors' combat orientation and violent compassion translate to traditionalist attitudes that compete with reforms to transparency, accountability, and funding. Combat orientation draws the attention of Warrior officers to the power relations between police and nonpolice. The less relative power that police have, the greater the threat that is posed to police and the community. Increases in transparency and accountability and decreases to funding are believed to weaken law enforcement and empower potential criminals. Ultimately, this is believed to limit the Warrior's capacity to protect themselves and other potential victims through compassionate violence. Therefore, Warriors reject popular reforms as ignorant and dangerous. Traditionality, as Warriors appear to see it, is the preservation officers' ability to succeed in dangerous law enforcement situations and maintain security in a hostile environment.

4.1.4 Prejudice

Officers who were sympathetic to the Warrior mindset never described Warriors as prejudiced. To self-described Warriors, the Warrior mentality seems to be

about tactical efficacy, compassionate use of protective violence, and preserving the (traditionally permissive) policing structures that allow officers to do their job as they see it. To these officers, Warriors are not uniquely prejudiced, rather, Warriors are uniquely capable of confronting and managing violence. However, some officers associate Warrior police identity with biased misconduct.

When asked what police can do to improve police-community relations, Catlin, a self-described Guardian, Black man, and chief of a Midwest metropolitan police department with over 30 years of experience draws upon the Warrior/Guardian paradigm. Catlin argues that police must move away from Warrior policing toward Guardian policing to "weed out implicit bias" and "build relations". In his description, Catlin associates Warriorship with prejudice.

> *"Culturally, we have problems in policing. We have to have a paradigm shift from Warrior to Guardian. We got to weed out implicit bias. You can't do this job with an us-versus-them mindset. We have to build relationships and then we have to highlight that on a high level so that people don't see us as adversarial to them. We have to introduce people who may not have had the cultural competency to have conversations."*
>
> - Chief Catlin, Black, Male, Midwest

To Chief Catlin, improving police-community relations means resolving police racial bias and the "us versus them" mentality. Changing police culture from Warriorship to Guardianship is integral to this transformation. Catlin suggests that

prejudice and the "us versus them" mentality are characteristic of the Warrior mindset and police culture more broadly.[1] Paralleling the conclusion of final report of the President's Taskforce on 21st Century policing, Catlin identifies Warrior culture as the problem with police-community relations.

Like Catlin, Chief Lawrence also associates Warrior identity with prejudice and problems with police-community relations. Lawrence, a Black male police chief with over 30 years of experience in a municipal metropolitan police department in the mid-Atlantic, identifies as a Guardian. When asked how police culture has changed throughout his career, Lawence utilizes the Warrior/Guardian paradigm and attributes "bad characters that do some bad things" to those who are against diversity and are more like Warriors.

> *"We've had some bad characters that do some bad things. We have to take responsibility for some of that. They're leaving, they're retiring and resigning in droves. I'm encouraged because I think these younger people, especially the educated younger people, they embrace diversity, they want to be inclusive, but I think what happens is some of our customs and cultures that we've hung onto, when they get here, they get like almost like radicalized into this mindset. They move towards being the Warrior cop."*
>
> - Chief Lawrence, Black, Male, Mid-Atlantic

[1] Catlin connects prejudice with the "us versus them" attitude. While one might interpret the us-versus-them mentality as "police versus the community", Catlin's view suggests that Warriors are more inclined to understand the relationship as "police versus the *Black* community". This concept will be discussed in greater detail in a later chapter.

To Lawrence, police culture is changing because officers who do bad things are leaving the profession while younger officers "embrace diversity" and "want to be inclusive". However, he cautions that younger officers can be "radicalized" into the Warrior mindset. Though this, Lawrence associates bad characters who do bad things with Warrior policing.

Guardians Catlin and Lawrence both associate Warrior identity with biased misconduct. Based on this, I anticipated that Warriors and Guardians would have different explanations for claims of racial bias in policing practices. I explicitly asked officers what they believe is the source of racial differences in criminal justice. I was surprised to find similar responses from both Warriors and Guardians. Both groups tend to believe that a small group of officers are racially biased, "bad apples", but that racial inequity is generally the result of social conditions that precede police-civilian law enforcement contact.

For instance, Guardian Chief Lawrence recognizes that some officers are "bad characters", but further explains that officers are generally seen as biased because they are instructed to lookout for specific crime suspects. I asked him to describe what crime suspects tend to look like and he stated, "based on the history of what I've heard for years, the general one is Black male, blue jeans, T-shirt, 5'9" to 6', 175 pounds, dark complexion." As such, Lawrence recognizes that some officers may be biased, but in general he believes that people see police as biased due to racial differences in who is being reported for crime, not due to officer-level feelings or attitudes.

Similarly, Alan, a K9 officer and self-described Warrior in a mid-Atlantic police department explains that racial differences in policing are due to social problems.

Social problems in Black communities require officers to focus their policing attention in those areas.

> *"Police have to go where the crime is. Let's just keep it simple. The minority communities have a higher gang rate. There's a social issue going on within some of these communities. A bigger picture with single parent households that trickles down to easy recruiting by these gangs.*
>
> *I have learned a ton over the last 18 months about the racial inequality in our country and it deals with systems and not necessarily the people within these systems. I can see how some of these systems have contributed to what I just talked about. Like a welfare system that incentivizes more children and one parent. Um, I don't think that we [police] have much influence in that because we are tasked with trying to stop crime numbers from going up or being at an acceptable rate."*
>
> - K9 Officer Alan, White, Male, Southern

To Alan, policing practices and criminal justice outcomes are racially inequitable because social problems disproportionately affect minority communities. Police must go where the crime is. Crime predominantly occurs in areas with systematic social problems. Black neighborhoods are more likely to face social problems. Police, therefore, are more likely to police Black people. This process, as Alan sees it, is out of the control of Black people and out of his control. He recognizes that social systems must address underlying social problems. Officers are only

responsible for managing crime that tends to result from such problems. Consequently, like Guardian Lawrence, Warrior Alan believes that bias in policing is attributable more to racially biased social problems than individual-level officer bias.

It seems that Warriors and Guardians both perceive that there are some racially biased officers, and that racially inequitable criminal justice outcomes are largely due to structural social problems that are outside of police control. While these conditions may indeed influence the racial attitudes of officers, there appears to be no clear difference in how Warriors and Guardians interpret the source of inequitable in criminal justice outcomes. If Warriorship is associated with greater prejudice, as Catlin and Lawrence suggest, perhaps it would be identified through a more indirect measure.

To index Warrior and Guardian racial attitudes indirectly, I asked officers about the Black Lives Matter movement. Across all officers there tended to be two types of responses, a third response was unique to officers who identified as Warriors, and a fourth response was unique to one Guardian officer. The first response category was unqualified support of the Black Lives Matter movement. The second response category was qualified support. Qualified support included the caveats that they do not support illegal protest strategies, that they support the movement or concept but not the organization, or that all lives matter. The third response category, dodging the question or refusing to respond, was unique to Warrior officers. Only one officer, a Black male self-described Guardian, expressed nonsupport for Black Lives Matter.

Unqualified support:

"I believe the Black Lives Matter movement is a valuable movement. For a while now it has seemed like it is open season on African Americans. So, when people say, "Black lives matter," it does not mean other lives don't matter. It means, "Hey, Black lives matter too." So let's not make African-Americans disposable. Let's stop that. You can't be afraid of every person that has a little extra melanin in their skin."

- (Guardian) Chief Christina, Black, Female, Midwest

"I think the Black Lives Matter movement, there's nothing wrong with that, especially for what happened at that agency [Minneapolis Police Department, murder of George Floyd]. It was a tragedy. The thing is, I still go back to when I look at what I did see in the video, as an officer I say, "well, the other officers around him didn't do anything. They should have done something. I would have done something.""

- (Warrior) Officer David, Warrior, White, Male, Mid-Atlantic PD

Qualified support:

"I think some of the things they're doing is good. I think some of the things they're doing is- is- is overdue, it probably should have been done years ago. I like to see young people coming together, but not the criminal activity, not rioting or tearing it up you know, not burning down cities, but I like to see people coming up, regardless of their race, coming together for the greater

good. The protesting is ok, not burn buildings, not attacking police officers. Making themselves heard and try to move some positive things that need to be moved in this country."

- (Guardian) Chief Lawrence, Black, Male, Mid-Atlantic

"As far as the movement, I'm all about it. If people are wronged, they deserve justice. The organization itself I think is horrible.

I feel like the movement is all about supporting Black people in general and the injustices that they may have had throughout the years. The organization from what I've read and seen it's like anti-Christian, it's against the nuclear family. I got on their website and read their stuff. not a fan of the organization, very radical."

- (Warrior) Officer Jones, White, Male, Southern

<u>Question-dodging:</u>

"Everyone matters, there shouldn't be a statement that someone's particular life matters, because everyone matters to me.

The organization, I feel, has ulterior motives and an agenda that's beyond its surface, that people, innocent people who feel like they're donating to a good cause maybe don't understand some of those below the surface things that the organization has pushed, whether it be money to specific political figures or to send Antifa to particular cities like ours. I think it's a fraudulent organization preying on people's emotions." - (Both) Police Instructor Laura, White, Female, Southern

Nonsupport:

"Black Lives Matter Movement. What do they do? I can't see any substance to what they do. I mean, they get money. Have they changed any policy that would help? Have they addressed the shootings in Chicago on the Black-on-Black crime? Or do they focus specifically on White-on-Black police shootings? You have to be careful about evil in this world.

(...) If you really truly believe that Black lives matter, then address Black-on-Black crime. That's a tragedy in this country. I don't see them doing that. I don't see them in Chicago when there's 125 Black-on-Black homicides. I don't see them in California where Latino and Black gang bang, kill each other, you know? (...) I'm not impressed with them."

- (Guardian) Captain Brian, Black, Male, Southern

The overlap in support and qualified support for Black Lives Matter by both self-identified Warriors and Guardians suggests that, in general, Warriors and Guardians hold similar types of racial attitudes. Warriors and Guardians both argue that addressing racial disparities and promoting racial justice in policing is valuable. Only two Warrior officers dodged the question or refused to answer. Officer David, who dodged the question, leveraged the arguments that officers used to qualify their support, but did not explicitly support Black Lives Matter. The only officer to express non-support of Black Lives Matter was a Black self-described Guardian. From this, it would be unreasonable to conclude that Warriors are more racially prejudiced than Guardians.

While this is not an empirical test, direct and indirect questions about racial attitudes do not seem to reveal differences in racial attitudes between Warriors and Guardians as Catlin and Lawrence may have expected. An alternative explanation for the association of Warriors with bias may be understood by utilizing the "bad apples" cliché.

As I spoke with officers about racial prejudice in policing, I recognized a theme. Officers tend to attribute biased policing to "bad apples" more than Warriors. For instance, when asked about the barriers to improved police-community relations, Sergeant Carlos, who oversees the drug taskforce in his southern metropolitan police department, explains one way to understand the problem.

> *"A barrier to good community relations is our bad apples and the police culture that protects those bad apples. I strongly believe that you typically have probably 10% or less of bad apples on the police department that makes everybody else look bad. And the culture that protects these officers, you know, that's, that's a hindrance to good community-police relations.*
>
> *For some reason or another, what I've noticed is the upper-level executives like [prefer] officers that I call heavy-handed. They're the ones that show up to the scene with the attitude. They're already pissed off that, you know, that you called them for something. And, uh, you know, they wanna lock up the world for everything. And because they're making all these arrests, the upper level, the command staff believe that, um, heavy handed policing lowers crime.*

So, I think that's a big hindrance and that keeps the culture going because those are the guys that are getting rewarded for everything."

- Narcotics Sergeant Carlos, Male, Mid-Atlantic

Carlos' description of the bad apples mirrors criticisms of Warriors. Like Stasha's depiction of Warriors as macho and aggressive, Carlos depicts bad apples as officers who are "heavy-handed", have a negative attitude, and want to "lock up the world". As such, Warriors and bad apples are similar. Further, however, Carlos does not blame poor police-community relations on bad apples alone, equally at fault is the command staff who protects and rewards aggressive policing. In other words, a minority of officers may commit potentially biased misconduct, but it is the structure that makes those biased officers a real problem.

The process that Carlos explains and the apparent association between bad apples and Warriors becomes more meaningful when considering what seems to be a lack of notable differences in racial attitudes between Warriors and Guardians. Perhaps it is not the Warrior that is more likely to be labeled a bad apple, but a bad apple that is more likely to be labeled a Warrior. Further, the problem may not be bad apples or Warriors at all, but the administration responsible for them.

Regarding the problem of labeling bad apples and Warriors. These findings may suggest that Warriors are no more likely to be prejudiced, bad apples, than Guardians. If so, this finding does not necessarily contradict the association of Warriors with prejudice. It is possible that Warriors and Guardians are equally likely to commit biased misconduct, but once the biased misconduct occurs, the officer is labeled a bad apple

and a Warrior. This would be explained by the similarities in Warrior and bad apple labels. If an officer commits violent racial misconduct, the officer would be labeled a Warrior due to the association between Warrior identity and violence.

Alternatively, Warriors and Guardians may be equally biased, but Warriors may be more likely to act on their bias. This could be explained by the Warrior's combat orientation which includes heightened vigilance. Clarence, a Black captain in a Midwestern metropolitan police department, uses the Warrior/Guardian paradigm to explain his interpretation of the relationship between Warrior identity, vigilance, and bias. Clarence states that he transitioned from a Warrior to a Guardian by becoming comfortable with the community.

> *"I started off as a Warrior and ended as a Guardian. I think it's because when you've been around a department and you live in the community, you see what needs to really happen. Versus if you're in one unit and you just believe what you believe, and when it's time to leave you cross that bridge and go somewhere else to live, you carry on that Warrior mindset.*
>
> *Like today, where I think it was two FBI agents were shot or killed today. You go home and you see certain behaviors from what the media showed, you know, maybe not such a good image of a Black male. You see that image and then when you get to work and that image matches what you're looking at right now you're saying, 'Wait a minute, this person could be, could possibly do this.'*

So then, you're still on the Warrior side and not on the Guardian side. You don't understand, like, what you saw yesterday or what you heard yesterday has nothing to do with what this person is doing. It's like in boxing; protect yourself at all times." - Captain Clarence, Black, Male, Midwest

To Captain Clarence, the degree to which an officer is integrated with their community influences police identity. He suggests that Guardians live within, and are more familiar with, the community they police, while Warriors do not live within the community that they police. Clarence goes on to argue that media which influences bias perceptions would influence a disconnected Warrior more than an integrated Guardian. As such the Warrior would feel the need to be like a boxer, "protect yourself at all times."

If we interpret Captain Clarence's framework with the informed assumptions that Warriors and Guardians are equally biased, and that Warriors are generally more vigilant, we will reach the same conclusion: Warrior behavior is more influenced by bias. Vigilance, or the feeling that you must "protect yourself at all times", appears to moderate the influence of racial bias on policing behavior. As such, Warriors may be perceived as more prejudiced not because they are more biased, but because they are more vigilant and more likely to act on their biases.

In sum, Warriors do not seem to associate Warrior identity with prejudice, but other officers do. When asked direct and indirect questions about racial attitudes, Warrior and Guardian officers do not appear differ. Warrior officers do not seem to maintain uniquely biased attitudes. However, the association of Warrior identity with

prejudice may be explained in two ways. First, the meanings associated with Warrior identity are like the meanings associated with “bad apples”, it is possible that Warrior and Guardian officers are equally likely to commit violent biased misconduct and be labeled a “bad apple”, but in so doing they would also be labeled a Warrior. In other words, Warriors are not necessarily “bad apples”, but “bad apples” are necessarily Warriors. The second possible explanation is that, while Warriors and Guardians are equally biased, Warriors are more likely to act on bias. Heightened vigilance associated with Warrior combat orientation may increase the influence of bias on the officers’ decision making.

4.2 Warrior Relations and Feelings

Warrior police are oriented toward combat, violently compassionate, traditional, and associated with prejudice. How do Warriors see the community and how does that perception associate with Warrior’s emotional experiences? While there appears to be a racialized component that interacts with officers’ perceptions of the community, I find that Warriors tend to see the entire community as a threat. Analysis of how race informs police identity schemas and perceptions of the community will be discussed in a later chapter. Here, I argue that regardless of any prejudice, the “them” in the Warrior “us versus them” attitude is the entire non-police community. More specifically, Warriors perceive the community as both a potential personal threat and a professional threat. These threat perceptions are related to the experience of stress, hypervigilance, and avoidance/burnout among Warriors.

4.2.1 Personal Threat

Combat and violence are central to the Warrior police identity. As such, Warriors remain vigilant and prepared for the moment of conflict. Police officers, however, are not soldiers in a conventional army. Unlike soldiers, when police are compelled into combat it is against a compatriot; a member of the community they serve. Because potential threats cannot be identified via a certain flag or uniform, officers maintain an uncertainty of who might try to do harm. Chief Michelle describes this stressful potential for violence as "dealing with the unknown".

> *"There are times when we face stress, it's when we face adversity, when we face violence, not necessarily violence towards ourselves, but just violence […] I think every situation has a potential to be stressful and therefore our job is stressful for dealing with the unknown."*
>
> -Chief Michelle, Black, Female, Mid-Atlantic

To Michelle, policing is stressful because every situation that an officer faces may turn violent. All officers routinely deal with this uncertainty, but the ways that officers deal with it may differ. Primed with a combat orientation, Warrior officers seem to deal with the unknown by assuming the worst. As Sergeant Tyrell describes it, Warrior police assume "you're the criminal off the bat."

"I think the Warrior police, you have to prove yourself to them. In their head, you're the criminal off the bat […] The Warrior's like, "I got your ass. You're going to jail.""

- Patrol Sergeant Tyrell, Black, Male, Midwestern

By assuming that others are dangerous, the Warrior anticipates the worst possibility in each situation and may maintain a suspicious, defensive, demeanor. For instance, by assuming that a subject has a concealed weapon, or is lying, the officer focuses their attention on possible indicators of threat or deception. These assumptions may place the Warrior officer in the safest possible position as they are primed to identify and manage any potential threat. These assumptions may provide the officer investigative efficacy in their role performance and a sense of safety. However, they may also lead to stressful consequences such as hypervigilance or avoidance.

Officers describe the stress of trying to maintain safety and awareness in public places, even while off duty. Vigilant of the potential danger, officers situate themselves in the safest possible positions, maintain constant visual awareness of their environment, and maintain their firearm. The stress of vigilance, and fear that something might happen, can be so costly as to drive avoidance behaviors. Officers describe avoiding crowds and avoiding the city in which they work due to compulsion of vigilance and the fear of possible danger.

"*You don't have to be a cop 24/7, but that's the hardest part. It's extremely difficult, like when I go to a restaurant, my wife knows that my back needs to be towards the*

wall. She doesn't even choose the seat anymore; she knows where I'm going. I'm constantly scanning, I don't like crowds."

- Police Instructor Derrick, White, Male, Southern

"When we go into a restaurant my wife knows where I'm going to sit at, you know, I'm facing the entryway. She knows that if, if I say to her, "time to go," or whatever it may be, there's no question, we're up and moving. I mean, it's probably ingrained in you after so long. When we're at the mall or different places, I'm always scanning, right? I'm looking for who may be carrying a gun and who's not carrying a gun. Is their behavior consistent with other people's behavior in here? Why are they not behaving like everybody else, you know? Their jacket is too long versus a short jacket, you know, that type of thing. I really try to stay on the front end of that. If I do recognize something, especially in today's environment."

- Police Instructor Sampson, White, Male, Southern

[Do you carry your service firearm while off duty?] *"Yes. I would say pretty much all the time, because you have a lot of nuts out there and I just think having my weapon with me in that rare case that someone decides to do a mass shooting or run over a bunch of people, you know, do something in the mall. I just think it's good to have my weapon."*

- Sergeant Carlos, Male, Mid-Atlantic

"It feels weird when I don't have a vest on. I have a gun I carry when I don't carry my [service] gun. I'm just more comfortable knowing that I have the tools to react to something. […] It's just an anxiousness that comes with a hypervigilance. You can't maintain that status constantly. That's how burnout happens. I mean, we have a great city here, I don't really take advantage of it. It's part of my chill-out."

- K9 Officer Alan, White, Male, Southern

In total, these officers describe a sense of threat when in public. To cope with this threat, officers describe vigilance, avoidance, and preparation. It appears that the Warrior officers' combat orientation is associated with a perception that the community is dangerous. As such, the Warrior must always be vigilant and prepared to defend themselves. This vigilance becomes stressful hypervigilance and may lead officers to avoid social situation or crowded public places.

4.2.2 Professional Threat

The perception that the community is a potential personal threat describes how officers manage fears for physical safety. Warriors are likewise concerned with how the community threatens officers' professional security. Officers describe two ways that perceived negative public attitudes towards police affect officers. First, perceived negative public attitudes influence police leaders to unfairly punish officer (mis)conduct. This perception may be associated with burnout and professional attrition among officers. Second, perceived negative public attitudes influence officers to avoid law enforcement situations or hesitate within law enforcement situations to

avoid public scrutiny. These behaviors limit officers' professional productivity and potentially endanger officers or others in use-of-force situations.

Training officer Michael explains how perceived negative public attitudes drive police leaders, such as the chief of police, to admonish what he believes is good police work.

> *"In order to maintain peaceful relations with the public, it is easier to condemn an officer than stand up for one., I've known officers that have done everything right, and they've been publicly accused of doing something wrong, and there's an opportunity for administrators to stand up and say, "No, let me explain. This is what this person did right." But it would be politically unpopular, and so that's not done, but the minute that an officer is caught doing something, wrong the administrators make a great show of the fact that they're punishing that person. So the officer is not treated fairly.*[…]
>
> *Whenever you see a shooting, or an accusation of police misconduct, before the investigation is concluded, the chief of police or the mayor step out and say, "this is wrong, it's unacceptable". Uhh* [expressing disagreement], *that's somebody who's trying to serve justice, that's somebody who's trying to keep the peace.*
>
> *Talking nationally. I've seen it as observable. A chief of police gets on TV and says, you know, "the officer's actions were deplorable, that should never, ever happen." I've seen officers fired from other departments over stuff like that, where they were within policy and to a large degree within practice for the profession, but*

it was easier to remove them than it was to stand up and say, "this officer was correct.""

- Police Instructor Michael, White, Male, Southern

To Michael, officers' actions to *"serve justice"* and *"keep the peace"* may be misinterpreted by the public as misconduct. Rather than support the officer, Michael believes that police leaders inappropriately admonish or fire the accused officer to appease public opinion. The perceived ill-informed opinions of the public are identified as a threat to officers' professional security as they can influence the punishment of officers by leadership, regardless of the leaders' actual concern for the officer's behavior.

Whereas Michael perceives that police administrators support their officers but are unable or unwillingly to publicly speak out, instructor Christopher argues that the expectations of administrators are as unattainable as the public's. Christopher argues that the public expectations for police are "way beyond achievement". These expectations drive public criticism of officers. When the public complains, higher level leadership tends to support the public at the expense of the officer. Christopher believes that this process is causing professional attrition.

"The public's level of expectation is way beyond achievement, you know? The public wants you to be able to shoot guns out of people's hands and lasso people's feet and things like that that you just can't do. The command type folks expect you to go out and do good police work, but at the same time never ruffle any feathers.

And then when those feathers do get ruffled in the course of doing good police work, where do they stand? Are they standing behind you because they're putting the pressure on you to go be productive or are they standing behind John Q. Citizen because they sent an email saying that you said or did something that you may not have said or did. […]

Officers want to feel like they're supported. The vast majority of folks want to go out there and do the right thing. And then, in the course of doing the right thing, sometimes things go wrong. Sometimes you could have all the best of intentions and things still go wrong. What officers want to know is that they're going to be supported when that happens.

When they [patrol officers] *see their peer's not being supported, the first thing they go is, "That could be me tomorrow. That could be in the next five minutes." And so I think that's why you see a, a growing number of people walking away from this profession*

The vast majority of your lieutenants and sergeants [middle management] *are going to try their best to back their people.* […] *Now, you start to get to the captains and the major level* [administrators, upper management]*, they're looking from a 1000-foot view, trying to gauge the public's response and protect the department as a whole. Sometimes their expectation and their understand of actions is out of align with what really goes on on the street."*

- Police Instructor Christopher, White, Male, Southern

Christopher describes how perceived public opinions, and the opinions of higher-level police leaders, are not aligned with the reality of the profession. This reality seems consistent with Warrior combat orientation: regardless of the officers' good intentions, violent conflicts will happen and "feathers will be ruffled". In these instances, higher level police leadership tend to side with the public instead of with the officer. This perception draws upon the combat orientation and us-versus-them mentality. It indicates how Warriors experience a sense of betrayal or threat when police leadership sides with "them" (the public or nonpolice). Christopher argues that this lack of support is driving officers out of the profession. As such, it may be possible that Warrior officers experience attrition-pressure due to perceptions of public scrutiny and the influence of that scrutiny on administrator behaviors.

This sense that the public will unfairly criticize police behavior and that police leadership will unfairly side with the public appears to influence how officers behave. Ryan, a recruitment officer in a southern metropolitan department with fewer than five years of experience, explains how fears of public backlash may cause officers to avoid law enforcement situations. Officers can avoid scrutiny by avoiding work.

"I think some officers are just afraid to be proactive because of the lawsuits and everything. They don't want the liability. They don't want to be judged even. Everything is second guessed because you're going to have some clown watching the video two days later saying, "I would have done this, I would have done that." And they're not even police so they don't really know what really happened, what led up to it. They're seeing half of it." - Recruitment Officer Ryan, White, Male, Southern

Ryan explains that officers may avoid unfair public or legal backlash by being less proactive. Officers who maintain a feeling of professional threat from the public may expect that their actions will be wrongfully criticized and unjustifiably punished. As such, these officers avoid getting involved in potentially risky situations. The result appears to be a deactivated, less productive, less motivated officer.

Despite being very different from Ryan, a young white southern Warrior recruitment officer, Sargent Tyrell, an older Black Midwest Guardian patrol sergeant describes a similar process. To Tyrell, this avoidance for fear of criticism is particularly potent among older officers who are no longer motivated by the excitement of the profession. The effects of Warrior-identity-associated professional threat on motivation may be moderated by officer age or intrinsic motivation for the job.

> "*Younger officers are eager to get out there. They signed up for the action and they want it.* […] *That could be good or bad, most of the time it's good and with good intentions. I think the more seasoned officers, like, "Hey, I did it all, I saw it all. I'm not going be criticized for this crap, so I'm going go sit in this corner and wait for someone to, to tell me I need to be elsewhere."*"
>
> - Patrol Sergeant Tyrell, Black, Male, Midwestern

Together, Ryan and Tyrell describe how feelings of professional threat may reduce the likelihood that officers initiate law enforcement situations. Laura, a White female patrol officer from a southern metropolitan police department explains how these same feelings can influence officers' behaviors within law enforcement

situations. To Laura, the fear of public backlash can cause an officer to second guess themselves or hesitate. In shoot or no shoot use of force situations, where officers must make split second decisions, this hesitation may have life or death consequences. Laura describes how this hesitation led to the escape of a theft suspect.

> *"Whenever it comes to shoot or no shoot situations, in the moment, it's a split second decision. You have to rely on your training. You'll fall to the level of your training, you won't rise to your expectations. That is what it is. But whenever it comes to grabbing someone, to going in hands-on with someone, and there's a group of people with their phones out, someone might hesitate to do those things. They may make more dangerous decisions for themselves, not do something to avoid ending up on the news. They may hesitate more.*
>
> *I've done that. I'm by myself and there's a group of people yelling and they all have their phones out and it's up to me to stop this person from jumping into this car who only stole $100 and I can't prove that they did or didn't. So, it's up to me to make a decision at that moment and of course they got away. I tried, they got away, they're mad at me because they got away. But I didn't end up on the news because had I yanked this person out of the car and got into a fight with them on the pavement, that would have been my day."*
>
> - Police Instructor Laura, White, Female, Southern

The fear of public backlash, made salient by the presence of spectators with cameras, influenced Laura to not act more aggressively and decisively to stop the

fleeing suspect. This decision permitted the suspect's escape and made the victims angry. However, Laura avoided *"end[ing] up on the news."* Laura feels that if she had used the force necessary to stop the fleeing suspect, she may have been the target of critical public attention. Laura's situation did not have life or death consequences; however, this same process might have serious consequences in lethal use of force situations. Certainly, a Warrior officer who is attuned to combative elements of their profession would be concerned how public scrutiny threatens their personal safety and professional security.

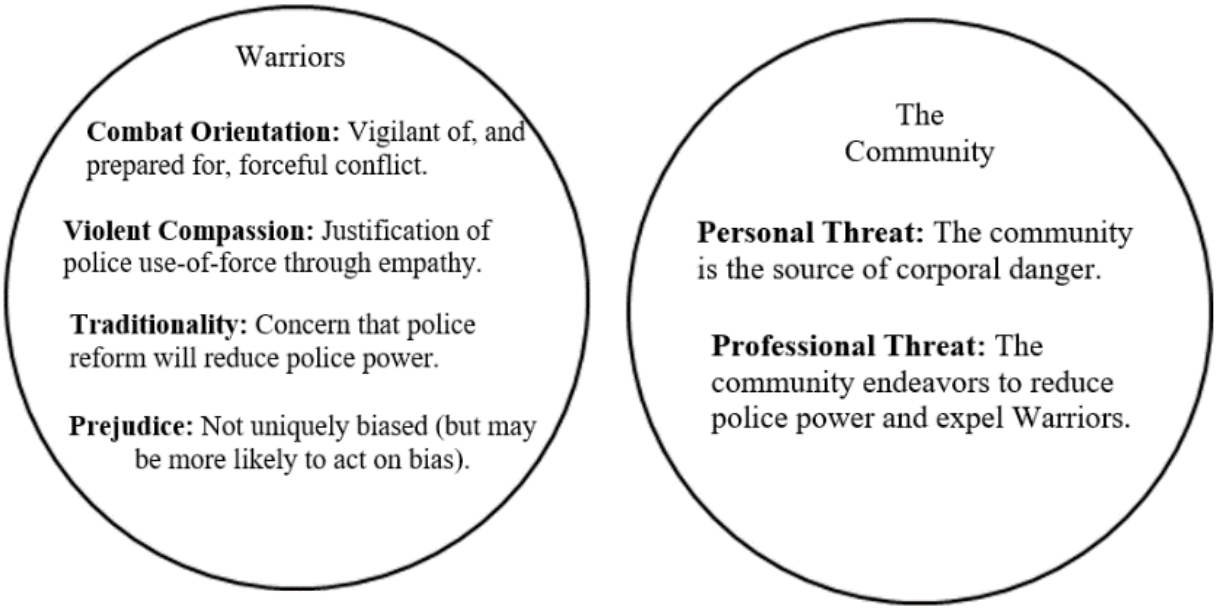
4.3 The Warrior Officer

The conceptualization of a Warrior officer that I developed here is largely consistent with existing literature. Warrior officers are attentive to the fundamental danger in policing (Skolnick 1994) and are thereby associated with vigilance (Eisenberg 2023), suspicion (Charman 2017), and masculinity (Westmarland 2001, 2017; Silvestri 2017). However, these officers emphasize the justification of violence as "necessary" and descriptions "professional threat". This is certainly associated with fear of administrative/public scrutiny (Westmarland & Conway 2020). However, these emphases also appear as a rejection of the Warrior/Guardian paradigm which broadly characterizes violence as "bad". If violence is necessary, Warriors are also necessary.

The Warrior officer attends to the violence inherent in policing. Warrior officers associate violence with necessity. They recognize that their lives, the lives of their colleagues, and the lives of civilians are on the line. In sum, all officers are "*involved in situations where [they] have to fight, where [they] have to take a life, where [they] have to chase people."* Warrior officers accept this circumstance and believe, *"we're*

not going to quit if we're in a fight. We will fight. If somebody runs, we will chase them." From this foundational perception of threat, Warriors take on a combat orientation. Warriors train to be skilled, aggressive, and "embrace chaos" so that when the fight occurs, they will be prepared. Warriors also maintain vigilance. They pay careful attention to potential threats and maintain suspicion of others. Looking through the lens of violence appears to paint the Warrior officers' perceptions of righteousness. The righteous use of violence is violent compassion: using violence to protect victims and punish "criminals".

Fig 2. Warrior Identity Meanings



The consequences of the Warrior officer's orientation toward combat and violence are revealed in their relationship to their profession and others. Warriors appear fearful that reforms which restrict police powers will embolden bad actors and

diminish the security of officers and the community. As such, they defend the traditionally permissive policies and practices of policing. Similarly, Warriors are fearful of the publics who both push for reform, and from which the "criminal element" arises. The Warrior officer thus appears to maintain distrust of nonpolice and an us-versus-them mentality. This recognition or fixation on the omnipresence of danger seems to yield hypervigilance. Hypervigilance appears both adaptive and protective, but also costly in terms of wellbeing and the quality of personal relationships.

Finally, Warriors have been criticized, both by the public and by officers, as the source of police misconduct, racial inequity, and poor police-community relations. The work presented here challenges that assessment. It does not seem that Warrior officers are uniquely prejudiced, rather, they are uniquely violent and vigilant. Perhaps Warriors are more likely to act on their bias by using the violent tactics that they are most competent in. However, such disentanglement is difficult. If a Guardian acted violently, they would certainly be labeled a Warrior, regardless of any prior labeling.

Ultimately, I suggest that the Warrior officer has been a scapegoat for police misconduct. Confronting, managing, and using violence is fundamental to policing. The structure of policing and the violence and trauma to which officers are exposed demands that officers take-on a degree of the Warrior identity. This necessity is made clear by the policing roles that officers who describe themselves as Warriors take on. The narcotics officers, like Carlos, and the SWAT officers, like Aaron, are placed in inordinately dangerous situations that require vigilance and combat competency (Charmaz 2017). The use-of-force instructors, like Jack and Christopher, recognize this necessity and promote vigilance, aggression, and combat orientation.

The Warrior identity appears to emerge from the danger inherent in policing. It seems that the identity will persist until the danger is mitigated. Given the extant risks posed by criminogenic social conditions (gun ownership for instance) Warrior officers are fundamentally necessary to the policing structure as they are uniquely prepared to perceive and manage violent situations. This is clearly both a benefit and a danger. Most policing situations do not require violence. Perhaps Warrior officers should be contained to the duties that they are best suited for. Alternatively, we should consider how trauma, hypervigilance, and the Warrior identity are inextricably linked. It is possible that some degree of Warrior identification is adaptive while a heightened degree is maladaptive. If hypervigilance and the Warrior identity is a consequence of the dangerous occupational conditions that officers face, Warriors ought to receive adequate healthcare, rewarded for their service, and retired before unnecessary harm is done.

4.4 What is a Guardian?

While the idea of a Warrior definitively invokes images of a soldier, the images invoked by a Guardian are less certain. Common understandings of a Guardian range from a kindhearted child caregiver to a strict and rugged armed sentry. While a caregiver differs greatly from a Warrior, an armed sentry shares much likeness. These two aspects of Guardians, kind and stringent, emerged in unexpected ways as I asked participants to describe Guardian police.

I identify three characteristics that officers associate with Guardians: community orientation, procedural compassion, and reformism. Like the Warrior characteristics, officers viewed these Guardian characteristics in both positive and

negative ways. An officer embodying the positive characteristics might be viewed as an ideal community servant, however, an officer embodying the negative characteristics might be viewed as overly permissive and ineffective at tackling crime. I treat each of these positive and negative aspects as representative of a wholistic understanding of what it means to be a Guardian police officer. The following three subsections illustrate each of these characteristics.

Officers describe how the Guardian mindset shapes the Guardians' perception of the community and their emotional experiences. Guardians are keenly aware of their potential to cause unintended harm as they perform law enforcement duties. Therefore, Guardians stive to mitigate harm by seeking mutual understanding in situations through strategic communication. Guardians see non-officers as allies and part of their community. This perception both energizes Guardians in their occupational role and creates conflict between Guardians and more traditional organizational actors (Warriors in this context). Subsections four and five below describe how the Guardian mindset relates to perceptions of others and officer feelings.

Nearly half (47%) of the officers I spoke with self-identified as Guardians. Notably, all female officers who did not identity as "neither/both", identified as Guardian. While officers who self-identified as Warriors tended to be concentrated in use-of-force oriented roles, officers who self-identified as Guardians appear to represent a greater breath of the ovulational positions. Among those who identified as Guardians are patrol officers, outreach officers, recruitment officers, detectives, and administrative officers (i.e., command staff, internal affairs).

4.4.1 Community Orientation

"To me, Guardian policing means that you're looking at the neighborhood as an extended family."

– IA Officer Stasha, Black, Female, Midwestern

Community orientation is to Guardians as combat orientation is to Warriors. While a Warrior is primarily concerned with preserving social order through the hard-power of violence and its management, a Guardian is primarily concerned with the soft-power of cooperation. This soft power is obtained through a set of attitudes and actions that prioritize community cooperation and trust over coercive force. Community orientation situates the community as allies, rather than adversaries, of the police. Chief Catlin, who identifies as a Guardian, explains the Guardian's community orientation in contrast to the Warrior mindset.

"Police officers should be the Guardians of the constitution. All people created equally. It [law enforcement] should be the equal application according to the law, right? We should be Guardians and protectors for those who can't protect themselves.

We were fed malarkey early on: We're Warriors, we put on our vests and we put on our gun belt, and we go out there and we fight crime. Really? It's a fight you're not going to win. We got to get away from fighting crime and fighting people. The militarization of the police departments is so funny, you know? We thought we were winning the war on drugs with added resources from the federal government

and what not, but the objective of the military is to defeat the enemy. Our community is our enemy?

Our community can't be our enemy. That's like saying the pastor of the church and the postmaster and the baker, they're all our enemies. They're all in the same community, right? So, we can't take that mindset.

What the war on drugs did was destroy families. We go in and we arrest Black and brown men and pluck them from a community and put them in jail and leave women defenseless to fend for themselves and their children. [We] Applaud our effort, "good job, guys", and then we go home to somewhere else."

- Chief Catlin, Black, Male, Midwestern

Chief Catlin highlights how Guardians perceive the community as allies (*"the community can't be our enemy"*) and challenges the notion of fighting crime. To Catlin, encouraging police militarization and crime fighting situates the police against the community. Catlin believes that the us-versus-them strategy inherent in situating the community as a threat is ineffective *("it's a fight you're not going to win"*) and ultimately harms social welfare and racial equity, (*"we arrest Black and brown men and pluck them from a community and put them in jail and leave woman defenseless to fend for themselves and their children"*[2]). This disavowal of fighting notably contradicts the characteristic of violent compassion described by Warriors. While Warriors see violence as a way to show compassion for victims (and sometimes to

[2] Note Chief Catlin's emphasis on the racialized nature of police militarization and the war on drugs. Criticism of police racism seems to be associated with, but not fundamental to, the Guardian mindset. This concept is discussed in subsection 4.1.4 of this chapter.

suspected criminals), Guardians see violence as fundamentally contradictory to the promotion of justice and community wellbeing.

Further, Catlin describes how officers who applaud crime fighting efforts *"go home to somewhere else"*. Notably repeating Captain Clarence's perception shared in the prior chapter, this statement emphasizes how Warriors are viewed as separate from the community that they work within. Guardians see themselves as members of the community they police. Unlike Warriors, Guardians appear to oppose enforcement strategies that are perceived as adversarial or violent because they distance police from the community.

One way that the Guardian's alliance with the community manifests is via the protection of the community from police misconduct. Stasha, a self-identified Guardian who criticizes Warriors as arrogant, explains how she connects her role as internal affairs with Guardian policing.

> *"I do enjoy my role in internal affairs because not only am I looking to protect the integrity of the agency, I'm protecting the integrity of the legality of things [law], righting the wrongs of the profession. So, I am more of a Guardian. Yeah. I've always been."*
>
> - IA Officer Stasha, Black, Female, Midwestern

To Stasha, protecting the integrity of the law and "righting the wrongs of the profession" are characteristic of Guardianship. To be a Guardian is to place the wellbeing of the community above the professional wellbeing of officers. Stasha

exemplifies this attitude in her role. Her willingness to hold police misconduct accountable protects the community but may also be a risk to her own professional status. The exposition of misconduct is a violation of the police cultural "blue code" which encourages secrecy and protection of police above all else (Westmarland and Rowe 2016). Guardians appear willing to break traditional police cultural boundaries to protect the public. For Stasha, this community protection against misconduct appears as a mechanism to maintain public trust and cooperation by preserving "the integrity of the agency" and the law.

The Guardian's affinity with the community also positions Guardian officers to interpret and respond to law enforcement situations in ways that differ from Warrior officers. Captain Clarence, who described himself as transitioning from a Warrior to a Guardian through his work experience, explains how the Guardian's community orientation informs their treatment of suspects in law enforcement situations.

> *"We have to learn to recognize that, "Hey, he's mad, he's borderline out of control, but he's not mad at me." So, you know, "Hey, I know you're not upset with me, but tell me what you are upset about?" And they may tell you, "There's nothing you can do about it, get the hell out of here" and, okay, but if I come back it's going to be worse for you because you're spiraling out of control. Maybe somebody's there who can speak to that person. Then maybe he will say, "Hey, this is what happened. He lost his job, his mom just died, she may have died from COVID, he has kids, he lost his job, wife left him. Then you know, he don't need to hear it from me, but I know a resource that he can hear it from, that can help him.*

You've got to be vested, and you can't have that, "Oh, he's acting crazy." Especially if he's not approaching you."

- Captain Clarence, Black, Male, Midwestern

Captain Clarence describes four components regarding how Guardians might approach a situation in which a suspect is "borderline out of control". First, the Guardian recognizes that the suspect might be in distress but is not necessarily a threat to the officer ("he's mad, he's borderline out of control, but he's not mad at me"). The Guardian does not take aggression personally and can remain non-combative in a stressful situation. Remaining calm under stress is paralleled with descriptions of Warriors but maintains one key difference: Guardians appear to assume the best in people or expect the best possible outcome of the situation. This strikingly opposes the Warrior tendency toward anticipating the worst possible outcome.

Second, Captain Clarence describes that Guardians use strategic communication to collect information about the situation and protect the wellbeing of those involved ("Tell me what you are upset about", "if I come back it's going to be worse for you because you're spiraling out of control"). Guardians appear to recognize the potential for escalation, or violence, to arise and attempt to deescalate with communication. Past literature describes this distinguishing characteristic of Guardians as "communication priority", or the preference for de-escalatory dialogue over coercive force during law enforcement interactions (McLean et al. 2019; Stoughton 2016; Rahr and Rice 2015). I see this communication priority as one component or consequence of Guardian's

community orientation. Communication is an attempt to maximize cooperative compliance and minimize relationship-damaging violence.

Third, Captain Clarence describes how, if the Guardian officer cannot collect information from a distressed suspect, they try to find an alternative de-escalatory solution. In Captain Clarence's example, the officer seeks the assistance of another officer who might be able to better communicate with the suspect, *("Maybe somebody's there [another officer] who can speak to that person"*). While a Warrior might be more likely to escalate in the face of resistance, a Guardian may attempt to exhaust all possible de-escalation options. As such, the Guardian appears patient with subjects.

Fourth, Captain Clarence describes how the Guardian officer offers resources to the distressed subject ("*he don't need to hear it from me, but I know a resource that he can hear it from, that can help him"*). Guardians may prioritize the provision of assistance over enforcement. Ultimately, as Clarence summarizes, the Guardian does not stigmatize people in distress. Rather, the Guardian recognizes that these behaviors might stem from some conditions that the officer might be able to help indirectly address via social services. Notably, this Guardian promotion of social services contradicts an attitude expressed by Warrior officer Alan. Alan asserted that it was not the duty or role of police to promote social services, (*"I don't think that we [police] have much influence in that [social welfare services] because we are tasked with trying to stop crime"*).

Captain Clarence's description of how a Guardian would manage a situation demonstrates what it means for an officer to be an ally with the community As a

community ally, a Guardian's task is to prevent situations from escalating by seeking to understand why people are feeling or behaving the way they are and attempting to provide resources that might assist them. To do this, officers must communicate with subjects without stigmatizing them. Moreover, a Guardian recognizes that if their efforts are not working, they should seek alternative de-escalation strategies. As allies of the community, Guardians may see their primary role as deescalating and assisting rather than coercing and enforcing. Ultimately this is an attempt to minimize social distance and maximize trust and cooperation between the community and police.

Lindsay, a self-described Guardian, and White female detective with over 15 years of experience in a southern metropolitan police department, echoes Clarence's attitude. Lindsay wants to see the best in people, treat people with respect, and assist them.

> *"I genuinely believe that people can be good, even if they've been dealt a bad hand, if they are encountered by the right person. I don't want to become jaded like some of my friends. I don't want to believe, just because you're a gang member or this or that, that you're just a horrible person. I want to be respectful and try to find out the root of the reason why you're doing what you're doing."*
>
> - Outreach Detective Lindsay, White, Female, Southern

Lindsay has an educational background in social work. In 2021, Lindsay established community outreach team in her department that performs community-support services full time. Lindsay's team is tasked with diverting criminal proceedings and connecting members of the community with social support resources. Her unit

collaborates with social workers and courts to manage homelessness, mental illness, and substance use without incarceration. Lindsay explains her team's work,

> *"In my mind, there is a different way to do it, you don't have to put somebody in jail. So I make contact with service providers and the courts, and I developed relationships. We just communicate with them. We explain what we're about. We see if people need any help with anything. […]*
>
> *The ultimate goal, obviously, is to reduce the number of calls for service, and the interactions that patrol officers are having with these individuals, and getting them in a stable place, so that 911 isn't their go-to."*
>
> - Outreach Detective Lindsay, White, Female, Southern

Lindsay promotes her program as a strong example of Guardian policing. Rather than punishing certain violations, Lindsay's team works with social services and courts to avoid punitive actions and manage underlying, potentially criminogenic, social problems. Lindsay's work protects these individuals from negative criminal justice contact by acting as a broker between the public and the courts. In so doing, the officers on Lindsay's team seem to act more like social workers than like police. They service the community with social support rather than enforcement.

Lindsay's team is unlike most other law enforcement units, as she further explains, *"We don't respond to 911 calls. Our crises intervention team [a separate unit in her agency] goes to the call. We follow up with what they have developed*

or the information they received from responding to the call." Although Lindsay and her team are sworn officers who work on behalf of their agency, they don't respond to calls for police service. Because of this untraditional function, Lindsay describes how her team is often looked down on by other officers for perceived weakness.

> *"It's harder for us, and harder for me because I'm a female. And not only with the public, but with your fellow officers. They think that we can't do whatever. And I used to tell them [her team], "Knowledge is power. You come out of that academy knowing more than everybody, don't be afraid to be confident in what it is you know. Make sure you're squared away. We have to work a little bit harder so that we're taken seriously."*
>
> - Outreach Detective Lindsay, White, Female, Southern

Lindsay believes that her colleagues perceive her team as weak because of the type of work that they do. Because they are not responding to calls like the average officer, they are believed to be incompetent. Lindsay is particularly viewed as weak because she is a woman[3]. Guardian work is likened to social work or "woman's work". Social workers provide social services without confronting the violence that is perceived as fundamental to policing. Yet Lindsay and her team are trained as both. Deasia, a Black female detective with a social work degree, works as part of Linday's team. Deasia challenges their likeness to social workers. Prior to her current role,

[3] [3] The gender dimension of Linday's statement is examined further in the following chapter.

Deasia worked as a regular patrol officer, but didn't want to go down the career path of Warrior officers.

> *"Social workers don't really want to respond to the hot call with the person that has a knife or is threatening […] and that's the reason officers are important. Officers are more than just robots. And a lot of times we're not getting credit for the experience, whether that be educational or personal, that we bring into law enforcement.*
>
> *Not everybody wants to be S.W.A.T. There are people that really want to help. Let us do that. Don't dumb us down. I signed up to go into that domestic and talk to the families about what's going on, or help that child, or talk to the person who's experiencing homelessness and try to help them through that. We're forgetting the service part of police work."*
>
> - Outreach Detective Deasia, Black, Female, Southern

To Deasia, Guardian officers who focus on assisting families, children, and the homeless are often viewed within the profession as lesser than S.W.A.T. (more akin to Warrior) officers. Those with the skills to cooperatively manage the public are *"not getting credit for the experience […] that [they] bring into law enforcement."* However, Deasia views this forgotten "service part of police work" as vital to the profession. Although Guardian policing is necessary, policing seems to have prioritized Warrior policing.

Lindsay and Deasia's case management team provides an extreme example of the community orientation in Guardian policing, but as described by Captain Clarence, all officers can maintain a degree of community orientation. Community orientation in Guardian policing gives primacy to public cooperation. Community orientation manifests as viewing the community as allies, protecting the community from police misconduct, listening to and being patient with subjects, and providing resources rather than punishing. Some officers may criticize community orientation in Guardian policing as weak, but Guardians recognize their role as a vital part of the profession.

4.4.2 Procedural Compassion or Bias

The Guardian's allegiance with the community and affinity for acts of service and kindness to the community may lead some to believe that Guardians are weak on crime. Indeed, some Warrior officers, like Sergeant Tyrell, lament the now-unacceptable use of compassionate corrective violence that community-oriented Guardians, like Chief Catlin, strongly reject. This difference may be rooted in a Guardian conception of compassion which differs from the violent compassion of Warriors. I term the type of compassion that Guardians describe as "procedural compassion". Guardians explain that procedural compassion is not weak on crime, rather, it promotes justice in a way that is considerate to suspected criminals and aligned with fundamental legal principles.

Procedural compassion emphasizes the unbiased administration of law enforcement and the formal legal process. An officer embodies procedural compassion when they enact law enforcement in ways that minimize harm. In other words, procedural compassion involves the application of formal social control (e.g., ticketing,

arresting) without the use of informal social control (e.g., stigmatizing, shaming, guilt-tripping).

Officers describe procedural compassion as treating others the way they would like to be treated and recall times when procedural compassion worked. Lawrence, a Black male police cheif with over 30 years of experience in a municipal metropolitan police department in the Midwest, identifies as a Guardian. When asked what makes him a Guardian, Lawrence explains his experience with procedural compassion. He recounts a formative memory from when he was a detective in a narcotics unit over two decades ago.

> *"I wanted to become a police officer because I wanted to help people and serve people. I have not been perfect, but I try to live as a Christian and I want to treat people with respect, leave people their dignity.*
>
> *I arrested this guy one time, I was on the drug task force, we would go in, buy the drugs, take over the little drug house and then we would sell placebos like we were drug dealers. So we were getting it on. I get this guy, Caucasian male, I arrest him. […] I was talking to the guy and he was telling me a story. I was like, "man, wow, this crack is rough." But I didn't demean the guy, I just listened to him, and I said, "Well maybe you ought to get some help."*
>
> *Long story short, I get a letter from this kid, this guy, maybe it's part of the seven-step program, I don't know. He said, " I appreciate you, Investigator Lawrence, for what you did for me. It helped me to see that I was worth something.*

You treated me with respect, even though I was a mess then." Just because somebody has a challenge, I still think you can treat them with respect."

- Chief Lawrence, Black, Male, Mid-Atlantic

Chief Lawrence recounts his interactions with a drug user he arrested. The subject thanked Lawrence for treating him with respect. In this situation, the subject was arrested (formal social control was applied) but Lawrence *"didn't demean the guy"* (informal social control was not applied). As a result, Lawrence saw his treatment as a benefit to the subject, "it helped [him] see that [he] was worth something." As such, Lawrence indicates that treating people generally seen as bad with dignity and respect demonstrates Guardianship. Further, Lawrence's description reveals a belief that the criminal justice system is effective when administered with compassion. To Guardians, procedural compassion is not weak on crime, but a better way to manage it.

Brian, a self-described Guardian, and Black male captain with over 20 years of experience in a municipal metropolitan police department in the mid-Atlantic, shares a narrative like Chief Lawrence's. Captain Brian's description underscores the bureaucratic characteristic of procedural compassion. Procedural compassion is kind, but not permissive. Procedural compassion is strict, but only as harsh (and only as compassionate) as permitted by the legal process.

"I'm more of the Guardian […] You got to think [understand] that you are changing people's lives. You are either changing them for better or for the worse, depending on what you do when you get there.

I was raised to treat people how you want be treated and I've always put that into the forefront of my core values. You can't go wrong when you do people like that.

I've arrested people who will thank me later. I'd be like, "I don't know why you're thanking me." They said, "Because you treated me like I was human. You didn't throw me on the ground, put the handcuffs on me, and act like I was some kind of dog in the streets. You actually was telling me why I was being arrested and then you had no choice in the situation. Here's how it's going to happen. Here's what you can do. Here's how you can get help." You know?

People are looking at losing their freedom. The last thing they want to hear is someone telling them how bad they are or how shitty of a person they should be. It never hurts to put that soft touch of, "Hey listen, I know you're going through a lot." You know, I've even had prisoners say, "Can you let me go?" No, I can't let you go man."

- Captain Brian, Black, Male, Southern

Like Lawrence's narrative, Brian's account demonstrates respectful interpersonal treatment while administering formal justice. Brian treated an arrest subject "like [he] was human" and was thanked for it. Further, Brian talked the subject though the formal procedures, (*"here's how it's going to happen. Here's what you can do. Here's how you can get help."*) and recognized the seriousness of legal punishment (indicating community orientation, "people are looking at losing their freedom"). Brian

accepts that his strategy is a "soft touch" but at the same time reaffirms the justice procedure (*"no, I can't let you go man.")*

Contrasted to the violent compassion of Warriors, the procedural compassion of Guardians highlights two qualities of Guardian compassion. First, Guardian compassion is suspect-focused. Warrior compassion involves protecting a victim from a criminal, Guardian compassion involves protecting a suspect from police misconduct. This suspect-focused compassion reflects the Guardian's community orientation for mitigating harm. Second, Guardian compassion involves non-judgement of the suspect. While Warriors appear to perceive that informal sanctions (as in corrective violence) may be justified, Guardians leave the application of sanctions to the formal system. This deference to the formal system may suggest that Guardians have greater faith in the efficacy of the criminal justice system than Warriors.

Compared to the violent compassion of Warriors, the procedural compassion of Guardians may appear to be a preferrable alternative. Certainly, avoiding bias and abuse are preferable. However, the extent to which procedural compassion is unbiased is questionable. Treating an arrest suspect kindly does not circumvent procedurally biased policing practices, legislation, or courts. A sense of procedural compassion appears to obscure the operations of procedural bias (e.g., Bonilla-Silva 2003). Insidiously, procedural compassion may give a friendly face to procedurally biased policing. This problem becomes more apparent in discussion of the third Guardian characteristic: reformism.

4.4.3 Reformism

Guardians are characterized by a distinct approach to change in policing. In contrast to Warrior's adherence to traditional law enforcement policy and practice, Guardians appear more likely to embrace financial reforms, increases to law enforcement accountability, and greater transparency to the public.

This attitudinal difference between Warriors and Guardians became particularly evident when discussing police defunding. To Warriors, defunding the police means that they will no longer have access to the tools, use-of-force training, and personnel necessary to effectively combat crime. Guardians, however, seem to recognize defunding as a method to improve policing efficacy and public relations. Defunding may reduce the burden on law enforcement agencies and officers by permitting them to focus on the tasks best studied to their expertise. Further, defunding can improve police-community relations by adhering to public expectations of police conduct. Understanding defunding in this way, Guardians tend to have more sympathetic attitudes towards defunding. While not all Guardians support police defunding, Guardians appear more open to fundamental changes in police financial structure.

Michelle, a self-described Guardian, and Black female police chief and former internal affairs officer in a mid-Atlantic metropolitan department with over 30 years of experience, describes her support for police defunding. Although Michelle favors defunding, she believes most other officers oppose it. Michelle sees defunding as a reduction in financing coupled with a reduction in duties. She believes other officers see defunding as a reduction in financing without a reduction in duties.

"I am for defunding the police if the actions of defunding the police mean that we do not have to handle a number of the social aspects of society that we handle and we get back to policing: prevention and protecting. So yes, I'm for defunding in that sense. They [other officers] think it's money taking the we'll never get back and we'll still have to do the same thing.

We [Michelle's police department] lost a significant budget as well as a number of people that investigated, because guess what? We no longer had to investigate [governmental] employees, right? That is defunding the police. They took millions of dollars away from the police and gave it to the new agency. But we were kind of happy because we didn't have to investigate [governmental] employees."

- Chief Michelle, Black, Female, Mid-Atlantic

Michelle supports police defunding in so far as the reduction of funds corresponds with a reduction in duties. To Michelle, police would be better off if they were not responsible for addressing "the social aspects of society", and instead could focus on the core duties of policing: "prevention and protecting". This attitude is a recognition that police are expected to manage social problems that officers are generally poorly positioned to address. This attitude contrasts with Warrior Alan's belief that police are not responsible for the social problems that underly criminal behaviors. The Guardian perceives that the role of police is to address both criminal behaviors and the social problems that may generate them. In contrast, the Warrior perceives that the role of police is only to address criminal behaviors. These

perspectives differ in the understanding of the fundamental duties of policing. However, they similarly accept that the police are not effective at managing social problems. Defunding may be recognized by Guardians as a restriction of police responsibility to the role functions that officers are best suited to.

Not all Guardians support police defunding as Michelle does. Self-described Guardian Brian, who explained Guardian's procedural compassion, opposes police defunding but maintains the interpretation that defunding is a reallocation rather than revocation of funds. Brian believes that police departments need additional funding to become more effective. Although Brian thinks defunding would be ineffective, he admits that it could be useful for improving public relations. Further, Brian argues that alternative strategies, such as oversight of financial managers, could be used to improve departmental funding.

> *"When you talk about defunding the police, some people think, "oh, let them get rid of the police", they're not getting rid of the police. They're going take some funding from the police and put it somewhere else, in some type of mental health service or that sort of thing. I don't know that's smart, but I guess it's expedient because people are crowd-calling for it.*
>
> *I think that the police need all the money they got, and then some. You got to hold the managers accountable, make sure they're doing what they need to do with that money. That's important. So, I don't agree with defunding the police, you need police."*
>
> - Captain Brian, Black, Male, Southern

Guardian Brian does not support defunding the police but doesn't understand police defunding as Warrior officers do. Brian recognizes that police defunding is about reallocation. For instance, providing funding to mental health resources which may reduce the need for police to address crises. Brian believes that this reallocation would improve the public's perception of police but would ultimately decrease police efficacy due to reduced funding to crime fighting efforts (tools, use-of-force training, and personnel). As such, Brian argues for greater funding and better management of existing funds. Whereas Michelle understands defunding as a reallocation of both duties and funds, Brian understands defunding as a reallocation of funds without the reallocation of duties.

Brian's consideration of police financial accountability addresses Guardian's attitudes towards reforms in police accountability and transparency. It appears that Guardian officers express greater support for reforms which increase law enforcement accountability and transparency. This support for additional transparency and accountability is exemplified by self-described Guardian Chief Catlin who calls for a police shift from Warrior to Guardian culture. Catlin explains that a police cultural shift is necessary because Guardian policing supports the public's demand for greater police accountability and transparency.

> *"*[Do you think a cultural shift from Warrior to Guardian will happen?] *Yes.* [Why?] *Necessity. Necessity. The public demands it. I don't get caught up in the [police] abolitionist movement. You need the police, right? But the demand for*

accountability, the demand for transparency. We have the technology. I mean, you can't lie about the stuff that's depicted on body cameras or cell phones. So, I think there's going to be necessary reforms. I'm excited for what the future holds for the profession."

- Chief Catlin, Black, Male, Midwestern

While Warrior officer Aaron describes accountability and transparency as a barrier to police crime-fighting efficacy, Guardian chief Catlin sees accountability and transparency as necessary to meet the demands of public calls for police reform. Specifically, Catlin points to the implementation of body worn cameras and the use of civilian cellphone recordings as a mechanism for improving police transparency and accountability. Catlin expresses optimism that increased accountability and transparency via recordings will improve policing as a profession. The difference between Aaron and Catlin's attitudes seem to be rooted in differences in Warrior and Guardian orientations. The Warrior's combat orientation is associated with a primary concern that increased accountability and transparency will limit combat effectiveness. The Guardian's community orientation is associated with a primary concern that not increasing accountability and transparency will reduce public cooperation and harm police-community relations.

Stasha, an internal affairs officer and self-described Guardian who expressed dislike for working with Warriors, likewise expresses support for increased transparency and accountability. When asked if training records should be made public, Stasha argues that it should be an option for the department. Stasha supports the use of

training records for holding officer misconduct accountable, but also to defend or commend good officer performance.

> *"I think that [making training records public] should be an option for the department. […] A lot of times when a person [officer] is up on disciplinary charges or being investigated, we look at training records. Especially when we get into officers who may have some implicit biases and discrimination. I wouldn't suggest putting it on the worldwide web, however, if that piece of information is useful, you know. It can be of harm [to an officer] but it can also exonerate an officer. So, it shouldn't be necessarily looked at as a detriment, it could be a compliment."*
>
> - IA Officer Stasha, Black, Female, Midwestern

In sum, although Guardians may disagree on particulars, they appear to broadly agree that changes should be made. Whereas Warriors largely rejected reform proposals as threats to policing efficacy, Guardians seem to engage with the public discourse. In so doing, Guardians demonstrate their community orientation. They recognize or accept the criticisms that are levied and imagine what changes could be made. Interestingly, these officers offer suggestions that synthesize police and community perspectives in ways that may be more accepted and applied by law enforcement agencies.

4.5 Guardian Relations and Feelings

Guardian police officers attend to police-community relations. They appear to prioritize strategies which foster public cooperation. They attempt to act

compassionately within the limits of legal procedures. They seem to be more accepting of publicly supported police reforms. Some officers criticize Guardian officers for being overly permissive or weak. How do Guardians see the community and how does that perception associate with Guardians' emotional experiences? I find that Guardians tend to take on a hopeful attitude about the future of the profession, see themselves as "the good ones", and maintain a relative sense of safety while within the community. These feelings and attitudes appear to stem from the Guardian's allegiance to the community over allegiance to fellow officers. In other words, Guardians see themselves as one with the community while Warriors assert an us-versus-them mentality. This relatively positive attitude and relation with the community appears to be related to lack of fears about violence from the community and about reform that increase accountability on police misconduct. This lack of fear seems to be related to a lower experience of hypervigilance, and professional avoidance/burnout that Warriors tend to report.

4.5.1 Exceptionalism

Guardians foster cooperation through positive police-community relations. They oppose the 'us-versus-them' mentality that they see in Warriors. Instead, Guardians appear to see themselves as allies of the community, the good cops. As allies, Guardians seek to enforce the law without informal sanctions or stigmatization, defend civilians from police misconduct, offer supportive resources, and seek out positive interactions. Guardians appear to maintain relatively positive attitudes toward the community and believe the community tends to like them too. Situated in this way, Guardians are

presented as the internal agents of change in improving police-community relations. In other words, Guardians paint themselves as the "good apples."

Guardian Lawrence demonstrates how Guardians experience their relation to the community. To Lawrence, Guardians show their allegiance to the community by treating suspects with respect and compassionately enforcing the law. Based on feedback he's received from an individual he arrested, Lawrence believes this type of treatment generates positive criminal justice and police-community relation outcomes. By using a compassionate approach to law enforcement to good effect, Lawrence situates himself as a community ally and a model for improving the public perception of police.

> *"I get a letter from this kid, this guy, maybe it's part of the seven-step program, I don't know. He said, " I appreciate you, Investigator Lawrence, for what you did for me. It helped me to see that I was worth something. You treated me with respect, even though I was a mess then." Just because somebody has a challenge, I still think you can treat them with respect."*
>
> - Chief Lawrence, Black, Male, Mid-Atlantic

Stasha likewise situates herself as an ally to the public. Stasha manages officer misconduct through her work in internal affairs. She sees herself as a Guardian because she corrects the wrongs of the profession. Stasha may see herself as a community ally because she polices the police.

"I do enjoy my role in internal affairs because not only am I looking to protect the integrity of the agency, I'm protecting the integrity of the legality of things [law], righting the wrongs of the profession. So, I am more of a Guardian. Yeah. I've always been."

-IA Officer Stasha, Black, Female, Midwestern

Captain Clarence, who described how Guardian officers treat suspects in law enforcement situations, demonstrates how Guardian officers see themselves in relation to the community. To Clarence, Guardians are proactive in ways that other officers are not. Guardians go out into the community, talk to people, and find out what the real problems are. Clarence argues that Guardians do this work because they care, and that this type of work is how change happens. As such, Clarence asserts that Guardian officers engage with the community and care more about the community than Warrior officers.

"I think proactive [policing] is not the normal model what policing is. See, when you are proactive, that means you care. You have to have a Guardian mindset more than a Warrior mindset. […] You need to have that mentality to know what's the problem in the community. When you're out there really in the community and put the time and say, "Hey, what's wrong with the community?", you know, things are changed."

- Captain Clarence, Black, Male, Midwestern

Lawrence, Stasha, and Clarence paint Guardians and themselves as model officers or the agents of positive change for police-community relations. Lawrence leverages a letter he received from a drug user that he arrested to portray how respectful treatment of suspects benefits those submitted to the criminal justice system. Stasha cites her police oversight role as internal affairs as *"righting the wrongs"* of the profession. Clarence asserts that Guardians are the officers who care; the ones who are willing to go to the community and *"put the time in."* In sum, these officers illustrate a feeling of warmth toward the community and pride in themselves. Guardians appear to value the community and how the community sees them. As such, they treat suspects respectfully, defend against police misconduct, and strive to connect with the community. Ultimately, this framing paints a sense that Guardian officers see themselves as "good cops" or the "good apples".

4.5.2 Professional Optimism

Guardians' relatively positive feelings and attitudes toward the community appear to align with how they respond to public scrutiny and think about police change. Seeing themselves as allies of the community, Guardians tend to respect, or even support, the community's criticisms. Because Guardians see themselves as not the problem with policing, reforms that increase accountability appear to not threaten them. While Warriors see reforms and public criticisms as a threat to safety and police efficacy, Guardians see reforms as a tool to improve public relations by meeting the publics' expectations. Guardians appear to feel hopeful that reforms will take place, that police culture will change from Warriorship to Guardianship, and that police-community relations will ultimately improve.

Chief Lawrence portrays this hopeful perspective that is characterized by a sense that police-community relations are currently strained, that the strain is a consequence of negative police behavior, and that policing can and will change to improve relations.

> *"Sometimes police officers get going in their mindsets of like us-versus-them. You know, not all, but sometimes. I think we're getting better though, and I'm hopeful that we will. I think that some of the customs that we've had in law enforcement, they were customs, but we can change. It's important right now. We got to meet the expectations that are out here for us."*
>
> - Chief Lawrence, Black, Male, Mid-Atlantic

Lawrence attributes the strain in police-community relations to the us-versus-them mentality and other traditional police customs. These characteristics are associated with the Warrior police identity. Lawrence believes that changes to the us-versus-them mentality and traditional police customs are possible and currently happening. Moreover, he believes these changes are necessary to *"meet the expectations"* of the public. Lawrence demonstrates the Guardians' community orientation by emphasizing the value of public attitudes and demonstrates the Guardians' sense that they are community allies in opposition to traditional Warrior police culture.

Chief Catlin likewise indicates how Guardians' feelings of hope are associated with attitudes towards reforms. Chief Catlin is excited about the expanding use of body-worn and cellphone cameras. He believes the increasing use of technology to provide

police oversight, transparency, and accountability is necessary and will meet the demands of the public.

> *"The public demands it. […] We have the technology. […] I think there's going to be necessary reforms. I'm excited for what the future holds for the profession."*
>
> – Chief Catlin, Black, Male, Midwestern

Whereas Warrior officers Christopher and Thompson expressed fears that increased accountability will reduce police power or efficacy, Catlin sees such changes as a benefit. Catlin's perception indicates that he values the attitudes of the public and positive police-community relations. Unlike the Warriors, Catlin implies that meeting public expectations will serve policing and public safety, not threaten it.

Importantly, while Guardians appear particularly hopeful it would be unfair to paint Warriors as hopeless. Both Guardians and Warriors describe current police-community relations as stained and believe the relationship will improve. However, the difference between Guardians and Warriors appears to be in the locus of control. Guardians Lawrence and Catlin both describe officers as having the power to improve police-community relations (*"we got to meet the expectations that are out there for us"*, *"we have the technology"*). However, when Warrior officer Ryan expresses hope for the future of police-community relations, he defers the power of change to external actors.

"We're getting less applicants, and I think some people are looking at it as, maybe they don't think that the job is worth the pay, maybe they don't want to deal with what they see on the news. […]

I think we're on the uptick. I think it's a pendulum. I think it goes back and forth, it's the prestige of the job. I think that we are on the uptick. I'm hoping, with our new administrators, that they're going to make changes to help remedy the issues."

– Recruitment Officer Ryan, White, Male, Southern

Ryan cites low numbers of police applicants as an indicator of poor police-community relations. He attributes poor relations to the prestige of the job: The media negatively portrays police, and the salary is not high enough to offset the low status of the profession. He expresses hope that the actions of their new police administrator will resolve this problem. As such, Ryan places the responsibility for improving police-community relations on the media portrayal of policing and the representation of police by administrators.

This theme of deferring agency for police change was also displayed by Warrior officers Michael and Christopher as they described feelings of professional threat. Michael and Christopher each assert that it is the responsibility of the police administrators to support officer conduct when facing public scrutiny. To these Warriors, the problem with police-community relations is not that police conduct is inappropriate, it is that the community does not understand appropriate conduct and that police administrators fail to communicate fair performance standards with the

public. In other words, these Warriors externalize the problems with police community relations as faults with the public or with administrators. Whereas Michael expressed some hope that bold administrators could support officers and improve relations, Christopher appears more hopeless. He argues that because administrators will ultimately serve the public sentiment by not supporting their officers, "*that's why you see a, a growing number of people walking away from this profession."*

It appears that Guardians are indeed more hopeful. While Guardians and Warriors both recognize the importance of good police-community relations, Guardians see a clear and imminent path to improvement. Guardians believe that poor relations are a result of police conduct which does not meet public expectations. They believe their Guardian behaviors meet the public's expectations and they support reforms that the public demands. Through seeing themselves as exemplars and supporters of good policing as the public perceives it, Guardians maintain a sense of hope that police-community relations will improve.

4.5.3 Relative Safety

The Warriors' predominant feeling toward the community seems to be threat; both personal and professional. These threat perceptions appear to be associated with accounts of heightened vigilance while off duty, and resistance towards reforms. While some Guardians report concerns for their safety while off duty, other Guardians uniquely report feeling unthreatened in public. Likewise, Guardians do not see the community's calls for change as a threat to their professional wellbeing. In taking the side of the community and supporting the reform efforts that the community demands, Guardians seem to perceive Warriors as the ire of negative public attitudes, not

themselves. Perhaps it is this perception that prompts Guardians to feel that they are not in danger while in public. Alternatively, the Guardian sense of relative safety may be rooted in their perception that they are part of the community, not othered from it.

Warriors never described voluntarily going unarmed in public. Guardians' feeling of relative safety is evidenced by some Guardians reportedly not carrying a firearm while off duty. Guardian Chief Catlin admits that he does not carry a firearm while off duty. Catlin explains that if he were in a dangerous situation, he could call 911 like any other civilian. Interestingly, Catlin cites a sense of vulnerability as a reason not to carry a firearm. Moreover, he avoids places where he feels he would need to carry a gun. These statements conflict with Warriors' reports that they feel unsafe in average public spaces like malls and restaurants. Warriors appear to response to feelings of vulnerability by carrying a firearm while Guardians may respond by intentionally not carrying a firearm. Whereas carrying appears to give Warriors a sense of safety, it appears to make Catlin feel less safe. Catlin also states that he does not fear retaliation from subjects that he has policed. This feeling that he will not face retribution is possibly a result of the Guardians' strategy of emphasizing cooperation in law enforcement interactions. Officers who use less force, even when arresting them, may have less fear of retaliation. Reducing the degree of force used in police-civilian interactions may improve officer wellbeing.

> *"I don't carry my gun off duty. What am I going to do with it? I have a duty to intervene, my duty includes my cellphone. I'm calling 911. Listen, superman does not reside here. One, I don't need to go anywhere that I feel I need to carry a gun.*

Two, I don't have any fear of retribution. Three, I was never that guy. I'm not a car guy, I'm not a gun guy."

- Chief Catlin, Black, Male, Midwestern

Despite warnings from colleagues, Captain Brian, who exemplified procedural compassion and described Guardian reformism in the sections above, also does not carry a weapon while off duty (although he keeps it nearby). Brian explains that he does not carry a weapon because he wants to feel like an "average citizen", particularly around his family. This sense of wanting to be like other people demonstrates how Guardian officers may view themselves as part of the community and feel comfortable amongst the community. While Warriors appear to starkly differentiate themselves from others, Guardians appear to integrate with the community. Going unarmed is one way that Brian demonstrates his association with the public.

"I don't carry my weapon when I'm off duty. I have it close by, like in my vehicle, but not on me. I have a lot of officers who kind of get on me about that, "you need to have it on.", and I always say to them, "listen, if I wanna be an average citizen with my family, I don't wanna have to go to a restaurant with a weapon on. I don't wanna have to go to Playland with my grandkids with a weapon on", you know, who does that?

I recognize that there may be a situation in life where you have to react as a police officer to help somebody's life, even if it could be yours. But I think again,

once you take the uniform off, you really have to kind of decompress and go into civilian mode. You can call for help, just like the average citizen.

- Captain Brian, Black, Male, Southern

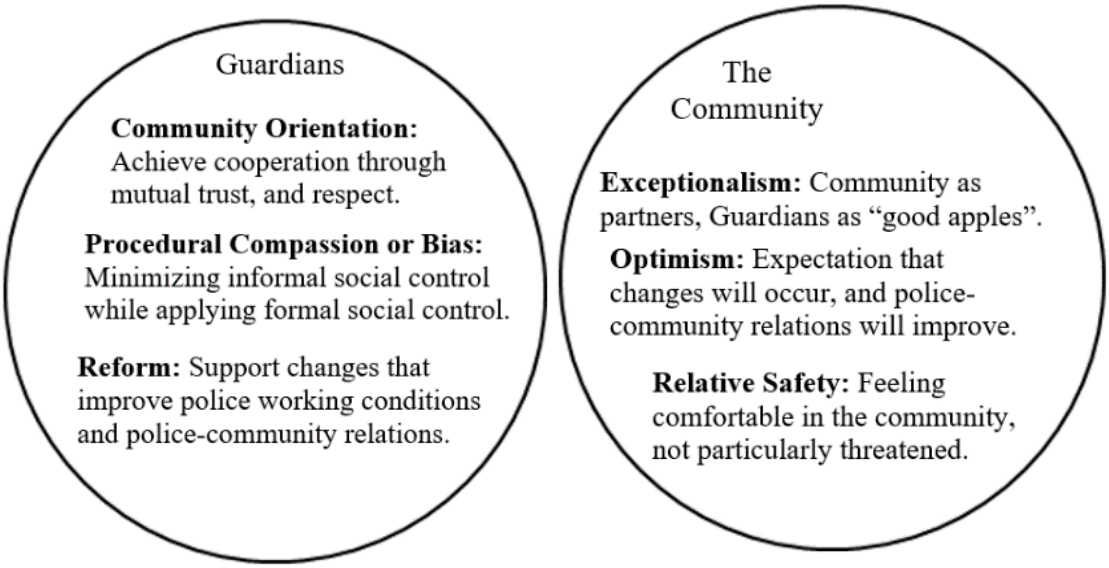
4.6 The Guardian Officer

The Guardian identity is characterized by a disassociation from traditional police culture and a sense that they are the agents of positive social change within policing. Antithetical to police cynicism (Reiner 2010) and suspicion (Cockcroft 2013), Guardians are associated with optimism about the future of the profession and as sense of safety in the community. Guardians oppose bias within policing and support reforms that officers traditionally oppose (Stelter et al. 2022). Guardians reject machismo and are associated with roles and practices that emphasize cooperation with the public (LeCount 2017; masculinity).

Guardian officers attend to the relationship between police and the community. They attempt to maximize law enforcement efficacy and public welfare by building cooperation through respect. To do this, Guardian officers avoid stigmatizing suspects and recognize the social forces which drive behaviors. As Captain Clarence describes it, *"He's mad, but not mad at me. (…) He lost his job, his mom just died, (…) he lost his kids, he lost his job, wife left him".* This perception is associated with a community orientation that emphasizes securing cooperation through rapport-building (*"maybe there's somebody that can speak to that person"*). Likewise, Guardian officers emphasize building public trust by holding officers accountable (*"protect[ing] the integrity of the agency"*) and favoring service-provision over enforcement (*"He don't need to hear it from me, but I know a resource that he can hear it from, that can help."*).

When the Guardian must enforce, they exemplify a procedural compassion that applies formal social control without informal social control. Ultimately, these attributes lead Guardians to frame themselves empathetic and exemplary "good apples".

Fig 3. Guardian Identity Meanings



The consequences of the Guardian officers' orientation toward advancing police-community relations are revealed in their relationship to their profession and others. Seeing the community as allies, or even *"an extended family"*, Guardians do not appear threatened by the public or their calls for reform. This lack of threat perception appears associated with acceptance that policing reforms should increase transparency and accountability. Moreover, Guardians describe themselves as hopeful that these reforms will happen and that police-community relations will improve. When off duty, this lack

of threat perception appears to be associated with relatively low vigilance and a sense that they are, or want to be, *"average citizens"*.

Finally, Guardian officers report that they are under-valued, viewed as less competent, or *"forgotten"* compared to more traditional Warrior officers. This may be attributable to the Guardian's preference against use-of-force. Guardians may be seen as not understanding policing as Warriors do; not accepting that, as police instructor Jack put it, *"we are involved in situations where we have to fight"*. Likewise, Guardian officers may be perceived as not being competent in use-of-force, they don't *"embrace chaos and like it".* Guardians appear to be undervalued because they are believed by Warriors to not recognize the dangerous "reality" of policing and are unable or unwilling to use the force necessary to defend themselves or others from a deadly threat.

4.7 Being Both a Warrior and a Guardian

Thus far this chapter has detailed the ways that officers understand Warrior and Guardian police identities: their characteristics, attitudes, feelings, and relations. Warriors and Guardians have been treated as categorically distinct identities. However, while many officers describe "Warrior" and "Guardian" as real and separate police identities, other officers problematize the rigid structure of this identity schema. Officers who describe themselves as both or neither illuminate how the Warrior and Guardian schema can fail to capture the underlying self-meanings that structure officers' feelings and behaviors. For these officers, the Warrior/Guardian paradigm describes police identity from a simplified, or outsider's, perspective. They argue that the paradigm fails to capture how officers really understand themselves. To some of

these officers, the Warrior/Guardian paradigm is understood as a fractured depiction of policing. To them, officers maintain both Warrior and Guardian aspects as part of a more wholistic police identity. To others, the Warrior and Guardian paradigm is entirely rejected. It is seen as an inaccurate, harmful, or inadequate description of the self-meanings that underly how officers see themselves, others, and their relations.

Among participants, more officers described themselves as both a Warrior and a Guardian (29%) than as a Warrior only (9%), but fewer than a Guardian alone (47%). While officers who perceive themselves as either a Warrior or a Guardian often treat such identification as static, the officers who describe being both a Warrior and a Guardian recognize how their organizational position and their role within law enforcement situations inform identity activation. Officers who see themselves as both a Warrior and a Guardian reveal how organizational and situational contexts shape Warrior and Guardian identification throughout their career and daily activities.

The Warrior Guardian paradigm is challenged by officers who identify as both a Warrior and Guardian, or neither a Warrior nor a Guardian. This challenge is presented in two broad themes that emerged in discussions with these types of officers. First, officers who identify as both Warrior and Guardian recognize that Warrior and Guardian identities are not independent or static. Warrior and Guardian identification is influenced by organizational position and situational context. Officers maintain both Warrior and Guardian identities that become active depending on the role that the officer is taking within their institution and within a particular situation. The varied duties that officers perform place them in situations where they must transition between Warrior and Guardian identities, or act in ways that can be described as Warrior and

Guardian simultaneously. Second, some officers who refuse to identify as either Warrior or Guardian perceive the Warrior Guardian paradigm as a political argument, not as a true understanding of police identity. To these officers, the Warrior/Guardian paradigm fails to accurately represent the lived experiences of officers and creates unnecessary division among police. The following section examines the statements of the officers who problematize the Warrior Guardian paradigm.

4.7.1 Identification Across Time

Given prior research on situationally active police "good cop" and "bad cop" identities (Gerber 1991, 2001), we might expect that Warrior and Guardian identities are likewise dependent on officer seniority. If a Warrior is likened to a "bad cop" and a Guardian is likened to a "good cop", we would expect senior officers to be more likely to describe themselves as Warriors and less-experienced officers to describe themselves as Guardians. However, the small sample of survey data that was collected from participating officers indicate that years of experience does not have a significant correlation with attitudes associated with Warrior identity (-.023, p=.683), nor attitudes associated with Guardian identity (-.040, p+.437). Rather, officers describe in interviews how officers can either start out as Guardians and turn into Warriors or start out as Warriors and turn into Guardians.

Officer Michelle, a self-described Guardian, and Black female police chief who expressed support for police defunding, believes that officers tend to join the police force to be Guardians but quickly become Warriors. Michelle attributes the transformation of new Guardians into Warriors to police culture and training.

"Most police officers come on to be a Guardian, you know to oversee not be the overseer, to be that 'protecting and serving'. I think that in some cases the Warrior mentality is adopted once you come on, you know, once you spend time it's almost like the rotten apples in a barrel. Sometimes it becomes cancerous and then everybody fits out to be a Warrior. At the training academy they teach you more to be a Warrior than a Guardian. They teach you survival, Warrior survival. What does the individual develop from those teachings? "This is making me more of a fierce Warrior.""

- Chief Michelle, Black, Female, Mid-Atlantic

To Michelle, officers tend to start out as Guardians because they join the police force to *"be that protecting and serving"* but they soon turn into Warriors. Michelle identifies two mechanisms that may motivate this transformation. First, police training focuses on survival in combat. Therefore, new officers are primed to think like Warriors: they focus on the combative rather than communal aspects of the profession. Second, Warrior culture is *"like the rotten apples in a barrel (…) sometimes it becomes cancerous and then everyone fits out to be a Warrior."* In other words, the more traditional Warrior mentality that exists among senior officers transmits to newer officers. If officers don't become Warriors via training, the culture of police departments later transforms officers into Warriors.

This concept of cultural transmission of the Warrior identity to newer officers is repeated by Chief Lawrence in a quote that has been examined to understand Warrior bias in an earlier section. Lawrence believes that younger, particularly well educated,

officers embrace diversity and inclusion in a way that is consistent with Guardianship. Over time, the Warrior *"customs and culture"* of police departments convert Guardians to Warriors.

> *"I think these younger people, especially the educated younger people, they embrace diversity, they want to be inclusive, but I think what happens is some of our customs and cultures that we've hung onto, when they get here, they get like almost like radicalized into this mindset. They move towards Warrior, being the Warrior cop."*
>
> - Chief Lawrence, Black, Male, Mid-Atlantic

Although Michelle and Lawrence believe that officers start out as Guardians then become Warriors, Stasha, a Black female internal affairs officer in a Midwest metropolitan police department who criticized Warriors as being hyperaggressive, explains how officers begin as Warriors and become Guardians over time.

> *"I think a lot of officers do start out as the Warrior, thinking, 'I got to go in and show how tough I am, do whatever to get people to comply'. The older you get, the more you realize you don't need to."*
>
> - IA Officer Stasha, Black, Female, Midwestern

Stasha proposes that newer officers feel the need to prove themselves as tough. This feeling may be consistent with Michelle and Lawrence's belief that officers are

influenced by training and police culture to uphold the Warrior identity. However, Stasha contends that as officers gain more experience, they realize that they do not need to uphold the Warrior identity to be successful. Through on-the-job experience officers may learn that the Guardian's cooperative and communal approach is a more effective strategy to gain compliance than the Warrior's forceful or aggressive approach.

The concepts presented by these officers indicate that Warrior and Guardian identity is not as static as the Warrior/Guardian identity schema may appear. Officers' identification may transition through the course of their career. This instability in the Warrior/Guardian identity indicates that identity transformation is possible, but also that the structural conditions that officers are exposed to, in this instance career position, influences their performance of police identity. If an officer has identified as both Warrior and Guardian throughout their career, the officer maintains the capacity to invoke both role performances. In this way, the officer can be understood as both a Warrior and a Guardian, even if one of the identities remains latent. However, in the following section this maintenance of both Warrior and Guardian identities is further problematized. I examine how situations that officers experience can cause officers to selectively invoke Warrior and Guardian identity.

4.7.2 Identification Across Situation

Officers describe how their interpretation of a situation influences whether they act more like a Guardian or more like a Warrior. Situational cues such as location, identification of others, and interpretations of behaviors inform which identity becomes active. Officer Laura describes how Warrior and Guardian identification can be influenced by situations. Laura is a white female police trainer with over five years of

experience in law enforcement in a southern metropolitan police agency. Laura was a sergeant before recently joining her agency's training division. When asked whether she sees herself as a Warrior or a Guardian, she explains how she is both. She argues that "good officers" understand how to behave as both a Warrior and a Guardian and selects the identity to perform based on the situation.

> *"I think they* [Warrior and Guardian] *are good words to use, but they could be used on the same officer in different calls. Some days I'm a Guardian, because I took this kid, and reported to CPS* [child protective services] *because they are in a bad home, or their house caught on fire and I'm there to give them a stuffed animal. Some days I'm a Warrior in battle because I'm in a fight with someone who just beat up their girlfriend and they don't want to go to jail. So, I may find myself a Warrior in one call and then a Guardian on the next call. It's almost like you have to wipe your slate clean between calls.* […] *You kinda mold yourself to what the situation needs, and a good officer can do that. They can talk to a two-year-old, yet they can fight with someone."*
>
> - Officer Laura, White, Female, Southern

Identifying as both a Warrior and a Guardian, Laura recognizes the Warrior/Guardian paradigm as a useful representation of police identity. However, she doesn't see Warrior and Guardian identification as fixed. Laura provides examples of the types of situations that she believes invoking a Warrior or Guardian identity is more appropriate. Laura describes how the positively evaluated Guardian identity is

associated with “good” behaviors directed toward “good” people, while the opposite is true for the Warrior identity. The Guardian identity is active in situations where the officer is doing good things (e.g., helping, consoling) to good and weak or defenseless people (e.g., victim, child). When doing bad things (e.g., fighting, arresting) to bad and powerful people (e.g., criminal, abusive boyfriend), the Warrior identity is active. As such, “good officers” can recognize when the situation calls for officers to act in ways that are consistent with Warrior/Guardian identity. To Laura, a bad officer would act like a Warrior or Guardian in situations where such an identity is not appropriate: they would act cooperatively or supportively to “criminals” and aggressively toward “victims”. Because good officers, in Laura’s perspective, can switch between Warrior and Guardian identities, she concludes that good officers are fundamentally both Warriors and Guardians.

Officer Andrea, a Black female with over 15 years of experience in in the youth and family division of her southern metropolitan police department, and Officer Nicholas, a white male community policing sergeant with over 15 years of experience in the same department, describe similar concepts as officer Laura. Both officers Andrea and Nicholas explain that officers are Guardians until the situation arises where they must be Warriors.

> *“I would say I’m a little bit of both [Warrior and Guardian]. I believe in the protect and serve mentality, but then also when the crime occurs that you should be out there, you know, preventing and getting the criminals.”*
>
> - Patrol Officer Andrea, Black, Female, Southern

"You [officers] are a Guardian of your community, and you sometimes have to be a Warrior to take care of yourself and get home to your family."

- Community Policing Sergeant Nicholas, White, Male, Southern

Andrea states that she believes in the "protect and serve" Guardian mentality, but when a crime occurs, she must take on the Warrior identity to prevent and arrest the criminals. Similarly, Nicholas explains that officers are Guardians of the community until the moment they must invoke the Warrior identity, presumably in combat, to survive and get home to their family. As such, these officers see themselves predominantly as Guardians, but when given situations that involve danger or crime, they are Warriors.

Officer Jessica, a Black female patrol officer in a southern metropolitan police department with fewer than 10 years of experience, explains a similar concept as Andrea and Nicholas that further complicates differentiation between Warriors and Guardians. Jessica believes that the Warrior/Guardian paradigm describes policing in its totality: When an officer arrests a criminal, they are a Warrior, and when an officer protects the public, they are a Guardian.

"I think it [the Warrior/Guardian paradigm] describes policing as a whole because you're taking the criminals to jail and because you're protecting the public. So, I

would say the Guardian is the protecting of the public, and taking the criminals to jail is the Warrior."

- Patrol Officer Jessica, Black, Female, Southern

Jessica's description highlights how an officer can be conceived as both a Warrior and Guardian in the same law enforcement situation. For instance, if an officer uses force to stop an individual who is in the process of assaulting a victim, the officer is simultaneously acting as a Warrior toward the aggressor and as a Guardian to the victim. Likewise, to arrest a resisting domestic abuser is to be a Warrior to the suspect and a Guardian to the victim. Indeed, nearly all law enforcement behaviors can be construed in this way; any police violence used against a suspect in order to protect the public is the simultaneous enactment of Warrior and Guardian identity. Whether the officer is perceived as a Warrior or a Guardian appears to depend on whether one focuses on the treatment of the suspect or the victim.

In sum, officers can be understood as both Warriors and Guardians because their police identity transforms throughout their career and across situations. Officers may start out as Guardians then be influenced by experiences or colleagues to see themselves as Warriors. Likewise, officers may start off as Warriors and learn that Guardian policing strategies are more effective for them. Across situations, officers embody Warrior or Guardian identities depending on their appraisal of the circumstances. When interacting with "good" people, it is seen as more appropriate to act as a Guardian. When interaction with "bad" people, it is seen as more appropriate to act as a Warrior. Further, police behaviors can be interpreted from both Warrior and

Guardian perspectives. When acting as a Warrior toward a dangerous individual, the officer is also acting as a Guardian toward a potential victim. Ultimately, these officers suggest that police identities are not static, and that the best officers may be both a Warrior and a Guardian.

4.8 Being Neither a Warrior Nor a Guardian

Officers who identify as both Warriors and Guardians problematize the Warrior/Guardian paradigm by highlighting how contexts shape their behaviors and the identities they embody. Officers who identify as neither Warriors nor Guardians (15% of participants) further problematize the paradigm. Interviews with these officers reveal two ways that the paradigm is criticized and found inadequate. First, the Warrior/Guardian paradigm promotes unhealthy divisions among officers. Second, the Warrior/Guardian distinction does not exist, and officers are something other than Warriors or Guardians.

4.8.1 Promoting Division

In the section "what is a Warrior?", we found that Guardians criticize Warriors as proud, hyperaggressive, and biased. Guardians tend to associate Warriors with misconduct. We also found that Warriors are traditional and tend to maintain negative attitudes toward reforms and feel threatened by challenges to police power. In the section "what is a Guardian?" we found that Warriors criticize Guardians as weak. We found that Guardians tend to support reforms and believe that changes to police policy and practice will mitigate misconduct, or improve accountability, against malicious officers who they believe are predominantly Warriors. These sets of attitudes

characterize conflicts between Warriors and Guardians. Warriors are too aggressive, while Guardians are not aggressive enough. Warriors resist the reforms that the public demands while Guardians support them. This division is likely exaggerated by the Warrior/Guardian paradigm which paints Warriors policing as the problem and Guardian policing as the solution. The cultural reform strategy of the paradigm calls to eliminate Warrior culture and convert all officers into Guardians. In sum, the Warrior/Guardian paradigm and Warrior/Guardian police identities put officers at odds with one another.

While other officers may take sides in the division, Detectives Miles rejects identifying as either Warrior or Guardian. Miles is a White man who works within his southern metropolitan department's crisis intervention unit. Before Miles became an officer, over 15 years before I spoke with him, he served as military police in the US Army. After refusing to say whether he considers himself a Warrior or a Guardian, I asked how other officers might describe him. He joked that they would call him a "jackass". He went on to explain that he used to be a Warrior, but now rejects both labels.

> *"I am man enough to say I started off as the Warrior mindset because I got home from Iraq in February and I was in the academy the next month. It takes a while to shed that whole mentality and stuff like that, but as my career went on, I saw the error of my ways. I think a lot of officers started to see the error of their ways.*
>
> *It's a buy in. You buy into it. They tell you, you know, you're going to be a police officer. You're going to do this, and you're young, you're impressionable, and you*

drink the Kool-Aid, and you got the t-shirt. It's like being in college. You go there. You go to all the games. You got the t-shirt. "Oh I hate that school, they're our rival. Yeah. You suck. You suck. You suck." And then 30 years later you're like, you go to one of these games and you see the kids doing that and you're like, "Was that me?" As you get older, you're like, "I can't do that anymore."

So, yeah. I think the older I got it, it went away. I don't think neither one of those [neither Warrior nor Guardian] describe me today."

- Detective Miles, White, Male, Southern

Miles states that his military background primed him for Warriorship. Once he joined the police, he was encouraged by others to be like a Warrior. He drank the "Kool-Aid". He likens police identity to a college rivalry. College rivalries and police officers each leverage an us-versus-them mentality. Miles disfavors the us-versus-them mentality. It seems that Miles would reject the Warrior identity in favor of the Guardian identity, as Guardians seem to oppose the us-versus-them mentality. However, Miles rejects both. To Miles, the source of the problem is not Warriorship, but rather the Warrior/Guardian distinction that drives undue division between officers.

From Miles' perspective, the Warrior/Guardian paradigm is itself a framework that encourages officers to maintain an us-versus-them mentality. To avoid that mentality, Miles refuses to identify as either. Miles may be suggesting that Warrior and Guardian identities are real, but they are better off ignored. Alternatively, he may be suggesting that by doing away with the Warrior/Guardian paradigm, officers could reconcile their differences and come to an alternative conception of police identity which synthesizes

elements of each. Last, he may be suggesting police identity ought to be understood in a completely different way.

4.8.2 Non-Distinction or Something Else

Some officers who identify as neither Warriors nor Guardians made similar arguments to those who identify as both. To these officers, describing an officer as a Warrior or a Guardian is inappropriate because officers are both Warriors and Guardians: the paradigm draws a distinction where one does not exist. Other officers argue that the Warrior/Guardian paradigm is not meaningful to them. To these officers, the Warrior/Guardian paradigm is an externally imposed framework that does not reflect real policing identities. Both the officers who believe that the Warrior/Guardian paradigm draws an inappropriate distinction and the officers who believe the Warrior/Guardian paradigm does not reflect their own police identity reject the validity of Warrior and Guardian police identities.

Officer Sampson, a White male police instructor in a southern metropolitan police department, rejects the Warrior/Guardian paradigm because he sees officers as both Warriors and Guardians. He does not *"like the term "Warrior" synonymous with law enforcement"* and prefers the term *"law enforcement professional."*

> *"I don't like both terms, um, because part of the Guardian approach is that at some point, you're a Warrior also, and you're able to turn that off and then be a Guardian. I just personally don't like the term Warrior synonymous with law enforcement. I actually just had a conversation with the recruits, I prefer the term*

"law enforcement professional". I try to be a professional on all aspects of my job; and that's being sound in, tactics, marksmanship, decision-making, so that I can go out and be, you know, the best police officer that I can be for my city at the time."

- Police Instructor Sampson, White, Male, Southern

Police Instructor Christopher brings both criticisms of the Warrior/Guardian paradigm together. Christopher rejects the paradigm for making an inappropriate distinction and believes that the paradigm does not reflect real policing identities. Further, Christopher believes that the concepts of Warrior and Guardian police identities did not develop out of officers' own understanding of themselves but is rather an externally imposed impression of police identity.

"I don't think you can be one without the other. I don't think you can be a Guardian of a community with no propensity to do violence to someone who's trying to harm that community. ***A Sheepdog with no teeth can't guard a flock.*** […]

I don't think folks in the profession see this [the Warrior/Guardian paradigm] *as a big a deal as folks outside. People hear this term "Warrior training", and they think that we are training to literally go to combat with folks on the street. Do we train people [officers] to protect themselves and save the lives of themselves and others? Yes, we do, and it takes a certain amount of aggression to make sure that happens. But we also train people to say, "Yes, ma'am." to the janitor and to the homeless person on the street because that's just as important.*

I don't know, personally, of officers who have this debate between being a Guardian and a Warrior. I think it's another one of those things that got drummed up based off the title of a few classes. If you want to call an officer a Guardian or a Warrior then know, that's a term that other folks [non-police] *have tried to assign. I don't know any officers who claim to be one or the other. I don't. I have yet to run into to an officer who says, "I'm officer such and such and I'm a Warrior."*

- Police Instructor Christopher, White, Male, Southern

When asked whether he sees himself as a Warrior or a Guardian officer, Christopher says that an officer cannot be a Guardian without also being a Warrior. Christopher justifies this belief by explaining that an officer cannot protect a community (as a Guardian) without the ability to do violence (as a Warrior) to those threatening that community. These statements might lead one to believe that Christopher sees himself as both a Warrior and a Guardian, however, Christopher goes on to criticize the Warrior/Guardian paradigm more broadly. Despite training officers to both have aggression (as a Warrior) and to be respectful (as a Guardian), Christopher argues that officers do not take the Warrior/Guardian paradigm as seriously as non-officers do. He asserts that officers themselves do not (explicitly) identify as Warriors or Guardians. Damningly, Christopher states that if one wishes to label officers as Warriors or Guardians, they should know that those are terms that officers themselves do not adhere to.

4.9 Conclusion: The Warrior/Guardian Identity Schema

The purpose of this chapter has been to investigate how officers relate meanings to the Warrior/Guardian paradigm and how it might characterize a police identity schema that underlies police organizational rules, practices, and the distribution of social resources. Through this analysis I have leveraged the paradigm to develop an identity schema that is characterized by thematic feelings associated with Warrior and Guardian identities. Threat and likeness emerge as fundamental axes that characterize the difference between Warrior and Guardian police.

Warrior police identity appears associated with high threat perception or a strong sense of danger both on and off duty. Warriors are *"soldiers put into a hostile environment", "Warrior officers train because they want to go home at the end of the night"*. They recognize that police *"are involved in situations where we have to fight, where we have to take a life, where we have to chase people."* Violence is salient; therefore, Warriors are vigilant and prepared for conflict that only hard power can manage. This framework justifies force as the protection of officers and others from aggressors. The consequence is that Warriors are resistant to changes that may limit police power or embolden nonpolice.

The high Warrior threat perception is associated with a certain distancing of themselves from the community, or a sense that Warrior police are unlike the community. This appears in the recognition that illicit violence comes from the community which Warrior officer Michael describes as *"a hostile environment."* Police are safe, nonpolice are dangerous. Likewise, this distancing of police from the community appears in criticisms of calls for reform. While criticizing police

defunding, Warrior officer Thompson states *"I don't think they know what they're asking for."* In other words, police understand law enforcement and public safety, nonpolice do not.

On the other hand, Guardian police identity appears associated with low threat perception, or a sense that they are relatively safe on and off duty. Guardians can see *"he's mad […] but he's not mad at me"* and *"believe that people can be good, even if they've been dealt a bad hand, if they are encountered by the right person."* Through this perspective, Guardians treat a suspects' behaviors as a function of their own actions. They conduct themselves with the intention to deescalate or lower the probability of violence and danger. Guardians' soft-power strategy is an attempt to minimize threats and maximize cooperation. By fostering cooperation, Guardians appear to experience a lower sense of threat and feel less need for vigilance and self-defense.

The Guardian's feeling of safety is associated with a closeness to the community. This appears as Stasha describes the community as *"an extended family"*, and as Brian explains that he wants to be *"be a regular citizen"*. Moreover, this likeness appears in attitudes toward police reform. Guardians take public criticisms seriously and recognize, as Chief Catlin states, change is a *"necessity. The public demands it."*

The difference in feelings and attitudes between Warriors and Guardians likewise creates distance between colleagues. Guardians criticize Warriors as hyperaggressive or proud. IA officer Omar states, "*I can't stand working around officers that are Warriors, wanting to flex and everything."*. Conversely, Warriors criticize Guardians as weak or less competent. Warrior can manage stressful situations,

other officers cannot. As Warrior Michael states, *"there're people who handle stress well and there're people who don't. There're Warriors who embrace chaos and like it. […] And some people don't."*

Interestingly, Guardians appear distanced from the profession, while Warriors appear to distance themselves from administrators. Guardian Deasia exemplifies the sense that Guardians are less like the average officer as she states, *"not everyone wants to be S.W.A.T. There are people that really want to help. Let us do that. Don't dumb us down.[…] We're forgetting the service part of policing."* On the other hand, Warriors Michael and Christopher attack administrators for siding with the public sentiment, "*trying to gauge the public's response and protect the department as a whole."* Consequently, Warriors may feel that the administration's *"understand of actions is out of align with what really goes on on the street."*

Perhaps the primary contention between Warriors and Guardians is the sense that Warriors are prejudiced while Guardians are not. Part of the problem is that if an officer were to commit racial misconduct, it's likely that they would be labeled a Warrior, regardless of how they may have been perceived prior. In examining officers' racial attitudes toward Black Lives Matter, I find no convincing evidence that Warriors are more prejudiced than Guardians. Although not strong evidence, the only officer to refute Black Lives Matter without qualification identified themselves as a Guardian. If differences in bias exist, I suggest that they are a function of differences in generalized threat perception or in differences in how officers act on bias.

The association of Warriors with violence and bias and Guardians with non-violent and non-bias highlights a limitation in the Warrior/Guardian schema. Violence

is a fundamental role behavior of policing and an independent construct from bias. Officers can perform violent-unbiased conduct and non-violent-biased conduct. The schema inextricably links Warriors to the problem of racialized policing, particularly racialized police violence. Guardians are offered as the unbiased solution. Warriors are scapegoated, Guardians are glorified, and the influence of systemic or procedural bias is concealed.

Although analysis of the Warrior/Guardian paradigm has revealed much about police attitudes, feelings, and practices, the Warrior/ Guardian paradigm is ultimately an idealization that has been projected onto police by the public. Rather than a substructural schema that orders police practices and the distribution of organizational resources, the Warrior/Guardian paradigm is a superstructural schema that applies public pressure on law enforcement to mitigate police bias and violence. The problem is that the through its moralization of police violence as biased Warrior/Guardian paradigm fails to map onto police role structure.

This mapping problem is highlighted by officers who believe police are both Warriors and Guardians or neither Warriors nor Guardians. These officers emphasize that Warrior and Guardian identities or police hard and soft power are both compatible and necessary. Officers may change their identity throughout their career, or across situations to best suit the roles that they take on. Indeed, Warrior identity appears tied to roles that are associated with dangerous tasks (i.e., Patrol, SWAT, and use of force training) while Guardian identity appears tied to roles that are associated with relatively safer service-oriented tasks (internal affairs, chiefs, outreach, and crisis intervention).

Perhaps the “best” officer is both because, as Christopher put it, *“a Sheepdog with no teeth can’t guard a flock”*.

Chapter 5: Findings 2 – Sheep, Wolves, and Sheepdogs

In this chapter I examine a second popular theory that may characterize a police identity schema: the Sheepdog analogy. Examining this social framework reveals how police self-perceptions of moral righteousness and strength situate officers as arbiters of justice. Officers are tasked with differentiating "criminals" from "non-criminals" and performing appropriate role behaviors. Officers differentiate types of civilians by remaining vigilant and suspicious to obtain information that might indicate criminality. Moreover, officers make judgements of people based on their compliance and deference in interactions. In doing this, officers navigate law, policy, and morality to guide their actions. The Sheepdog analogy reveals how identity schemas can simultaneously guide and justify organizational rules and practices that result in an inequitable distribution of social resources.

After speaking with officers about the Warrior/Guardian paradigm, I asked if there are other ways that they make sense of themselves as police and their relationships with others. Some officers cited an analogy popularized by retired Army Lt. Col. Dave Grossman in *On Killing: The Psychological Cost of Learning to Kill in War and Society* (Grossman 1995) and *On Combat: The Psychology and Physiology of Deadly Conflict in War and Peace* (Grossman & Christensen 2004). The analogy describes the relationship between sheep, wolves, and Sheepdogs. Officer William, a White male who works patrol and as a vehicle collision investigator in his southern department, succinctly explains, *"Sheepdogs are the police who protect the flock from the evil that exists."* After reluctantly identifying as a Warrior Jack, a white male police instructor

in the same department as William, also explains policing in terms of the Sheepdog analogy.

> *"There are wolves and there are sheep in society. The sheep don't understand, they're naïve, they have no ability to protect themselves. They sometimes don't even know wolves exist. And the wolves, are wolves, right? They're preying on the weak. They'll take your life, they'll take your property, they'll take your children, they'll hurt you and everybody you care about.*
>
> *Sheepdogs are police officers, and people like police officers who are aware of the wolves, but they're also aware of the sheep. They are there to protect the sheep from the wolves. In this analogy, put the wolves in jail where they can no longer hurt people. They're not only there to protect the sheep, but to actively go after the wolves."*
>
> - Police Instructor Jack, White, Male, Southern

Jack's description of the Sheepdog analogy portrays an identity schema that groups police into one category and the community into three. Officers are Sheepdogs, while the community includes wolves, sheep, and Sheepdogs. Jack explains that sheep are *"naïve"* and *"have no ability to protect themselves."* He frames sheep as foolish and weak but relatively good compared to wolves. William describes wolves as *"evil"* and Jack states that they will *"take your life"*, *"your property"* and *"your children."* They frame wolves, those who criminally victimize others, as malevolent and relatively powerful compared to sheep. The Sheepdogs are those who are simultaneously

righteous enough to *"protect the sheep"* and strong enough to *"actively go after the wolves."*

Corporal Evan, who works patrol in his southern metropolitan police department, states that the analogy *"explains everything"* and describes it in slightly different terms. To him, average people are sheep because they *"listen and follow whatever the media says."* Given that officers often criticize the media as portraying police in a negative light, this frames sheep as not only naïve, but somewhat complicit in opposition to policing.

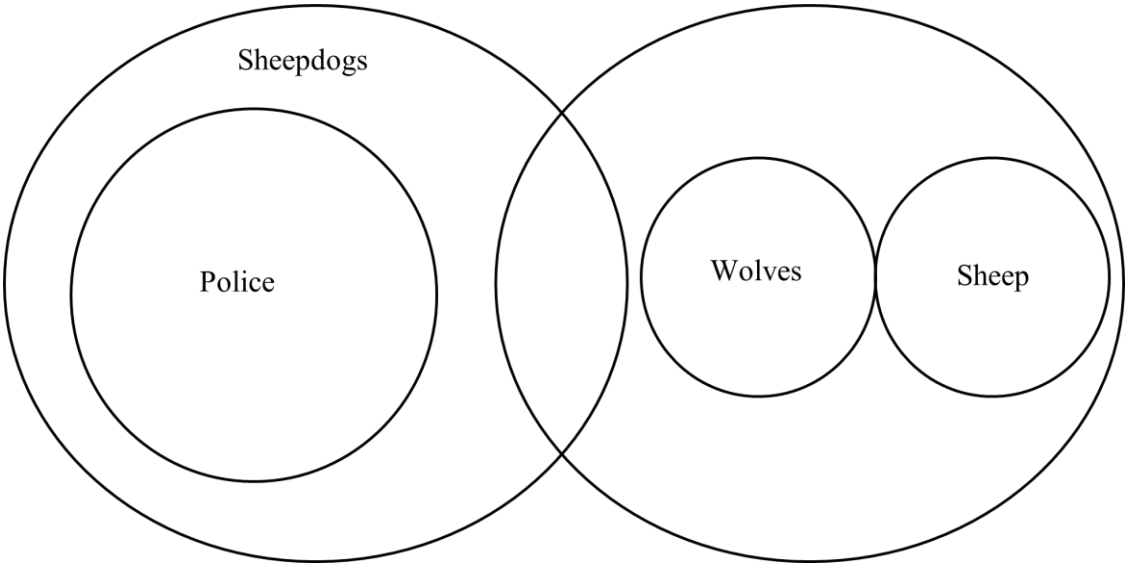
> *"I think it [the Sheepdog analogy] literally just explains everything, how it plays out. You have folks who just listen and follow whatever they media says, the sheep, and then you have other folks who just want to cause harm, and we are in between. You [officers] have to be the aggressor, but also fall in line at sometimes, and follow the rules as well, and you got to be the one to do the dirty work sometimes. Not many people want to do that."*
>
> - Corporal Evan, White, Male, Southern

Average citizens are framed as naïvely obedient. People who commit crime are framed as malevolent. Police are framed as pragmatic; they *"follow the rules"* and do the *"dirty work"* that *"not many people want to do"*: confront and control criminals. Like Warrior violent compassion, this dirty work is viewed as necessary for the protection of civilians. However, the use of righteous violence may cause some civilians to fear or dislike police. As police instructor Christopher describes it, *"A*

Sheepdog with no teeth can't guard a flock, and sometimes the flock might not like you, but it's still your job to protect the flock.".

Jack, Evan, and Christopher's descriptions portray how the Sheepdog analogy organizes identity meanings and their relationships with others into a Sheepdog police identity schema. As displayed in the figure, these officers describe all police officers as Sheepdogs. Sheep and Wolves are members of the community. Interestingly, Jacob states "Sheepdogs are police officers, and people *like* police officers*"*. This suggests that nonpolice may also be Sheepdogs if they are more like the police than to sheep or wolves. As such, characteristic police identity meanings can be associated with nonpolice to reduce social distance between officers and the community.

Fig 4 Sheepdog Police Identity Schema



The identity meanings and that officers associate with Sheepdog, sheep, and wolf identities are well elaborated. Wolves are violent predators, or cold-hearted criminals. Wolves are evil, but somewhat powerful. Sheep are innocent, defenseless, or even ignorant, prey. Sheep are relatively weak but good. Sheepdogs are vigilant protectors of the sheep and counter-predators to the wolves. Sheepdogs are both good and powerful. In this framework, it is the wolf's role to prey on the sheep and the Sheepdog's role to protect the sheep and go after the wolf.

Interestingly, this analogy somewhat likens Sheepdog to wolves. Evan states, "you have to be the aggressor", and Christopher states, "a Sheepdog with no teeth can't guard a flock". Both wolves and dogs have teeth, both police and criminals are associated with a degree of aggression or the capacity to use violence. Christopher uses this similarity to explain negative attitudes from the community. The community does not like police use of force, but it's necessary "it's still your job". While civilians may fear or dislike police because they use violence, officers recognize that civilians rely on police for protection. In other words, officers with this perspective think civilians see them as a necessary evil. Chief Catlin shares this perspective:

> [what do people in general think about the police?] *"Necessary evil. 'if I could get rid of all you guys, I would. But who's going to write the red-light ticket? Who's going to come to my house when it gets broken into?' If they could do without us, they would, but they need us."*
>
> - Chief Catlin, Black, Male, Midwest

Comparable to the attitudes of the Warrior mindset, officers using the Sheepdog analogy recognize the necessity of police violence and don't see violence as necessarily immoral. The evaluation of violence is dependent on the object of violence. Drawing on both the Warrior/Guardian and Sheepdog paradigms, training officer Christopher explains,*" I don't think you can be a Warrior without the heart to be a Guardian. I don't think you can be a Guardian without a heart and a compassion to produce righteous violence if somebody's trying to harm the flock. You have to be both."* "Righteous violence" is violence used against a wolf to protect the flock.

In this sense, a Sheepdog can be understood as both a Warrior and a Guardian. The Sheepdog is a Warrior to the wolf, and a Guardian to the sheep. Where the Warrior/Guardian paradigm presents a boundary between the Warrior/Guardian dichotomy, the Sheepdog analogy provides a synthesis. The reasoning is that innocent people deserve Guardian treatment while criminals deserve Warrior treatment. Officers can be both Warriors and Guardians so long as they appropriately distribute protective, Guardian, behaviors to sheep and aggressive, Warrior, behaviors to wolves. However, officers recognize that distinguishing between sheep and wolves is not a simple task.

A common criticism of the Sheepdog analogy was that identifying and categorizing people is not as simple as distinguishing between *ovis* and *canis*. As Thompon's colleague, instructor Michael put it, *"we are not a different species than the people we protect."* People who are like police, such as soldiers, veterans, and other citizens who would take heroic action if the moment arose shouldn't be considered sheep. Likewise, painting civilians as feckless sheep is "dismissive" and "insulting". There is some degree of affinity between police and civilians.

"I don't look at our citizens as sheep. I mean, I have a lot of veteran friends that scoff at the idea that they're part of the flock."

– K9 Officer Alan, White, Male, Southern

"I think it's a very good analogy. It's a little tough to give the general public that analogy because you're calling them sheep and that sounds dismissive and it sounds insulting, and I don't think that's the way it's intended at all, but I do think it's a pretty good analogy."

– Police Instructor Jack, White, Male, Southern

These officers recognize that the line between Sheepdogs are sheep is blurred. Left out of their criticism is a recognition that the distinction between Sheepdogs and wolves can likewise be unclear. While discussing his perceptions of police abolition supporters, Lieutenant Matthews, who has 20 years of experience in his Mid-Atlantic metropolitan department, spoke to the ignorance of the sheep and the discrete difference between wolves and others. Matthews explains that supporters of police abolition hold negative attitude toward police because they "don't see […] the pure evil that exists". In other words, police may be disliked for looking similar to wolves, but Sheepdogs are not the "pure evil" that wolves are.

"That's a bad road to go down (laughs.) I think what a lot of people don't see is just the pure evil that exists in our society and in our community, you know,

violent crimes that are committed where the individual has zero remorse, not a care in the world who they shoot, kill, or a stray bullet hits. I don't think they are aware of that level that exists in society."

– Police Instructor Sampson, White, Male, Southern

Matthews believes that pure evil exists in the community and that it is the job of the police to contain it. However, how does an officer identify pure evil? The Sheepdog analogy highlights the categorization problem that officers face. Just as distinguishing between sheep and Sheepdog can be unclear, distinguishing between sheep and wolf, and even between Sheepdog and wolf, can be unclear. How do officers sort individuals into sheep, wolf, and Sheepdog identities, and what are the consequences? The Sheepdog analogy provides a framework for exploring how officers manages this problem. The ways that officers accomplish these categorizations can help us to understand how the Sheepdog identity schema shapes officer decision making practices and their consequences.

In this chapter I draw upon this Sheepdog identity schema to explore how officers conceptually organize their relations and experiences with others. The Sheepdog identity schema allows for an understanding of 'wolves in sheep's clothing' and 'wolves in Sheepdog's clothing'. In other words, how categorization between 'good' and 'bad' civilians and officers takes place. The following "Wolves in sheep's clothing" section explores how officers' role, training, and biases pattern identification and treatment of civilians. Wolves in Sheepdog's clothing provides a starting point for

a conceptualization of how officers make sense of themselves as police and how officers come to identify and address misconduct within their ranks.

5.1 Wolves in Sheep's Clothing

It is the duty of officers to determine whether an individual has committed, or is likely to commit, a crime. Officers use observational strategies to collect information and identify potential criminals. If they identify a potential criminal, officers deploy intervention strategies to prevent or stop unlawful behaviors, collect information, and apply social control. How do officers distinguish between a criminal and a law-abiding civilian? How might the sheep-wolf labels inform officers' impressions and shape their behaviors? To address this question, I asked officers a series of questions about how they perceive criminality, suspicion, and danger in law enforcement interactions.

In interviews, three broad factors emerged as the ways that officers categorize people to differentiate wolves from sheep. These characteristics are the identity meanings associated with wolves and sheep. The first factor involves perceptions of criminality, or behaviors that violate law. This factor is associated with feelings of suspicion or distrust. The second factor involves officer impressions of the subject more broadly, or behaviors that violate the officers' social expectations. This factor is associated with feelings of pride and anger. The third factor involves how officers navigate their own biases to manage these perceptions. Categorization as a sheep or a wolf can change rapidly throughout an interaction as the situation evolves and new information emerges. Such categorizations structure how officers feel and behave towards subjects.

5.1.1 Sheepdog Suspicion

Officers initiate law enforcement contact when they are dispatched to a situation via a call-for-service, witness a crime, or perceive suspicious behavior. Consistent with past research, officers describe leveraging a sense of suspicion to differentiate between criminal and noncriminal actors (Skolnick 1994; Crank 1998). Likewise, officers describe how a sense of incongruity, or the perception that a situation is unusual, guides their sense of suspicion (Mooney & Young 2000; Smith & Gray 1983; Reiner 1978).

5.1.1.1 Criminality

When officers witness or otherwise receive convincing evidence that an individual has committed a crime, officers are likely to identify that individual as a criminal and potentially a wolf. Legally, this standard is known as probable cause. The Supreme Court's 1964 decision in Beck v. Ohio outlines the traditional standard of probable cause: An officer has probable cause when the officer maintains reasonably trustworthy knowledge that would warrant a prudent person to believe that an individual has committed a crime.

> *"You have to ensure that you're able to articulate that a crime was committed and the individual that has been deemed the perpetrator committed that crime. That is, you need probable cause a crime was committed and any evidence to support that."*
>
> - Chief Michelle, Black, Female, Mid-Atlantic

The impression of criminal behavior appears to be a primary driver of officers' identification of a subject as a wolf; A wolf is a criminal. However, crimes vary in type (e.g., traffic, violent, property, drug, etc.) and severity (e.g., infractions, misdemeanors, felonies). Officers reveal how different types of criminal behaviors are viewed differently. Officers differentiate between the type of offense and the type of victim. Violent crimes are perceived as more serious than non-violent crimes. The victimization of people less deserving of violence (i.e., women and children, perceived non-criminals) is perceived as more serious than the victimization of people more deserving of violence (i.e., men, perceived criminals).

When asked about the most stressful situations that officers face at work, officers commonly described the stress of confronting violent crime and the uncertainty that officers face when interacting with someone who is not known to be violent or non-violent. Officers share more concern for violent crime than non-violent crime.

> *"There are times which we face stress, it's when we face adversity. It is when we face violence. Not necessarily violence towards ourselves, but just violence, where there are victims of violence, especially young children."*
>
> - Chief Michelle, Black, Female, Mid-Atlantic

In line with this attitude that violent crime is more serious than non-violent crime, another officer explains how the victim of the crime matters. Violence against children, sexual violence, and violence against women is more troubling than other violent or drug offenses.

"For me, seeing children hurt, that's one of my pet peeves. Sexual assaults, violence against women, things like that. I don't like to see it. […] I've worked in violent crimes. All we did was go after violent offenders and drug dealers, but it was different for all of those [sexual assault, violence against women and children]."

- Narcotics Sergeant Carlos, Male, Mid-Atlantic

Officers' distinction between types of crime and types of victims highlights how criminal behaviors are not viewed equally. Officers may be more concerned with violent crime than with non-violent crime, and more concerned with crime against less deserving victims than with more deserving victims. Criminal behavior, therefore, may be insufficient to categorize an individual as a wolf. If someone commits a violent crime or a crime against an undeserving victim, they may be more likely to be perceived as a wolf. However, if someone commits a non-violent crime or a crime against a deserving victim, they may be less likely to be perceived as a wolf. A wolf is not just a criminal, but a particularly violent criminal or one who targets particularly undeserving victims.

In law enforcement interactions these processes inform how officers feel and behave toward subjects. One officer describes a situation where they chose not to ticket a woman despite her driving with a child in the car who was not secured in a car seat.

"I think as an adult it's your responsibility to put a seatbelt on a child. But I stopped a lady one time who had a kid walking around [unbuckled], she had

two different size spare tires on her car. She was coming into the city to go to a funeral home to take possession of a relative that had passed away. She was having a bad day. The law was pretty clear, you got a kid that needs to be in a car seat, but the kid wasn't. It wasn't the time to write her a ticket. I didn't write her a ticket at that moment."

- Police Instructor Christopher, White, Male, Southern

The woman endangered the child and could have received a ticket. If the officer perceived her as a wolf, a real threat to the child, they would have likely held the woman accountable. However, the officer was sympathetic toward the woman and excused her behaviors because "she was having a bad day". While there is an element of misogyny here (which will be addressed more later), this incident demonstrates how crime committed by a perceived sheep is viewed as a mistake and treated less harshly.

These concepts likewise shape officers' perceptions and feelings toward crime victims. Patrol Officer Andrea, a Black woman working within a family service unit within her Southern metropolitan police department describes how officers' perceptions of a homicide victim were informed by the circumstances.

"We had a homicide a couple of weeks ago. A seven-year-old girl with her dad in the car, the girl was killed too. Well, it was kind of like, you know, they found drugs and money in the front seat. So, the compassion, there wasn't so much. It was like he was expected to have a shortened life. But you know, why would he do that to a child?" - Patrol Officer Andrea, Black, Female, Southern

While we might expect the victim of a homicide to be viewed as a sheep, the presence of drugs and the perceived endangerment of a child led officers to not have sympathy for the victim. The lack of sympathy and expectation of a shortened life indicate that the officer believes that homicide victim to some extent deserved his fate. The presence of drugs and the endangerment of child likening the victim to a wolf and produced a deserving victim. While the homicide subject would no doubt be perceived as a wolf, victimization of a perceived wolf is to some extent likened to righteous violence. Wolves are subject to victim blaming.

In sum, information about the type of crime and the type of victim matters for how an officer will categorize, feel, and behave toward a subject. A subject who commits more serious crimes, such as those involving violence, is more likely to be perceived as a wolf. Likewise, criminals who victimize perceived undeserving targets such as women or children are more likely to be viewed as wolves. Wolves are necessarily criminals, but sheep may also commit less serious crimes. Officers show little sympathy for wolves, regardless of whether they are victims. Officers show sympathy for sheep if they commit a crime, those crimes are viewed as mistakes.

5.1.1.2 Criminal History

Just as the commission of certain types of crime can inform an officer's perception as they enter situations, information about a subject criminal history can shape an officers' perception. For instance, Patrol Officer Maria, a woman in a southern metropolitan police department, explains how the length of a subject's criminal history influences her to act more punitively.

"It depends on how many times have I interacted with that person. Have I had to come out here five times already for him? Then he's probably going to jail. If he has a long criminal history of doing the same thing, he's probably going to jail."

– Patrol Officer Maria, Female, Southern

Officer Maria explains that if she has interacted with a subject multiple times, or if they have a criminal record of doing the same behaviors repeatedly, she will likely take them to jail. As such, the perception of patterned criminal behavior may encourage officers to perceive a subject more like a criminal, or more like a wolf. Consevaly, this may mean that a pattern of lesser crimes may influence an officer to associate that person with more violent or serious crimes.

Similarly, Griffin, a White Male detective who works within a narcotics unit in his Southern police department, describes how criminal history informs his decision whether to permit an individual to act as an informant. To Griffin recent involvement in crime, or involvement in violent crime, makes a person unreliable.

"You'd be shocked, the number of people that call in and say they want to work for the police [as an informant]. It's amazing. […] The only reason I would turn you down as an informant is depending on your criminal history, if you're on probation or you've got several violent charges and a very recent history, some of that stuff will influence your reliability."

– Detective Griffin, White, Male, Southern

A history of offenses indicates to these officers that the individual is likely to continue criminal behavior or is unlikely to be reliable. Individuals with criminal histories should be treated more harshly with arrests and not trusted to assist police. A criminal history, therefore, may influence an officer to categorize an individual as a wolf.

Although criminal history may influence officer perceptions of a subject, it should be noted that officers do not always have access to this background information. Criminal history may be something that the officer discovers during or after a law enforcement interaction. As such, information about an individual's history may or may not influence an officer during an encounter.

5.1.1.3 Call Information

When officers receive a call to service, dispatch workers provide a description of the situation that they must respond to. The information dispatch provides is gathered from a 911 caller. Oftentimes, call information includes the type of incident, the location of the incident, and a description of the individuals involved. This information, accurate or not, can prime the responding officer's perceptions of the situation. Police Instructor Michael, a White male who teaches patrol techniques in his southern police department described how call information may influence officers.

> *"I teach a patrol techniques class. This is such a common problem that it is part of basic training. "Hey, there's a suspicious person in my neighborhood." "Okay, man, what's suspicious about him?" "Well, he just doesn't belong here."*

So, what I do for the officers is I asked them, "If you were taking a witness statement, we all know that witnesses can be unreliable, would you want to know what their personal relationship was to this person?" Because you're going to go to a domestic and somebody is going to say, "My boyfriend has a gun." Because they want to see their boyfriend who just cheated on them get roughed up by the police. If you were to go to a white supremacist house, he's probably going to say some pretty negative things about his neighbor who is black, but you can't take that at face value."

– Police Instructor Michael, White, Male, Southern

A call suggesting that someone is suspicious might influence an officer to think the subject is suspicious, regardless of additional information. A call that someone has a gun might influence an officer to think that they will be dealing with someone who is violent or dangerous. Call information may influence an officer to categorize a subject as a wolf regardless of additional information. As such, Michael emphasizes the need for officers to question call information and rely instead on criminal behaviors as described in the earlier section.

5.1.2 Sheepdog Pride and Anger

In law enforcement interactions, officers attempt to gain and maintain control of subjects to stop or prevent crime, investigate crime, and deliver justice. The potential crime that has occurred, the criminal background of the subject, and the call information are all peripheral at the point of contact. When an officer is interacting with a subject the officer receives situated impressions or first-hand information about the

subject. Prior to face-to-face contact, the officer may have already categorized the subject as a wolf or a sheep, however the interaction can rapidly transform impression. How does categorization of sheep or wolf operate at this stage and relate to officers' feelings and behaviors? Officers describe two ways that subjects' behaviors in interactions inform their perceptions and reactions: compliance and deference.

5.1.2.1 Compliance

Officers use commands to gain and maintain control of situations (i.e., "stop", "sit down") and collect information (i.e., "show me your identification", "where are you going?"). Compliance refers to the degree that a person is perceived as following officer commands accurately and without hesitation. To Police Instructor Christopher, a White male who teaches a "Warrior Survival" course in his Southern metropolitan police department, police use of force is determined by the subject's compliance, or the degree and type of threat posed by the noncompliant behavior.

> *"The selection and application of force is based off behavior. How you behave when I give you a command. It's a simple system: I asked you to do something that I have the authority to ask you to do. You failed to do it. Now I have a decision to make. What level of force was your failure to do it, what does it really mean to me and my safety and how do I respond?*
>
> *Officers are gauging their next thought, their next movement, their next words based off the questions that they've asked or the commands that they've given. The first thing you want know is if this person is compliant or not compliant. Well, if they're compliant, you move this way. If they're not*

compliant, then is this noncompliance deadly or passive? And then you deal with it and address it. If it's passive then you move on, if it's deadly then obviously you'd have to act."

- Police Instructor Christopher, White, Male, Southern

Compliance signals non-threat. When an officer sees compliant behavior, they perceive that the subject will not attempt to harm them, and that they will not need to escalate force to maintain control. Likewise, non-compliance communicates a threat that the officer may need to respond to with a higher level of force to maintain control. Non-compliant behavior is further delineated between passive and active non-compliance. "Passive non-compliance" is the non-violent refusal to follow commands (i.e., inaction, non-response, or the provision of false information). "Active non-compliance" is, defensive or offensive action taken by individuals to resist officer command or control (i.e., tensing muscles, fleeing, pushing, grabbing, striking). Active non-compliance can range in violence from non-lethal (i.e., tensing muscles) to lethal (i.e., use of deadly weapons against an officer).

Active non-compliance is oftentimes a criminal offense (obstruction of justice) and is likely to influence an officer to categorize the subject as a wolf. Passive non-compliance is not necessarily criminal. For instance, individuals stopped by officers are not required by law to answer questions (although some states require the provision of certain information such as name). However, officers may perceive non-criminal non-compliance, such as anxiety or hesitation, as a signal for potential criminality.

"Everyone is nervous during a traffic stop, but there's a difference between being nervous and shaking or sweating or hesitating. You [the officer] pick up on some of those subtle cues that maybe even the person in the traffic stop doesn't notice they're doing; you can see their hand shaking going to get whatever they're getting. You try to determine whether it's just nerves or whether there's something in the bag that's sitting on the passenger seat."

- Police Instructor Laura, White, woman, Southern

Laura, a White female police instructor associates' signs of anxiety with the possibility that the subject is hiding something or planning to attack the officer. If the person is nervous, they might be hiding drugs or reaching for a weapon. Subtle passive non-compliance, like anxiety or hesitancy, is related to perceptions of criminality.

In sum, officers associate compliance with threat and criminality. These associations correlate with identity meanings within the Sheepdog analogy. Consistent with sheep identity, a compliant subject is non-threatening, non-criminal. Consistent with wolf identity, a noncompliant subject is threatening and criminal. Based on the Sheepdog analogy, we would expect officers to be more protective of compliant subjects and more aggressive toward noncompliant subjects. Importantly, these perceptions appear to influence officers regardless of whether the individual has committed a crime. A hesitant or noncompliant non-criminal may be treated more like a wolf than a compliant criminal.

5.1.2.2 Deference

Another signal that officers draw upon within situations to categorize a wolf or sheep is deference. Deference refers to the degree that a person's speech toward an officer is perceived as respectful, valorizing, nondiminutive, or friendly. Although officers are trained to base their decisions on legal standards, officers described how people's deference toward officers can influence their perceptions and treatment.

Like compliance, deference signals that the subject will not behave in ways deemed inappropriate. Omar, a Black male internal affairs officer in his midwestern police department describes how he wants to be respected by *"Mr. and Mrs. Jones"* and feared by *"assholes"*. In other words, Omar expects deference from sheep and wolves. Deference from wolves appears particularly important, he associates respect from criminals with *"good fear".* People who respect him out of good fear will not *"act up"* in his presence. Like compliance, respect appears to communicate non-threat. Respect indicates that the person will be compliant.

> *"I remember hearing or reading that someone said, "I would much rather be feared than loved." when I'm out [on patrol], I would much rather be feared than loved. And I shouldn't say fear, I would much rather be respected. I want Mr. and Mrs. Jones to respect me. I'm going to do everything I can to gain their respect, but I want the ass holes out here to fear me. […] I'm one of the nicest people you would ever want to meet. But people would say, "Man, that's that mean cop. Don't do nothing, he'll jack you up. Don't act up". When I say I would rather be feared, that's what I mean. Good fear goes a long way."*

- IA Officer Omar, Black, Male, Midwest

Lack of deference may cause an officer to treat someone as a Wolf even if they have not committed a crime. When I asked officers to recount a time that they noticed another officer struggling at work, Wilson, a White male patrol officer in a southern police department, described an instance where an officer acted inappropriately because of perceived disrespectful behavior.

> *"The first thing that popped in my head is an officer that was dealing with somebody, clearly the subject wasn't even suspect at the time, who was pushing buttons by cussing at the officer. They were just clearly there to be disrespectful and agitate the officer. The officer wasn't able to defer any of that, he took it on, and the reaction was based more on that than it was the actual scenario. […] The situation didn't get out of control because I was able to interject in that specific situation, say, "do me a favor and go check for warrants, I'll finish the conversation with this guy."*
>
> – Patrol Officer Wilson, White, Male, Southern

In this situation, disrespectful behavior drove the officer to recategorize subject who "wasn't even the suspect at the time". Despite being trained to react to situations based on legal standards, this officer reacted based on his perception of disrespect from an individual.

Elements of police cultural machoism is evident in the need to maintain the deference of subjects. These officers expect to be respected and will fight for deference if necessary. Deference shows that officer that they are safe and do not need to fight. An officer perceiving an individual as disrespectful may increase the likelihood that the person is viewed as a wolf.

5.1.3 Bias

Impressions of criminality, compliance, and deference are each informed by bias. When I asked officers to describe how biases influence their policing behaviors, they tended to explain how events that are outside of expectations are suspicious. However, some officers did recognize that their feelings and biases about categories of people may likewise influence their perceptions and behaviors. Corporal Evan, a White patrol officer and field trainer in his southern police department describes how he knows when something suspicious.

> *"Would a normal person be doing what they're doing right now? Time of day and what they're doing or what they're wearing. Where are they going, what direction?*
>
> *If it's cold out, and he's wearing just shorts or a t-shirt, he's out of place. Doesn't matter what skin they are, that's just not normal. If it's blazing summer, it's like 97 degrees and they're wearing a jacket. I'm like, "What, why?""*
>
> *That's why we have voluntary encounters. You can just go talk to somebody. They don't want to talk, they can keep walking, but sometimes they give you something that doesn't jive, that doesn't match their actions or their*

body language. So, sometimes you have a hunch where you have to build something of it." – Corporal Evan, White, Male, Southern

To Evan, behaviors that are inconsistent with the setting are likely to be viewed as suspicious or potentially criminal. Evan argues that feeling something *"doesn't jive"* is not malicious. Rather, it's being vigilant of instances where the possibility of a crime is present. For instance, wearing clothes that are inappropriate for the weather may suggest that the clothes are being used to conceal drugs or weapons. Likewise, if a person is outside of an abandoned building, they may have trespassed or be planning to trespass. Evans points out that these suspicions do not mean that a crime has occurred, rather they should lead the officer to investigate further.

The relationship between these types of biases and biases based on social identities is apparent. These feelings about what is normal or what is suspicious are likely to interact with other biases and lead to differences in rates of police contact. Although officers were generally hesitant to suggest that race could influence their perceptions. Officers describe how social characteristics and their intersections could inform officers impressions.

"Sometimes, black or white, I'll see a big group of teenagers and I'm like, okay, it's a big group of teenagers and I don't think anything of it, but some people see a big group of teenagers and think, hey, that's a big group, they have to be up to no good." – Sergeant Tyrell, Black, Male, Midwestern

"I don't necessarily see that race is an issue. I work here where we have inner city poverty, which tends to be African American, but I live where there's rural poverty, which tends to be white. I see the poverty as more an issue of crime than race. I think it's an income issue with crime."

– Special Investigator Ross, White, Male, Southern

Tyrell explains that younger people may be perceived as *"up to no good"*. Ross explains that poverty is associated with inner-city Blackness, rural Whiteness, and crime. Age, class, and its racial associations may each influence impressions about potential criminality and may shape perceptions of whether a person is a wolf or a sheep. Likewise, these characteristics can be associated with the likelihood that the subject is deferential. Bian, a Black male Captain in a midwestern police department, describes how younger people are less respectful particularly to their parents and police officers.

"I think most citizens, especially in my neighborhood, they're respectful to police. Um, but I think the younger generation is not only disrespectful to the police, they're disrespectful to their parents. I'm not a person who puts every person into that file. I just don't trust them. If you ask a young person if they want to be a policeman, they'll laugh at you."

– Captain Brian, Black, Male, Midwestern

Suspicions or biases about settings, which Corporal Evan has described as being void of social identity bias, intersect with the social identity biases that Tyrell, Ross, and Bian described. Andrea explains how social characteristics can paint perceptions about suspicious situations. She describes how social characteristics can inform impressions of things being "out of place". If a young White people are in a primarily non-White area, they may be attempting to buy drugs, or they may be lost.

> *"They may refer to it as racial profiling if you're pulling somebody over, based on their race or gender or something like that. But I mean, a predominantly minority community where its drug infested and different things like that, and you see a car full of white kids, like college kids, my first thought, just by experience: are they there to buy drugs or are they lost? Or do they have friends over here in this neighborhood because you don't see that often."*
>
> – Patrol Officer Andrea, Black, Female, Southern

Sergeant Frederick, a sergeant in a Midwest police department, is more succinct and direct. He states*, "you got to take into account everything else around you, time of day, location, what's been happening in that area, then there some descriptions out."* When asked what those descriptions are, he said, *"Black male, blue jeans, T-shirt, 5' 9" or 6", 175 pounds, dark complexion. That's what I hear."*. Hearing this description regularly, may certainly prime an officer to associate race with crime.

Fig 5. Sheep, Wolf, Sheepdog Identity Meanings

Sheep	Wolf	Sheepdog
- Morally neutral - Non-violent - "Lesser" crimes - Compliant - Deferential - Belongs - Deserves sympathy.	- Morally corrupt - Violent - Criminal - Non-compliant - Non-deferential - Does not belong. - Deserves penalty	- Morally Good - Violent - "Warrior" & "Guardian" - Moral arbiter

In sum, officers distinguish between wolves and sheep by drawing simultaneously upon role and social identity meanings. Drawing from role identity meanings, officers are more likely to label someone a wolf if they are associated with criminal behavior. Repeated criminal behavior or more violent/egregious criminal behavior makes a person more like a wolf. Officers draw on social identity meanings in two ways: first, through the feelings generated in interactions, and second through biases. When a person is compliant and deferential, the officer experiences a feeling of safety or non-threat and associates the person with sheep. When a person is non-compliant and non-deferential, the officer experiences a feeling of threat and associates the person with wolves. Last, officer biases paint the perceptions of criminality, compliance, and deference. These biases associate youth, poverty, and Blackness with wolves, and conversely associate adulthood, wealth, and Whiteness with sheep. Consequently, those types of people are more likely to be associated with criminality, noncompliance, and disrespect.

While this differentiation process is centered on Sheepdog's perceptions of wolves and sheep, analysis also reveals meanings associated with the Sheepdog identity. Sheepdogs are arbiters of law and morality. It is the role of Sheepdogs to differentiate between wolves and sheep. This role is associated with feelings of suspicion or distrust and involves assessing people's relationship to the law and to morality. Fundamentally, Sheepdogs identify people as wolves when they are associated with criminality and immorality. They identify people sheep when they are associated with legality and morality. As arbiters, Sheepdogs are associated with a high degree of lawfulness and morality. This is evidenced by emotion in interactions with the public. Sheepdogs are proud and can be angry; they are offended by disrespect and angered by noncompliance.

5.2 Wolves in Sheepdog's Clothing

The previous section examines how officers manage the "wolves in sheep's clothing problem" by differentiating between wolves and sheep. Although the Sheepdog analogy does not explicitly delineate between types of officers, the moral distinction among civilians evokes a parallel analysis. How do officers manage the "wolves in *Sheepdog's* clothing" problem? I draw upon the Sheepdog analogy to examine how officers differentiate between wolves and Sheepdogs within their own ranks.

If it is the task of Sheepdog officers to identify and confront wolves, officers should be as concerned, if not more concerned, with wolves in Sheepdog's clothing. Just as officers distinguish between and manage "good" and "bad" civilians, officers must identify and manage "good" and "bad" officers. How do officers recognize bad

officers, and what do they do about them? Are wolves in Sheepdog's clothing viewed and treated similarly to non-police wolves? To understand how officers find and confront wolves in Sheepdog's clothing I asked officers how they perceive and manage inappropriate officer conduct. How do officers differentiate between "good" and "bad" policing? What do officers do when they recognize "bad" policing? How might these schematic processes shape rules and practices within policing in ways that shape the distribution of social resources?

When I asked officers how they differentiate between good and bad police conduct, they began by describing how officers are trained to respond to situations. Live role play training is viewed as the "gold standard" by the police trainers I spoke with. In role play training officers are placed in a law enforcement scenario with actors and simulated tools. Officers are expected to follow laws and policies that dictate how to collect information, manage compliance, and implement a resolution. Success in the scenario hinges on the officers' ability to use legal and policy-approved strategies to deliver a justified resolution. Unjustified conduct, *"inappropriate use of force, inappropriate language, not taking control of the suspect"* (Police Instructor Christopher), or applying an inappropriate resolution each result in failure. In these trainings, officers are primarily concerned with the selection and application of legal and policy approved strategies, but compliance with law and policy is only one part of the officers' concerns.

When officers enter real situations, they recognize people's lives and freedom are at stake. Moral considerations likewise influence officers' perceptions of police conduct. Chief Catlin, a Black man in a Midwestern metropolitan police department,

states, "*my litmus test is three things: Is it legal, is it within our policies and guidelines, and is it ethical?"* Both the morality and legal/policy compliance of police conduct are scrutinized by officers. Morality and compliance comprise two dimensions of police conduct evaluation by officers.

Fig 6. Sheepdogs Navigate Morality and Compliance

	Compliant	**Noncompliant**
Moral	"Good police work" Legal and within policy, deserving subject. "Justified"	"Vigilantism" Illegal or against policy, deserving subject. "Justifiable"
Immoral	"Rule-following" Legal and within policy, undeserving subject. "Justifiable"	"Wolves in Sheepdog's Clothing" Illegal or against policy, undeserving subject. "Unjustifiable"

Differentiating police conduct evaluations by compliance and morality classifies four types of police conduct along two axes. Compliance refers to whether the conduct is in-line with law and policy. Compliant actions are lawful, and policy approved behaviors. Compliant actions will receive no legal or departmental sanctions, however they could, as Police instructor Christopher put it, *"not look pretty"* and result in negative public response. Noncompliant actions violate laws or policies and can result in legal or departmental sanctions ranging from verbal warnings to criminal

justice proceedings. On the other hand, morality describes whether a treatment is perceived by officers as righteous or fair. Moral police conduct affords people what they deserve: treating good people well and bad people poorly. Immoral conduct includes behaviors that are perceived as too harsh or discriminatory given the situation.

Laws and policies may clearly define and restrict or compel certain officer behaviors. For instance, some departments prohibit the use of choke holds and carotid holds under any circumstance. Using those control methods would be a plain breach of policy. Likewise, some departments have policies that define a duty to intervene. If an officer witnesses the use of prohibited force and fails to attempt to stop the offending officer, the officer who fails to attempt intervention would likewise be in plain breach of policy. Violation of clearly defined rules is likely to be viewed as noncompliant. However, as Michelle, a Black female Chief in the mid-Atlantic explains, officers don't necessarily view laws and policies as black and white.

> *"I like to think of the law not as black and white, but as taking a look at what I'm presented with and trying to make the best decision that I can."*
>
> -Chief Michelle, Black, Female Mid-Atlantic

Many laws and policies provide significant leeway for officer discretion. Discretion is the legal and policy bound freedom for officers to make judgements of appropriate actions. One way officer discretion operates is by the availability of multiple legal or policy approved options. For instance, *"when you stop someone to give them a ticket, there's nothing that says you have to give them a ticket"* (Sergeant

Carlos). Despite witnessing a crime, like speeding, officers can lawfully provide either a warning or a citation.

Another way officer discretion operates is by the justification of an option with non-falsifiable standards. For instance, use of force is substantiated by the officers' perceptions of the situation. Use of deadly force is legally justifiable if the officer can reasonably claim that they feared for their life. Although the experience of fearing for your life may not be voluntary, the personal experience cannot be falsified. The justification of fear can be used, even retrospectively, whether fear was present.

> *"Oftentimes when these instances happen [an officer involved killing] an officer will say that they were in fear for their lives. It's standard legal language to explain why you feel that you needed to do this, 'I feared for my life therefore I pulled my weapon and I discharged x number of rounds' that's the standard."*
>
> - Chief Michelle, Black, Female, Mid-Atlantic

Ultimately, the interaction between compliance and morality comes down to justification. *"We see justified and non-justified shootings differently. There is nothing that a good cop wants more than a bad cop to be kicked off the force and do something else"* (Police Instructor Griffin). We would expect that actions which are both compliant and moral are justified and actions that are both noncompliant and nonmoral are unjustified. Indeed, that's what officers describe. Officers who commit noncompliant immoral behaviors are the "bad cop", the wolf is Sheepdog's clothing. Compliant-immoral and noncompliant-moral behaviors operate within a gray area;

they are not necessarily justified or unjustified, they are "justifiable". Officers navigate this gray area through their impressions of policed subjects.

5.2.1 "Justifiable" Conduct

Following the rules does not necessarily make an officers' conduct moral and breaking the rules does not necessarily make an officers' conduct immoral. Officers described situations in which going along with law or policy could be perceived as inappropriate and situations in which breaking laws or policy could be perceived as appropriate. Complaint/moral conduct and noncompliant/immoral conduct resides in a space between "good" and "bad" police work. This conduct draws boundaries between officers and between officers and administrators. While some officers, particularly administrators, appear to hold tightly to laws and policies regardless of their own convictions, others see good police work as doing righteousness despite the codes of conduct.

Harrison, a White male Corporal in a midwestern police department, describes a situation where he would act against policy but in-line with his moral considerations. Harrison explains that he would break law and policy to not enforce warrants against a perceived working-mother in front of her children. To Harrison, it is appropriate to break the rules to go easy on a seemingly good person. In other words, a sheep who makes a mistake does not deserve to be treated as a wolf.

> *"If I stop a woman and she has four or five warrants, I don't have discretion. I have to lock her up. But I'll look at her, I'll talk to her. I'll see she has two kids in car seats, and a car full of groceries. Am I going to lock her up and tow this*

car? Am I going to follow this strict protocol? This woman just picked her kids up on her way home from work. I would get her another time or just say, "Hey, listen, you need to get this taken care of." Kind of let her get away with it. […] When it gets back to command, they'll say, "Hey, you didn't lock her up, you didn't follow protocol. Now you're jammed up." […] Officers are forced to follow the rules, but I like to call outside the lines. I'm empathetic to some situations depending on what it is."

- Corporal Harrison, White, Male, Midwestern

If Harrison were to follow the rules and arrest the hypothetical woman, he would have been committing an action that he views as compliant but immoral. The officer would not have been subject to penalty by his department leadership. However, to arrest a working mother with children in her car would have seemed too harsh and unempathetic. Following the rules in that circumstance might make Harrison displeased with himself, however he believes that the department leadership would see his actions as good. Interestingly, this suggests that police administrators and patrol officers think about police behavior differently. Administrators may be more concerned with compliance while patrol officers are more concerned about morality.

While some officers might agree that refusing to enforce a warrant against a working mother in front of her children is a morally good decision, some situations are more ambiguous. Internal Affairs Officer Omar, a Black male in a Midwestern police department, described similar situations in which officers would choose to not enforce

or use alternative, illegal or against-policy, enforcement strategies. In these situations, the person being treated kindly is less definitively sympathetic.

> "*When I first came to the job, you would run across somebody with a little bag of weed on them. [They would say,] "Officer, if I get convicted of this, I'm going to lose my certification, I'm going to lose my family." And you would say, "Okay, well, toss it down the sewer". Or you would run across a DWI driver. As long as they didn't kill anybody or get in an accident, you might say, "give me your car keys, I'm going to drop you off, have your wife come up and get the car, or tomorrow after you sober up, come on up to the station and get your car." Now you can't use that discretion. Everyone has a camera, or a body worn camera. Before, you might use a little mineral mallet, now, everybody has to get the sledgehammer."* – IA Officer Omar, Black, Male, Midwestern

Officers are legally required to preserve evidence and prosecute drug and driving-while-intoxicated offences. However, Omar describes how some officers may view standard procedures as too punitive, and illegal or against-policy enforcement strategies as more appropriate. While Omar might perceive these violations as trivial and therefore view less harsh punishment appropriate, others may argue that drug possession and DWI are serious charges that must be enforced strictly. Certainly, moral differences may influence intra-organizational conflict among patrol officers and between patrol officers and administrators.

Breaking the rules to treat a good person less punitively may seem more acceptable than breaking the rules to treat a bad person more punitively. Omar went on to describe a situation where officers would act as vigilantes. Notably, Omar explains that this practice happened in the past, and is less acceptable today.

> *"When I was younger, what cops that lived in the neighborhood did, a lot of it was brutal. It worked back then. […] Years ago, when I was still in high school, I was standing on the corner with other seniors and they said, "Here comes two of the police officers", and they had reputations. They came up and they said, "give us our corner here. Get off the corner." I took the walk. Next thing I know I hear, crack! I look back and see the student rolling on the avenue, the officer shaking his hand like he hurt it (laughs). I learned a valuable lesson. When they say, "here comes the police", you move. But in today's climate I really doubt if things would work out the way they did. The first time you put a nightstick upside someone's head, you would have hell to pay."*
>
> – IA Officer Omar, Black, Male, Midwestern

Striking a minor for disregarding an officers' unlawful command to move is not consistent with law. However, the conduct might be considered moral by some officers. To Omar, brutality *"worked"* and imparted a *"valuable lesson"* of deference toward law enforcement. Non-complaint police force against people perceived as non-compliant or disrespectful might be viewed as morally good because it influences people to behave in a way that is consistent with officers' expectations.

Moral differences can impact both police-police and police-community relations. Differing interpretations may be prominent when assessing officer-involved shootings. When describing different interpretations of officer-involved shootings, officers distinguish between the "police perspective" and the "public perspective". The police perspective may be more concerned with compliance. The public perspective may be more concerned with morality. Patrol officer Andrea highlights differing perceptions of police shootings across the public and police.

> *"Every shooting is questioned now. I mean, you see the suspect shooting at the police, they got a gun, and then the officer shoots. Even if you see that now, it's still questioned. The most blatant justified shooting is being questioned. […]*
>
> *Some things are wrong. Like George Floyd, probably one of the incidents that was just wrong. But I go back to Mike Brown, I see some problems on the police side, but a lot of problems on the public's side. The whole incident could be looked at both ways, justified and not justified."*

- Patrol Officer Andrea, Black, Female, Southern

Andrea describes the perceptions of the public as hypercritical, suggesting a higher concern for morality or a lower concern (or understanding) of law and policy. Andrea goes on to describe differences among police. She highlights the George Floyd shooting as a clear example of non-compliant immoral conduct. However, she cites the Mike Brown shooting as less certain. As such, the Mike Brown case exemplifies potentially complaint-immoral or non-compliant-moral police conduct. The uncertainty suggests

the negotiation of police morality as a battleground for the legal/professional protection/punishment of officer.

Intra-organizational differences in morality may also contribute to racial conflict. Clarence, a Black captain in a midwestern police agency, describes how differing interpretations of police shootings of unarmed Black people can contribute to racial divisions among officers. As such, officer involved shootings become a site for negotiating the organizational interpretation of laws, policies, and morality of police conduct.

> *"They [police shootings of unarmed black people] cause a division within the department, within the officers. Some officers see it as just cut and dry. Like, "why did he shoot the armed Black man?" As a Black man I'm like, "there's no excuse for that." While the White guys, they find all the justifications, "oh, it was a high crime area", "did you know he had a gun two days ago?". He didn't have a gun that day. It causes some division within the department."*
>
> - - Captain Clarence, Black, Male, Midwestern

Following laws and policies can influence officers to behave in ways that they do not view as moral. Because it is supported by department leadership, compliant but immoral conduct can be viewed as good police conduct. As such, officers who are 'just following the rules' would not likely be viewed as wolves in Sheepdog's clothing. However, moral considerations may also influence officers to undermine rules to treat perceived good people more kindly and perceived bad people more harshly. The

undermining of rules for moral reasons seems to be more acceptable among patrol officers than among administrative officers. While department leaders might consider officers who perform this type of conduct as wolves in Sheepdog's clothing, rank and file officers might be more accepting of noncompliant but moral conduct.

Compliant-immoral and non-complaint-moral officer conduct resides in a negotiated space between "good" and "bad", a space where conduct is neither justified nor unjustified, but "justifiable". It is a space where Sheepdogs act as "rule followers" or "vigilantes" to distribute moral and legal rewards and punishment (e.g., over- and under-enforcement, police violence) to those outside of the organization based on their own arbitration. Likewise, it is a space where intra-organizational rules are negotiated. The consequences involve the distribution or non-distribution of organizational reward and punishment. If wolves in Sheepdogs clothing exist, compliant-moral and non-complaint-immoral provides a space for wolves in Sheepdog's clothing to "hide" or avoid accountability for malicious conduct. A wolf in Sheepdog's clothing may only be "outed" when caught performing non-complaint-immoral conduct.

5.2.2 "Unjustified" Conduct

Police conduct appears most highly scrutinized by officers when it is perceived as incongruent with law/policy and morally corrupt. When discussing this type of conduct, officers cited the 2020 killing of George Floyd by Minneapolis police department officer Derek Chauvin. Officers describe the treatment of Floyd as *"dehumanizing"*, lacking *"compassion"*, and without *"logical reason"*. The concurrence of this appraisal among police is emphasized as Christopher states, "*I haven't met a police officer yet that's tried to justify that particular incident."*

"In the George Floyd case, I do not see a reason why the officer's knee was knelt for seven minutes. I don't understand that. I don't think there's a logical reason for that under any circumstances. We didn't see any fighting, we didn't see any resistance, we didn't see anything. All we saw was a knee to the back of the neck." – Chief Michelle, Black, Female, Mid-Atlantic

"What I saw was four officers who dehumanized George Floyd. You can't put your knee on a neck for almost nine minutes of a person and expect anything but death to happen. So, he's dehumanized at that point. What's underneath that postured knee is not another human being because you would not do that to another human being, and then three people standing around and watching. It made me cringe." – Chief Catlin, Black, Male, Mid-Atlantic

"There're a few times when we just got it wrong as a profession. I will say George Floyd, we got it wrong. We got it real wrong. I haven't met a police officer yet that's tried to justify that particular incident. […] All the police officers that I know seen in three seconds of watching that video, a lack of compassion, period.

You cannot do this job with a lack of compassion. You will get yourself in trouble trying to do this job with a lack of compassion. It's impossible to serve people without compassion."

– Police Instructor Christopher, White, Male, Southern

Michelle highlights how Chauvin's conduct was non-compliant because his level of force was incongruent with Floyd's level of resistance. Catlin and Christopher highlight the immorality of Chauvin's conduct as uncompassionate and dehumanizing. Together, Chauvin's conduct was immoral-non-complaint and therefore unjustifiable. The performance of an unjustifiable action appears to condemn the officer, making them worthy of removal from the profession. These officers identify Derek Chauvin as a wolves in Sheepdog's clothing. As such, he got what he deserved: Chavin was removed from the profession and convicted.

It appears that a wolf in Sheepdog's clothing is not identified until the condemning conduct occurs. Before an officer is revealed as a wolf, a wolf in Sheepdog's clothing might be describable a "bad apple". Sargeant Carlos blames poor police-community relations on bad apples, he states that they *"make everybody else look bad"*.

> *"I think a barrier to good community relations is probably our bad apples, and the police culture that protects those bad apples. I strongly believe, you typically have probably 10% or less of bad apples on the police department that makes everybody else look bad."*
>
> – Sergeant Carlos, Male, Mid-Atlantic

The problem, however, is one of transparency. Chauvin's case was both particularly egregious and public. Not all noncompliant and immoral behaviors rise to

the level of Chauvin's offense. Chief Catlin describes how he has intervened in smaller situations where an officer was committing unjustifiable conduct.

> *"I'm there to stop some atrocity, to give some hope, to model behavior. So everywhere I'm assigned I'm there to keep people from oppressing people. I have had officers that wanted to and make disorderly conduct arrests, or something like that, for bullshit, and then do creative writing afterwards. 'No, you can't do that'. So, I was there to prevent that. I've had to pull officers off of somebody they were putting the boot to. 'Knock that off, we're not doing that.' Probably didn't do enough because I should've put them up on charges."*
>
> -Chief Catlin, Black, Male, Midwestern

Catlin describes how he feels it is his responsibility to stop police misconduct, or fight against wolves in sheep's clothing. He acted on this by stopping officers from assigning false charges or from using inappropriate force. However, he states that he feels that he didn't do enough because he never levied charges against the officers. Intervention at the individual level is one way to stop a wolf in sheep's clothing, but it does not prevent future misconduct. Is stopping one incident but not preventing another sufficient?

Captain Clarence describes his experience of attempting to point our broader systemic issues within police departments. Clarence explains that, when he spoke out against racial inequity in his police department's treatment toward the public, he would

be treated differently by his colleagues and administrators. He learned that pointing out problems might cause him to be subject to bullying, investigation, or even job loss.

> *"Depending on what district you're in, what color you are. The policing is different. I was always told, "No, we police the same no matter where you are." But as I started moving around, I realized, no, no we're not. We are policing different.*
>
> *Ever since I started pointing out things, I did get treated differently. I don't know if I want to say by my coworkers, or I just want to say by leadership. If you think that if somebody [an officer] with a little power is a being bully, you don't mess with them. You back up, because you know that could cause you a problem with your job or cause an investigation on you.*
>
> *The police is a culture, is an institution, that believes, 'This is how we do it and this is how we're always going to do it.' It doesn't matter who's at the top, black or white, it doesn't matter. It's an institution that stays the same way all the time, and we're going to do it this way. When you say, "Nope, that's not the right way." Then you meet the resistance."*

- Captain Clarence, Black, Male, Midwestern

If racially biased policing is noncompliant and immoral, we might expect that officers would respond with sympathy and urgency to address claims of systemic issues brought up by an officer. However, Clarence feels as if he was punished for making such observations. Punishment for identifying potential wolves in Sheepdog's clothing

highlights a contradiction: If a wolf in sheep's clothing is an officer who commits immoral and noncompliant conduct, but pointing out potential wolves in sheep's clothing leads to punishment, are some departments not concerned with wolves in sheep's clothing, or are whistle-blowers themselves identified as wolves? This problem of wolves in Sheepdog's clothing highlights how the interpretation of morality and compliance is a is in contention within organizations. The limitation of the Sheepdog identity schema is that it assumes police as moral. It cannot account for moral differences, nor can it account for any other difference among officers. An identity schema that accounts for police social identity is apparently necessary.

5.3 Conclusion: The Sheepdog Identity Schema

The Sheepdog analogy is a popular theory of police identity that has proliferated among officers. The analogy describes one way to interpret the identities associated with policing and how their meanings guide the attitudes, feelings, and behaviors that characterize police relationships. The Sheepdog police identity schema recognizes three categories of people: Sheep, Wolves, and Sheepdogs. Sheep are non-threatening, non-violent, compliant, deferential, civilians who belong in the community, and deserve sympathy. Wolves are violent, morally corrupt, non-compliant, non-deferential criminals who do not belong in the community, and don't deserve sympathy. In this framework, it is the role of police, the Sheepdogs, to act as a Warrior against the wolves and Guardian of the sheep. The Sheepdog is an arbiter of law and morality that separates wolves from sheep.

The Sheepdog schema emphasizes a "wolves in sheep's clothing" problem. How do officers distinguish between wolves and sheep? In examining this question, I have found that Sheepdogs are guided by role and social identity meanings and bias-associated feelings of suspicion, pride, and anger. Identity meanings associated with "Criminal" and "Victim" guide how Sheepdogs differentiate wolves from sheep. In sum, criminals break laws and rules. They are evil and dangerous. They do not respect or comply with Police. When a person is compliant and deferential in a police-civilian interaction, the officer experiences a feeling of safety or non-threat and associates the person with sheep. When a person is non-compliant and non-deferential, the officer experiences a sense of threat and associates the person with wolves. This aspect of the Sheepdog identity schema reveals how Sheepdogs see themselves as highly moral and act as arbiters of law and morality.

The Sheepdog analogy obscures, but does not conceal, how officer biases map onto a Sheepdog identity schema: Officer biases paint the perceptions of criminality, compliance, and deference. These biases associate youth, poverty, and Blackness with wolves, and conversely associate adulthood, wealth, and Whiteness with sheep. Consequently, those types of people are more likely to be associated with criminality, noncompliance, and disrespect, and labeled as wolves.

Though the consideration of how Sheepdogs differentiate between wolves and sheep, a second problem that concealed within the Sheepdog identity schema emerges: how do officers identify "wolves in Sheepdog's clothing" or differentiate between "good" and "bad" officers? Examining officers' descriptions of appropriate and inappropriate police conduct reveals that, like the distinction of sheep and wolves,

officers evaluate police performance on the dimensions of 'compliance' with law and policy and 'morality'. Good police conduct is congruent with law and policy and is morally righteous. Compliant-immoral and non-complaint-moral officer conduct resides in a negotiated space between "good" and "bad", a space where conduct is neither justified nor unjustified, but "justifiable". It is a space where Sheepdogs act as "rule followers" or "vigilantes" to distribute moral and legal rewards and punishment based on their own perceptions of morality. Moreover, it is a space where intra-organizational rules are negotiated. The consequence is how organizational rewards and punishments are distributed.

Ultimately, I find that "wolves in Sheepdog's clothing" are those officers who do not comply with organizational rules and morality. In some instances, this identification is consistent with law and policy. Egregious acts, like Chauvin's murder of George Floyd, characterize the officer as a wolf. In other instances, this identification is inconsistent with law and policy. Attempting to expose systemic racism within the police department, as Captain Clarence did, may also characterize an officer as a wolf. As wolves to the organization, both Chauvin and Lieutenant Clerance were punished.

Analysis of the Sheepdog analogy reveals how schemas shape organizational rules and practices that guide the distribution of social resources. Schemas define the 'good' and 'bad' actors, or the 'threats' and 'non-threats', within and outside of the organization. Practices and rules are structured to enhance good and non-threatening actors at the expense of bad and non-threatening actors. These rules and practices may involve skirting, violating, or subverting existing or externally imposed rules, laws, or

policies. Consequently, social resources are distributed in ways that protect and enhance the role of "good" actors and suppress the role of "bad" actors.

The limitation of the Sheepdog identity schema is that it conceals differences within and outside of the organization that account for the moral logic of policing. In other words, the Sheepdog identity schema is itself an ideological justification of the underlying schematic substructure of policing. Capturing the underlying substructure of policing requires an analysis of police theory of people that is grounded in roles and social identities.

Chapter 6: Findings 3 – Grounded Police Identity Schemas

"Culture eats policy for lunch everyday. We have policy, but the culture of an agency renders all that null and void, null and void, all of it. So here's what happens in law enforcement communities: These jobs are deemed their jobs, you're not supposed to be here. 'I'm only here because of affirmative action. I'm only because of a Consent Decree.' No, I'm here because I got a 97 out of 100 on an entrance exam. I had every right to be here. I never had the affirmative action promotion. I'm a high scorer. I'm a top 10 finisher."

- Chief Catlin, Black, Male, Midwestern

The previous chapters have examined how the Warrior/Guardian paradigm and the Sheepdog analogy inform police identity schemas that connect organizational practices to the distribution of social resources. Each schema reveals aspects of police practice and police theory of people, however, they are limited by ideological and mapping problems. The Warrior/Guardian schema characterizes a nonpolice moralization of policing. Violent and biased officers are labeled as Warriors, non-violent and unbiased officers are labeled as Guardians. The problem is that violence and bias are independent constructs and violence is fundamental to police role performance. The Warrior/Guardian paradigm moralizes police violence and obfuscates violent-unbiased and non-violent-biased officers. Conversely, the Sheepdog schema characterizes an intra-organizational moralization of policing. The schema treats criminality as a trait that differentiates "good" and "bad" civilians, simultaneously it characterizes all officers as a moral authority.

In this chapter, I attempt to resolve these mapping and ideological problems by grounding police identity schemas in role and social identities. The follow sections investigate the meanings, feelings, and relationships that officers associate with police and nonpolice roles, Black and White racial identities, and female and male gender identities. I find that officers differentiate between "enforcement" and "community-oriented" police roles along with "criminal/critic" and "victim/supporter" nonpolice roles. I find that the identity "police" is more closely associated with the enforcement role than with the community-oriented role. In examining police social identity schemas, I find that officers associate Blackness is distanced from police identity and associated with police criticism. Similarly, femininity is distanced from police identity and associated with weakness.

The relationship between social and role identity meanings reveals a racialized and gendered, or "identified" role structure. The "criminal/critic" nonpolice role is associated with Blackness and the "victim/supporter" role is associated with femininity. Relatedly, the "enforcement" role is associated with Whiteness and masculinity while the "community-oriented" role is associated with Blackness and femininity.

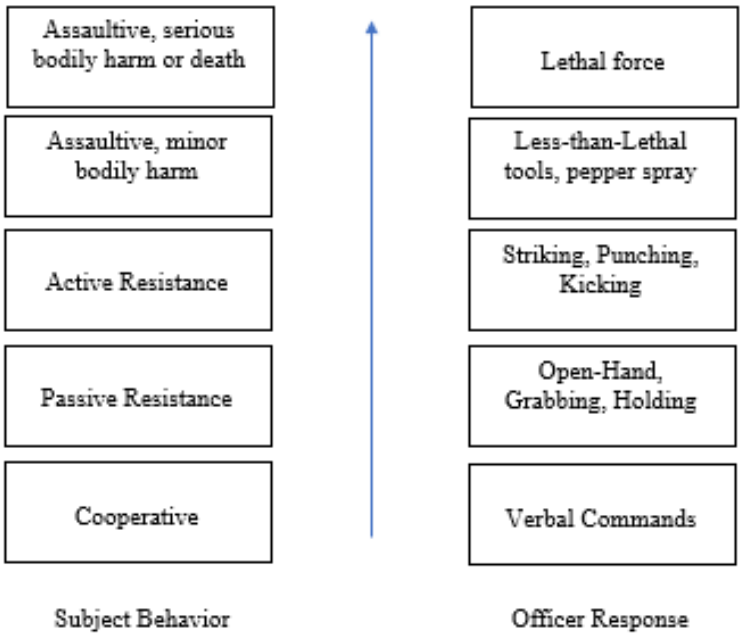
Analysis suggests that police and public culture interacts through the relationships between organizational roles and broader social identities. I argue that role racialization and gendering structures a role-identity hierarchy within police organizations that assigns high status to the enforcement role and White/male actors and low status to the community-oriented role and Black/female actors. Organizational rules and practices prioritize enforcement, Whiteness, and masculinity both within and

outside of the organization. The function of community-oriented police is organized to serve enforcement. Consequently, the distribution of social resources serves and protects high-status actors while policing low-status actors.

6.1 Police Role Identity Schema

The function of policing as an organization is to manage deviance through the application of social control. Police role performance is broadly characterized by a 'use of force continuum' that ranges from officer presence to deadly force. Officers perform policing by using force to prevent, stop, compel, or punish those who are behaving illegally. Police-use-of-force is generally understood as *physical* force, or the use of hands, tools, or weapons to gain compliance. However, force can also be characterized by persuasion or the gaining of compliance through speech.

Fig 7. Example of a Police Use-of-Force Continuum



When an officer is performing within the context of a law enforcement situation involving force, detention, investigation, or the potential for citation or arrest, they take on an "enforcement" role. Enforcement is the traditional social control strategy of police: the use of 'hard power' to prevent, stop, compel, and punish. In non-law enforcement police-civilian interactions, officers take on a "community-oriented" role. Community-oriented behaviors operates as the 'soft power' of police social control. It leverages positive perceptions of the police to prevent criminal behaviors, identify criminal behaviors, or increase the probability of compliance in the event of an enforcement encounter.

Policing involves both police and non-police roles. Roles are characterized by their position in the performance of policing. More specifically, roles are constituted by the meanings associated with the material conditions that role actors experience and the social meanings that guide their feelings and behaviors within situations. In law enforcement situations, officers take on an "enforcement" role and civilians take on the role of "criminal" or "victim". This is consistent with the framework of the Sheepdog analogy. Outside of law enforcement situations, officers take on a "community-oriented" role[4] and nonpolice actors take on the roles of "police critic" or "police supporter".

The Warrior/Guardian paradigm points to these two aspects of police control. Warriors are associated with police violence and Guardians are associated with community-building. Analysis of the Warrior/Guardian paradigm suggests that officers who are associated with soft power have a closer relationship with the community. The

[4] In 5.5.1. I examined the association between Guardian identity and community orientation. Here, I examine officer perceptions of the community-oriented role.

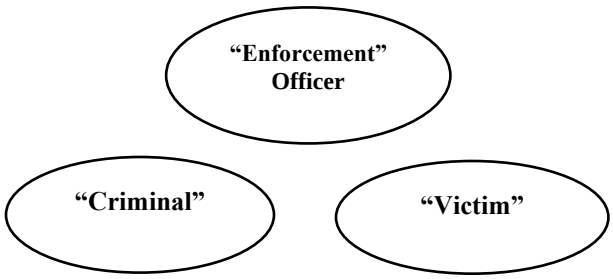
limitation of the Warrior/Guardian paradigm is that it does not examine how the role structure of policing interacts with police role identities to inform officer relations.

In this section, I examine how officers order and associate meanings with police role structure. I find that the enforcement role is related to "criminal" and "victim". Enforcers police criminals and protect victims. Enforcement is characterized by toughness; and associated with occupational positions like patrol or SWAT officer. The "community oriented" role is related to "police critics" and "enforcement officers". Community-oriented officers serve, pacify, or concede to police critics and criticize or punish enforcement officers. It is characterized by relative weakness, and is associated with occupational positions like community outreach, internal affairs, and administration.

6.1.1 Enforcement Role

The enforcement role of policing involves the utilization of formal police social control authorities, including detention, searching, citing, arresting, and force to prevent, stop, and punish unlawful behavior. The enforcement role is situated in "Officer" – "Criminal" – "Victim" contexts.

Fig 8. A Role Triad in Law Enforcement Situations



This context positions the officer as a powerful individual that ought to be held to a high moral standard. Captain Benjamin associates police enforcement power with responsibility. When asked "what makes policing stressful?" Captain Benjamin explains the stress he connects with enforcement authority. He states,

> *"I'm in control of your liberties and your freedoms. That's a huge responsibility. And I used to always tell people, when I arrest someone, I'm putting a person in a cage. I've never taken that lightly. If I had to put that person in that cage, I always feel like, 'make sure you have 'em in the cage for the right reasons.' So, I think when you have control of someone else's freedoms and liberties, that becomes stressful."* – Captain Benjamin, Black, Male, Mid-Atlantic

Because Benjamin recognizes that he has the great power to control the freedom of others, he feels a responsibility to use these powers appropriately. Benjamine puts high expectations on himself to make the right decisions. If he makes the wrong decision, he puts an innocent person *"in that cage"*. The enforcement role is associated with power and a high moral responsibility.

However, the power to arrest is only one aspect of the enforcer's authority. Because an officer acting as an enforcer has such great power, they have the responsibility to confront situations that others cannot. Officers are expected to enter dangerous situations and manage violence. Chief Michelle describes violence as the primary source of stress for officers. Michelle emphasizes that witnessing violence against vulnerable, particularly young children, is especially difficult.

"There are times which we face stress, it's when we face adversity. It is when we face violence. Not necessarily violence towards ourselves, but just violence, where there are victims of violence, especially young children."

- Chief Michelle, Black, Female, Mid-Atlantic

Extending Chief Michelle's point, Internal Affairs Officer Omar describes the violence that officers face when acting as enforcers. Omar explains that she was shot at during his first year as a patrol officer. Although officers are *"everyday people",* violent events that are rare for civilians are chronic for officers who regularly enter law enforcement situations. Omar states, *"officers usually go through more stress in one day than most people go through in a year".* These chronic and intensely stressful events are fundamental to officers who take on the enforcement role. Enforcement is associated with stress and danger.

"My first year on the job I got shot at, at almost point-blank range. So yeah, it gets stressful. […] police officers usually go through more stress in one day than most people go through in a year. You're chasing somebody with a gun, or a car chase, or whatever. But you don't have any way of relieving the stressors. You know, you just have to deal with it the best way you can."

- IA Officer Omar, Black, Male, Midwestern

In the role of enforcement, officers may experience physical trauma on the job. Officers may be killed on duty, but more commonly, officers experience minor physical harm. In describing what makes policing stressful, Sergeant Nicholas describes being stuck by a rock at a protest turned riot. Likewise, officer Jason describes assaults that he routinely experiences on patrol.

> *"I was on a full line of probably 50 or 60 people in their OSHA safety equipment and I was wearing this [standard police uniform, no additional safety equipment]. So of course, I was the easy target. And, um, I got, got a nice little key hematoma on my arm. Flying brick. Actually, it came from an elevated standpoint from a parking garage where we were, and there's nothing I could have done."* – Sergeant Nicholas, White Male, Southern

> *"Being a police officer is stressful. You stop cars. You go to domestics. It's a possibility I wont come home tonight. I've had grown men punch me. I've had grown men slap me. You know, I've been bitten more times than I can count. Spit on. That's what you prepare for when you go in."*

- Recruitment Officer Allison, Black, Female, Southern

Officers Stasha, Nicholas, and Allison highlight stressful law enforcement events where the officer is the target of violence. Enforcers also act as purveyors of violence. While explaining the mental health resources his department provides to officers, Chief Lawrence highlights a rare situation in which officers are provided

support. Unless involved in a fatal shooting, officers in his department are not offered mental health services.

> *"When they first get hired, they went through a psychological, free appointment, psychological examination. Now, they don't have any more. They don't have any more until they, god forbid, get into some type of fatal shooting, then they'll have something."*
>
> – Chief Lawrence, Black, Male, Mid-Atlantic

Lawrence explains that officers do not receive routine mental health checkups. Officers are provided mental health services if they are involved in a fatal shooting. In other words, if an officer kills an individual or witnesses an individual get killed, that event is deemed traumatic enough to warrant support. Chief Lawrence's statement underscores how the exposure to death while acing as an enforcer is particularly traumatizing. Chief Christina further describes the trauma that officers experience witnessing death.

> *"Some of the things that we encounter in the field are extremely traumatic, such as, um, a baby that has been thrown through a windshield, um you know, during the course of an accident. Or, there was an incident here where a man hit a woman so hard it actually cut her body in half and her torso was stuck in the windshield of his car. That is... That is an extremely traumatic experience."*
>
> - Chief Christina, Black, Female, Midwestern

Fatal shootings are rare compared to officers' routine exposure to violence, dangerous situations, and other traumatic circumstances involving death (e.g., responding to a suicide, homicide, vehicle collision, or natural death). Yet, departments do not provide mental health services for these chronic stressors. Officers are expected to cope using their own resources. When acting as an enforcer, officers are expected to both confront and cope with "extremely traumatic" situations.

Enforcers must be brave to confront these situations, but they also must be capable of managing them. Officers performing enforcement are expected to maintain the physical and mental capacity to identify evidence, make rapid decisions, and control resisting subjects. If an officer cannot perform these role duties, they are unlikely to maintain their position. Sergeant Tyrell describes how officers view colleagues who are unable perform the enforcement role.

> *"I saw an officer actually breakdown. We weren't in a harmful situation, we were just on a range. I don't know if it was the sound of the bullets or whatever, but he lost it right there. It was a little scary because to just have a firearm in your hand and you're breaking down. First thing we need to do is get you to put that weapon down. We walked up to him to get the weapon, that was our first thing to do. We didn't know if this guy just gonna turn around and lose it. We started asking general questions. Say, "You okay? You need us to call an ambulance?" Stuff like that.*

I'm just gonna be candid. After the range, officers said, "What a pussy. If we were out in the field, if couldn't handle that, what the fuck is he gonna do if we're in a real situation? I'd never partner with that dude." Some people had compassion, like, "Hey, this is not the career for you.". The officer left."

- Sergeant Tyrell, Black, Male, Midwestern

Tyrell describes an officer *"breaking down"* at a gun range with colleagues present. He suggests that this breakdown could be a result of the sound of the bullets, possibly indicating a traumatic response. Immediately, Tyrell and others were worried that the officer would harm himself or someone else and de-escalated the situation. Afterwards, officers reflected in two ways. First, they did not want to work with such a colleague for fear that he would not be able to manage a *"real situation".* Second, officers suggested that he should leave the profession. Indeed, the officer left law enforcement.

Tyrell's narrative indicates a fundamental element of the enforcement role performance and how it relates to police identity. Officers must be able to confront and manage stressful situations, if they are unable to do this, they cannot act as an enforcer. If an officer indicates that they are unable to cope with dangerous law enforcement situations, the officer is criticized as weak, fearful, and feminine. The officer is viewed as a threat to colleagues who depend on competent partners. Further, *"this is not the career"* for them. An officer who is not resilient and cannot act as an enforcer cannot be an officer, they must suffer police identity attrition. To Tyrell toughness and

resilience is a necessary component of the enforcement role and police identity, one who cannot meet this standard cannot identify with policing.

Whereas Tyrell describes weakness as a characteristic that is incompatible with police identity in general, Stasha describes weakness as a characteristic that is incompatible with enforcement more narrowly. IA Officer Stasha describes her stressful experience of no longer being capable of performing the enforcer role.

Stasha received a diagnosis (not caused by her work) that affected her ability to meet the physical and mental demands of police fieldwork. With no alternative positions available in her department, she was relocated to another department and assigned to administrative work in internal affairs. Stasha depicts a sense of loss and disappointment after receiving her diagnosis and confronting the reality that she is no longer capable of maintaining her enforcement role position.

> *"Some years ago I was diagnosed with a health issue that is permanent. And it causes people to lose a lot, physically and mentally. When you get newly diagnosed with something, you start reading all this literature [about] what could happen. Then I was wondering if that would happen to me and how that would impact my performance at work. Then there was guilt or shame, even though it was nothing I did wrong to develop this issue. Do I discuss this with my employer?*
>
> *And so I got very closed in my own head. And I had a slight depression with that. And then I did go and seek therapy to kind of help me with that issue, but it was a real issue. You wake up one day and you're different, and then you*

play out the rest of your life in your head and you're wondering what that's going to look like, especially when you felt like you've worked so hard to get to a certain point and it can be all over.

Before I even thought about losing my job, like how can I perform it? There were certain physical limitations that I had. I knew that I would be protected by the Americans with Disabilities Act. However, as far as losing the job, if I couldn't perform those duties, then I would be assigned to do something else. And that's kind of like, that's not what I signed up for. So that really weighed on me."

- IA Officer Stasha, Black, Female, Midwestern

Finding that she no longer had the capability to meet the standards of her role, Stasha experienced a loss of identity. This loss weighed on her with a sense of guilt and shame. However, Stasha did not fully lose her police identity. She moved from an enforcement role in investigations to a community-service administrative role in internal affairs. As such, Stasha reveals a distinction between the enforcement role and the community-service administrative role: enforcers must be physically and mentally strong, administrators can be weak. Stasha's sense of disappointment in changing roles suggests that, at least to her, administrative work in internal affairs is less desirable than enforcement. Such a perspective may signify that enforcers are higher status or more like police than those in community-service roles.

Although Stasha expresses grief over the loss of being in an enforcement role, she explained that it was probably for the best. Stasha recounts how her role in the field affected her.

> *"When you're out in the field and you're doing traditional law enforcement, especially in the climate now where law enforcement isn't as a respected field as it used to have been, and you're constantly dealing with aggressors, negativity, and violence, and death and all of that. Some officers aren't able to separate what they encounter out on the streets when they come back home to their families. Some of them bring it home with them, or some of them withdraw to the point where they're also withdrawn at home.*
>
> *You give so much of your time, your safety, your energy to your profession, and then you have nothing left for your living. A little less for your family.*
>
> *When you're trained, you're given all these things that you must do. How you should respond, how you should act, check your feelings at the door, like all these things that dehumanize you. It's kind of like you are a robot. […]*
>
> *My husband told me that one day that I was acting like a machine. I had a wakeup call. My relationship with my children, it was fragmented. It was altered badly. And he told me, I interrogated them all the time instead of having normal conversations with them. And they became fearful of even having conversations with me and they wouldn't really talk to me about much. They*

would circumvent me and go straight to him. And I didn't realize that I was doing that until he put it in my face."

- IA Officer Stasha, Black, Female, Midwestern

Stasha explains that officers *"come back to the home"* with the stress caused by exposure to *"aggressors, negativity, and violence, and death"* while acting as an enforcer. These feelings may encourage officers to be agitated toward, or withdrawn from, the family. This is compounded by training to *"check your [their] feelings at the door"*. Officers' schedule and task demands drain their time, energy, and safety[5]. Together, these feelings invoked by enforcement experiences came at the expense of her family life.

Being an investigator shaped how Stasha interacted with her children, and her husband noticed. Stasha "*interrogated them all the time instead of having normal conversations with them. And they became fearful."* In this way, Stasha's role influenced her child-directed behaviors in ways that were inconsistent with her identity as a mother. Although Stasha believed she was speaking to her children as a mother, she was speaking to them as an enforcer. Instead of comforting her children, she scared them. In essence, Stasha's experiences of acting as an enforcer were brought into the home.

The sacrifice of family life is not unique to female officers. When asked how policing experiences has impacted his life outside of work, Officer Christopher, who is

[5] Stasha describes safety as a finite resource.

a father and husband, dramatically underscores how the trauma he experienced in the course of enforcement has impacted him and his family.

> *"You can't give your family the best. You do what you can for the community as a police officer, but your family takes the loss because you are a little bit hollow, remote. You can't get any of us to go to a concert. You won't. You can't get any of us to go out and socialize in a large group.*
>
> *[…] Day in and day out you see missing arms, missing legs. You're trying to save somebody. Somebody just got stabbed, they're dying. You're trying to get them out, trying to keep the scene clear for detectives. You're trying to keep family members' hysterical-ness from messing up everything. And you got all this going on and then you're supposed to just take this belt off, wash your hands and go home and then... Then what? Give your family one hundred percent? You can't."*

- Sergeant Nicholas, White, Male, Southern

Like Stasha, Nicholas describes how trauma experienced in law enforcement situations drove him to become *"hollow, remote".* Nicholas lists traumatic scenarios that officers are exposed to. He points out that officers can't simply face those situations then *"take [their] belt off, wash [their] hands, and go home."* In other words, it's impossible for officers to not let those workplace experiences affect them and spill over into the rest of their life. Having such negative experiences and feelings prevents officers from giving their family *"one hundred percent."*

In sum, while performing enforcement, officers confront situations in which the civilians that they are sworn to protect may harm them and others. Within these contexts, officers are charged with the power and responsibility to confront and manage violence and control civilian life and liberty. In fulfilling this duty, officers are exposed to physically and emotionally traumatic situations. Enforcement officers must be strong, brave, and resilient otherwise they risk their own life, the lives of potential civilian victims, and the lives of their colleges. Ultimately, the trauma associated with enforcement comes at the cost of the officers' wellbeing and the wellbeing of their family.

> *"At the end of the day, it takes a certain skill to make sure that you go home at the end of the day, right? It takes a certain skill to protect a third person from what you believe, or reasonably believe, to be the use of deadly, physical force. You have to be able to tap into that ability. When the bullets are flying, that's not the time to try to deescalate with conversation. There's work to be done. You have to do that work."*
>
> - Police Instructor Christopher, White, Male, Southern

Enforcement operates within an enforcer-victim-criminal situational context that motivates masculinity, cynicism, suspicion, and solidarity. It emphasizes criminal threat and the necessity of police strength, vigilance, and violence. It encourages officers to depend on each other for safety and avoid showing weakness that would

implicate the officer as an unreliable partner. It evokes trauma that encourages officers to distance themselves from the community, which is associated with crime and viewed as dangerous. That trauma also impacts officer wellbeing and distances them from their family. Ultimately, officers experience enforcement as honorable self-sacrifice. As Chistopher describes, "*You do what you can for the community as a police officer, but your family takes the loss because you are a little bit hollow."*

6.1.2 Community Oriented Role

While enforcement involves confronting and managing law enforcement situations, the community-oriented role involves interactions outside of the criminal-victim context and managing social conditions that undermine law enforcement efficacy. Community-oriented officers conduct outreach to connect civilians with social support resources. Community-oriented police administrators manage officer discipline and official communications to influence public perceptions of the police. Outreach operates to reduce the community's reliance on police services. Administration operates to bolster public cooperation and compliance.

Detective Lindsay, a White woman in a Southern police agency, leads an outreach program called GROWTH. GROWTH is tasked with connecting members of the community to social support resources and diverting criminal proceedings. To make this happen, Lindsay coordinates with social workers and courts. Together in GROWTH, officers and social workers contact individuals struggling with homelessness, mental illness, and substance use to collaboratively develop a case-management plan and improve their wellbeing. Additionally, GROWTH works with

courts to manage individuals without the use of incarceration. This involves coordinating with health and rehabilitation facilities.

Lindsay and her team interact with civilians, sometimes individuals who would otherwise be convicted criminals, outside of law enforcement situations as a community-oriented officer. Lindsay describes how she sees others.

> *"I genuinely believe that people can be good, even if they've been dealt a bad hand, if they are encountered by the right person. I don't want to become jaded like some of my friends. I don't want to believe, just because you're a gang member or this or that, that you're just a horrible person. I want to be respectful and try to find out the root of the reason why you're doing what you're doing."*
>
> - Outreach Detective Lindsay, White, Female, Southern

Lindsay contrasts herself with her friends who have become *"jaded"*. Supposedly, those friends are fellow officers who had become traumatized in enforcement situations. Unlike them, Lindsay believes that those people whom others might view as *"horrible"*, like *"gang members"*, deserve to be treated with respect. Rather than enforcing, Lindsay wants to "*find out the root*" of the problems and serve them. In this way, Lindsay exemplifies how a community-oriented officer might see and interact with others. A community-oriented officer sees people like *"gang members"* as "good" and deserving of "good" treatment.

Lindsay's community-oriented perspective inverts the enforcement perspective. Officers in enforcement roles associate criminals with violence towards

themselves and others. They confront and manage criminal threats with force. In other words, enforcement involves doing "bad" things to "bad" people. This difference situates enforcement officers at odds with community-oriented officers. Indeed, Lindsay's colleague in GROWTH, Outreach Detective Deasia, expresses frustration that officers devalue police service.

> *Not everybody wants to be S.W.A.T. There are people that really want to help. Let us do that. Don't dumb us down. I signed up to go into that domestic and talk to the families about what's going on, or help that child, or talk to the person who's experiencing homelessness and try to help them through that. We're forgetting the service part of police work."*
>
> - Outreach Detective Deasia, Black, Female, Southern

Although enforcement officers see community-oriented officers as weak, Lindsay recognizes that her work serves a 'soft power' social control function. Providing social support reduces the number of calls-for-service that her department receives. In other words, there is a reduced need for enforcement because there is a higher degree of social control.

> *"The ultimate goal, obviously, is to reduce the number of calls for service, and the interactions that patrol officers are having with these individuals, and getting them in a stable place, so that 911 isn't their go-to."*
>
> - Outreach Detective Lindsay, White, Female, Southern

Beyond diversion and resource provision, a community-oriented officer may perform their role by holding police misconduct accountable. Internal affairs actions that punish officer misconduct protect the *"integrity"* of the agency. Internal Affairs Officer Stasha explains:

> *"I do enjoy my role in internal affairs because not only am I looking to protect the integrity of the agency, I'm protecting the integrity of the legality of things [law], righting the wrongs of the profession."*
>
> - IA Officer Stasha, Black, Female, Midwestern

In punishing an officer and acting to protect the agency from public scrutiny, community-oriented administrative officers are situated against another officer and in support of a critical civilian community. This diminishes the 'self-sacrifice' that enforcement officers take on, likewise it violates enforcement officers' expectation that police protect one another. Consequently, the enforcement officer sees the community-oriented administrative officer as weak and police-critical. They are a threat. Police Instructors Christopher and Michael describe this process.

> *"People expect you to get it right. They expect you to get it right 100% of the time and then people are going to question how right you are regardless of how right you were. […] It's a stressful profession because people are expecting you to be 100% perfect, and nobody can achieve that.*

Sometimes people expect police officers to be machines and they forget that they're only human, right? And so those expectations come from the general public, the supervisory staff, the command staff, your city leadership has a lot to do with the stress, especially now. We're seeing this across the country, their willingness to get involved in the decisions and the policies as it relates to policing, not necessarily knowing all the facts.

So that has been what I would call probably a new stressor that we haven't seen in the past that we see a lot of now when your mayors and your city councilmen start to publicly question, and not support, their departments. I think that adds a whole other layer of stress.

You have a level of expectation that rises as it relates to which group is expecting it. The public's level of expectation is way beyond achievement. The public wants you to be able to shoot guns out of people's hands and lasso people's feet and things like that that you just can't do. The people who are supposed to know, the supervisory type, the command type folks, expect you to go out, do good police work, be productive, but at the same time never ruffle any feathers."

- Police Instructor Christopher, Whtie, Male, Southern

"In order to maintain peaceful relations with the public, it is easier to condemn an officer than stand up for one., I've known officers that have done everything right, and they've been publicly accused of doing something wrong, and there's an opportunity for administrators to stand up and say, "No, let me explain. This is

what this person did right." But it would be politically unpopular, and so that's not done, but the minute that an officer is caught doing something, wrong the administrators make a great show of the fact that they're punishing that person. So the officer is not treated fairly.[…]

Whenever you see a shooting, or an accusation of police misconduct, before the investigation is concluded, the chief of police or the mayor step out and say, "this is wrong, it's unacceptable". Uhh [expressing disagreement], *that's somebody who's trying to serve justice, that's somebody who's trying to keep the peace.*

Talking nationally. I've seen it as observable. A chief of police gets on TV and says, you know, "the officer's actions were deplorable, that should never, ever happen." I've seen officers fired from other departments over stuff like that, where they were within policy and to a large degree within practice for the profession, but it was easier to remove them than it was to stand up and say, "this officer was correct.""

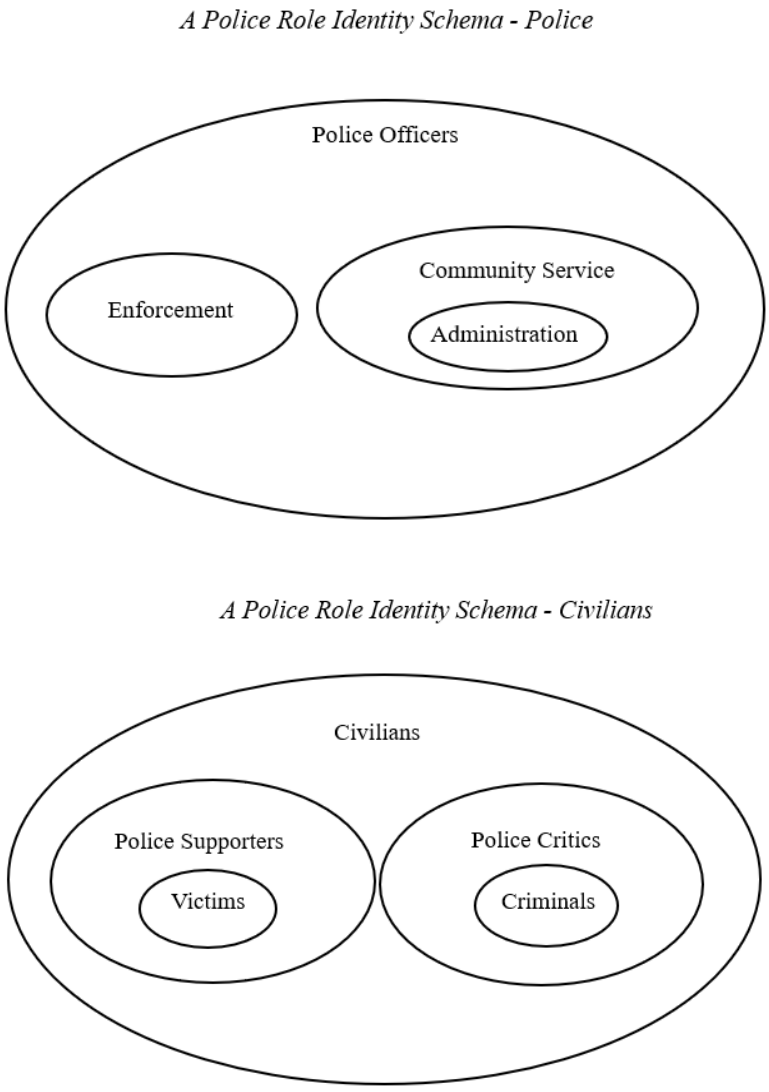
- Police Instructor Michael, White, Male, Southern

6.1.3 Police Role Structure

Examining the police role structure reveals two categories of officers. Officers take on the enforcement role when situated in enforcement encounters involving "criminals" and "victims". In this context, enforcement officers may act aggressively and utilize their powers and authorities to forcefully prevent, stop, compel, and punish deviant/illegal behaviors. The enforcement role acts as the 'hard power' of social control. When an officer performs outside of law enforcement situations involving "police supporters" and "police critics", they take on a "community-oriented" police

role. In this context, officers may act kindly, provide help or social resources, perform police accountability, and communicate with the public. The community-oriented police role operates as police 'soft-power' to manage the social conditions that undermine law enforcement efficacy. Together, the enforcement and community-oriented roles operate to preserve or enhance the formal social control of policing.

Fig 9. A Police Role Identity Schema



The meanings associated with roles are characterized by their relationships. Enforcement operates within an officer-criminal-victim context. The enforcement officer polices criminals and protects victims. In doing this, the officer is exposed to violence that it is their duty to manage. The officer uses force against "criminals" or does "bad things" to "bad people". Vulnerability is associated with 'victim'. Danger is associated with "criminal" and "non-police" more broadly. Consequently, enforcement officers are expected to be strong, resilient, and dependable at the expense of their wellbeing. Their role performance is associated with strength, and honorable sacrifice.

Community-oriented officers act outside of law enforcement interactions involving "police supporters" and "police critics". Community-oriented officers act to help or support "police critics" and people generally viewed as "bad" including *"gang members"* and individuals struggling with homelessness, mental illness, or substance use. Community-oriented officers connect civilians with social resources. Community-oriented administrators condemn, criticize, and punish police (mis)conduct.

In confronting danger, enforcement officers are associated with strength and honorable self-sacrifice. They associate nonpolice with danger and are distanced from civilians. In supporting nonpolice, community-oriented officers are associated with integrity and empathy. Performing congruently with civilian critics of police, community-oriented officers are likened to the community and distanced from enforcement officers. Resultingly, enforcement officers are more closely associated with "police" than community-oriented officers. Comparatively, community-oriented officers are perceived to be weaker, less supportive of police, and ultimately less like police than enforcement officers.

6.2 A Racialized Police Identity Schema

In this subsection, I examine experiences and feelings associated with police racial identity and police racial attitudes more broadly. I find that police racial identity guides police-police and police-civilian interactions in ways that disproportionately burden Black officers with racial stress. Racialized interactions draw difference between Black and White officers and distances Black officers from police identity. Unexpectedly, I find that racialized interactions can also bring Black and White officers together in ways that reinforce an oppositional police identity and entrench anti-Black attitudes within policing.

6.2.1 Black Officers

When asked, "how does your race affect the stresses you experience at work?", Stasha explains how being a Black officer has influenced her interactions with Black civilians and non-White officers. In her experience, being a Black officer can influence interactions with Black civilians to be more congenial or more contentious and thereby more or less stressful. In interactions with fellow officers, being Black can lead to stressful conflict with White officers due to differing perspectives of how to treat Black subjects.

> *"In the Black community, they like to see their own officers, but it depends on the demeanor of that officer. Now, if the demeanor of that officer is something that they think is too aggressive or authoritarian they may call them an Uncle Tom or something of that nature. But for the most part, the dynamics, the*

relationship, the understanding, is a lot better with someone who resembles you.

I know a lot of officers don't like to live in the communities they serve, and rightfully so, but if you can understand the cultural issues with the person that you're speaking with, then the communication is a lot different when you can relate. That rapport building is different when there's a connection because of a historical understanding.

A Black police officer, before being a police officer, was a Black person. And so they've had experiences being a Black person that other Black people may be able to identify with. And so when we get into systemic issues, a Black officer would understand those systemic issues more so than a non-Black officer who's never had to experience those things. So even with the dialogue, the communication, the way that you speak, the words you tend to use is different because you understand culturally what has happened in the Black community."

["Being a Black officer gives you a degree of commonality with the Black community. Does being a Black officer make you lack commonality with non-Black officers?"]

"It doesn't make you lack commonality with fellow officers when it comes to the profession, but maybe when it comes to cultural things, maybe customs, maybe societal norms that may be a little bit different between races. So, from a

professional standpoint, there should be some commonality. However, in some situations there is not because there are still different treatments amongst Black and White officers involving suspects that are of color. And so you have a White officer and a Black officer who may handle that person a little bit differently, or a lot a bit differently, and say they're partnered up; Then you have maybe a little bit of discord between the two officers on the most effective way to treat that subject."

- IA Officer Stasha, Black, Female, Midwestern

Stasha describes how behaviors influence the ways that Black civilians perceive and treat Black officers. If the Black officer is "aggressive or authoritarian", then they may call them an "Uncle Tom." Otherwise, "the dynamics, the relationship, the understanding, is a lot better." If not acting aggressively, Black officers are able to draw upon their racial identity to relate with Black civilians better than other officers could. On the other hand, aggressive Black officers are labeled racial traitors. They are portrayed to be servicing law enforcement at the expense of the Black community. Law enforcement is depicted negatively as a White institution that is adversarial to the Black public.

Generalized, aggressive and authoritarian behaviors are negatively evaluated and forceful acts. The performance of these bad and powerful behaviors appears to differentiate between two types of Black police identity. When behaving aggressively, a Black officer is perceived more like an enemy to the Black community (a bad or contentious Black cop) and is treated more poorly. When not behaving aggressively, a

Black officer is perceived more like an ally to the Black community (a good or congenial Black cop) and is treated kindlier. Therefore, depending on the Black officers' behavior, interactions with Black civilians can become more adversarial and stressful or more congenial and less stressful. In either case, Stasha describes heightened affective intensity when interacting with Black civilians.

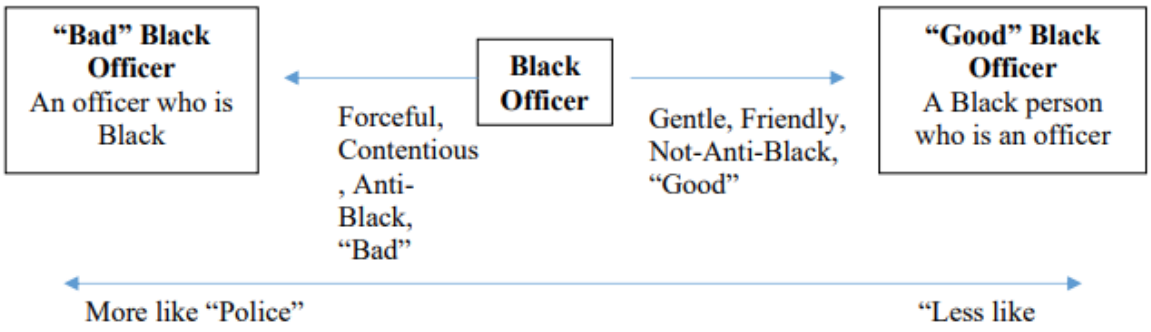
This process highlights racial identity conflict grounded in a racially critical police identity schema. If the police identity standard is that officers are White, anti-Black, and bad and a Black identity standard is for the individual to be not-White, not-anti-Black, and good, then a Black person taking on the role of an officer is inconsistent and confusing. The Black officer violates the police identity standard by not being White. This may cause a reaction, but additional information may cause further reaction. An individual holding this identity schema would be drawn to question, "is the Black officer anti-Black and bad like an officer, or not-anti-Black and good like a Black person?" The Black officers' behaviors would provide the requisite information to answer this question.

If the Black officer behaves aggressively or authoritarian (forceful, bad) towards a Black person, they are perceived as more like an officer and less like a Black person. Moreover, they become perceived as more likely to be anti-Black. The Black officers' police-identity-consistent performance (bad, forceful, more likely anti-Black) conflicts with his racial identity (good, gentle, more likely not-anti-Black) generating negative reactions and feedback from civilians. The officer is viewed as acting appropriately as an officer, but not as a Black person. For prioritizing police identity

over Black identity, the officer is labeled an "Uncle Tom", treated poorly, and experiences greater stress.

If the Black officer does not behave aggressively or authoritarian (gentle, good) towards a Black person, they are perceived more like a Black person and less like an officer. They are perceived as less likely to be anti-Black. The Black officers' non-aggressive performance is consistent with Black identity expectations (good, gentle, more likely not-anti-Black) but conflicts with his police identity (bad, forceful, more likely anti-Black) generating positive reactions and feedback from civilians. The officer is viewed as not acting appropriately as an officer but acting appropriately as a Black person. For prioritizing Black identity over police identity, the officer is seen as a uniquely good cop or an agent of positive change within policing, treated more congenially, and experiences lesser stress[6].

Fig 11. Black Community Perceptions of Black Officers

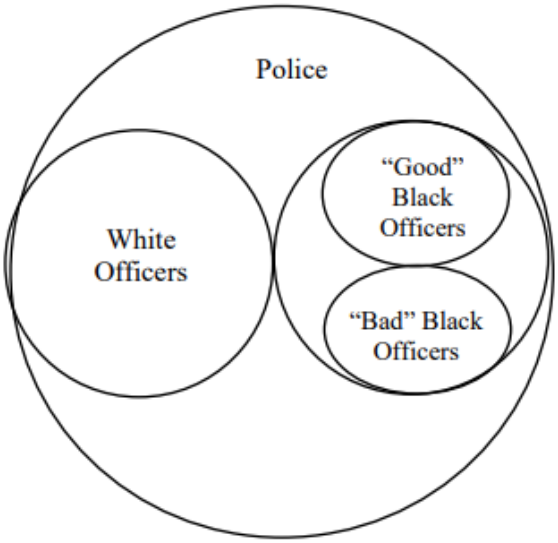


[6] An example of positive race-police identity interaction is discussed in the following section on coping.

Stasha describes that this process plays out in interactions with Black civilians, but not among officers. Rather, Stasha asserts that because Black officers can relate to the Black community in ways that non-Black officers cannot, Black and non-Black officers differ in their treatment of Black civilians. As such, Black and non-Black officers may come into conflict over the most effective way to treat a Black subject. This conflict indicates that Black and non-Black officers hold modestly different police identity standards.

Although Stasha explains that Black and non-Black officers differ in how they perceive and relate to the Black community, she emphasizes their commonality. Stasha says, "[Being a Black officer] doesn't make you lack commonality with fellow [non-Black] officers when it comes to the profession." In other words, regardless of racial differences, officers share common police experiences such as those that have already been discussed (coping with power and responsibility, occupational trauma, and difficult work schedules). In saying this, Stasha suggests that those experiences which all officers are exposed to are more fundamental to what it means to be an officer. Experiences that result from race-police identity interaction are treated as secondary.

Fig 12. Racial Differentiation among Officers



Whereas Stasha highlighted the impact of her racial identity on interactions with Black civilians, Chief Michelle shares an experience that illustrates how her racial identity informs interactions with White civilians. After informing a man that he could not enter the police precinct without a mask, the man responded with "racial epithets". Black officers may face stressful experiences of discrimination or disrespect from civilians. Their status as law enforcement does not necessarily protect Black officers from racial discrimination.

> *"This morning a [White] gentleman wanted to come into the building [police precinct] and not wear a mask. He just said, "I'm not wearing a mask." We have a mask mandate to come into all government buildings that you have to wear a mask, okay? I told him he couldn't come in without a mask. He didn't particularly like that an African American told him that. And when a couple of*

other African American men came to tell him that, he used a series of racial epithets. He used several name-callings and all in the matter of race. It had nothing to do with race."

- Chief Catlin, Black, Male, Midwestern

When asked how being Black has influenced the stress that he experiences at work, Chief Catlin further expands on Michelle's dialogue about discrimination. He asserts that anti-Black bias influences Black officers' interactions with both civilians and fellow officers. Catlin describes an instance (from more than 15 years ago) where a civilian assumed him to be a junior officer because he's Black. Catlin goes on to describe how his racial identity has influenced how other officers treat him. He believes his rank and competency are undermined, his orders are disregarded, and he is not taken seriously.

"I'm never in charge. I could have the bars, the stripes [rank insignia], I'm not the guy in charge. I was training an officer who was five years my junior in tenure, same age, but five years less time. There were several of us at this call, three Hispanic, two Black, one White guy and this lady said, "I don't want to talk to you, I want to talk to the guy in charge", and went right over to the junior White guy. He redirected her, he said, "You might want to talk to him because he's the senior officer, he's my training officer." And she looked and she said, "I called the police and they send me children." "Well, I'm sorry, ma'am, I

started when I was 21 and by the time I'm 24 I still have a youthful appearance, but I know what I'm doing", you know.

I didn't get here by humble or happenstance, you know. And then the other thing, too, is even being all the way at the high level of the food chain, I can give an order that will be received better if you [a young White man] gave it, and I'm like, respect the chair.

Here's what happens, Culture eats policy for lunch everyday. We have policy, but the culture of an agency renders all that null and void, null and void, all of it. So here's what happens in law enforcement communities, these jobs are deemed their jobs, you're not supposed to be here. I'm only here because of affirmative action. I'm only because of a Consent Decree. No, I'm here because I got a 97 out of 100 on an entrance exam. I had every right to be here. I never had the affirmative action promotion. I'm a high scorer. I'm a top 10 finisher.

I had a sergeant review my report, look up and said, "Hey, what school did you go to?" And I said, "High school or college?" "You went to college?" "Yeah, I went to college." "I knew there was something different about you." "Different how? Because I can speak?" "Oh, you write so well."

So even a left-handed compliment, the ones that are intended on being attaboy and ingratiating, are offensive. So, yeah, it's very difficult as a Black man to be taken serious in this profession."

- Chief Catlin, Black, Male, Midwestern

Catlin believes his racial identity has influenced both civilians and fellow officers to diminish his professional status. He cites an experience in which a civilian assumed him to be a junior officer whilst he was in a senior position. Likewise, he cites an experience in which a senior officer was surprised to discover that he is college educated and a proficient writer. Despite his education, history of high performance, and present rank as a chief, Catlin asserts that he is not taken seriously because of his race. Catlin associates this process with cultural norms of the police community. The norm is that policing is a job for White people, "these jobs are deemed their jobs." If a Black person becomes an officer, they did not do so on their own merit, "I'm only here because of affirmative action. I'm only because of a Consent Decree."

In this description, Catlin reveals another way to conceptualize a racial police identity schema. The racial identity of an officer influences fundamental differences in their experience of policing. Black and White officers are bifurcated. These racial categories are separate and not equal. To Catlin, police culture requires Whiteness as part of the police identity standard. Officers believe that Black people do not belong in policing. If a Black person does become an officer, they have been admitted without merit. The Black officer fulfils an affirmative action or consent decree requirement and nothing else. White officers are "real cops", and Black officers are "fake cops". The consequence is stressful burden placed uniquely on Black officers.

6.2.2 White Officers

The primary of Whiteness in policing is characterized by the discrimination and diminishment that Black officers experience in interactions with police-critical Black civilians, White civilians, and White officers. When asked if their racial identity

influences the stress they experience at work, White officers likewise attribute negative and stressful interactions to their racial identity. The primary of Whiteness in policing likewise informs the racialized experiences and stresses experienced by Whtie officers.

SWAT Officer Thompson and his ex-SWAT colleague turn police instructor, Officer Christopher, describe situations where they attribute heightened stress to their racial identity. Thompson describes responding to a call in which a Black female subject became agitated and featured his racial identity among offensive language. Thompson takes this situation as evidence that he is often judged for being White. He associates this prejudice with being called racist, which "really gets to [him]". Similarly, Christopher recounts an instance where he pulled over a Black man and was called a racist. He believes he was unfairly judged for being both White and an officer.

> *"I'm being judged just 'cause I'm White. Most of the time you just slough it off, you know? But it, it gets to you.*
>
> *I remember one lady. I was on patrol, and I was at her house for a domestic or something and I don't even know what happened, but she was really angry and there's nothing I could do. Like, nobody got hurt and there was no crime that was committed, she just wanted something done that I couldn't get done. She was a Black lady and she goes, "See, this is why I hate calling you motherfuckers. I hate you White motherfuckers. I hate all you White motherfuckers." And I was like, "Oh." I mean, that's a little excessive isn't it? I mean, I came in to try to help, sorry I can't, but you know, that burned a little bit. I was like, "What? Why would you feel that way?"*

So, I think that you just slough it off and laugh it off or you just think, "Ah, it's not, it's not most people.". But, I think over time it can get to you. I think that somebody calling you racist, for me anyway, really gets to me because I know I'm not. It gets to you though."

- SWAT Officer Thompson, White, Male, Southern

"The first time someone said I was racist, I pulled the car over and it's full of tint at midnight. He rolled down the window, "you pulled me over, you racist cop, because I'm Black." "I'm sorry. It's midnight and you have tinted windows." "No, you knew this was a Black person's car." I was like, "Wow, what a bigot. You just judged me" I was getting judged because, I was a cop, and the color of my skin. I was like, "Are you kidding me right now?""

– SWAT Officer Christopher, White, Male, Southern

Both Thompson and Christopher describe stressful interactions with Black civilians who felt they were being mistreated. In Christopher's situation this sense of mistreatment was specifically associated with the subject's Black racial identity, although it may be implicit within Thompson's. None the less, both Thompson and Christopher indicate that these subjects associated whiteness with anti-Black bias, and (wrongly, in their perception) labeled them racist. Christopher indicates that his police identity contributed to this mislabeling. These descriptions indicate an officer perspective that some people view white people and police officers as almost certainly racist. This tendency of others may be seen as insurmountable. Thompson didn't

attempt to disconfirm the label; he dismissed it and "slough[ed] it off". Christopher didn't attempt to disconfirm the label either, he retaliated by labeling the subject "a bigot".

These depictions frame a certain understanding of the public within a police identity schema. Some members of the community maintain fundamentally negative feelings towards white people and police officers. Interactions with those people are stressful; officers can "slough it off" or push back, but they may be unable to absolve themselves. To Thompson, "not most people" hold these feelings towards police officers. However, it is possible that officers who confront these stressful situations more frequently, react more strongly to them, or pay more attention to them may come to a different conclusion. Those officers might think, "most people dislike police". Officers who think in that way may feel more stress than officers who think like Thompson. This concept will be examined further in the following section on coping and burnout.

Interestingly, Thompson and Christopher's depictions share similarities to those of Stasha. Each officer illustrates a portion of the public that maintains a fundamentally negative feeling toward police. For Thompson and Chrisopher, that group is people who believe White people and police officers are racist. For Stasha that group is Black people who evaluate Black officers as racial traitors. These groups share a belief that officers are likely to be racist.

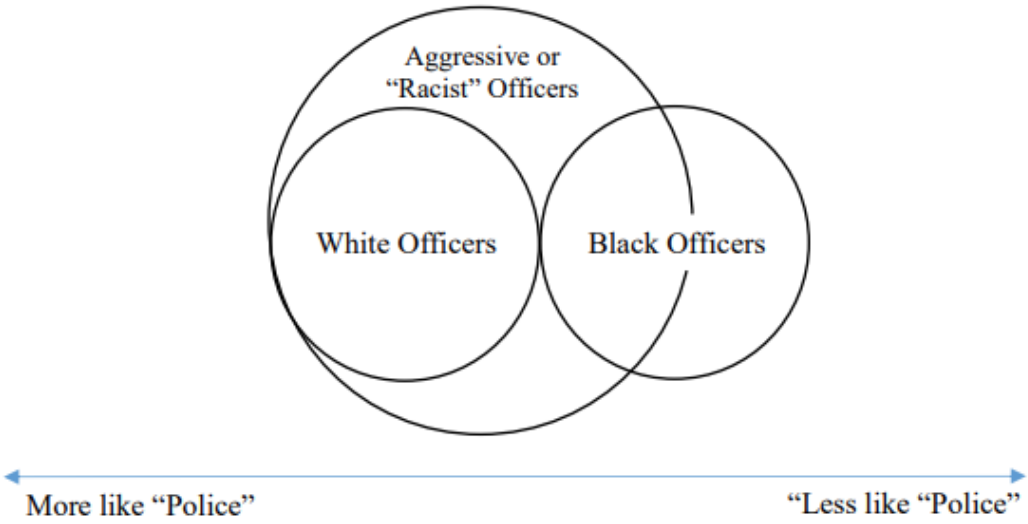
Interactions become more contentious and stressful as civilians become more certain that the officer is racist. Consequently, Black and White officers share a common experience of managing the impression that they are racist. This common

experience may serve as a unifying aspect of police identity across races. In a sense, to be a police officer is to be assumed racist by the public. In this way, Black and White officers may be unified by negative public perceptions. They are unified by being labeled "racist" officers.

Although officers, regardless of their race, may be perceived as more likely to be racist, Black and White officers experience and manage these interactions differently. When accused of racism, Thompson and Christopher acted as if they were presumed guilty because of their racial and occupational identities. Thompson *"sloughed it off"* while Christopher pushed back. Both were either unable or unwilling to disconfirm the label, so it remained. On the other hand, Stasha describes that Black officers are capable of thwarting accusations of racism. By not acting "aggressive or authoritarian" Black officers are, to an extent, cleared of anti-Black racism and treated kindlier than an average officer.

If Black and White officers are brought together by a shared experience of being treated as anti-Black racists by the public, then those Black officers who are "proven innocent" and treated less like an anti-Black racist are somewhat dissimilar from those other officers. "Racist" Black and White officers are treated with more contention by the public and experience greater stress. "Non-Racist" Black officers are treated with less contention by the public and experience less stress. What results is an uneven bifurcation among officers. Most officers (all White officers and some Black officers) are treated as racist while some Black officers are not. Such a split may alienate the few "non-racist" officers from the others. Being labeled racist becomes a more central characteristic of a shared police identity.

Fig 13. Differentiation by Nonpolice Appraisal of Officer's Racial Ideology



While Thompson and Christopher emphasize difficult interactions with the Black community, Ryan characterizes his perspective as to how officer race and civilian race influence interactions in general. Ryan is a patrol officer in a Midwest metropolitan department with fewer than five years of experience. In the Warrior/Guardian chapter, we find that Ryan's Warrior identity is associated with a sense that the public is unfairly critical and poses a professional risk to officers. When asked how his racial identity influences the stress he experiences at work, Ryan reaffirms and extends his attitude that the public is hypercritical of officers. Ryan believes that the Black public tends to be contentious with White officers while the White public tends to be more cooperative.

"[Policing,] It's very stressful, especially lately, and it depends on your race. So right now, being a White officer with everything going on in the media, if

we're patrolling primarily like Black neighborhoods, oh yeah, they're screaming, "Fuck the police!" It stresses you out after a while. They don't have any faith in us anymore. They think we're just there to hurt 'em."

[So, when you go into a Black community, you feel like everyone is targeting you?]

"Definitely"

[Is going into a Whiter community easier on you?]

"Being a White officer, it is sometimes. Now, if you're a Black officer, that's when they usually target you, so it really depends on your audience."

- Recruitment Officer Ryan, White, Male, Southern

Ryan feels like he is the target of disdain when patrolling primarily Black neighborhoods. Inversely, Ryan feels that it is sometimes easier for him to patrol Whiter communities. He attributes his heightened stress in Blacker communities, and diminished stress in Whiter communities, to his White racial identity. From these experiences, Ryan deduces that racial parity reduces interactional stress between officers and the public while racial imparity increases it. He extends this reasoning to Black officers. Ryan believes, if you are a Black officer in a Whiter community, "that's when they usually target you."

Ryan's conclusion that racial parity is directly correlated to interactional stress is inconsistent with Black officers' understanding of how racial identity influences officer-civilian interactions. Ryan assumes that racial parity/imparity affects Black and White officers similarly. While Catlin and Michelle would agree with Ryan that racial imparity increases Black officers' stress, Stasha would disagree with Ryan about parity. Stasha concludes that when a Black officer interacts with a Black person, the officer tends to experience either less stress or more stress. As such, a White officer can be relatively certain that interacting with a like civilian will be less stressful, but a Black officer cannot.

This inconsistency of impressions of how race operates across officers is an important difference in the experience of racialized police identity and the distribution of stress. Ryan assumes that Black and White officers experience stress similarly. When White officers go into Black communities, they have it harder. When Black officers go into Whiter communities, they have it harder. As such, Ryan assumes a certain equity across officers' experiences. However, Black officers describes how this is not the case. When a Black officer interacts with the White public, it is certainly harder. Yet when a Black officer interacts with the Black public, it is not necessarily easier, if fact, it could be more difficult. If Ryan speaks for the White officer experience, and Stasha speaks for the Black officer experience, it appears Black officers may be more likely to experience racial-identity related stress when interacting with the public.

Fig 14. Black/White Police Identity Meanings and Feelings in Interactions

	Black Officer	**White Officer**
Black Officer	Support / solidarity. Shared experience.	White belonging / Black non-belonging. Anti-Black discrimination, undermining Black officers' authority. Black officer as persuasion-competent
White Officer	White belonging / Black non-belonging. Anti-Black discrimination, undermining Black officers' authority. Black officer as persuasion-competent	Support / solidarity. Shared experience.
Black Civilian	**if "non-aggressive":** Homophily, respect, compliance. Officer labeled "Change maker". **if "aggressive":** Disrespect, noncompliance. Officer labeled "violent", "cruel", "biased", "race trader".	Disrespect, noncompliance. Officer labeled "violent", "cruel", "biased".
White Civilian	Anti-Black discrimination, undermining Black officers' authority.	Homophily, respect, compliance

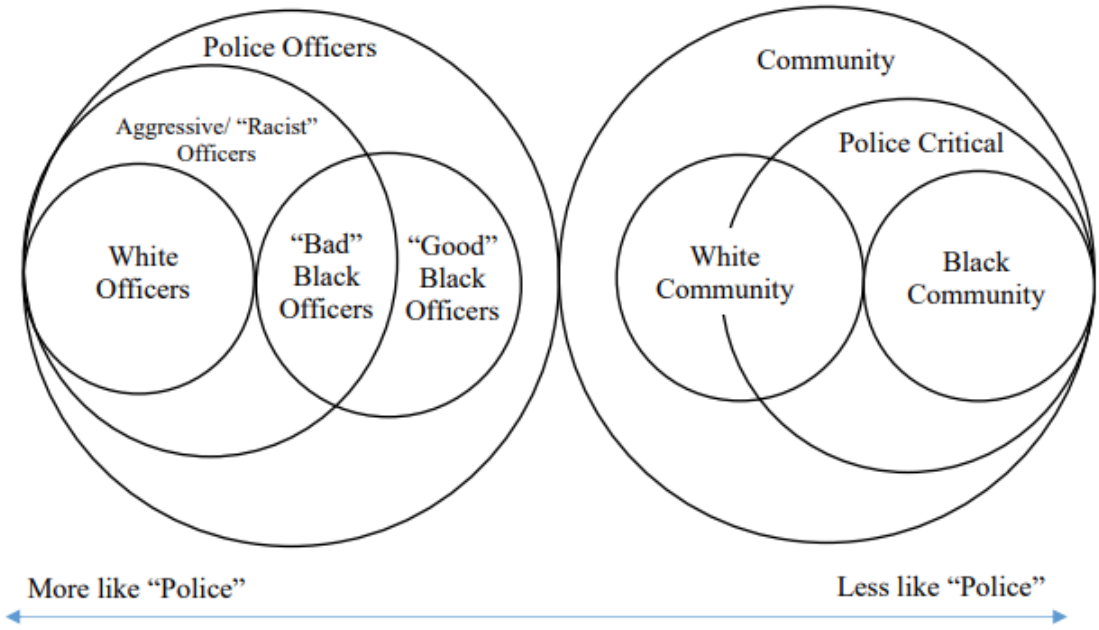
6.2.3 Racialized Police Structure

Black officers describe the ways that their racial identity shapes their experience of policing. Within police departments, Catlin shows us that race draws boundaries among officers. Whtie officers "belong" in policing, and Black officers do not. This within-police bifurcation by race operates through the delegitimization and disrespect that Black officers experience in police-police interactions. Consequently, Black officers experience a broader range of intra-organizational racial stressors than White officers. This delegitimization of Black officers likewise shapes interactions with the public. Michelle and Catlin each describe that the White public tends to insult Black officers via their words or diminishing assumptions. When interacting with the Black public, Black officers are further bifurcated into "Good Black Offices" and "Bad Black Officers". The behavior of Black officers informs an impression by the Black public as to whether the Black officer should be treated with greater respect or greater disrespect. All together, these processes shape a vast array of racial stresses that Black officers experience in interactions with fellow officers, the White public, and Black public.

The racial identity of White officers also informs how they experience policing and stress. White officers attribute contentious and stressful interactions with the Black public to assumptions that they are racist because they are White and police officers. Contrary to Black officers, White officers did not describe their racial identity as a source of stress among fellow officers, nor among the White public. White officers appear to not experience racial stress unless interacting with the Black public.

Black and White officers largely experience unique racial stress. While Black officers experience stress in interactions with fellow officers, the White public, and the Black public, White officers only seem to experience stress when interacting with the Black public. These processes differentiate Black and White police identity and inequitably distribute greater stress toward Black officers. However, commonality is shared between White officers and "Bad Black Officers". Each of these categories experience racial stress in interactions with civilians that is sourced in the civilian labeling the officer "racist". As such, the racial stress that is most uniformly experienced by officers across race is being seen as racist by the public, particularly the Black public.

Fig 15. A Racialized Police Identity Schema



The distribution of racial stresses across Black and White officers characterizes a racial police identity schema that simultaneously distances Blackness from police identity and reproduces anti-Black attitudes among black and white officers. White officers are seen as more consistent with police identity than Black officers. Black officers are divided between “Good” and “Bad” Black officers. White and “Bad” Black officers are brought together by the common experience of negative police-civilian contact; this simultaneously alienates “Good” Black officers from the majority of officer. Officers associate racial stress with the police-critical Black public who associate policing with anti-Black bias. Black and Whtie officers share the racialized experience of being perceived and treat as racist by the public. The source of this stress is attributed to those who think police are racist, this is most prominently associated with the Black public. What results is a shared police identity that is characterized by managing impressions of racism and contentious interactions with those who are critical of police, particularly the Black public.

6.3 A Gendered Police Identity Schema

Discussions with officers reveal how gender patterns experiences of policewomen and men. Policewomen described facing stressful interactions with both the public and colleagues which undermine their status or authority within the profession. However, policewoman described their gender identity as decreasing stress in interactions with women or minority nonpolice. On the other hand, policemen express feeling unwelcomed in interactions with nonpolice female victims. Policemen did not report a gender associated stress when interacting with nonpolice men, nor gender stress in interactions with field officer colleagues. However, policemen

described how gender-related administrative policies can influence the stress they experience in interactions with nonpolice. The types of gender stress that policewomen and policemen describe uncover how gendered interactions and relations act to divide the professional experiences of officers, align policewomen more closely with the community than policemen, and reify policing as a masculine profession.

6.3.1 Policewomen

When asked how her gender influences the stress she experiences as an officer, Internal Affairs Officer Stasha highlights the interaction between gender and rank in intra-professional relations.

> *"I get challenged a lot. Black, young, female, and everyone I supervise is a lot older and most are men."*
>
> ["You get challenged because of your age, race, and gender?"]
>
> *"Definitely gender. I won't say too much race, but definitely gender, and to the point where our Chief had to come and have a conversation with all of them. He did, he had a conversation with all of them, and he hated having to do it 'cause it was like I was being mansplained to, but he had to set the tone. I appreciate him doing that because he saw the difficulty and the resistance that I was facing dealing with my male counterparts."*
>
> - Internal Affairs Officer Stasha, Black, Female, Midwestern

Stasha recognizes that she has several identities that may influence subordinate officers to challenge her position, however, she specifically attributes such

insubordination to her gender. Paralleling Chief Catlin's description of not being taken seriously for being a racial minority, Stasha indicates that she is not taken seriously for being a gender minority. To legitimize her rank against resistant male subordinates, Stasha leveraged support from her Chief. Stasha's status was not recognized until endorsed by a higher rank man.

Consistent with Stasha, Detective Lindsay, a White policewoman who was previously discussed as a self-described Guardian, attributes her gender to greater difficulties in interactions with colleagues and the public. She believes that others see policewomen as less competent than policemen. In other words, people assume that policewomen less powerful and less capable of meeting police performance expectations.

> *"It's harder [...] for me because I'm a female. And not only with the public, but with your fellow officers. They think that we can't do whatever. And I used to tell them [lower ranked policewomen in her investigation unit], "Knowledge is power. You come out of that academy knowing more than everybody, don't be afraid to be confident in what it is you know. Make sure you're squared away." We have to work a little bit harder so that we're taken seriously."*
>
> - Outreach Detective Lindsay, White, Female, Southern

Linsday explains that policewomen are taken less seriously by the public and fellow officers because they are viewed as less competent. To counteract the negative perceptions associated with her gender, Linsday works harder and encourages other

policewomen to do the same. Whereas Stasha describes counteracting her gender disadvantage by leveraging a senior ranked male colleague, Lindsay bulwarks herself with competency and confidence. Both Stasha and Lindsay recognize gender associated stress and the need to put in greater effort to overcome gender barriers.

Detective Deasia, Linsday's Black female coworker, shares a slightly different perspective. To Deasia, being a policewoman is a disadvantage among officers, but an advantage with the community. I asked Deasia if her gender influences how people treat her as an officer. She responded,

> "*Yes (laughs) I think so. Internally with other officers and also externally as with the public.*
>
> *I think externally I'll start with that because for me I think it has been useful, has been helpful for people to see I do identify as a Black female so it does, it has been helpful for, for people to see minority police; Black and then also a female. Someone that they maybe feel like they relate to a little bit more just culturally and things like that. Someone that looks like them, so it's been helpful I believe.*
>
> *Internally uh, my department is not as diverse as most departments so internally it has somewhat been a struggle. I will tell you, until I have proven myself or become a familiar face, I hadn't been able to speak on things and let people know my opinion. I think it is different from others."*
>
> - Outreach Detective Deasia. Black, Female, Southern

Deasia treats her racial and gender identities as inextricably interwoven; both identities contribute to her status as a minority officer. Deasia affirms that her identity is the source of greater conflict among colleagues within her department. Like Stasha and Linsday, Deasia has had to prove herself to be heard. Unlike them, Deasia describes how her gender has given her an advantage in interactions with the public: being a policewoman can improve interactions with nonpolice women, "someone who looks like them". In this description, Deasia likens herself to the community.

Taken together, Stasha, Lindsay, and Deasia's descriptions of policewomen gender-stress parallel the racial stress distribution that Stasha and Catlin described. Black officers described greater stress in intra-professional interactions and either heightened or diminished stress in interactions with the public. Likewise, womanhood appears to contribute to greater stress in intra-professional interactions and may contribute to heightened *or* diminished stress in interactions with the public. While the influence of Blackness on nonpolice interactions was attributed to both racial parity and whether the officer is perceived by Black nonpolice as aggressive or not. The influence of womanhood on nonpolice interactions appears to be attributed only to gender or minority status parity. Importantly, Black officers described how being Black is a benefit in so far as the public distances the Black officer from police identity (when the Black officer is not seen as aggressive as expected from a traditional officer). Womanhood may make a similar separation. As police officers are generally male, being a policewoman distances the officer from police identity and is a benefit when interacting with publics who are critical of, or feel threatened by, traditional policing.

6.3.2 Policemen

Whereas policewomen spoke at length about how their gender influences interactions with colleagues and the public, policemen had less to say. When asked how his gender impacts the stress he experiences at work, Ryan, who describes in relative detail how his White racial identity influences civilian interactions, briefly describes how being a man can make interactions more stressful. He states, *"[It] depends on the call. I mean, if I go to a call and it's a female that was raped, they're not gonna want to talk to a male officer. So, truly, I believe it depends on the call."*

Ryan explains that there are certain law enforcement situations that are not appropriate for policemen, for instance, responding to sexual violence against a woman. Consistent with his attitude about racial dynamics in interactions, Ryan indicates that gender-parity is an important factor in police-civilian interaction quality. A policeman may experience heightened stress while interacting with a woman; particularly a woman who was victimized, likely by a man, in a gender/sexuality salient situation. This description suggests that policemen and policewomen have different policing roles. Supporting a victimized woman is a task for policewomen, not policemen.

Moreover, Ryan's statement highlights how policemen experience stress differently from policewomen. Ryan describes that his gender may influence civilians to be avoidant of him. A policeman's power becomes salient or heightened by the invocation of discomfort, anxiety, or fear. On the other hand, policewomen describe how their gender influences civilians to take them less seriously. A policewoman's power is diminished via the invocation of disregard or disrespect. Both instances

generate a more stressful interactions, yet the experience elevates the power of policemen and diminishes policewomen. If police identity is associated with power and respect, then these experiences align policemen with, and estrange policewoman from, police identity.

Another difference may be how gender parity informs civilian interactions. Policewomen describe how their interactions with nonpolice women can be less stressful due to shared understandings. Policemen did not describe gender parity as improving their interactions. However, Chief Catlin explains how interacting with a man influences officers. When I asked Chief Catlin how his gender influences his interactions with nonpolice, he responded from the point of view of nonpolice and addressed additional demographic characteristics.

> *"I hate the fact that some societal influences say that my gender makes me the aggressor. I hate that my hoodie makes me a suspect. I hate the fact that an age group under 25 makes them a suspect in something. So, yeah, I think demographics all play a part in what gets us in trouble in these encounters."*
>
> - Chief Catlin, Black, Male, Midwestern

Regarding gender, Catlin emphasizes that police officers view nonpolice men as "the aggressor". In other words, Catlin believes that men are viewed as more likely to commit violent crime than women. This suggests that men are viewed as a greater threat that requires greater police use of force to manage. If so, interacting with a nonpolice man may be perceived as more threatening and more stressful than

interacting with a nonpolice woman. Catlin's statement does not suggest that policemen, nor policewomen, experience less stress when interacting with nonpolice men. Unlike the experience of policewomen, gender parity in officer-civilian interactions does not appear to diminish the stress experienced by policemen.

In intra-professional interactions, policewomen describe heightened stress as their gender influences colleagues to disregard their authority or take them less seriously. Policemen never explicitly attributed their gender to intra-professional stress. However, when discussing police attrition in his department, firearms instructor, Warrior, and riot control officer, Thompson, unexpectedly and implicitly describes how gender can contribute to intra-professional stress. He states,

> *"For our department, we're having a huge problem with people going to smaller agencies all around us because we're one of the few agencies where we do all the training. We have our own academy. So, we're known for our training. […] The smaller agency's like, "Oh my God. We love you. We'll pay you more money. We'll give you a take-home car. We'll, you know, we'll let you have a beard."*
>
> [They'll let them have a beard?]
>
> *Actually, they let us have it [a beard] for a few months after the chief left [retired], it was for a fundraising event for the Special Olympics. They kept extending it, then we got a new chief, she took them away. It was a big morale killer. She formed these committees and I tried to join one of them and I'm trying to push the beards. So, I put in a memo to grow mine out for testing for*

gas masks and all that stuff because we're trying to get them back. So, I'm one of the few, there's only like six of us [who have a beard].

It probably doesn't look as professional. But the public, I'm telling you, I can feel a different interaction with the public. It feels like I'm more like them. And I am, we are. And we love it, it's fun. I mean, we're just like, we're guys man. We're supposed to have hair on our face."

- SWAT Officer Thompson, White, Male, Southern

Thompson likens departmental permission to have a beard to job benefits such as a higher salary or a take-home car. Thompson believes that officers value permission to have a beard because beards are viewed both positively and consistent with masculinity, "we're guys… we're supposed to have hair on our face". When his Chief withdrew permission for officers to have a beard, Thompson perceived it as "a big morale killer". In other words, Thompson believes that policemen experience a degree gender-associated intra-professional stress by not having permission to express certain aspects of masculinity.

Moreover, Thompson describes how his interactions with nonpolice change when he wears a beard: he "doesn't look as professional" but becomes "more like them". Through this statement, Thompson makes two important revelations. First, professionalism distances police from non-police. Being professional is more police-like and less nonpolice-like. Second, not wearing a beard is the standard in his department. Police professionalism standards may distance policemen from the community in ways that it does not for policewomen.

Altogether, Ryan, Catlin, and Thompson illuminate how policemen experience gender-associated stress. In policemen interactions with nonpolice, gender imparity may decrease interaction quality and increase stress. A policeman is not welcomed to interact with a victimized woman. As Ryan describes, these law enforcement situations are the domain of policewomen. On the other hand, when policemen interact in gender parity with nonpolice men, interaction quality is unaffected. Catlin describes that feelings of threat toward nonpolice men seem to supersede gender homophily. In intra-professional interactions with non-administrative colleagues, policemen did not describe gender stress. However, Thompson shows us that policemen's interaction with their department's administration can invoke gender stress. Professional standards may distance police from the community by limiting expressions of masculinity. This stress appears to disproportionately affect policemen. In sum, policemen appear to experience gender stress in some interactions with nonpolice women, but do not seem to experience diminished stress in interactions with nonpolice. Policemen may experience some gender stress associated with their administration, but not with field officer colleges.

6.3.3 Gendered Police Structure

Discussions with officers reveal how gendered police-civilian and intra-professional interactions characterize the social distance that exists between "policeman" and "policewoman" identities. Policewomen associate their gender identity with both heightened and decreased stress in interactions with nonpolice. Being seen as less competent, policewomen describe needing to work harder to be recognized. On the other hand, minority gender status may be associated with improved interactions

and decreased stress when interacting with women or other minority groups. Minority status parity appears to improve policewomen-nonpolice interactions.

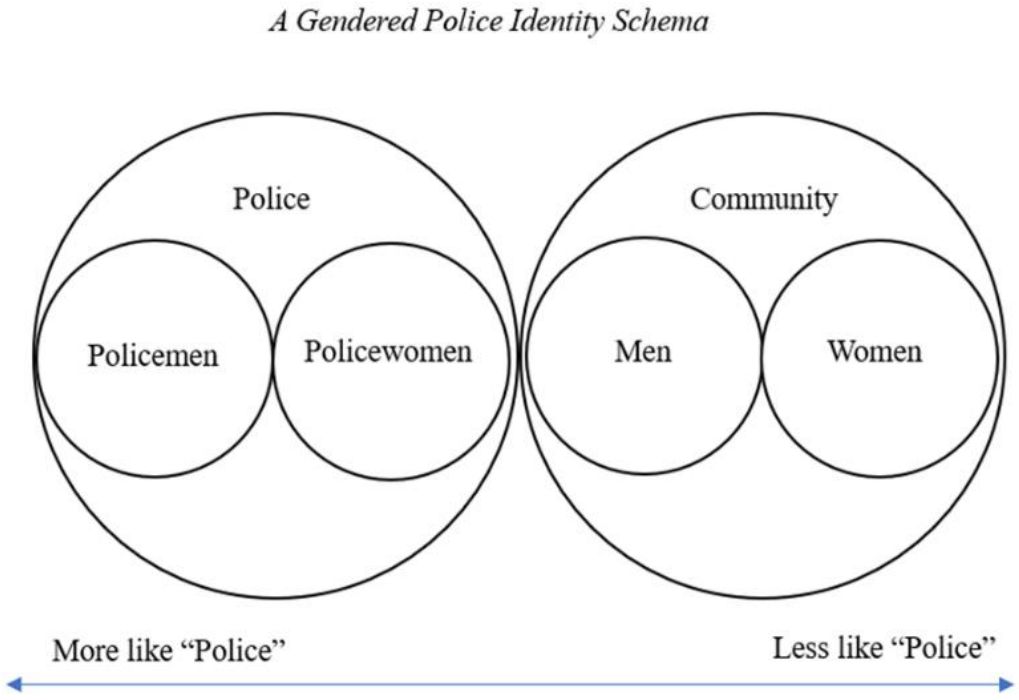
Among policemen, gender appears to *"depend on the situation"*. Gender becomes salient in certain contexts, for instance, when interacting with a female victim of sexual assault. In those situations, policemen describe experiencing heightened stress as the female victim is believed to prefer not to interact with a male officer. Gender appears to not be salient for policemen when interacting with nonpolice men. While gender or minority status parity may benefit policewomen, gender parity does not appear to benefit policemen.

In intra-professional interactions, policewomen recognize that their minority gender identity in a predominantly male workplace disadvantages them. Policewomen are diminished or disregarded by their male colleagues. This manifests as being challenged, being *"mansplained"* to, and being unheard. As such, policewomen report needing to prove themselves (be endorsed by a superior male colleague or be "squared away") to be taken seriously.

Policemen do not report gender-associated stress in intra-professional interactions with non-administrative police. Like in policemen-nonpolice men interactions, gender appear non-salient. This is consistent with the concept that policing is a hegemonically masculine profession where maleness is assumed. However, Thompson indicates one situation where such stress may occur. Departmental policies which limit the expression of masculinity can be stressful. Possibly, this increases stress in interactions with police administrators, but not with field officers. Interestingly, Thompson further suggests that professional standards which minimize male gender

expression may increase stress in interactions with nonpolice as professionalism distances officers from civilians.

Fig 16. A Gendered Police Identity Schema



Police identity is associated with strength and masculinity among both police and civilians. Policewomen are associated with weakness and femininity. Police gender identity interacts with police identity in ways guide policewomen to experience greater gender related stress than men. Being consistent with police identity, policemen generally describe interactions in nongendered ways. When gender does become salient, as in interactions with a female victim, officers describe feeling threatening or over-powered (consistent with both police and masculine identity). Inconsistent with

police identity, policewomen are seen as less competent. They must work harder to prove themselves. Gender is salient for policewomen; it modifies interactions such that they are treated less like "police" and more like "policewomen". In other words, policewomen are distanced from police identity.

6.4 Conclusion: Grounded Police Identity Schemas

In this chapter, I develop and assess three police identity schemas grounded in police roles and social identities. I investigate the meanings, feelings, and relationships that officers associate with police and nonpolice roles, Black and White racial identities, and female and male gender identities. Together, the schemas reveal a police identity standard that connects role identities to social identities and constitutes a racialized and gendered, or "identified", role order and hierarchy.

Police role structure patterns interactions between police and nonpolice, reciprocally organizing intra-professional relationships. In confronting and managing dangerous situations, "enforcement" officers are associated with strength and honorable self-sacrifice. They come to associate nonpolice with danger and are socially distanced from civilians. In managing the conditions that undermine law enforcement efficacy, community-oriented officers are associated with empathy and integrity. Performing congruently with civilian critics of police, community-oriented officers are likened to the community and distanced from enforcement officers. Resultingly, community-oriented officers are perceived to be weaker, less supportive of police, and ultimately less like "police" than enforcement officers.

Racialized interactions between Black and White officers and civilians simultaneously disadvantage Black officers, reproduce anti-Black attitudes among

Black and White officers, and distance Blackness from police identity. Black officers describe racially discriminatory intra-professional treatment that White officers do not. Black officers characterize interactions with White civilians as disrespectful, discriminatory, and diminishing. White officers characterize interactions with Black civilians as contentious. While White officers describe benefiting from racial homophily in police-civilian interactions, Black officers characterize interactions with Black civilians as either homophilic or highly contentious. White officers and fewer Black officers share the experience of being accused of racial bias by police-critical Black civilians. This shared experience of negative interaction with Black civilians may unify a broader category of officers against a minority of officers who have not been accused of racial bias. Blackness is distanced from police identity, but Black anti-Black attitudes may associate a Black officer more closely with police identity.

Gendered interactions between male and female officers and civilians undermine the status and competence of Policewomen, distance Policewomen from police identity, and confirm the threat/power of Policemen. Policewomen describe leveraging the status of male colleagues to be recognized by Policemen, including subordinates. Policewomen describe overcompensating with education, training, and confidence to be respected by male colleagues and civilians. While men do not describe any benefits from gender homophily in police-civilian interactions, policewomen describe benefiting in interactions with civilian women and police-critical racial minorities. In interactions with civilian women, particularly victims, Policemen describe being perceived as threatening. These characterizations situate Policemen in

proximity to police identity, distance Policewomen form police identity, and liken Policewomen to civilians.

Fig 17. Police and Nonpolice Identity Meanings

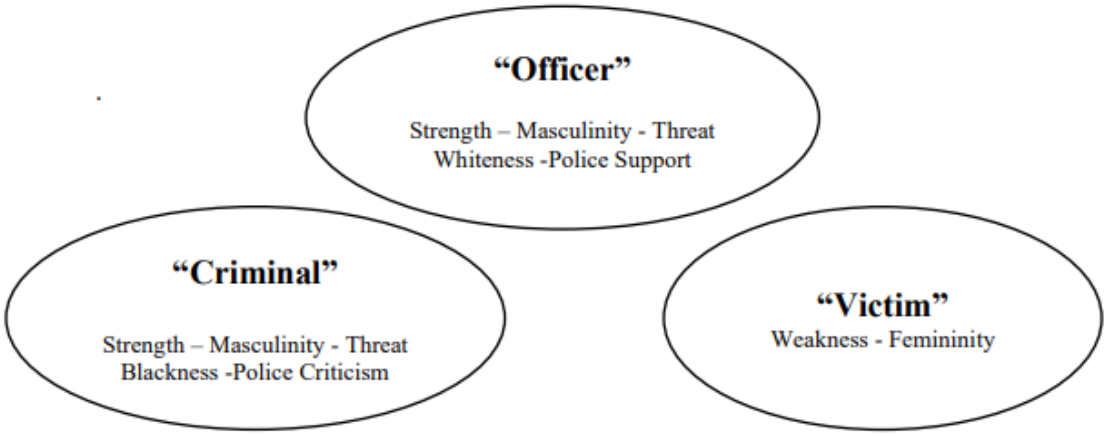
Police	Nonpolice
Strength/Threat/Masculinity Honor/Sacrifice Whiteness / Support for Police / Anti-Black Attitudes	Weakness/Vulnerability/Femininity Criminal/Threat Blackness / Criticism of Police / Pro-Black Attitudes

Taking these three schemas together reveals a series of police identity standards and their opposites. The role structure distances police from nonpolice. Police are associated with strength, honor/sacrifice, and support for police. Nonpolice are associated with victims/weakness and criminals/danger/criticism of police. The racial structure distances Blackness from police. Blackness is associated with police criticism and pro-Black attitudes. Conversely, Whiteness is associated with support for police and anti-Black attitudes. The gender structure distances women from police. Women are associated with weakness/victims. Men are associated with strength.

These identity standards map social identities onto role identities creating a role order. The standards that connect roles to social identities associate "police" with Whiteness via support for police/anti-Black attitudes and masculinity via strength. In the context of the officer-criminal-victim enforcement role schema, "criminal" is associated with Blackness via police criticism/pro-Black attitudes and masculinity via

threat. Victims are associated with femininity via weakness. Police support/criticism and strength/weakness emerge as the primary axes that differentiate between roles. Race signifies police support/criticism. Gender signifies strength/weakness.

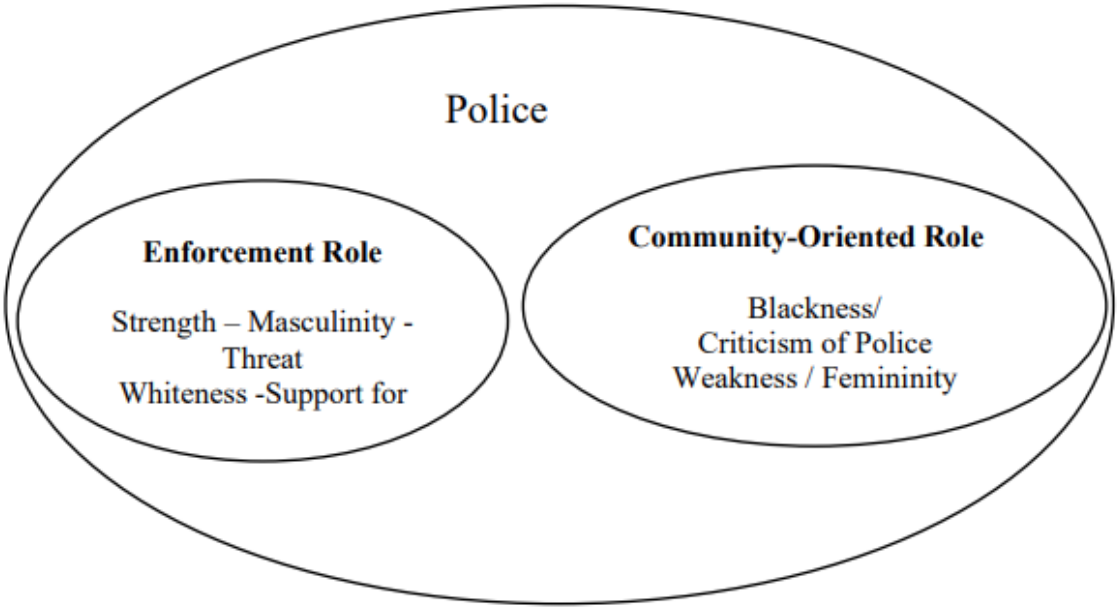
Fig 18 Racialized and Gender Roles in Law Enforcement Triad



In the context of the enforcement role schema, White and male "officers" are situated at the top of the hierarchy. The position of Black and male "criminals" and female "victims" is unclear. However, when the identity standards are mapped onto the police role identity schema, the ordering is clear. As in the enforcement schema, whiteness and masculinity are associated with the enforcement officer. Blackness and femininity are consequently relegated to the community-oriented role. As such, White and male "Enforcers" are situated at the top of the police role hierarchy as high-status actors and Black and female "community-oriented" officers are situated at the bottom as low-status actors.

In sum, this analysis indicates that police and public culture interact through the relationships between organizational roles and broader social identities. Police-nonpolice interactions characterize the meanings associated with different types of police identity; police-police interactions characterize how roles relate to one another within the organizational structure. Through this process, police roles become racialized and gendered, or "identified" and structure a role-identity hierarchy within policing that assigns high status to the enforcement role and White/male actors and low status to the community-oriented role and Black/female actors. I argue that this police identity schema is the underlying substructure that guides the intra-organizational negotiation process that ultimately constitutes organizational rules and practices in ways that prioritize enforcement, Whiteness, and masculinity both within and outside of the organization. Police department policies and practices, community-oriented police roles, Blackness, and femininity are organized to serve enforcement, Whiteness, and Masculinity. Consequently, the distribution of social resources, including the quality of police-civilian interactions, internal investigations, and criminal justice outcomes, serves and protects those high-status actors while policing low status actors.

Fig 19. Racialized and Gender Police Organizational Roles



Chapter 7: Discussion

In the following chapter, I review the major preceding findings and provide a reflexive analysis. I disclose instances where my experience with this work influenced my interpretations and leverage my interpretations to connect findings and draw conclusions. Then, I relate the Warrior/Guardian, Sheepdog, and Police Role/Social Identity schemas together in a final model. I conclude this chapter by discussing the implications of this work on theory and future research.

7.1 Police Roles and the Warrior/Guardian Paradigm

In examining policing roles, I find that offers distinguish between the performance of enforcement and community-oriented policing roles. Enforcement is associated with occupational positions like Patrol Officer, Sergent, or Detective. Officers enact enforcement in policing situations involving criminals and victims. Through enforcement, officers punish criminals and protect victims. Community-oriented policing is associated with administrative and public outreach occupational positions. Officers enact community-oriented policing in non-law enforcement situations involving police critics and supporters. In community-oriented policing, officers serve police critics.

Warriorship is associated with the enforcement role and Guardianship is associated with community-oriented roles. Sheepdog schema characterizes enforcement situations in ways that are largely consistent[8]: Criminals are associated with police criticism and threat; victims are associated with weakness. Officers

[8] Except that the Sheepdog analogy includes “Non-Police Sheepdogs”.

characterize community-oriented situations in two ways, both of which contradict the sheepdog schema. Community-Oriented officers support “bad” / “lowly” civilians or punish / criticize “honorable” officers. Consequently, enforcement is associated with honor, strength, and support for police while community-oriented policing is associated with dishonor, weakness, and criticism of police. As such, enforcement is identified as more characteristic of Police identity than community-oriented policing within police culture. I argue that enforcement roles are consequently valued as higher status than community-oriented roles, regardless of rank. I suggest that this may inform the negotiation of formal and informal rules in ways that encourage lower-rank enforcement officers to act outside of law or policy and avoid transparency and accountability to higher ranked community-oriented police administrators.

Consistent with the characteristics of traditional police culture (Reiner 2010), officers associated with Warriorship described heightened vigilance, professional / personal threat, and stress-related consequences including cynicism and avoidant/defensive behaviors. Conversely, officers associated with Guardianship diverged from traditional policing characteristics. They expressed a sense of safety within the community and optimism for the future of policing.

Although Warriors are typically associated with the traditional police characteristics of violence and prejudice (McLean et. al 2020), the Warriors that I spoke with rejected these characterizations. These officers justified police violence as compassionate and necessary. To them, the righteous use of lethal force means saving an innocent life. Despite my antipathy for violence, these justifications gave me the sense that some police violence is justifiable, and a rejection of all police violence may

be hyper-critical. Warrior officers fulfil their duty to put their life on the line and protect the vulnerable from victimization. This role does not necessitate bias or undue force. Righteous violence deploys force to the extent that it is necessary to save innocent lives. This conclusion rationalizes violence and bias as independent constructs: violence is not necessarily biased. This decoupling is logical; however, it contradicts empirical evidence that police violence *is* racialized. Given the laws, policies, and racial attitudes that guide police practice, to what extent can police violence be decoupled from bias?

Warriors and Guardians seem to hold incompatible definitions of warriorship. To Warriors, *righteous* violence is fundamental to the enforcement role of policing. As Instructor Christophers said, *"When bullets are flying, that's not the time to deescalate with conversation. There's work to be done. You have to do that work."* However, to Guardians, *racialized* violence is fundamental to warriorship, as Chief Catlin said, *"we have to have a paradigm shift from Warrior to Guardian. We got to weed out implicit bias."* Warrior officers connect warriorship to enforcement, others connect warriorship to biased and violent misconduct.

This contraction reveals a tension within policing that may reflect tensions in police-community relations. Officers associated with warriorship are associated with violence and bias, subject to heightened scrutiny, and experience a sense of threat as "the bad apples". Conversely, officers associated with guardianship are distanced from police violence and bias and experience a sense of exceptionalism as "the good ones". In this way, the Warrior/Guardian paradigm characterizes public criticism towards Warriors and public support for Guardians. However, this pattern also reveals two problems associated with the paradigm.

The first problem is that the Warrior/Guardian paradigm's framing of guardianship as the policing ideal averts critical attention from police conduct that is non-violent, empathetic, or compassionate, but biased. Chief Lawrence exemplifies this problem as he describes his Guardian enforcement tactic; he states, "*It never hurts to put that soft touch [,,,] I've even had prisoners say, "Can you let me go?" No, I can't let you go man."* Guardians use a "soft touch" as they apply criminal sanctions. In other words, guardianship minimizes harm in police-suspect interactions, yet the legal ramifications remain. Drawing on the Warrior/Guardian paradigm, Lawrence may feel proud of his empathetic conduct. However, despite his kindness, Lawence's enforcement may still be motivated by bias and contribute to racialized inequity in law enforcement outcomes such as rates of stop, search, citation, and arrest. The Warrior/Guardian paradigm exalts well-intentioned officers but does not critically examine how well-intentioned police conduct contributes to organized inequity.

The second issue is that the Warrior/Guardian paradigm's framing of warriorship as problem with police-community relations, it encourages criticism of violent but unbiased police conduct. It is the officer's duty to deploy unbiased police use-of-force to the extent that is necessary to prevent criminal harm. Warrior officers widely express the sense that they are unduly scrutinized and punished for fulfilling this duty. The consequence of this experience of the Warrior/Guardian paradigm is a heightened sense of threat that motivates and justifies advocacy for traditional policing practices and resistance to transparency and accountability.

In sum, officers' perceptions of the Warrior/Guardian paradigm seem to reflect their perceptions of public attitudes toward police. Officers experience the paradigm as

public criticism of Warriors and support towards Guardians. Officers associated with Warriorship appear more likely to experience heightened threat (regardless of their biases or conduct) and are motivated to justify traditional policing practices, including the decoupling of racial bias from violent police misconduct and resistance to accountability for misconduct. On the other hand, Warrior officers appear more likely to experience a sense of safety and exceptionalism despite a lack of critical analysis of non-violent or congenial law enforcement conduct that none-the-less contributes to inequitable law enforcement.

Ultimately, these patterns suggest that the public pressures characterized by the Warrior/Guardian paradigm may have unintended consequences that contribute to the reproduction of organized inequity in law enforcement. Are officers who deploy appropriate and unbiased violence threatened in ways that harm their wellbeing and encourage them to advocate against beneficial reforms? Are officers who deploy biased but non-violent enforcement skirting critical attention?

7.2 Police Race and Gender

Examining race, I find that Black officers characterize interactions with White officers and Whtie civilians as racially discriminatory and disrespectful. Black officers characterize interaction with Black civilians as either "more stressful" or "less stressful" depending on whether the Black officer is perceived as "aggressive" or "authoritarian". If the Black officer is perceived "aggressive" they may be labeled "racist". Black officers describe no negative racial stress in interactions with Black officers, rather Black officers lean on Black colleges for social support. White officers describe negative racial interactions with Black civilians characterized by being labeled

"racist". White officers describe no racial stresses in intra-professional relations. Indeed, White officers' racial identity appears non-salient unless it is invoked in criticisms of racialized policing.

The racial stress structure differentiates and distances Blackness from policing. Black officers are othered and disadvantaged as they experience more categories of racial stress than White officers. Importantly, Black, and White officers share the experience of negative interaction with, and being labeled as "racist" by, Black civilians. A Black/White majority of officers who have experienced racially stressful interactions with Black civilians is differentiated from a Black minority of officers who have not. Blackness is distanced from police identity as being called racist, or the association of "anti-Blackness", is characteristic of police identity. Accordingly, Black civilians are associated with police criticism. I argue that officers' shared experience of being criticized by the Black public reproduces and normalizes anti-Black attitudes in police culture. In one sense, the White public may be complicit in the reproduction of police racial bias because, if criticism of police racial bias were asserted equality by the Black and White public, officers might be less likely to attribute criticism to the Black public.

Like the racialized experiences of officers, Policewomen describe being undermined by civilian and police men. Policewomen describe compensating for disadvantage with "education" and "confidence". "It's harder", Policewomen need to "try harder". Policewomen describe an advantage in interaction with female and minority civilians, "it's been helpful". Policemen describe being perceived as threatening in interaction, female victims do not want to "talk to a male". These

associations characterize Policewomen as less competent and weaker than Policemen. Likewise, they associate Policemen with power. Women are distanced from policing in ways that associate them with lower-status policing roles.

The police role identity schema situates Enforcement (honor / strength / police support) as more characteristic of police identity than Community-Oriented police roles (dishonor / weakness / police criticism). The race and gender social identity schemas associate Whiteness and Masculinity with Enforcement via honor / strength / police support. Blackness is associated with Community-Oriented roles via police criticism, and femininity is associated with Community-Oriented roles via weakness. As such, the organizational role structure prioritizes Whiteness, Masculinity, and Enforcement. Community-Oriented roles, including administration, serve enforcement.

7.3 The Sheepdog Schema as Police Culture

The Sheepdog schema situates officers in a Police-Victim-Criminal relationship. In brief, Police protect Victims from Criminals. Unlike the Warrior/Guardian paradigm, the Sheepdog analogy differentiates between types of non-police rather than types of police. This structure encouraged me, like Langbeyer (2021), to consider how officers identify criminals. I find that officers are guided by suspicion in ways which have been related elsewhere (Mooney & Young 2000; Smith & Gray 1983; Reiner 1978). Novelly, I also find that officers are also guided by their perceptions of the respect and deference of others. As high-status moral arbiters, officers appear to treat those who challenge their honor or authority as criminals.

Extending the differentiation between “good” and “bad” civilians, I performed a reciprocal analysis to examine how officers differentiate between “good” and “bad”

officers. In doing this, I characterized how officers negotiate their performances by morality and law/policy compliance. Behaviors that are moral and complaint are "justified". Behaviors that are immoral and non-compliant are "unjustified". Conduct that operates within the immoral-compliant and moral-non-complaint "gray" spaces are "negotiable", "discretionary", or "justifiable". Officers describe how "justifiable" conduct challenges the boundaries of appropriate police conduct. Officers bend organizational rules in ways that decrease sanctions against individuals seen as "good" and increase sanctions against individuals seen as "bad". Officers describe "unjustifiable" officer conduct as immoral and non-complaint. They cite Derek Chauvin's murder of George Floyd as an example of police conduct that is widely condemned and deserving of sanction.

To make sense of Captain Clarence's experience of retaliation for whistleblowing against racially biased policing practices in his agency, I make a conceptual leap that is not made explicit by officers. I argue that Clarence's treatment is evidence that his conduct was deemed immoral, non-compliant, and unjustifiable. In identifying racist conduct, Clarence threatened officers, was likened to a criminal, and punished.

In the context of the Warrior/Guardian paradigm, Clarence's actions would be associated with Guardianship, and he would likely receive praise from the nonpolice community. However, in the context of the Sheepdog schema Clarence's threatening behavior likened him to a criminal among police. In this way, the Warrior/Guardian schema represents a public moralization of policing or the public cultural perspective,

while the Sheepdog schema represents police moralization or the police cultural perspective.

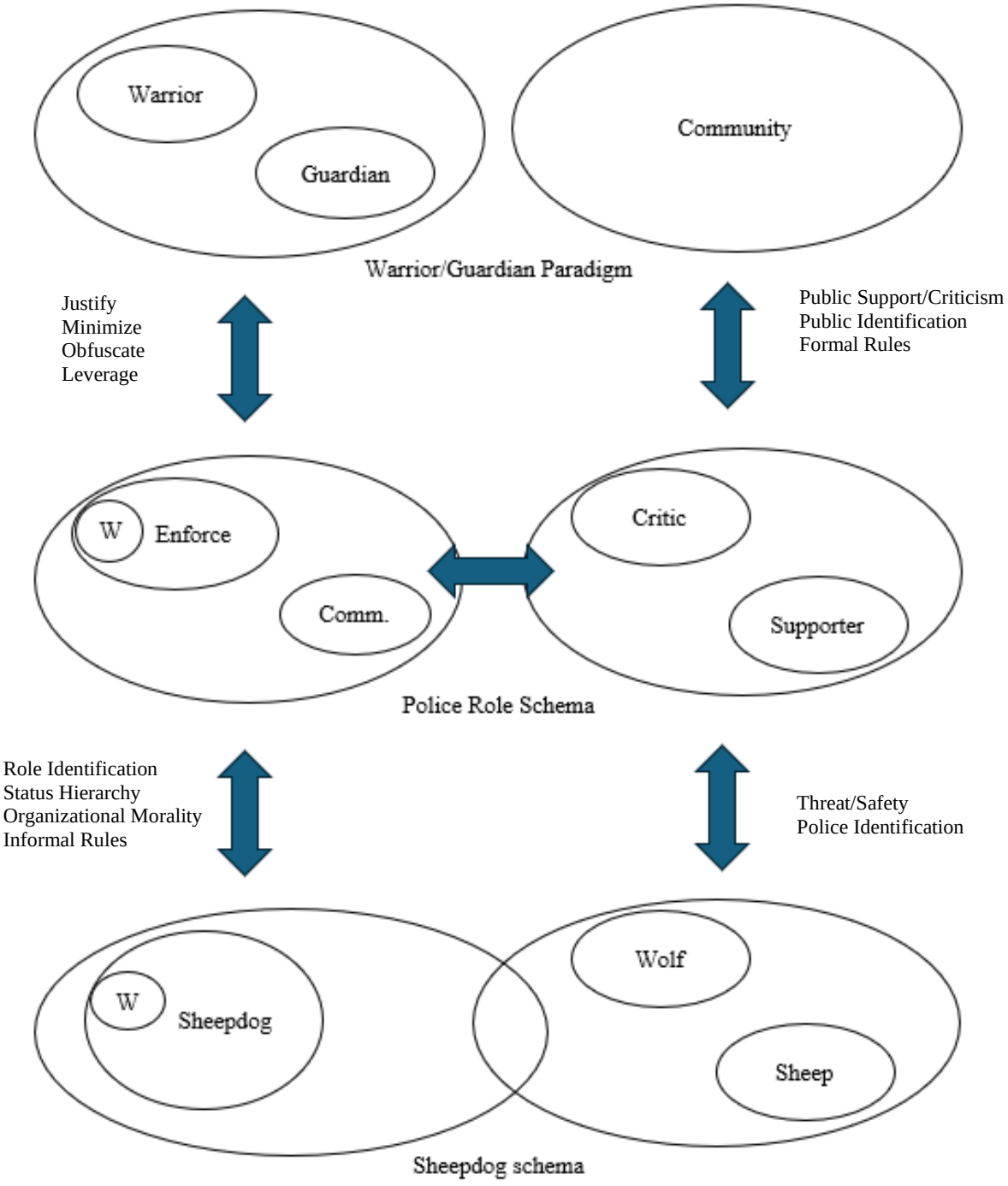
Police culture is characterized by the Sheepdog Police Identity Schema: It prioritizes enforcement officers who are associated with honorable sacrifice, strength, support for police, safety, Whiteness, and masculinity. In the negotiation of police conduct, officers tend to deem actions that operate outside of police morality as dishonorable, weak, dangerous, unjustifiable, and subject to sanction. This process ultimately orders the interaction between police culture and broader social systems. Officers endeavor to enact or oppose police cultural values but are limited in their performance of "unjustifiable" conduct. What is "unjustifiable" is simultaneously defined by public and police perceptions of conduct, as well as the laws and policies that are the negotiated distillation of those perceptions. Among police, although laws and policies define appropriate police behaviors, police culture appears to determine the informal rules that define when formal rules may be bent or broken.

7.4 Police Departments as Identified Organizations

The Warrior/Guardian, Sheepdog, and Police Role/Social Identity Schemas chart three domains of symbolic interaction that characterize the intersection of police and public culture at the point of material contact. The Police Role/Social Identity Schema characterizes the organizational/structural social reality that operates at the material point of contact between police and civilians. Within these structured role/social identity interactions, police and civilian conduct is constructed through the reciprocal negotiation of police and public culture. The Sheepdog Identity Schema characterizes police culture, and the Warrior/Guardian Police Identity Schema

characterizes officer's impression of public culture. These reciprocal relationships account for police rules and practices that guide and constrain officer's capacity to act on police culture in ways that distribute law enforcement outcomes and pattern organized inequity. Likewise, they account for the police cultural characteristics that I have described in ways broadly consistent with police culture research.

Fig 20. A Model Relating Three Domains of Symbolic Police-Civilian Interaction



The model above relates the three schemas to one another and charts the intersection between police culture and public culture at the point of police-civilian contact which is situated within the Police Role Schema. In police-civilian contact, officers act as Enforcers or Community-Oriented police: Civilians act in police-positive or police-negative ways as Critics/Supporters or Criminals/Victims. The structure of this interaction patterns how actors feel and behave. Police *decision-making* is guided by the police cultural Sheepdog schema and is characterized by the identification of civilians as Wolf/Criminal or Sheep/Victim and the negotiation of morality and compliance with informal/formal police cultural/organizational rules. The table below typifies police decision-making[9].

21. Morality and Compliance Decision Making Table

	Compliant	**Noncompliant**
Moral	"Good police work" Legal and within policy, deserving subject. "Justified"	"Vigilantism" Illegal or against policy, deserving subject. "Justifiable"
Immoral	"Rule-following" Legal and within policy, undeserving subject. "Justifiable"	"Wolves in Sheepdog's Clothing" Illegal or against policy, undeserving subject. "Unjustified"

[9] Described in section 6.3.

The officer's *identification* of the civilian as Wolf/Criminal or Sheep/Victim is guided by social identities where Blackness is associated with police - negativity as Criminal / Critic / Community-Oriented Officer, Whiteness is associated with police - positivity as Police / Supporter / Enforcement Officer, Femininity is associated with weakness as Victim / Supporter / Community-Oriented Officer, and Masculinity is associated with Strength / Threat / Criminal / Enforcement Officer. The patterning of police role taking and police-decision accounts for police-civilian interaction quality and inequitable law enforcement experience / outcomes in accordance with this role / social identity order.

The influence of identities on police-civilian interaction operates through the officer's *compliance* with police organizational rules and the *discretion* that they are afforded by organizational actors. Police formal / informal organizational rules are a function of police structure / culture, policies, and laws. Compliance is patterned by the officer's position within the organization where high-status identities are afforded greater agency. Accordingly, White / Masculine / Enforcement officers have a greater capacity to justify non-compliance with police rules and thereby assert their morality which negatively values Blackness as Police Critical / Criminal and Femininity as Weak / Victim. Consequently, police decision-making disadvantages Blackness and Femininity.

The influence of identities on police-civilian interaction is likewise structured by the biases within *police organizational rules*. Organizational rules are a function of the negotiation between Enforcement officers, Community-Oriented officers, and policies/laws. Within the organization White / Masculine / Enforcement officers

maintain higher status while Black / Feminine / Community-Oriented officers maintain lower status. According to this organizational status hierarchy, Community-Oriented administrative officers maintain higher rank, but lower status than Enforcement officers. Therefore, I argue that police organizational rules favor Whiteness, Masculinity, and Enforcement. I also argue that the low status of administrative officers enhances the capacity of White / Masculine / Enforcement officers to not comply with laws and policies. This is consistent with the police cultural resistance to accountability and transparency represented by the 'blue wall of silence' (Fassin 2013; Chan 2003; Westmarland & Rowe 2016; Westmarland & Conway 2020).

Influenced by biased police culture and organizational rules, police-civilian interactions intersect with *public culture*. I argue that police-civilian interaction is characterized by a negotiation between the public Warrior/Guardian schema and the Police role/social identity schema. The public projects the Warrior/Guardian schema onto the Police role/social identity schema and identifies actors as Warriors or Guardians. Enforcement/Masculinity/Whiteness is associated with Warriorship and Community-Orientation / Femininity / Blackness is associated with Guardianship. The public is critical of Warriors as violent/biased and supportive of Guardians as non-violent/unbiased. Actors identified as Warriors are subject to public criticism / disrespect / noncompliance, experience personal / professional threat, and consequently maintain pessimistic, traditional, and anti-reformist attitudes. This is in accordance with police culture research that associates threat / danger with cynicism, suspicion/solidarity, and conservatism. Actors identified as Guardians are subject to

public support/respect /compliance, experience a sense of exceptionalism, professional optimism, and safety.

Officers are motivated by public culture to avoid identification as a Warrior and seek identification as a Guardian. Conversely, officers are motivated by police culture to associate with Enforcement / Whiteness / Masculinity which associates with Warriorship. Therefore, officers *negotiate* identification. My interviews with officers are characterized by this negotiation. In negotiation, officers identify themselves with Guardianship, minimize or disassociate Warriorship from policing, justify Warriorship, and decouple bias from Warriors. Accordingly, most officers I interviewed associate themselves with Guardian identity, or identify as neither/both. Officers associate Warriors with "Bad Apples" to minimize/disassociate police roles/social identities from Warriorship. This involved negotiating the identification of "Wolves in Sheepdog's clothing". Further, they justify police violence as a "necessity", as "righteous", as "compassionate", and as "not necessarily biased". These ways of negotiating the Warrior/Guardian paradigm *protect* police racialized/gendered violence/over-policing and the White/Masculine/Enforcement officers associated with it. Further, I argue that policing *co-opts* the Warrior/Guardian paradigm. The public associates Guardianship with Community-Oriented / Black / Feminine officers. As such, police agencies leverage performative Guardianship and utilize community-oriented actions, diversity, and racial/gender tokenization to protect police practices, actors, and their social / material consequences.

7.5 Implications for Theory and Research

This analysis of police organizations as identified organizations demonstrates how cognitive and affective schemas operate through situational, organizational, and cultural structures to shape the navigation of interactions, and the negotiation of organizational rules. The consequence of these interrelated processes is distribution of status, power, and social/material resources. In the context of policing, this process structures racialized/gendered police organization and practice resulting in the inequitable distribution of police violence, criminal justice, and wellbeing.

As a contribution to a theory of racialized organizations (Ray, 2019), this work reveals how cognitive and affective schemas operate through identities to construct situations and relationships that pattern organizational rules and the agency of actors to bend or break them. Further, I demonstrate how the "substructure" of one group can act as the "superstructure" of another. This work indicates that the substructure of an organization is ordered through the relations of high-status actors and their moralization of identities. For police, this results in the substructural Sheepdog or Enforcement schema patterning the identification of organizational actors (e.g., Black / Criminal / Less-Like-Police / Community-Oriented Officer). For nonpolice, this results in the Warrior/Guardian Schema that differentiates between "good" and "bad" officers and characterizes their relations. Police interactions with the public become a negotiation between organizational and other schemas. The consequence is the organizational support or criticism of that other which reciprocally structures the relations of role actors and the contestation over laws/policies that both organizational and other actors are subject to.

In contribution to police culture and police-community relations research, this work treats police culture as a system of identities, meanings, and relations. I demonstrate how police culture and group relations are inexplicably linked through roles interactions and the interaction between police and public culture. Moreover, this work demonstrates police culture as a process. Public attitudes toward police appear to modify how police perform. I suggest that police officers and agencies are leveraging a performative guardianship. However, "Warrior" officers are under a high degree of threat from public criticism. Likewise, "Guardians" report feeling safe and optimistic, positive towards the community, and supportive of change. Guardian officers diverge from traditional police culture. How does this characterize diversity among police and what does it mean for police culture change?

Future research should consider how the status structure of organizations shape compliance and discretion. How is morality-compliance used and modified to characterize agency and organizational authority / discipline? Relatedly, research should consider how organizations change. This work shows that an organization's administration may be racialized in ways that enhance the agency of low-rank / high-status actors to undermine law and policy. How might the relegation of low-status actors to high-rank be leveraged to influence organizational rules? Last, research should consider how the relations of organizations to outside organizations or groups shape the rules-resource order.

Conclusion

Despite nearly a decade of community engagement and police reform efforts guided by the Warrior/Guardian paradigm, rates of racially disproportionate police misconduct remain a social problem. Why does the Warrior/Guardian paradigm seem to be an ineffective pathway for police cultural change? Making sense of this question required a deeper understanding of how organizational cultures interact with the broader social context. Accordingly, I grounded this work in the research question:

How do identity schemas connect organizations to the broader social context to shape organizational practices and the distribution of social resources that contribute to social stability and change?

Situating this question within the context of policing, I set out to understand how officers categorize and associate meanings with different types of officers and civilians. Further, I sought to comprehend how the relationships between those people might pattern the distribution of social resources and constitute inequity. I interviewed a diverse sample of fifty officers and spoke with them about the meanings they associate with the Warrior/Guardian paradigm, the Sheepdog analogy, and their experiences of policing while situated in various role, gender, and racial positions.

Through a grounded analysis of officer responses, I organized the meanings, relations, and experiences associated with each identity schema. I described the characteristics of each identity and realized that the Warrior/Guardian paradigm characterizes public culture, the Sheepdog analogy characterizes police culture, and the

police role/social identity schema characterizes police organizational context. I analyzed the meanings, feelings, and practices associated with each schema, and how the schemas relate to one another. I realized relationships between police culture, public culture, police organization, police practice, and its consequences for organized inequity.

Analysis of the Sheepdog identity schema reveals that police organizational structure, police practice, and police culture are reciprocally related. Police practice is constructed through the negotiation of organizational rules and police culture. Officers act through police culture and are constrained by organizational rules. Reciprocally, police actions may bend or break organizational rules to manifest police culture. In police civilian-interaction officers bend and break rules in ways that advantage Whiteness and Masculinity and disadvantage Blackness and Femininity. Likewise, the agency of Black and Female officer to bend rules is constrained.

Analysis of the Warrior/Guardian identity schema reveals that public culture shapes civilian actions in ways that alter the agency of organizational actors. The Warrior/Guardian schema guides the identification of Warriors who deserve disrespect, resistance, and punishment, and the identification of Guardians who deserve respect, support, and reward. Civilians act on public culture to sanction bad actors and influence rules, policies, and laws that constrain police misconduct.

Police and public culture interact in the negotiation of rules and resources. I find that "Warriors" feel threatened and oppose change. While "Guardians" feel safe and advocate for change. As such, public culture is influencing the inequitable distribution of feelings across officers and may act on the rules that shape their

practices. However, police culture acts on public culture to subvert or co-opt the public narrative and defend or enhance the rules that serve it. Officers act on police culture through the justification, minimization, and obfuscation of criticism. Likewise, police act to create new rules that take advantage of the evolving landscape. Police leverage public culture through performative Guardianship and the tokenization of Black and Female officers.

In conclusion, this work indicates that public cultural pressure guided by Warrior/Guardian paradigm is acting on the feelings of officers in ways that simultaneously reproduce and restrain police conduct. However, traditional police culture, and the organizational rules that support it, remain intact. Changing policing requires a change in the rules and resources that provide officers with the agency to act on police culture. We know the rules: police discretion, internal investigation, police unions, 'the blue wall of silence', and qualified immunity each act to enhance the agency of officers and should be bent or broken. Laws and policies that restrict harmful conduct must be enhanced. Banning chokeholds would have shaved Eric Garner's life, and banning no-knock warrants would have saved Breonna Taylor's. Laws and policies that increase transparency must be enhanced. Mandate body worn cameras. Develop civilian, state, and federal oversight. Require and support the collection and availability of crime, traffic stop, arrest, use of force, complaint, and accountability data. Laws and policies that hold officers accountable in ways that restrain bad actors and reduce funding should be enhanced. Fire bad actors. Create records of police misconduct and reason for termination. Institute policies that restrict hiring known bad actors. Structure police insurance such that civilian payouts for misconduct come from police, not

taxpayer funds. Redirect and reallocate funds away from agencies with substandard records. Invest in education, healthcare, childcare, welfare, affordable housing, food assistance and non-police community outreach that reduces the public's reliance on police.

Appendix

Interview Guide

Thank you for your feedback on the virtual reality program. Now we will move on to discuss other relevant topics. The first topic we will discuss is policing and mental health. When talking about mental health, I'm referring to the ways that offices experience and cope with stress.

Mental Health

1. We often hear that being a police officer is stressful. Do you believe being an officer is stressful? If so, what makes being an officer stressful?

2. What do you think are the greatest challenges officers face towards their mental health?

3. Can you recall a time when you noticed an officer struggling with their mental health? If so, please describe what happened.

4. Can you recall a time when you struggled with your mental health? If so, what happened and what did you do?

5. Do you think some officers are more prone to struggle with their mental health than other officers? If so, why might some officers struggle more than others?

6. What types of calls-to-service are most stressful for officers? What makes a call-to-service more or less stressful for officers?

7. What other factors might impact the stress an officer experiences at work?

8. Does your race or gender impact how people perceive or treat you as an officer? How?

9. Can the race, class or gender of the suspect or victim make a call-to-service more or less stressful for an officer?

10. What are the ways in which officers' cope with the stress they experience at work?

11. Some examples of coping include extreme self-criticism, irritability, outbursts of anger, substance abuse such as alcohol, tobacco, or drugs, or risky behaviors. To what extent do you think officers use these strategies to cope with stress?

12. More examples of coping include talking to someone you trust, setting boundaries, using humor, spending time with family and friends, or helping

others. To what extent do you think officers use these strategies to cope with stress?

13. Let's talk a bit about talking to others when stressed. Do officers talk about their feelings when they are stressed?
    a. if so, who do they talk with, for instance, family, friends, or coworkers?

14. At work, are officers encouraged to talk to supervisors if they are feeling stressed?

15. Now let's talk about the resources that are available to officers to help cope with stress. What resources are available in your department to help officers cope with stress?
    a. Do officers use the resources that are available to them? Why or why not?

16. What is the current protocol in your department about psychological services?

17. Do you think additional mental health resources should be offered to officers? If so, what types of resources could be made available?

18. Do you think it should be mandatory for officers to regularly see a counselor of their choosing outside of work without this information being put in their personnel file? Why or why not?

19. Do you think officer mental health should be a factor in hiring and promotion decisions?

20. Do you ever feel burnt out of working as a police officer? Do you think other officers are burnt out?

21. Do you think the stress of working as a police officer is causing some officers to want to retire earlier? If so, why do you think that is?

22. Is there anything else you would like to say about police mental health before we move on to the next topic?

Police-Community Relations

Now we will talk about police-community relations.

1. How would you define community-oriented policing? What is your opinion of community-oriented policing?

2. When you hear the word "community," what comes to mind?

3. Do you think that this program will help improve community policing?

4. How would you describe your community?

5. What kinds of skills do police and community leaders need to have to make community policing work?

6. What do you think are some of the barriers to good police-community relations, and what steps can be taken to eliminate them?

7. What strategies do you think police and the wider community can adopt to reduce crime while respecting people's rights to fair and impartial treatment?

8. What do you think people in your community think about the police?

9. Do you feel like the community praises the police?
    a. When the community does praise the police, how does that make you feel?
10. Do you feel like the community criticizes the police?
    a. When the community does criticize the police, how does that make you feel?
    b. Do you think the criticism that comes from the public is generally fair?
11. What do you think about the media's representation of the police?
12. What do you think about the "defund the police" movement?
13. What do you think about the calls to "abolish the police"?
14. What do you think about the "Black Lives Matter" movement?
15. What do you think about blue lives matter?

Race Relations & Policing, and the Rule of Law

Now we will talk about race, policing, and the rule of law.

1. How would you define the "rule of law?"

2. Do you think this program will help police officers better apply the general principles of use of force in ways that complement the rule of law? If so, how? If not, why not?

3. What are some strategies to strengthen the rule of law and the relationship between the police and minority communities?

4. How could this program enhance policing in minority communities?

5. Do you think the racial makeup of a police department should be like the racial and ethnic makeup of the community it serves, or is this unnecessary? Why or why not?

6. Do you think the media coverage of police shootings involving unarmed African Americans affect officer recruitment? Do you think it is more likely to affect the recruitment of minority officers? Why or why not?

7. Do you think the media coverage of police shootings involving unarmed African Americans affect how officers perform in the field? Why or why not?

8. Do you believe police incidents that sparked racial unrest and Black Lives Matter protests are more likely to happen when young, relatively inexperienced officers are involved?

9. To what extent does fear and anxiety on the officer's part play a role in these situations?

10. Do you think this program could help reduce an officer's fear and anxiety while in the fie

The Officer Role

1. How would you define a "good" or "effective" police officer?

2. What does a successful day of policing look like for a good or effective police officer?

3. Are you familiar with the terms "warrior" and "guardian" policing? Do you like these terms, why or why not? Would your fellow officers describe you as a warrior or guardian?

4. Do you feel like you are a typical officer, or do you feel that you're different from other officers? If so, how?

5. When you are on patrol, how do you determine if someone is suspicious? Can you describe a suspicious person?

6. When making arrests, what do you report about the situation?
    a. Do you report what the complaint was for...
    b. What you saw the offender do…
    c. What witnesses told you happened...
    d. Do you always report all of these things, or does it depend on the situation)

7. How much discretion are officers able to use while working? In what cases can an officer use discretion?
    a. Has the amount of discretion officers are allowed changed over time? If so, why?
    b. Are some officers allowed more discretion than other officers? If so, why?

8. Do you think about what happens to the suspect after you arrest them? In your mind, where do they end up?

9. Do you think the courts tend to make the right decisions about the people you arrest? Why or why not?

10. How do you define proactive and reactive policing?

11. Do you think proactive or reactive policing is more effective?

12. Which form of policing, reactive or proactive, do you think the civilian population wants?

13. Do you think repeatedly being stationed in the same area impacts a patrol officer's ability to do their job? If yes, in what ways?

14. Are there locations in your precinct where you expect the officers to make more arrests? If so, please describe them.

15. Do you prefer that officers sit in these hotspots and wait for a call or drive through the hot spots looking for crime?

16. Do you think you and other officers respond to a call the same way?

17. Do you think about your policing duties when you are off-duty?

18. Do you carry your weapon while off-duty? If so, how often?

19. Have you always wanted to be a police officer? What brought you to become a police officer?

20. How important is being a police officer to you?

21. What motivates you to go to work every day?

Before we end, is there anything else you would like to say about any of the topics we covered: the VR program, mental health, police-community relations, and police identity?

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