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A comparative study of perceived work stress among police officers of color and white officers and its implications for management.

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A COMPARATIVE STUDY OF PERCEIVED WORK STRESS

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A comparative study of perceived work stress among police officers of color and white officers and its implications for management.

by

Booker T Hodges IV

A dissertation submitted to the faculty of Hamline University

In partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree

Doctor of Public Administration

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Booker T. Hodges IV has successfully defended his Dissertation, *A Comparative Study of Perceived Job Stress Among Police Officers of Color and White Officers and Its Implications for Management*, and should be recommended to the Dean of the Hamline School of Business to receive the degree of Doctorate in Public Administration.

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Abstract

This study examined the perceived work stress levels among police officers of color and white officers from three Midwestern law enforcement agencies. A perceived police job stress survey that consisted of five categories (police job stress, felt stress, coping strategies, adverse outcomes, and workplace participation) was sent out via Survey Monkey through participating agency email systems. The survey was emailed to 532 licensed police officers and correctional officers, the response rate was 57.7% (n=304). The results of the survey found that the racial composition of the command staff of a law enforcement organization influences the police organizational stress levels of those not represented. The study also found that officers of color experienced higher levels of police organizational stress than white officers. Socioeconomic class was found to have minimal influence on the perceived job stress levels of officers until examined in conjunction with race.

Dedication

I dedicate this dissertation to my wife Larinda. If it were not for your confidence and patience with me during this long journey none of this would have been possible. You are the reason that I completed this dissertation and I thank God every day for you. God has given me the best blessing of all, you. I love you.

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Definition of terms

African American/Black- A person having origins in any of the Black racial groups of Africa (United States Census Bureau 2013).

American Indian or Alaska Native – A person having origins in any of the original peoples of North and South America (including Central America) and who maintains tribal affiliation or community attachment (United States Census Bureau 2013).

Asian – A person having origins in any of the original peoples of the Far East, Southeast Asia, or the Indian subcontinent including, for example, Cambodia, China, India, Japan, Korea, Malaysia, Pakistan, the Philippine Islands, Thailand, and Vietnam (United States Census Bureau 2013).

Command staff- Those who hold the rank of Sheriff, Chief of Police, Chief Deputy, Assistant/Deputy Chief, or equivalent positions. They are normally exempt employees under the Federal Labor Standards Act (FLSA).

Correctional Deputy- A civilian who is employed by a state correctional facility, or a local correctional or detention facility in a security capacity (Minnesota State Statutes 241.026).

Felt stress- The stress a respondent reported they actually feel e.g. “I feel negative, futile, or depressed at work”.

Hispanic/Latino- A person of Cuban, Mexican, Puerto Rican, South or Central American, or other Spanish culture or origin regardless of race (United States Census Bureau 2013).

Licensed peace officer- A person who is licensed, charged with the prevention and detection of crime and the enforcement of the general criminal laws of the state and who has the full power of arrest (Minnesota State Statute 626.84).

Officer trainee- A licensed peace officer that has not completed their one-year probationary period.

Perceived job stress- Is a combination of all five categories: police stressors, felt stress, coping strategies, adverse outcomes, and workplace participation that were used to measure the perceived job stress level of a police officer.

Police organizational stress- Stress that is specifically derived from the law enforcement organization such as organizational unfairness, discrimination at work, exposure to critical incidents, and lack of job satisfaction.

White/Caucasian – A person having origins in any of the original peoples of Europe, the Middle East, or North Africa (United States Census Bureau 2013).

Chapter 1:Introduction

Those who serve as police officers in the United States of America serve in one of the highest stressed professions in the country. The profession of law enforcement “is considered to be one of the most stressful occupations” in America, and that job stress can “reverberate through all aspects of life” (Levenson & Roberts, 2001, p.1053). Police job stress has been shown to lead to premature death among police officers (Colbert, Johnson, & Slate, 2007, p.104). According to Finn and Tomz (1996), shift work, perceived favoritism by administrators, lack of input in departmental policy, lack of training, lack of career opportunities, police culture, and lack of recognition for good work are some of the stressors police officers experience (p.7). Organizational stressors are considered to be the “chief causes of stress” for police officers (Colbert et al., 2007, p.103). The majority of police stress derives from circumstances internal to law enforcement organizations and is beyond the officer’s realm of control.

The literature is rather extensive in regards to the effects of police work on the stress levels of those who serve as law enforcement officers. The literature is very limited in terms of discussing the differences in stress levels between law enforcement professionals of different demographic groups. This dissertation used an established police perceived work stress survey developed by Dr. Robyn Gershon of John Hopkins University in conjunction with the Baltimore Police department in a collaborative effort called Project SHIELDS (the Study to Help Identify, Evaluate and Limit Department Stress). This instrument was used to measure the stress levels of law enforcement officers from three Midwestern police departments. The dissertation in part attempted to answer the question: What are the differences if any between the perceived job stress of officers

of color and white officers and what are the implications for chief law enforcement officers and administrators?

Background

The job of being a police officer consists in part of being a witness to almost every form of human behavior. Police officers witness the worst and the best aspects of humanity. The stress that police officers are subjected to as part of their job has made the occupation of law enforcement one of the most stressful in the world. Police job stress has been shown to affect the quality of life for police officers and their families.

As police departments become more diverse research on the effects of stress on minority officers is needed to determine if current officer stress reduction programs are adequate to address the needs of a changing work force. By gaining a better understanding of how stress affects law enforcement personnel, public administrators will be able to manage their work forces more effectively. In addition, public administrators may be able to utilize the information gathered to help facilitate a smoother transition from their current organizational demographic makeup to a demographic makeup that is reflective of the communities they serve.

According to Dowler (2005), limited research has shown that “female and minority police officers have different attitudes toward police work and have diverging experiences in policing” (p.477). Law enforcement in America has been a predominantly white male profession for most of its history. According to Brandl and Hassell (2009), law enforcement organizations have become more diverse over the last several decades due in large part to equal opportunity laws such as the Civil Rights Act of 1964 and the

Equal Employment and Opportunity Act of 1972 (p.409). “Although police departments have increased the representation of racial minorities and women, research has demonstrated that the assimilation of these officers into work-place cultures has not been problem-free”, some of the problems of assimilation may be attributed to the history of law enforcement in the United States (p.409). Price & Sokoloff (2004), states that white male officers often place minority and women officers into devalued social and gender defined roles, contributing to the difficulties of workforce integration (p.532) Haarr (1997) states that law enforcement officers have traditionally held “Anglo-American values” which “accepts violence as a means of resolving disputes, promotes competition to establish formal and informal hierarchies of authority and dominance and supports displays of masculinity, sexism, and aggression ” and that stereotypical police culture symbolizes such values (p.55). Haarr (1997) goes on to state that these Anglo-American values can exclude non-Anglos working within police organizations.

According to the Southern Poverty Law Center law enforcement in America has had a rather contentious history with minority populations, particularly African Americans. During the slavery era, American law enforcement officials often subjected African American slaves to harsh physical beatings, and mutilations. They often hunted slaves down when they attempted to escape from bondage. During the early parts of the 1900s law enforcement officials were synonymous with belonging to the Ku Klux Klan, a racial terrorist group. Eugene Bull Conner who was a member of the Ku Klux Klan and the Commissioner of Public Safety in Birmingham Alabama during the Civil Rights movement came to symbolize the connection between law enforcement officials and the Ku Klux Klan. Conner used his position to order law enforcement officials under his

control to attack African Americans with dogs, high-powered water hoses, and night sticks while enforcing segregation laws (Southern Poverty Center, 2013). Conner's use of force against African Americans was filmed and shown around the world; the effects of his tactics and those who committed similar acts remain etched in the minds of many African Americans today.

Given the history of law enforcement in America in terms of its relationship with minority communities, the measurement of stress among minority officers would provide some insight as to how the integration of two such cultures is currently functioning. Officers of color come into the law enforcement profession with different experiences and perceptions of law enforcement than their white counterparts. Moskos (2008) emphasizes this point when he reported from his research that minority police officers believe that their role as police officers is to protect "good people"; white officers believe their role is to arrest people (p.57). Although officers of color and white officers work in the same high stress occupation, performing the same job functions, the purpose of this dissertation was to determine if despite working in the same profession do they experience on the job stress differently.

Chapter 2: Review of the literature

He, Ren, and Zhao (2005) stated that in spite of the plethora of literature on the relationship between police work and job-related stress that there is a paucity of empirical evidence pertaining to the interactive effects of race and gender on the police stress process" (p.535). Plummer and Slane (1996) define racial stress as the "psychological discomfort that results from a situation or event that an individual appraises as troubling because of racial discrimination or isolation" (p.303). Research in terms of the effects of

stress on minority law enforcement officials in comparison to their white counterparts is limited as is research in the area of racial stress in general. The research that has been conducted has shown conflicting results.

He et al. (2005) stated that two major theoretical views were prevalent in terms of stressors for African American police officers. Their first theoretical view was that the societal position of African Americans and historical discrimination were the main causes of stress among African American officers. The second theoretical view focuses on factors at the individual level such as the police work environment, which has been shown to be both hostile and alienating to officers of color, such officers often perceive racial integration as a major issue that hinders the creation of a healthy and friendly police work environment as a stressor for officers of color (p.537).

He et al. (2005) and others state that although officers of color work under the same job conditions as their white counterparts they often times experience different stressors. Haarr & Morash (1999) state that certain structural and cultural features of police organizations such as sex and race discrimination, prejudice, lack of role models and mentors, denial of alliances with, and protection by, supervisors and colleagues, feelings of isolation, and the burden of being the "token woman" or "token minority" create stress for minority officers (p.307).

African American males and African American females, according to Brandl and Hassell (2009), have a less than favorable work experience than their white counterparts. In their study of the Milwaukee Police Department in 2004 they found that African American male officers reported significantly higher negative work experiences: such as

perception of bias, lack of opportunity, and being underestimated in comparison with their white counter parts (p.418). In their study they also found that Latino male officers had work experiences similar to white officers and that Latino males did not experience the same level of negative work experiences as did African American male officers. As a result of their work experiences African American males experienced a significantly higher level of job stress than their white counterparts. They also found that African American females experienced the highest level of job stress according to their study because of their dual minority status (p.421).

Haarr & Morash (1995) found that minority police officers, particularly African Americans felt as though they were invisible and stigmatized at work. The researchers noted this increased the occupational stress levels of African American officers, and their white counterparts didn't have the same experiences (p.115). Brandl and Hassell (2009) state that law enforcement is a stressful occupation and social factors such as race exacerbate occupational stress on minorities in the profession (p.413). Racial stress according to Carter and Franklin-Jackson (2007), has been shown to cause psychological distress, cultural mistrust, and depression (p.6).

In addition to the normal stress associated with law enforcement minorities seem to have to deal with additional stressors that would suggest that minority officers are subjected to more stress than their white counterparts. The results of Brandl and Hassell's (2009) study support this notation, and they state that minority officers experience greater levels of job stress given the fact that law enforcement has long been a profession dominated by Anglo cultural characteristics that have not always been welcoming to people of color.

In contrast to Brandl and Hassell's (2009) study, He et. al (2005) found that white officers experience greater overall job related stress than their African American counterparts. According to He et. al (2005), white officers reported higher levels of somatization, which is a psychological disorder with symptoms similar to but more severe than anxiety, than officers of color. White officers also reported higher levels of anxiety, and depression than their African American counterparts (p.540). In their study, white females experienced the highest level of job stress. He et. al (2005) also found that although white officers reported higher overall levels of job stress, African American officers reported higher levels of police organizational stress. He et. al's (2005), study was constructed using recoded data from Gershon's (2000) study, which utilized the same survey instrument used for this dissertation.

In terms of dealing with stress, He et. al (2005) found that white male and female officers used destructive coping methods such as drinking or yelling at their spouse/significant other more often than African American male and female officers who often used constructive coping methods to deal with work stress. Haarr & Morash (1999) found that African American officers used bonding with those of the same race as the primary method of coping with organizational stress (p.325). They also found that white officers used a tactic they termed "escape", which they defined as choosing to suffer in silence or avoiding supervisors as a way to cope with stress. The term "escape" was also used by Plummer & Slade (1996), but, in contrast to Haarr & Morash (1999), they found that African Americans used escape as a coping method more than whites, however, their study focused on racial stress in general and not racial law enforcement organizational stress (p.311).

Toch (2002) found although officers of color and white officers suffer from different occupational stressors they often choose the same coping mechanism when dealing with racial stress, segregation (p.89). The term that Toch (2002) used was self-segregation, which meant that officers of color and white officers would choose not to work with each other as partners or in the same precinct or precincts where they would be the minority. In essence rather than choose to work through racial problems, they both chose to avoid or escape from them by working with those similar to themselves.

Some of the differences between whites and people of color in terms of response to stress may be due in part to race and or social living conditions. There is an abundance of literature available in regards to the racial disparities that exist with access to treatment of mental disorders but a very limited amount of the literature examined the responses to stress among racial groups. The limited amount of research that has been conducted has shown that whites and people of color may react differently to stress. Roberts, Gilman, Breslau, and Koenen (2011), found that blacks who are exposed to a traumatic event are more likely to develop post traumatic stress disorder (PTSD), than whites and Asian Americans (p.78). They also found that whites and people of color are equally likely to be exposed to traumatic events (p.79).

Keyes, Barnes, and Bates (2011), state that blacks have higher rates of physical illness than whites but have lower rates of psychiatric disorders, which they call a paradox (p.650). They call it a paradox because African Americans have historically faced institutionalized discrimination and adverse living conditions which according to them in theory would make African Americans more likely to suffer from depression.

J. Jackson, Knight, & Rafferty (2010), state that rate of mental disorders, particularly mood disorders are consistently lower for blacks than they are for whites (p.933).

J. Jackson et. al (2010), state that African Americans are exposed to higher levels of environmental, social, and psychological stressors than whites and because of this African Americans develop adaptive measures that shield them from the negative psychological disorders found in whites (p.937). They go onto say that African Americans, suffer from greater life stressors such as poverty, crime ridden neighborhoods, and poor housing and as result engage in unhealthy physical behaviors such as over eating and drug use at rates higher than whites. Engaging in these physically unhealthy behaviors according to J. Jackson et. al (2010), may help alleviate the effects of psychological stressors (p.933). In addition they state that if whites lived under the same general conditions as African Americans the results for whites would be similar to that of African Americans in terms of the affects of psychological stressors (p.938).

Lastly, with a dissertation of this type social identity theory (SID) and multicultural organizational development theory (MCOOD) must be briefly examined. As with the United States Census, the respondents of this dissertation self-reported their racial identity. Understanding racial identity is important because how individuals perceive their race could potentially have an effect on the results of this dissertation and may require additional examination or present areas for additional needed research outside of the scope of this dissertation. The following racial groups will be examined in this dissertation: African American, Asian, Caucasian, Hispanic/Latino(a), Native American, all other racial groups outside of these five will be measured as other. The below discussed racial identity models were used for the purpose of this dissertation as

they are the most commonly accepted and cited models in academic literature in the area of racial identity.

Racial identity in terms of Hispanic/Latino(a)'s is often more complex than that of other racial identities. In part because Hispanic/Latino(a)'s often identify with their nationalities in addition to identifying themselves as Hispanic/Latino(a). Ferdman & Gallegos (2001), state that defining racial identity among Latino(a)'s poses problems because Latino(a)'s don't often identify with the term Latino(a) without it being attached to their nationality (p. 35). The three largest subgroups of Latino(a)'s in America are Mexican, Puerto Rican, and Cuban and each of these groups are diverse within themselves and in comparison with each other in terms of social economic status, political affiliation, language use, and geographic distribution (p.36). Some members of these subgroups identify themselves as white whereas other members don't identify themselves as either black or white but as a different racial group altogether. As mentioned previously Latino/a's more so than other racial or ethnic groups are heterogeneous as they originate and reside in and from different geographic areas, have differing cultural traditions and norms, and internal and inner group racial dynamics. The vast diversity among Latino/a's makes it difficult to lump them all together in a group as the racial categorization in the United States often does.

Latino/a's according to Ferdman & Gallegos (2001),the "continuous systems of color classification uses by Latinos do not fit well with the dichotomous system predominant in the United States" (p.39). For example they state a Puerto Rican who is dark-skinned may not view a light skinned Puerto Rican as racially or ethnically different from themselves as African Americans and whites do. Although many Latino(a)'s reject

the American racial classifications initially when they come to the United States eventually the “bipolar system of racial categorization that predominates in the United States has a great impact on Latinos” (p.39). For example, 54% of those who identified themselves as being Latino in the 2010 Census selected white as their racial category, 37.7% selected other, 6% selected belonging to two or more races, 2.5% selected black, 1.4% selected Native American, .04% selected Asian, and very small percentage identified themselves as being a Pacific Islander (US Census, 2010). The fact that the majority of Latino(a)’s identify themselves as being white may explain why their perceived work stress was found to be similar to that of whites in the Milwaukee study that Brandl and Hassell (2009) conducted.

Asian Americans like Latino(a)’s come from varying geographic locations but unlike Latino(a)’s Asian Americans don’t identify with their country of origin to the same degree and Asian Americans are often more influenced by external influences in regards to their racial identity. Kim (2001), states that Asian Americans racial identity is influenced by “messages that are external” and is especially influenced by their “social environment” (p.68). For example, Asian Americans were often referred to as being the “model minority group” because of their academic prowess and perceived work effort and as result many Asian Americans feel pressured to live up to those perceptions (p.69). Racial identity is the “most critical and severe” psychological problem Asian Americans suffer from and many at some point in their lives “either consciously or unconsciously expressed a desire to become white” according to Kim (p.70).

Kim (2001) developed an Asian American Identity model which consists of the following five different stages: Ethnic Awareness, White Identification, Awakening to

Political Consciousness, Redirection to an Asian American Consciousness, and Incorporation. In the Ethnic Awareness stage, Asian Americans become aware of their ethnicity through interactions with family members and are exposed to cultural activities that build up their ethnic pride. Asian Americans in this stage have a positive self-concept due to their supportive social environment but they often only stay in this stage until they start school and leave the comfort of their ethnic supportive social environment (p.72). The White Identification stage is where Asian Americans start to realize that they are different from their white peers and because of their cultural tendency toward group orientation they attempt to fit in with whites and assume white values despite coming to the realization that they are different. During this stage Asian Americans experience feelings of isolation and their self-concept begins to change from good to bad and they begin to feel inferior to whites (p.76). The Awakening to Political Consciousness stage is where Asian Americans begin to realize that they cannot fit in with whites and become aware of white racism. In this stage they stop wanting to be like whites and no longer feel inferior to them. In the Redirection to an Asian American Consciousness stage they begin to “feel secure” with their Asian American identity and develop a sense of racial pride (p.79). In the Incorporation stage Asian Americans maintain their racial identity and pride and they are able to relate to other groups without feeling foreign or wanting to be like them (p.79).

Although Kim’s Asian American Identity model provides insight into Asian American racial identity it provides minimal insight into members of the Hmong community who are Minnesota’s largest Asian American group. According to the 2010 census Hmong’s comprise 27% of Minnesota’s Asian American population. The next

closest group is Asian Indian's who comprise 15.5% of Minnesota's Asian American population. According to Pfeifer, Sullivan, Yang, K., and Yang, W. (2012), there are 66,181 Hmong living in Minnesota making Minnesota the second largest Hmong community in the United States behind California (p.2). According to the 2010 census Minnesota has seen 135% increase in its Hmong population from 2000-2010 (US Census, 2010). Given the fact that Kim's model doesn't account for members of the Hmong community its generalizations about Asian Americans may or may not be applicable to those survey participants who identify themselves as Asian Americans. Kim's model may not be representative of Hmong Americans as according to Pfeifer et al. (2012) the overwhelming majority of the Hmong population in American is concentrated in Midwestern and Western states which were not included in Kim's original research.

Racial identity for Native Americans like Asian Americans begins with the family and branches out from there to their tribe and then to the general Native American community according to Horse (2001) Native Americans value their racial identity and their tribal identity. The "acquisition of a name in tribal language" is very important to Native Americans and the presentation of a persons name is done in a public form for all to see (p. 101). Native Americans feel they are Native Americans "because they have earned that entitlement somehow" either through growing up experiencing cultural traditions, or simply because of their direct experience with being Native American (p.101).

Native American racial identity or what Horse (2001) refers to as his Paradigm of Indian Identity is centered on a "consciousness" which is influenced in the following five ways: How well one is grounded in their Native American tribal language and culture,

Whether one's genealogical heritage as an Indian is valid, Whether one embraces a general philosophy or worldview that derives from distinctly Indian ways (old traditions), The degree to which one thinks of him or herself in a certain way as a Indian person, and Whether one is officially recognized as a member of a tribe by a tribal government (Horse, 2001, p.100). Horse sums up his Paradigm of Indian Identity by saying "one's consciousness as an Indian person tends to rest not on the laws of man but on one's upbringing and belief in oneself as being Indian" (Horse, 2001, p.101). Research on Native American racial identity is very limited but Horse's work is representative of the available literature.

Caucasians are the dominant culture in America and they are not often thought of as having a racial identity but just like everyone else whites do have a racial identity. Helms (1995) developed a White Racial Identity model that consists of six statuses. Helms (1995) defined statuses as "the dynamic cognitive, emotional, and behavioral processes that govern a person's interpretation of racial information" (p.184). Contact, disintegration, reintegration, pseudoindependence, immersion/emersion, and autonomy, are the six statuses that make up Helms (1995) White Racial Identity model. The Contact status is that status in which a white person is oblivious to racism and ones participation in racism (p.185). Disintegration status is that status in which a white person is disorientated and they suppress racial information (p.188). Reintegration status is the status in which a white person idealizes their racial group and has intolerance for other racial groups (p.185). Pseudoindependence status is the status in which a white person has intellectual commitment to their own group and deceptive tolerance of other groups (p.185). Immersion/emersion status is the status in which a person searches for a white

personal understanding of racism and the ways in which they benefit from racism (p.185). The Autonomy status is the status in which a white person has an informed positive socioracial group commitment and they have the capacity to relinquish their White privilege (p.185). A person has a “Dominate” status which they use most often and an “accessible” status which acts as a backup and is not used unless under the right circumstances (p.184,186,187). For example, if a person’s dominant status is Contact and the environment requires the Autonomy status be used the person may use their accessible status, whatever that may be, to function or cope in that particular environment. Helms (1995) goes onto say that whites use the six statuses to respond to racial stimuli and that events of racial contention serve as the catalysts for racial identity expression (p.191).

B. Jackson (2001), developed Black Identity Development model and it consists of five stages of development in which a person exits from one stage to the next in succession. The five stages are Naïve, Acceptance, Resistance, Redefinition, and Internalization. The first stage in the Black Identity Development model (BID) is the naïve stage, which is the stage where a black person has little or no “conscious social awareness of race” (p.18). Most blacks are in the naïve stage when they are children and have not developed an inferior or superior racial point of view of those who are different from them. The acceptance stage is the stage after the naïve stage. A black person in the acceptance stage accepts that “white is right” and they attempt to gain resources such as “approval, sense of worth, goods, power and money” by conforming to the cultural norms of white society (p.19). A black person can either actively or passively be in the acceptance stage. A black person who is actively in this stage may avoid interactions with

other blacks and desire interactions with whites. A black person in this stage has accepted white supremacy and everything associated with white supremacy. The next stage is the resistance stage and a black person in this stage “begins to understand and recognize racism in its complex and multiple manifestations”(p.21). Blacks in this stage also develop a hostility towards whites whom they perceive as practicing racism. The resistance stage also has an active and passive dimension. A black person who is actively resisting may confront those individuals or institutions they perceive are practicing racism by direct means. Blacks in this stage are often considered to be militant or troublemakers. Redefinition is the next stage and during this stage a black person seeks to define themselves in ways that are independent of white culture definitions of what it means to be black (p.23). A black person in this stage seeks interactions with other blacks and will avoid interactions with white if possible. Blacks in this stage start to develop a sense of black pride as they begin to learn about their heritage and culture. Internalization, the last and final stage of BID is where a black person begins to integrate some of the “newly defined sense of values, beliefs, and behaviors” that they developed from the previous four stages into all aspects of their lives (p.24). Blacks in this stage don’t feel a need to defend or protect their black identity (p.25). Blacks in this stage adopt a multicultural world perspective and are able to work with other races including whites to get their personal goals met.

As social identity development (SID) provides the foundation for examining individual racial identities Multicultural Organizational Development (MCO) provides a foundation for examining organizational identities. MCO as described by B. Jackson and Holvino (1988) consist of six organizational stages that are divided into three levels.

The six stages MCOB are Exclusionary, the Club, compliance, Affirmative Action, Redefining, and Multicultural. The exclusionary organization is “devoted to maintaining dominance of one group over other groups based on race” (p.15). The club organization seeks “to maintain the privilege” and power of those who have traditionally held power (p.15). The compliance organization seeks to remove discrimination without disturbing the structure or culture of the organization. The affirmative action organization seeks to eliminate discrimination by actively recruiting and promoting members of underrepresented groups. The redefining organization is committed examining all of its activities to make sure all members are able to participate and contribute to the organization. The multicultural stage organization is committed to eradicating all forms of social oppression within the organization.

The levels that the organizations are divided into are monocultural (exclusionary, the club), non-discriminatory (compliance, affirmative action), and multicultural (redefining, multicultural). MCOB describes various “targets of change” that are targeted depending on what stage the organization is in. For example, if an organization is in the club stage and is trying to transition to the compliance stage, upper management would be targeted for change. MCOB provides a blue print for transitioning organizations from discriminatory to multicultural by identifying areas that should be targeted for change, and what types of intervention techniques should be utilized to facilitate change. McCracken (2000) offers an example of what transitioning an organization from a monocultural to a multicultural organization can look like. McCracken (2000) discussed how the Deloitte Corporation took steps to address the high turnover rate they were experiencing with their female employees. The Deloitte Corporation through targeted

programs and training was able to retain their female employees and create a work environment that was conducive to members of both sexes.

Hypotheses

The instrument used for this dissertation is an established police perceived work stress survey that measured the following four categories: police stressors, perceived (felt) stress, coping strategies, and adverse outcomes. Based on the literature it was hypothesized that officers of color would score higher than their white counterparts in the categories of police stressors, and perceived (felt) stress, and white officers would score higher than officers of color in coping strategies and adverse outcomes. In Gershon's (2000) original administration of the survey, only perceived (felt) stress was examined by race; it was found that minorities had a higher level of perceived (felt) stress than whites; it was expected that this would have held true during the administration of the survey. The researcher also had the following assumptions: Latino officers and Asian officers would have similar perceived work stress levels as White officers. Lastly, it was expected that officers who were from identical socioeconomic backgrounds would have had similar levels of perceived job stress based on the limited research looked at stress based on race.

Rationale for the research

The subject of police officer stress has been thoroughly researched, but additional study is needed in the area of race and police stress. It had been over a decade since the original survey was administered to the Baltimore Police Department. Rationale for this research is that validation of the study in a different decade, different geographic area, and with multiple departments covering urban, suburban, and rural areas will be

beneficial to the field of Public Administration and the law enforcement profession. Minority officers historically have been discriminated against by law enforcement organizations, and not until the last 30 years have minorities been allowed to join law enforcement agencies in considerable numbers (Shusta et. al, 2008). Although people of color have joined law enforcement organizations in considerable numbers over the past three decades most of the research on perceived job or racial stress has focused primarily on Whites and African Americans. Some research has been conducted examining Latinos but that research is severely limited. Native Americans and Asian Americans currently serve as police officers but neither of these groups has been examined in terms of their perceived work related stress. The information gathered from this dissertation may provide insight into the perceived work stress of members these groups which is not currently available in the literature.

This research may also provide administrators with the necessary information to help develop recruitment and retention plans for officers of color. The demographics of the United States are changing at a rapid pace and in order for law enforcement organizations to keep pace with the changing demographics they must institute plans to recruit and retain a workforce that is reflective of the communities that they serve. According to the Minnesota State Demographic Center the number of Asian, Latino, and African Americans in Minnesota will double by the year 2035. The “white population is projected to grow nine percent over 30 years, compared to 112 percent for the total minority population”. According to the 2010 census Minnesota Caucasian’s comprise 85.3% of the state’s population, African Americans 5.2%, Latinos 4.7%, Asians 4%, and Native Americans 1.1%. According to the Minnesota Peace Officers Standards and

Training board (POST), Minnesota has approximately 10,200 full-time licensed police officers and of that number 1,180 are female. Statistics are not gathered on officers of color in the state of Minnesota by the POST board but law enforcement agencies within the state do not have work forces that are reflective of their populations as shown by the agencies surveyed for this dissertation.

Law enforcement organizations would also be able to utilize the information provided by this research to create work environments that are welcoming and meet the needs of all their employees as the literature review indicates is not currently the case. The research derived from this dissertation will hopefully provide public administrators with additional information to develop and implement work stress reduction plans that meet the needs of as many employees as possible. Currently if a person of color sought services through their respective Employee Assistance Program (EAP) they would not be able to receive services for racial stress as no such program or treatment exists. The information gathered from this dissertation could be used to determine if there is a need for such treatment and if so what areas the program may need to address.

Lastly, J. Jackson Knight, & Rafferty (2010) state that if whites lived under the same economic conditions as people of color they would experience stress in a similar manner to people of color who live under adverse economic conditions (p.933). The stress related to class in relation to race in law enforcement is an area that has not been examined. The information gathered from this dissertation may provide some insight into the relationship between self-reported socioeconomic status and perceived job stress. Although this was not the primary focus of this dissertation the information gathered in this area may provide information to the field of public administration that is not

currently available. By gaining a greater understanding of how stress is perceived across races, public administrators may be able to better manage their organizations, develop plans to insure that their organization is going to meet the needs of a diverse workforce and ever changing population.

Chapter 3:Methodology

In 1997 Dr. Robyn Gershon, who was a professor at John Hopkins University in the Public Health Department, developed a survey to measure police stress. The survey was developed in collaboration with the Baltimore chapter of the Fraternal Order of Police and the Baltimore Police Department. The survey was administered to members of the Baltimore Police Department from 1997 until 1999. The survey has four major study constructs: police stressors, coping mechanisms, perceived (felt) stress, and adverse outcomes. The police questionnaire was validated and completed by Dr. Greshon and her academic team prior to administering the survey in 1997. For the purposes of this dissertation, Dr. Greshon's validity results are considered to still be accurate. Dr. Gershon administered her survey by attending police roll call meetings and having officers complete the survey during their roll call sessions.

Technology has improved since Dr. Gershon conducted her research; therefore, this survey was administered via Survey Monkey, through departmental email systems, giving respondents time on duty to complete the survey. The survey was open for 14 days for each participating department. Demographic numbers were obtained from each participating agency the day prior to the survey being sent out. Participant email lists were cross checked with demographic numbers to ensure that the number of participants from each agency matched the number of surveys being sent.

Survey Monkey is the most relied upon survey administration tool in the United States (Survey Monkey, 2014). It provided analysis of data collected and a secure form of data collection and storage. It also allowed survey respondents to remain totally anonymous while at the same time limiting duplicate responses on behalf of survey participants. Survey respondents consented to complete the questionnaire via Survey Monkey by clicking an electronic consent form that was displayed before taking the survey. The consent form can be found in appendix.

The data collected for this survey was quantitative and it was collected through two methods. First, information regarding racial, gender, and rank distribution was obtained from the human resource departments of the participating agencies. The second method used was the survey questionnaire.

The survey used for this dissertation was pretested by being administered to eight Licensed Peace Officers and three Correctional Deputies who were employed by agencies that were not surveyed as part of this dissertation. It took them between 13 and 18 minutes to complete the questionnaire in paper format. The educational level of the pretested survey participants ranged from Associates degree to Bachelor degree.

Although the data gathered for this dissertation is quantitative, the manner in which it is analyzed could be subject to researcher bias and despite academic training we are still “subjective researchers” (Gooden, 2012, p.266). Given the fact that the researcher is an African American male police officer, three steps were taken to address potential researcher bias. In order to minimize researcher bias in analysis of the data all data sets are published along with the dissertation. The published data sets in combination with the quantitative nature of the survey allow anyone to examine, repeat, and duplicate the

research conducted. Furthermore, observations made in the analysis process were triangulated using the available literature as well as feedback from a multiracial dissertation committee. Findings in which no collaborating literature was available were limited. The survey was administered in accordance with Hamline University human subject policies.

Participants

The three Midwestern law enforcement agencies surveyed for this dissertation are located in a metropolitan area that is within the top 20 nationally in terms of population. The police officer per capita ratio is between 21-23 officers per 10,000 citizens, which is considerably lower than similarly sized metropolitan areas that have an average 27-31 officers per 10,000 residents (www.governing.com, 2014). Specific agency demographic information is listed below by agency. The agencies are listed as Midwestern Sheriff's Office A and B, and Midwestern Police Department B.

Midwestern Sheriff's Office A. Midwestern Sheriff's Office A is housed in a county that has a population of just over 405,000 according to the 2010 census. Midwestern Sheriff's Office A services suburban and rural areas that encompass 21 cities and 13 townships. According to the 2000 census the majority of the county's population is white 82.1% followed by Hispanics 6.1%, African Americans 4.9%, and Asian Americans 4.6%. The median household income in county is \$72,850, and 5.6% of the population lives below the poverty line.

The rank structure of Midwestern Sheriff's Office A is as follows: Deputy, Detective (Only Sworn), Corporal (Only Correctional), Sergeant, Lieutenant (Only Correctional), Captain, Commander, Chief Deputy, Sheriff. Ranks above Captain are

appointed positions and are not included in the demographic numbers, as the survey was not administered to them. Workplace demographic information for Midwestern Sheriff's Office A were obtained from their Human Resource Department on April 3, 2014 (County Human Resources, personal communication, April 3, 2014).

On April 4, 2014, according to the human resource department of Midwestern Sheriff's Office A the agency had 129 licensed and correctional deputies. The work force comprised of 79.9% males (n=102), 20.1% females (n=27), 79.9% Whites (n=102), 20.1% people of color (n=27), 101 line staff and 28 supervisors (Midwest Sheriff's Office A Human Resource Department, 4/14/2014).

The survey was emailed via Survey Monkey to the 129 members of Midwestern Sheriff's Office A on April 4, 2014. The survey remained open for 14 days and closed on April 18, 2014. Two surveys bounced back due to inactive email accounts from two individuals that were on extraneous leave. Two additional members of the Office were on vacation during the 14 days the survey was open leaving 125 eligible participants. Eighty four participants submitted complete responses, and six participants submitted partial responses. The survey response rate was 72%, 79.78% (n=71) male, 20.28% (n=18) female, 79.78% (n=71) white, and 20.28% (n=18) people of color. 97.37% of the workforce has at least some college education. Of those who responded to the survey 73.03% reported being married or living with a partner, and 65.56% reported having children living with them in their household. Forty-six percent reported having been employed with the agency for over ten years, and 54% have been with the agency less than ten years. Sixty-six percent of respondents reported themselves as currently either middle class or upper class, and 34% reported considering themselves working class. The

survey response demographics were in line with those of the workforce, 80% male, 20% female, 80% whites, 20% people of color.

Midwestern Sheriff's Office B.

Midwestern Sheriff's Office B is housed in a county that has a population of 508,640 according to the 2010 census. Midwestern Sheriff's Office B serves an area that has 18 cities and three townships. The Office serves suburban, urban, and inner city areas. Whites comprise 70.1% of the county's population, Asians 11.7%, African Americans 11%, Hispanics 7.2%, and .79% Native Americans. The median household income in the county is \$51,915, and 15.1% of the population lives below the poverty line.

The rank structure of the Midwestern Sheriff's Office B is as follows: Correctional Officer 1 (civilian), Correctional Officer 2 (civilian), Correctional Officer 3 (civilian), Chief Correctional Officer (civilian), Deputy (sworn), Sergeant (sworn), and Commander (sworn). Ranks above Commander are appointed and were not surveyed for this dissertation. Midwestern Sheriff's Office B operates a 500 bed county jail. All data sets for the Midwestern Sheriff's Office B were obtained from the Midwestern Sheriff's Office B's Human Resource Department on May 28, 2014 (personal communication, May 28, 2014).

On May 28, 2014, according to Midwestern Sheriff's Office B's human resources department, the office had 325 licensed police officers and correctional deputies. The work force was comprised of 83% males (n=269), 17% females (n= 56), 83% Whites (n=271), 17% people of color (n=54), 266 line staff and 59 supervisors (personal communication, May 28, 2014). Over 97% of the survey respondents reported having at

least some college education. Over 79% of the survey respondents reported being married or living with a partner, 64.71% reported having children living with them in their household, over 58% of the respondents reported being employed with the agency for over 11 years, and 41.52% reported being with the agency less than ten years. Seventy four percent of the respondents reported themselves as currently either middle class or upper class, 25% consider themselves working class, and less than 1% consider themselves poor.

The survey was emailed via Survey Monkey to the 325 members of Midwestern Sheriff's Office B on June 13, 2014. The survey remained open for 14 days and closed on June 27, 2014. One person opted out, six people completed partial surveys, and 171 people submitted complete surveys. The survey response rate for Midwestern Sheriff's Office C was 52.6%, 86.55% (n=148) male, 13.45% (n=23) female, 83.53% (n=142) white, and 16.47% (n=28) people of color. The response demographics were in line with those of the workforce.

Midwestern Police Department C

Midwestern Police Department C is a regional transit police department that serves an eight county metro area and provides law enforcement services for bus and train transportation within a national top 20 transit system. Eighty million people utilize the transit system every year. Midwestern Police Department C has won numerous national and local awards for transit safety. Midwestern Police Department C serves a population of 2.9 million people (76.28% White, 8.22% African American, 6.4% Asian, and 5.88% Latino .6% Native American) according to the 2010 census. The median

household income for the eight county metro area served by the department is \$66,800. The eight county metro area has one of the lowest unemployment rates in the nation.

The rank structure of Midwestern Police Department C is as follows: Officer, Sergeant, Lieutenant, Captain, Deputy Chief, and Chief of Police. All data sets for Midwestern Police Department B were obtained from the assistant to the Chief of Police on May 5th 2014.

On June 2, 2014, according to Midwestern Police Department C human resource department, the department had 78 full-time licensed police officers and 100 part-time officers. The 100 part-time officers were not surveyed. The work force was comprised of 89.7% males (n=70), 10.3% females (n=8), 75.6% Whites (n=59), 24.4% people of color (n=19), 57 line staff and 21 supervisors (Midwest Police Department C Human Resource Department, 6/2/2014).

The survey was emailed via Survey Monkey to the 78 members of Midwestern Police Department C on June 2, 2014. One hundred percent of the survey respondents reported having at least some college education and 56.76% reported being married or living with a partner. Just over 54 percent reported having children living with them in their household. Forty-six percent reported have been employed with the agency for over ten years, 97.29% have been with the agency less than ten years, and 64.86% have been with the agency less than five years. Almost 78 percent of survey respondents self-reported themselves as either middle class or upper class, and 22.22% consider themselves working class. The survey remained open for 14 days and closed on June 16, 2014. One survey bounced back due to an individual who was on extended leave. Thirty-five participants submitted complete responses, and two participants submitted partial

responses. The survey response rate was 48%, 89.19% (n=33) male, 10.81% (n=4) female, 78.38% (n=29) white, and 21.62% (n=8) people of color. The response demographics were in line with those of the workforce, 90% male, 10% female, 76% whites, 24% people of color.

Survey

The survey is a five-page, 132-item survey instrument designed to measure perceived police jobs stress by addressing four major study constructs: police stressors, perceived (felt) stress, coping strategies, and adverse outcomes. The development of the questionnaire, which was prepared at a 10th grade reading level to facilitate its rapid completion, was guided by qualitative data generated through in-depth interviews and focus groups and further refined through two additional procedures, cognitive testing and pilot testing (Greshon, 2000). Whenever possible, well-defined and well-characterized scales were used, and all scales underwent psychometric validation. Although the survey utilized for this dissertation very closely resembles Dr. Greshon's original survey there are several variations that were added for the purposes of this dissertation. Also an additional category was added to measure workplace participation. Some terminology was modified and several questions were added. The details of the modifications to the survey are explained in detail in the analyses section below.

Measurement

Police stressors. A 25-item police stressors scale, based on Beehr, Johnson, and Nieva's (1995) Police Stress Scale, factored into five subscales as follows: (a) inequities at work or organizational unfairness (e.g., "Promotions are not tied to ability and merit"), (b) discrimination at work (e.g., "Compared to my peers, I find that I am likely to be

more criticized for my mistakes; I feel that I am less likely to get chosen for certain assignments because of who I am [e.g., race, gender, sexual orientation, physical characteristics]”; “Female officers are held to a higher standard than male officers”), (c) lack of cooperation from fellow officers (e.g., “There is good and effective cooperation between units”; “I can trust my work partner”), (d) lack of job satisfaction (e.g., “It is likely that I will look for another fulltime job outside this department within the next year”; “I view my work as just a job—it is not a career”), and (e) exposure to critical incidents (“making a violent arrest”; “shooting perpetrator or suspect”; “internal affairs investigations”). Officers are asked to rate each item (except the critical incident questions) using a 5-point Likert-type scale (Likert, 1932). The scale was dichotomized into “high” exposure (5) and “low” exposure (1) stressors, with the upper quarter defined as “high” and the bottom three quartiles as “low” exposure. Officers who experience a critical incident rate the emotional impact of this using a 3-point scale ranging from low exposure (1) to high exposure (3). Mean scores and other descriptive statistics were calculated for each subscale (Greshon, 2000).

Perceived (felt) stress. The perceived stress category is referred to as “felt stress” for the purpose of this dissertation. The felt stress category utilized a general work stress scale, originally developed for health care workers by Revicki, Whitley, and Gallery (1993) and Revicki and Gershon (1996). It was later modified and validated by Gershon, Vlahov, Kelen, Conrad, and Murphy (1995) and Gershon et al. (1999) to measure work stress in both health care and public service worker populations, was revised for the 1997 study (Gershon et al., 2009, p.278). The scale consists of 11 items rated on a four point scale ranging from never to always. The scale was dichotomized into high stress (above

median) and low stress (below median). Sample items included, “I want to withdraw from the constant demands on my time and energy at work,” “I feel negative, futile, or depressed at work,” and “I think that I am not as effective at work as I should be.” The original scales had alpha coefficients of .85 to .91 (Gershon et al., 2009, p.278).

Coping strategies. A 14-item modification of the Billings and Moos (1981) Coping Scale and the Police Coping Scale developed by Beehr et al. (1995) was used to assess coping strategies. The scale factored into four subscales as follows: (a) cognitive (problem-solving) strategies (e.g., “draw on your past experiences from a similar situation you have been in before”; “make a plan of action and follow it”; “talk with your spouse, relative, or friend about the problem”), (b) faith-based strategies (e.g., “rely on your faith in God to see you through this rough time”), (c) avoidance (e.g., “stay away from everyone”; “you want to be alone”; “act as if nothing is bothering you”), and (d) negative behavioral (e.g., “smoking, gambling, aggression, alcohol consumption”). The items were rated on a 4-point scale ranging from never (1) to always (4). Major coping style was determined by the subscale with the highest score (Greshon, 2000).

Adverse outcomes. Several different scales were used to measure each of three adverse outcome domains, including (a) psychological (using a modification of the Symptom Check List-90; Beehr et al. [1995] published the use of the revised scale with police officers), with subscales relating to anxiety (four items), depression (nine items), somatization (six items), posttraumatic stress symptoms (PTSS three items), and burnout (using Maslach’s Burnout Scale; three items); (b) physiological, with a health outcomes subscale (nine items with 0 = no, 1 = yes); and (c) behavioral, including subscales relating to alcohol use (using a modified alcohol dependency scale three items),

interpersonal family conflict (three items), serious accidents on or off the job (one item), aggressive behavior (four items), and spouse abuse (ten items), (Cronbach, 1951, Derogatis, 1981; Maslach & Jackson, 1986). Several of these scales were originally developed and evaluated by Beehr et al. (1995) in a study conducted on police families and crossover stress. All scales are self-reported (Greshon, 2000).

Workplace participation. The Attitudes on Participation Survey, developed and validated by Slate, Vogel, and Johnson (2001), was constructed to measure attitudes about participation in the workplace. The questions were designed and refined on the basis of a review of pertinent literature. For each question, a Likert-type format was used with response categories that ranged from 5 (strongly agree) to 1 (strongly disagree). Two subscales emerged from the survey: Atmosphere for Participation (AFP) and Attitudes about Participation (AAP). A reliability analysis of both subscales was conducted for this study using Cronbach alpha. For the 1990 cohort, the atmosphere subscale yielded a moderate reliability coefficient of .78, and the attitudes subscale was .81. For the 1997 cohort, the atmosphere scale was moderately low (.63), and the attitudes scale was .82.

Modifications to the original survey

The original survey was administered to a police department, and for the purposes of this research sheriff's offices were also surveyed. Several of the questions had to be modified to be inclusive of the job functions of correctional deputies. The changes are minor and did not alter the results of the survey. The following modifications were made to the original questionnaire: Question 3, Asian and Native American were added. On question number 5 a 4 point scale was added for years of service to protect the identity of the respondent, 1-5 years, 6-10 years, 11-15 years, 16+ years. In terms of question

number 6, the term (3) Agent was replaced with Corporal as none of the departments being surveyed had Agents. In addition, for Sheriffs' Offices surveys, the terms licensed civilian correctional staff, and licensed correctional staff were added to question 6 as the Sheriffs' offices have civilian and licensed staff that work in the correctional institution. In question 12 the blank number box was removed and replaced with 5 number categories ranging from 1-5+. The phrase N/A was eliminated from questions 14-15 as those who indicate they don't have a spouse or significant other will be routed around questions requesting information regarding spouses or significant others. Question number 16, (Is your spouse a member of the department) was eliminated because given the sampling size it could potentially identify the respondent.

The following two family demographic economic questions were added to the background section: Growing up was your household considered poor, working class, middle class, upper-class and what would you consider your current household? The questions were measured on a four-point scale poor=1, working class=2, middle class=3, upper-class=4, and respondents self-reported these categories. In question number 29, the term "police" was replaced with "law enforcement" so as to accommodate correctional staff. In question number 31, the term "street" was replaced with "job" to accommodate correctional staff. In the work attitudes section the following two statements were added for analysis: The department tends to be more lenient in enforcing rules and regulations for minority officers and minority officers are held to a higher standard than White male officers. In question number 37 the term "IID" was replaced with "Internal Affairs" as this is a term commonly used by all the departments that were surveyed. Lastly questions

119-123 were changed due to sentence structure in Survey Monkey formatting but the available responses were not modified.

Analyses

Factor analysis was applied to all new scales, and all scales underwent correlation analysis, including Cronbach's alpha. Stressors and coping strategies were identified and characterized; overall levels of perceived work stress were determined for all respondents. Adverse outcomes for officers were measured, and the relationship between perceived stress and adverse outcomes was then determined using contingency tables, with odds ratios (ORs) and 99% confidence intervals (CIs) to guide interpretations. Based on these preliminary analyses, the researchers developed a parsimonious model for work stress risk using logistic regression to simultaneously control for putative confounders and test possible interactions.

Ethical issues

The identity of the respondents must remain anonymous given the nature of the survey. Law enforcement officers are only required to take surveys of this nature when they are hired or after they have been involved in a critical incident. If information obtained from this survey indicated that an officer may not be fit for duty and that information was released to that officer's employing agency it could have dire consequences on that officer's career. In addition, if an officer discloses that he or she is a perpetrator of domestic violence, this could also be detrimental to his/her career. The author of this dissertation is a fully licensed, full-time employed police officer and by law is a mandated reporter of domestic violence. Therefore, it is important that the identity of

each respondent remain anonymous since the author is legally required to report such abuse.

To mitigate the potential embarrassment a department may face as a result of the survey the names of the participating departments were removed from the published dissertation. Departments were referred to as Midwestern Police Department/Sheriff's Office.

Chapter 4: Results

The results from the data collected will be presented in this chapter. The data will be presented first by the total survey participant demographics followed by the race, social economic class, and finally socioeconomic class in conjunction with race. The five survey constructs (police jobs stress, felt stress, coping strategies, adverse outcomes, and workplace participation) will be presented in each subset. Abbreviations will be used when displaying results for self-identified socioeconomic class of survey participants. Poor/working class will be shown as PWC, and middle/upper class will be displayed as MUC. Data will be presented in percentages and in mean scores.

Total Participants

The survey was sent to 532 licensed police officers and correctional deputies. The work forces comprised of 82.9% males (n=441), 17.1% females (n=91), 81.2% Whites (n=432), 18.8% people of color (n=100), 424 line staff, and 108 supervisors. 97.63% of the workforce has at least some college education. Three surveys bounced back, and two people were on extended leave reducing the number of potential survey participants to 527 when the survey was sent out via email. Two hundred and ninety people completed full responses, 14 people submitted partial responses, and one person opted out. The

survey had a response rate of 57.7%, 82.9% (n=252) male, 14.8% (n=45) female, 79.6% (n=242) white, 6.3% (n=19) African American, 4.6% (n=14) Latino, 4.6% (n=14) Asian American, 2% (n=6) Other, and .03% (n=1) Native American. The response demographics were in line with those of the workforces that were surveyed.

Of those surveyed 2.68% indicated they were between 21-24 years-old, 32.21% 25-34 years old, 30.20% 35-44 years old, 28.52% 45-54 years old, and 6.38% 55-64 years old. These numbers were also in line with the demographics of the workforces surveyed. Over 97 percent of those surveyed reported having completed some college education. Just over 19 percent of those surveyed reported they had been employed with their current agency for 1-5 years, 23.71% 6-10 years, 19.93% 11-15 years, and 37.11% for 16 plus years. Of those surveyed 80.74 percent reported being married or living with a partner and 63.6% (n=189) of respondents reported having children living with them in their household. Just over 58 percent of respondents reported being employed with their agency for over 11 years and 41.52% have been with the agency less than 10 years.

Slightly over 53 percent (n=157) of the respondents reported growing up poor/working class, and 46.6% (n=137) reported growing up middle/upper class. Of the African American respondents 72.2% of them reported growing up poor/working class, and 27.8% reported growing up middle/upper class. Just over 48% of Whites reported growing up poor/working class, and 51.5% reported growing up middle/upper class. Almost 86 percent of Asians respondents reported growing up poor/working class, and 14.3% reported growing up middle/upper class. Slightly over 71 percent of Latino respondents reported growing up poor/working class, and 28.6% reported growing up

middle/upper class. Of those who reported their race as Other 66.7 percent indicated that they grew up poor/working class, and 33.3% reported growing up middle/upper class.

Race

Police stress by race. Officers of color reported overall higher levels of police job stress than white officers. African American officers indicated that items specific to the occupation of law enforcement caused them more stress than all their counterparts. Police job stress was measured using two scales. One scale measured stress generated from exposure to critical incidents (Table 1) the second scale measured police organizational stress (Table 2).

Stress from exposure to critical incidents was measured using nine questions. 95% of all respondents reported experiencing a critical incident during the course of their employment in law enforcement. Attending a police funeral, being the subject of an internal affairs investigation, and experiencing a needle stick were the top three critical incident exposures that caused respondents high stress (see Table 1). White officers reported higher levels of stress when exposed to critical incidents in comparison to African Americans, Latinos, and Asians.

Table 1: Critical incident exposure caused respondent high stress by race.

Critical Incidents	All respondents	African Americans	Whites	Asians	Others	Latinos
Attending a Police Funeral	42%	42%	42%	43%	33%	67%
Internal Affairs Investigation	38%	33%	43%	10%	20%	33%
Needle Stick	23%	8%	25%	20%	50%	11%
Personally Knowing Victim	16%	10%	18%	13%	33%	0%
Making violent arrest	8%	8%	8%	0%	50%	0%
Bloody crime scene	5%	13%	5%	0%	20%	0%
Hostage situation	6%	0%	7%	0%	50%	0%

Shooting someone	14%	0%	14%	40%	0%	0%
Chemical spill	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%

African American and Latino officers reported experiencing similar levels of stress when exposed to critical incidents reporting identical percentages in the areas of being involved in a shooting and being the subject of an internal affairs investigation (see Table 1). Being involved in a police shooting caused Asian officers 40 times more stress than African American and Latino officers.

African American officers reported experiencing the highest level of police organizational stress followed by Latinos. White officers reported experiencing the lowest levels of organizational stress. Officers of color reported that they were more likely to be criticized for their mistakes than their peers. For example, 36% of Latino officers, 28% of African American officers, and 21% of Asian officers indicated that they strongly agree or agree that were more likely to be criticized for their mistakes in comparison to 13% of white officers (see Table 2). The difference between officers of color and white officers was found to be statistically significant at a 98% confidence interval. Meaning if 100 officers of color responded 98 of them would state they feel that they are more likely to be criticized for their mistakes because of their race and conversely 98 out of 100 white officers would state feeling the opposite.

Officers of color reported that being held to a higher standard caused them 35 times that more stress than their white counterparts. Less than 1% of white officers indicating they felt minority officers were held to a higher standard. The difference between officers of color and white officers was found to be statistically significant to a 99% confidence interval.

Officers of color also reported feeling that their race would make it less likely that they would be chosen for assignments. For example, 57% of Asian officers, 36% of Latino officers, 33% of those who reported their race as being Other, and 28% of African American officers indicated that they either strongly agree or agree that they would less likely be chosen for an assignment because of their race. In comparison to only 21% of white officers feeling as their race would hinder them in being selected for an assignment.

In addition African American and Latino officers indicated that they trust their partners in lower levels than do white and Asian officers. Almost double the percentage of African American and Latino officers indicated that they would be seeking a job outside of their department within a year in comparison to white officers. Lastly, Latino and African American officers were the least likely to believe that there is good cooperation between the units (see Table 2).

As shown in Tables 1-2, African American and Latino officers reported the highest levels of police job stress. Not only did African American and Latino officers report feeling as though they were discriminated against they also reported not trusting their partners in greater numbers than the other racial groups. Despite white officers reporting higher levels of stress when exposed to critical incidents the overall police job stress levels of officers of color were greater. In other words, external crisis specific to police work as opposed to internal organizational stressors caused white officers more stress than officers of color.

Table 2: Police organizational stress by race.

Police Stress	All respondents	African Americans	Whites	Asians	Others	Latinos
There is good cooperation between the units	66%	45%	67%	86%	67%	64%
I can trust my partner	91%	78%	92%	93%	83%	79%
View work as job not a career	22%	22%	21%	22%	0%	29%
It is likely that I will look for another full-time job outside this department	13%	22%	12%	14%	33%	21%
Compared to my peers I am criticized more for mistakes	15%	28%	13%	21%	0%	36%
I feel that I am less likely to get chosen for assignments due to my race, gender, etc.	24%	28%	21%	57%	33%	36%
When I am assertive or question things I am considered militant.	24%	39%	24%	37%	0%	14%
Promotions in this department are tied to ability and merit.	33%	33%	33%	43%	17%	29%
The administration supports officers who are in trouble.	28%	33%	29%	14%	40%	14%
The department is more lenient in enforcing rules for female officers.	15%	28%	15%	7%	0%	14%
Female officers are held to a higher standard.	6%	17%	6%	14%	0%	7%
Department is more lenient in enforcing rules for minority officers.	7%	11%	30%	7%	20%	0%
Minority officers are held to a higher standard than white officers.	7%	44%	.8%	36%	0%	21%

Felt stress by race. Felt stress or general work stress measured the extent in which a individual felt stressed was measured using 11 questions. White officers and those who reported themselves as being “Other” reported the highest levels of felt stress (see Table 3). White officers reported feelings of not caring about the needs of the public while they are at work. Specifically, 34% of white officers reported that they sometimes, frequently, or always felt uncaring about the needs of the public while at work. In comparison only 11% of African American officers, 15% of Asian officers, 15% of Latino officers, and 20% of others reported feeling uncaring about the needs of the public. The difference between officers of color and white officers was statistically significant to a 99% confidence level.

Latino and African American officers reported similar levels of felt stress in answering six of the eleven questions in Table 3. Latino officers and African American reported wanting to withdraw from the constant demands of work in identical numbers to each other. Also Latino and African American officers were also equally as likely to feel as though they are not as efficient at work as they should be. Asian officers had the lowest levels of felt stress scoring lower than all the other groups in seven of the eleven questions.

As shown in Table 3, White officers and those who reported their race as Other, reported the highest levels of felt stress. Table 3 also showed that Latino and African American officers reported similar levels of felt stress.

Table 3: Felt stress by race.

Felt stress	All respondents	African Americans	Whites	Asians	Others	Latinos
I feel tired even with adequate sleep.	83%	89%	86%	62%	100%	54%

I am moody, irritable, or impatient over small problems.	62%	61%	67%	15%	50%	54%
I want to withdraw from the constant demands on my time and energy from work.	47%	39%	50%	23%	17%	39%
I feel negative, futile or depressed about work.	41%	28%	44%	23%	33%	46%
I think that I am not as efficient at work as I should be.	48%	33%	51%	23%	67%	39%
I feel physically, emotionally and spiritually depleted.	45%	44%	47%	31%	60%	39%
My interest in doing fun activities is lowered because of my work.	37%	33%	38%	23%	67%	39%
My resistance to illness is lowered because of my work.	31%	22%	32%	23%	33%	30%
I feel uncaring about the problems and needs of the public when I am at work.	30%	11%	34%	15%	20%	15%
I have difficulty concentrating on my job.	34%	28%	35%	23%	40%	23%
When I ask myself why I get up and go to work, the only answer that occurs to me is "I have to".	39%	22%	41%	54%	50%	15%

Coping strategies by race. All officers indicated that they used cognitive stress coping strategies. The most common of the four (cognitive, avoidance, faith, negative behaviors) police job stress coping strategies utilized by officers were cognitive methods. These coping strategies included relying on one's past experience, talking to a spouse/significant other about problems, making a plan of action, and exercising

regularly. Avoidance was the 2nd most used coping strategy utilized by officers with over 80% of officers reporting utilizing avoidance as a way to cope with stress. Avoidance was used most by Asian and White respondents. Over 83% of Asian and White respondents indicated utilizing avoidance as a coping strategy for coping with stress. In contrast African American and Latino officers reported using avoidance as a coping mechanism in lower numbers compared to Asian and White officers.

Over 72% of all officers relied on their faith in God to cope with stress (see Table 4). Over 89% African American and Latino officers indicated that they rely on their faith in God to get them through rough times. Asian officers and those who stated their race as Other utilized faith based coping strategies the least. Faith based coping strategies was the third most common method used to cope with stress by all officers.

Negative coping strategies such as smoking, increased sexual activity, yelling or shouting at family member, hanging out at the bar with fellow officers, and gambling were the least utilized coping behaviors. African Americans and Latino officers reported utilizing negative coping strategies more frequently than White or Asian officers. For example, 53% of African American officers indicated that they yell at their significant other in comparison to 35% of white officers, 31% of Latino officers, and none of the Asian officers. The percentage of Latino officers who indicated that they smoke as a way to cope with stress was one and half times that of white officers. Almost a third of all respondents reporting using at least one negative behavior to cope with stress. A third of respondents stated that they yell or shout at their spouse/significant other.

Table 4: Coping strategies utilized by officers by race.

Coping Strategies	All respondents	African Americans	Whites	Asians	Others	Latinos
Draw on your past experiences from a similar situation you have been in before.	99%	100%	99%	92%	100%	100%
Stay away from everyone, you want to be alone	62%	58%	65%	54%	50%	50%
Talk to your spouse, relative, or friend about the problem.	95%	100%	94%	100%	100%	100%
Smoke to help you relax.	14%	5%	14%	8%	33%	23%
Pray for guidance and strength	71%	89%	70%	54%	50%	92%
Make a plan of action and follow it.	92%	95%	92%	85%	83%	100%
Exercise regularly to reduce tension.	92%	95%	91%	100%	83%	100%
Yell or shout at your spouse/significant other, a family member, or a professional.	34%	53%	35%	0%	33%	31%
Let your feelings out by smashing things.	7%	5%	7%	8%	0%	8%
Hang out more with fellow officers at the bar.	29%	32%	29%	15%	33%	23%
Gamble	11%	5%	10%	8%	33%	8%
Increase your sexual activity.	33%	42%	32%	23%	20%	46%
Rely on your faith in God to see you through this rough time.	73%	90%	71%	69%	50%	92%
Try to act as if nothing is bothering you.	81%	68%	83%	85%	83%	69%

As shown in Tables 4, all respondents used cognitive coping strategies in equal numbers and relying on ones past experience was the most commonly used method by all races surveyed. African American and Latino police officers reported using negative behaviors and faith based coping strategies in higher numbers than did the other racial groups. Asian and White officers reported utilizing avoidance as a coping method in higher numbers than the other racial groups.

Adverse outcomes by race. Three major categories psychological, physiological, and behavioral were utilized to measure adverse outcomes. The psychological category has five subsets: Anxiety, Depression, Somatization, Post Traumatic Stress Disorder (PTSD), and Burnout.

Anxiety was experienced most by officers who reported their race as Other based on their scoring highest in three of the four questions (See Table 5). Having feelings of low energy was reported by 70% of all officers. Asian officers reported the lowest levels of anxiety scoring less than other groups in three of the four questions (see Table 5). White and African American officers reported experiencing similar levels of anxiety.

Table 5: Officers reporting experiencing anxiety within the past 6 months by race.

Anxiety	All respondents	African Americans	Whites	Asians	Others	Latinos
Pains pounding or in your chest.	22%	17%	24%	8%	40%	8%
Faintness or dizziness.	19%	28%	18%	23%	20%	8%
Loss of sexual interest or pleasure.	29%	17%	30%	8%	60%	31%
Feelings of low energy or slowed down.	70%	72%	71%	46 %	100%	62%

White officers and those who identified themselves as Other reported the highest levels of depression (see Table 6). For instance those who reported their race as Other, reported having no interest in things as a result of work in percentages that were almost double that of the other racial groups. Asian and Latino officers reported the highest percentage for having thoughts of ending their life. The difference between Latino and Asian officers in comparison to the other races was statistically significant to a 90% confidence interval in regards to having thoughts of ending their life. Latino and African American officers reported experiencing similar levels of depression in the areas of

feeling no interest in things and feeling scared for no reason. Just under half of all officers reported experiencing at least one of the nine symptoms of depression symptom within the past six months.

Table 6: Officers who reported experiencing depression symptoms within the past six months by race.

Depression	All respondents	African Americans	Whites	Asians	Others	Latinos
Thoughts of ending your life.	5 %	0%	6%	8%	0%	8%
Feelings of being trapped or caught.	18%	6%	20%	0%	0%	15%
Headaches or pressure in your head.	46%	50%	46%	46%	80%	31%
Blaming yourself for things.	36%	11%	40%	23%	40%	15%
Feeling blue.	47%	44%	49%	8%	40%	39%
Nausea, upset stomach, stomach pains.	29%	41%	29%	23%	60%	8%
Suddenly feeling scared for no reason.	9%	6%	9%	0%	20%	8%
Feeling no interest in things.	30%	22%	31%	16%	40%	23%
Trouble getting your breath.	13%	0%	14%	0%	40%	8%

Somatization, is a psychological disorder with symptoms similar to anxiety but more severe. Latino officers experienced somatization more than any other racial group (see Table 7). 30% of Latino officers reported experiencing symptoms of somatization in comparison to 24% of White officers, 20% of those who reported themselves as Other, 17% of African Americans officers, and 8% of Asian officers. White and Latino officers indicated feeling hopeless about the future in greater numbers than did the other two racial groups in this study. Latino and white officers also indicated feeling as though something bad was going to happen to them at work in higher numbers than the other racial groups.

Table 7: Officers who reported experiencing somatization within the past six months by race.

Somatization	All respondents	African Americans	Whites	Asians	Others	Latinos
A lump in your throat.	9%	11%	9%	0%	20%	0%

Feeling hopeless about the future.	15%	6%	16%	8%	0%	15%
Spells of terror or panic.	5%	0%	5%	0%	20%	8%
Feeling so restless you can't sit still.	21%	17%	21%	0%	20%	31%
Crying easily.	15%	6%	16%	8%	20%	8%
Feeling that something bad was going to happen to you at work.	23%	17%	24%	0%	0%	31%

One quarter of all officers who experienced a critical incident reported experiencing Post Traumatic Stress Disorder (PTSD) as a result of their exposure to a critical incident. Asian officers reported PTSD symptoms in higher numbers than any of the other races (see Table 8). A third of Asian officers reported that they experienced a PTSD symptom for three or months after experiencing a critical incident. In comparison to a quarter of white officers, a fifth of African American officers, and none of the officers who stated their race was Other. Having intrusive or recurrent distressing thoughts, memories, or dreams was experienced by 31% of Asian officers, 31% of Latino officers 22% of African American officers, and none of the officers who reported their race as Other. White and Asian officers chose to avoid things associated with the critical incident that they experienced in higher numbers than the other racial groups.

Table 8: Officers reporting experiencing PTSD by race.

PTSD	All respondents	African Americans	Whites	Asians	Others	Latinos
Cause you to have intrusive or recurrent distressing thoughts, memories, or dreams about the event.	25%	21%	25%	31%	0%	31%
Make you avoid things related to the event.	16%	11%	16%	23%	17%	15%
Make you feel detached from people and activities that are important.	18%	16%	19%	23%	0%	15%

African American officers reported the highest rates of job burnout (see Table 9). They reported a mean score of 2.6 on the 5 point Likert scale (with 1=strongly agree and 5=strongly disagree) used to measure burnout. In comparison burnout was reported as 3.3 for Latinos, 3.4 for White officers, 3.5 Asian officers, and 3.9 for those who reported their race as being Other. African American job burnout in comparison to the other racial groups had paired t test of ($p < .25$). African American officers reported they were more likely to feel like they were at the end their rope and to treating the public like impersonal objects than other officers. Latino and White officers reported similar levels of job burnout.

Table 9: Officers reporting experiencing burnout by race. Mean scores reported using a 5 point Likert scale with 1=strongly agree and 5=strongly disagree.

Burnout	All respondents	African Americans	Whites	Asians	Others	Latinos
I feel burned out from my job.	3.5	2.6	3.4	3.5	3.9	3.3
I feel like I am at the end of my rope.	4.2	3	4.2	4.1	4.2	4.2
I feel I treat the public like they are impersonal objects.	4	2.8	4.1	3.5	4	4.3

Of the nine questions used to measure health lower back pain was the most common health problem officers reported experiencing. Slightly under a third of all officers indicating that they suffered from chronic low back pain (see Table 10). Foot problems and migraines were the other top two health problems that all officers reported experiencing. White officers and those who reported their race as Other indicated experiencing the most health problems. African American and Latino officers reported they were more likely to suffer from high blood pressure and diabetes than other racial groups. Asian officers were the healthiest with only a small portion of them suffering from three of the nine health problems. None of the Asian officers reported suffering

from insomnia, heart problems, high blood pressure, foot problems, or reproductive problems.

Table 10: Officers reporting suffering from listed health problems by race.

Health Problems	All respondents	African Americans	Whites	Asians	Others	Latinos
Migraines	19%	6%	20%	8%	60%	8%
Diabetes	4%	12%	3%	8%	0%	0%
Chronic low back pain	30%	6%	31%	23%	20%	31%
High blood pressure	17%	17%	17%	0%	20%	31%
Liver disease	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%
Foot problems	19%	24%	19%	0%	40%	15%
Heart disease	2%	0%	3%	0%	0%	0%
Reproductive problems	1%	0%	1%	0%	20%	0%
Chronic insomnia	12%	17%	13%	0%	20%	8%

White officers reported symptoms of overall alcohol dependence in slightly higher numbers than did the other racial groups (see Table 11). White officers were more likely to report guilt about their alcohol consumption and to drink more than they had planned than African American, Asian, and Latino officers. 29% of all officers reported at least one symptom of alcohol dependence. African American and Latino officers reported similarly low levels of alcohol dependence.

Alcohol dependence	All respondents	African Americans	Whites	Asians	Others	Latinos
Did you ever worry or feel guilty about your alcohol consumption?	11%	5%	12%	0%	0%	8%
Did you ever drink more than you planned?	29%	26%	31%	8%	33%	15%
Did you have periods when you could not remember what happened when you were drinking?	7%	5%	7%	15%	0%	8%

Table 11: Alcohol dependence by race.

Interpersonal family conflict examined respondent’s physical history with their spouses/significant other and their parents. Officers of all races reported similar overall

levels of interpersonal family conflict, but each racial group reported experiencing interpersonal family conflict differently (see Table 12). For example, a small percentage of white officers reported that their spouse/significant has gotten physical with them; whereas, none of the officers of color reported the same. Latino officers and those who reported their race as being Other reported that their parents had gotten physical with each other in higher numbers than any of the other two racial groups studied.

Interpersonal Family Conflict	All respondents	African Americans	Whites	Asians	Others	Latinos
Spouse/significant other got physical with you.	6%	0%	7%	0%	0%	0%
Parents got physical with you.	25%	28%	25%	15%	33%	23%
Parents got physical with each other.	11%	22%	8%	0%	50%	39%

Table 12: Interpersonal family conflict by race.

Aggressive behavior reported by all respondents was low but White and Latino officers reported higher levels of aggressive behavior than did other racial groups (see Table 13). For example, 8% of Latino officers and 5% of White officers stated they got physical with their pet, whereas; none of the other racial groups reported being physical with their pets. A small percentage of white officers and Latino officers reported being physical with their children, whereas; none of the other races reported getting physical with their children. None of the African America, Asian, and those who reported their race as other officers indicated they had any aggressive behavior.

Table 13: Aggressive behaviors by race.

Aggressive Behavior	All respondents	African Americans	Whites	Asians	Others	Latinos
Been physical with a fellow	.7%	0%	1%	0%	0%	0%

officer.						
Been physical with their children.	4%	0%	4%	0%	0%	8%
Been physical with their spouse/significant other.	2%	0%	3%	0%	0%	0%
Been physical with their pet.	5%	0%	5%	0%	0%	8%

African American officers reported having the highest amount of work/home issues (see Table 14). For example, 33% of African American officers either strongly agree or agree that they cannot shake off the feeling of being a police officer while at home. This was in comparison to 14% of White officers and none of the other racial groups responding to the question. African American officers reported feeling that getting physical with a spouse/significant other if they have been unfaithful and getting physical in a relationship every once in while is helpful to the relationship in higher numbers than any of the other racial groups. African American officers were also more likely to treat their family members like suspects. Asian officers were the least less likely group to report having home/work issues.

Table 14: Work/home issues by race.

Work/Home issues	All respondents	African Americans	Whites	Asians	Others	Latinos
I often get home to physically and emotionally exhausted to deal with my spouse/significant other.	21%	25%	20%	17%	17%	23%
I encourage my spouse/significant other to spend time with their family and friends.	80%	94%	81%	62%	83%	62%

I catch myself treating my family the way I treat suspects.	24%	17%	15%	0%	0%	0%
At home, I can never shake off the feeling of being a police officer.	14%	33%	14%	0%	17%	8%
A person who refuses to have sex with his or her spouse is asking to be beaten.	2%	6%	2%	0%	0%	0%
I expect to have the final say on how things are done in my household.	13%	11%	12%	15%	17%	8%
It's okay for a person to get physical with their significant/spouse other if they have been unfaithful.	1%	6%	1%	0%	0%	0%
Getting physical once in a while can help maintain a marriage/relationship.	1%	6%	.8%	0%	0%	0%
There is no excuse for people getting physical with their spouse/significant other.	88%	83%	89%	77%	100%	85%

Adverse outcomes that were a result of police job stress showed that White officers and those who reported their race as Other had slightly higher levels of adverse outcomes when compared to officers of color. Latino and African American officers reported overall similar levels of adverse outcomes. Asian officers reported the lowest levels of adverse outcomes as a result of being exposed to police stress.

Workplace participation by race. Workplace participation was measured using seven questions. African American officers reported having the least say in how their workplace is managed overall closely followed by Latino officers (see Table 15). The difference between African American and white officers was not found to be statistically

significant at a 95% confidence interval. Asian officers reported feeling as though they had the most say in how their organization was managed closely follow by White officers.

For example, 57% of Asian officers indicated that they strongly agree or agree that management responds in a satisfactory manner to what they have to say. In comparison to 41% of White officers, 40% of those who classified themselves as Other, 38% of Latino officers, and 33% of African American officers indicated they felt the same. Asian officers indicated that they felt that management responds to what they have to say although they didn't feel comfortable offering their opinion to their supervisors in higher numbers than the other racial groups.

African American and Latino officers were more likely to feel as though it is a waste of time to tell management anything in comparison to the other racial groups. The difference between Latino officers and white officers had a t test score of ($p < .15$). Although African American officers indicated they have the least say in how the organization is run they reported having their opinion solicited more than the other groups. The difference between African American officers and white officers had a paired t-test score of ($p < .20$).

Workplace participation	All respondents	African Americans	Whites	Asians	Others	Latinos
My supervisors ask me for input on decisions that affect me at work.	49%	61%	49%	57%	17%	36%
I am encouraged to offer my opinion at work.	52%	50%	51%	64%	67%	57%
There is opportunity for me to have a say in the running of this agency on matters that concern me.	37%	33%	36%	43%	17%	50%
Management	41%	33%	41%	57%	40%	38%

responds in a satisfactory manner to what I have to say.						
From past experience at this agency, I feel it is a waste of time and energy to tell management anything.	28%	39%	27%	21%	20%	43%
I feel comfortable about offering my opinion to supervisors at work.	64%	61%	66%	46%	60%	50%
Those who actually do the work are involved in the writing of policies at this agency.	17%	28%	15%	29%	20%	14%

Table 15: Workplace participation question by race.

Conclusion by race. Officers of color reported experiencing organizational stress in higher numbers than did their White counterparts. White officers reported overall higher levels of felt stress than did officers of color. African American officers reported the highest amount of police job stress followed by Latino officers. African American and Latino officers had identical levels of perceived job stress. White officers reported higher stress levels in three of the five categories used to measure perceived job stress (felt stress, coping strategies, and adverse outcomes). One thing worth mentioning is that White and Asian officers reported identical levels of police job stress and stress regarding workplace participation. Overall the data indicates that an officer’s race does have an influence on their levels of perceived work stress.

Socioeconomic class

Socioeconomic class unlike race was not found to influence an officers overall perceived stress levels in all of the areas measured for this dissertation. There were several areas in the data where socioeconomic class was found to influence an officer’s perceived job stress levels. The findings in these areas are described below in detail.

Police stress by socioeconomic class. Middle and upper class (MUC) officers reported higher levels of stress with being exposed to critical incidents in comparison to those who grew up PWC (see Table 16). MUC officers were more affected by being exposed to a police funeral, internal affairs investigation, and being involved in a hostage situation than PWC officers. PWC officers were more affected by shooting someone than MUC officers. MUC officers scored higher in six of the nine questions.

MUC officers reported overall slightly higher levels of police job stress in comparison PWC officers both in exposure to critical incidents and in police organizational stress. Socioeconomic class did not appear to have much influence on an officers police organizational stress level with a few exceptions. The exceptions were also minimal in nature.

Critical Incidents	Poor/working Class	Middle/upper class
Attending a Police Funeral	40%	45%
Internal Affairs Investigation	37%	40%
Needle Stick	21%	25%
Personally Knowing Victim	16%	16%
Making violent arrest	8%	6%
Bloody crime scene	3%	7%
Hostage situation	2%	13%
Shooting someone	18%	5%
Chemical spill	0%	0%

Table 16: Critical incident exposure caused respondent high stress by social economic class.

Felt stress by socioeconomic class. PWC Officers reported higher levels of felt stress than those who grew up middle/upper class (see Table 17). Feeling negative, futile, or depressed about work was the area that PWC officers mostly differentiated as a group from those who grew up middle/upper class. 45% of PWC and 38% of MUC officers

reported feeling as such. Also more PWC officers had their interest in doing fun things lowered because of work in comparison MUC officers. PWC officers scored higher than MUC officers in 10 of the 11 questions.

Table 17: Felt stress by socioeconomic class

Felt stress	Poor/Working Class	Middle/Upper Class
I feel tired even with adequate sleep.	85%	82%
I am moody, irritable, or impatient over small problems.	63%	62%
I want to withdraw from the constant demands on my time and energy from work.	48%	45%
I feel negative, futile or depressed about work.	45%	38%
I think that I am not as efficient at work as I should be.	49%	48%
I feel physically, emotionally and spiritually depleted.	49%	42%
My interest in doing fun activities is lowered because of my work.	46%	30%
My resistance to illness is lowered because of my work.	32%	30%
I feel uncaring about the problems and needs of the public when I am at work.	26%	34%
I have difficulty concentrating on my job.	36%	31%
When I ask myself why I get up and go to work, the only answer that occurs to me is "I have to".	42%	37%

Coping strategies by socioeconomic class. Socioeconomic class was not shown to have an affect on the coping strategies that PWC and MUC officers chose to utilize.

Adverse outcomes by socioeconomic class. Three major categories psychological, physiological, and behavior were utilized to measure adverse outcomes. The psychological category has five subsets: Anxiety, Depression, Somatization, Post Traumatic Stress Disorder (PTSD), and Burnout. Socioeconomic class was shown to

influence an officer’s stress level in the following categories measured in adverse outcomes: Anxiety, Interpersonal family conflict, and work/home issues.

PWC officers reported higher levels of anxiety than officers who grew up middle/upper class. As a group they reported higher scores in three of the four questions (see Table 18). PWC officers were also more likely to have pounding in their chest, spells of dizziness, and feelings of low energy than MUC officers.

Anxiety	Poor/Working Class	Middle/Upper Class
Pains or pounding in your chest.	26%	19%
Faintness or dizziness.	22%	15%
Loss of sexual interest or pleasure.	29%	29%
Feelings of low energy or slowed down.	73%	69%

Table 18: Officers reporting experiencing anxiety within the past 6 months by social economic class.

PWC officers reported higher levels of interpersonal family conflict than those who grew up middle/upper class (see Table 19). For example, 27% of PWC officers indicated that their parents had gotten physical with them, whereas; 23% of MUC officers reported the same. PWC officers reported overall higher levels of interpersonal family conflict, officers who grew up middle/upper class indicated that their spouses got physical with them more often than PWC officers.

Table 19: Interpersonal family conflict by socioeconomic class.

Interpersonal Family Conflict	Poor/working Class	Middle/Upper Class
Spouse/significant other had gotten physical with you.	3%	9%
Parents have gotten physical with you.	27%	23%
Parents have gotten physical with each other.	14%	7%

MUC officers reported higher levels of work/home issues than officers who grew up poor/working class scoring higher in four of the seven questions. MUC officers reported levels three times higher than PWC officers when it comes to treating their family members like suspects (see Table 20). MUC officers also were more likely not to have enough time when they get home to deal with their spouse/significant other.

Table 20: Work/home issues by socioeconomic class.

Work/Home issues	Poor/working Class	Middle/Upper Class
I often get home to physically and emotionally exhausted to deal with my spouse/significant other.	20%	25%
I encourage my spouse/significant other to spend time with their family and friends.	74%	75%
I catch myself treating my family the way I treat suspects.	3%	17%
At home, I can never shake off the feeling of being a police officer.	16%	17%
A person who refuses to have sex with his or her spouse is asking to be beaten.	3%	0%
I expect to have the final say on how things are done in my household.	16%	8%
It's okay for a person to get physical with their significant/spouse other if they have been unfaithful.	3%	0%
Getting physical once in a while can help maintain a marriage/relationship.	3%	0%
There is no excuse for people getting physical with their spouse/significant other.	84%	92%

Workplace participation by socioeconomic class. MUC officers reported they had less say in how the workplace was managed in comparison to those who grew up poor/working class. For example, PWC officers agreed that they have an opportunity to have a say in the running of their agency, whereas; MUC officers were less likely to feel

the same (see Table 21). The difference between PWC and MUC officers was statistically significant to a 95% confidence interval using a paired t-test. MUC officers also felt as though it was a waste of time to tell management anything in greater numbers than PWC officers. MUC officers reporting having lower work place participation in all seven of the questions used to measure workplace participation.

Table 21: Workplace participation by socioeconomic class.

Workplace participation	Poor/working Class	Middle/Upper Class
My supervisors ask me for input on decisions that affect me at work.	50%	47%
I am encouraged to offer my opinion at work.	54%	49%
There is opportunity for me to have a say in the running of this agency on matters that concern me.	43%	29%
Management responds in a satisfactory manner to what I have to say.	44%	38%
From past experience at this agency, I feel it is a waste of time and energy to tell management anything.	24%	33%
I feel comfortable about offering my opinion to supervisors at work.	65%	63%
Those who actually do the work are involved in the writing of policies at this agency.	17%	16%

Conclusion by socioeconomic class. Socioeconomic class was shown not to influence an officers overall perceived work stress levels as much as race. Police job stress, felt stress, and several aspects of adverse outcomes, and workplace participation were the areas found to be affected by socioeconomic class. Overall PWC officers were found to have higher levels of perceived job stress than MUC officers. They scored higher in three (police job stress, adverse outcomes, and workplace participation) of the four categories that were shown to be influenced by social economic class.

Socioeconomic by class and race

Socioeconomic class and race were found to influence an officers perceived work stress in most of the areas measured for this dissertation. Only areas that will be displayed in this section are those where socioeconomic class and race were found to influence an officers perceived work stress level.

Police job stress by socioeconomic class and race. When socioeconomic class is separated by race, MUC officers of color reported the highest levels of police job stress (see Table 22). PWC officers of color and white officers reported police job stress levels that were more identical than those of MUC officers of color and white officers. For example, 18% of PWC officers of and 12% of PWC white officers indicated that they either strongly agree or agree that compared to their peers they are more likely to criticized for their mistakes. In comparison, MUC white officers and MUC officers of color had a statistically significant difference at a 99% confidence interval that MUC officers of color felt more likely to be criticized for their mistakes.

Table 22: Police organizational stress: by socioeconomic class and race.

Police Stress	Poor/Working class officers of color	Poor/Working class white officers	Middle/Upper officers of color	Middle/Upper white officers
There is good cooperation between the units	60%	62%	69%	71%
I can trust my partner	85%	94%	77%	90%
View work as job not a career	23%	18%	23%	23%
It is likely that I will look for another full-time job outside this department	18%	10%	31%	13%
Compared to my peers I am criticized more for mistakes	18%	12%	46%	13%

I feel that I am less likely to get chosen for assignments due to my race, gender, etc.	38%	24%	39%	19%
Within the department gender related jokes are often made in my presence.	40%	25%	54%	28%
When I am assertive or question things I am considered militant.	28%	25%	31%	22%
Promotions in this department are tied to ability and merit.	35%	37%	23%	30%
The administration supports officers who are in trouble.	23%	30%	23%	27%
The department is more lenient in enforcing rules for female officers.	21%	16%	0%	14%
Female officers are held to a higher standard.	10%	5%	23%	5%
Department is more lenient in enforcing rules for minority officers.	3%	28%	23%	31%
Minority officers are held to a higher standard than white officers.	39%	1%	15%	1%

MUC officers of color reported higher levels of police job stress than the other three socioeconomic group studied. MUC officers scored higher in seven of the 11 questions. MUC officers of color and MUC white officers reported similar levels of stress when exposed to critical incidents in four of the nine questions.

Felt stress by socioeconomic class and race. PWC white officers reported the highest level of felt stress (scoring higher than the other groups in 10 of the 11 questions) (see Table 23). MUC white officers and PWC officers of color reported identical levels of felt stress. Specifically in the areas of feeling negative, futile, or depressed about work

and showing up for work only because they have to. Despite having similar levels of felt stress MUC white officers indicated that they felt uncaring about the needs of the public in higher numbers than did PWC officers of color. The difference between the groups was found to statistically significant to a 98% confidence interval using a paired t-test ($p < .002$).

Table 23: Felt Stress by socioeconomic class and race.

Felt Stress	Poor/Working class officers of color	Poor/Working class white officers	Middle/Upper class officers of color	Middle/Upper class white officers
I feel tired even with adequate sleep.	71%	90%	83%	83%
I am moody, irritable, or impatient over small problems.	45%	69%	42%	64%
I want to withdraw from the constant demands on my time and energy from work.	37%	52%	17%	48%
I feel negative, futile or depressed about work.	37%	48%	17%	40%
I think that I am not as efficient at work as I should be.	40%	52%	33%	50%
I feel physically, emotionally and spiritually depleted.	41%	52%	42%	42%
My interest in doing fun activities is lowered because of my work.	37%	47%	25%	31%
My resistance to illness is lowered because of my work.	29%	34%	17%	32%
I feel uncaring about the problems and needs of the public when I am at work.	8%	32%	33%	34%
I have difficulty concentrating on my job.	32%	38%	17%	33%
When I ask myself why I get up and go to work, the only answer that occurs to me is "I have to".	40%	43%	17%	40%

Over 83% of all respondents reported high felt stress in at least one area. PWC white officers reported higher levels of felt stress than the other socioeconomic groups did when separated by race. The biggest differences among the groups were in the areas of feeling depressed about work (52% PWC white officers, 40% MUC white officers, 37% PWC officers of color, and 17% MUC officers of color,). And negative feelings

toward the public while at work (34% MUC white officers, 33% MUC officers of color, 32% PWC white officers, 8% PWC officers of color).

Coping strategies by socioeconomic class and race. Officers across all socioeconomic groups reported using cognitive and faith based coping strategies equally. MUC officers of color reported utilizing negative behaviors as a coping strategy more than any of three other groups studied. 39% of MUC officers of color, 38% of PWC white officers, 32% MUC white officers, and 29% PWC officers of color cope with stress by yelling at their spouse/significant other. MUC officers of color reported utilizing avoidance as a coping method more than any of the other groups. Almost all of MUC officers of color, two thirds of PWC white officers, two thirds of MUC white officers, half of PWC officers of color reported that they stay away from everyone as a way to cope with stress.

Table 24: Coping strategies: by socioeconomic class and race.

Coping Strategies	Poor/working Class officers of color	Poor/Working Class white officers	Middle/Upper Class officers of color	Middle/Upper Class white
Draw on your past experiences from a similar situation you have been in before.	97%	99%	100%	98%
Stay away from everyone, you want to be alone	51%	63%	92%	67%
Talk to your spouse, relative, or friend about the problem.	100%	94%	100%	93%
Smoke to help you relax.	11%	12%	15%	16%
Pray for guidance and strength	73%	71%	77%	70%
Make a plan of action and follow it.	95%	95%	85%	89%
Exercise regularly to reduce tension.	95%	89%	100%	93%
Yell or shout at your spouse/significant other, a family member, or a professional.	29%	38%	39%	32%
Let your feelings out by smashing things.	8%	7%	0%	7%

Hang out more with fellow officers at the bar.	26%	30%	23%	30%
Gamble	13%	12%	8%	9%
Increase your sexual activity.	35%	32%	39%	33%
Rely on your faith in God to see you through this rough time.	81%	72%	69%	70%
Try to act as if nothing is bothering you.	66%	80%	92%	86%

Adverse outcomes by socioeconomic class and race. Socioeconomic class and race was shown to influence an officers stress level in the following categories measured in adverse outcomes: Anxiety, depression aggressive behavior, and work/home issues. Categories not reported to be affected by socioeconomic class and race will not be displayed in this section.

PWC white officers reported experiencing anxiety more than all other groups. PWC white officers scored higher in three of the four questions. PWC white officers were almost twice as likely as the groups to have a pain or pounding in their chest (see Table 25). The difference between PWC white officers, MUC white officers, and PWC officer of color was statistically significant at a 95% confidence interval.

Anxiety	Poor/Working class officers of color	Poor/Working class white officers	Middle/Upper class officers of color	Middle/Upper white officers
Pains or pounding in your chest.	14%	30%	17%	19%
Faintness or dizziness.	22%	23%	17%	15%
Loss of sexual interest or pleasure.	22%	31%	33%	29%
Feelings of low energy or slowed down.	68%	75%	67%	69%

Table 25: Officers reporting experiencing anxiety within the past six months by socioeconomic class and race.

PWC white officers had slightly higher levels of depression than the other groups scoring higher in four of nine questions (see Table 26). MUC officers of color had the second highest levels of depression. 41% of PWC white officers, 39% of MUC white officers, 24% of PWC officers of color, and 8% MUC officers of color blame themselves

for things. PWC white officers felt as though they were trapped in higher numbers than the other groups. Despite having the 2nd highest levels of depression MUC officers were the least likely to want to kill themselves (see Table 26).

Table 26: Officers who reported experiencing depression symptoms within the past 6 months by socioeconomic class and race.

Depression	Poor/working class officers of color	Poor/Working class white officers	Middle/Upper class officers of color	Middle/Upper white officers
Thoughts of ending your life.	4%	6%	0%	6%
Feelings of being trapped or caught.	11%	21%	0%	20%
Headaches or pressure in your head.	54%	48%	25%	44%
Blaming yourself for things.	24%	41%	8%	39%
Feeling blue.	32%	49%	33%	50%
Nausea, upset stomach, stomach pains.	25%	30%	42%	29%
Suddenly feeling scared for no reason.	5%	9%	17%	9%
Feeling no interest in things.	27%	32%	17%	31%
Trouble getting your breath.	5%	17%	18%	11%

MUC officers of color reported suffering from more health problems more than the other groups reporting higher percentages in five of the nine questions. MUC officers of color suffered from reproductive problems, high blood pressure, diabetes, chronic insomnia, and lower back pain more often than the other groups. MUC officers of color were three times more likely to have high blood pressure than PWC officers of color (see Table 27). MUC officers of color were also almost eight times more likely to have diabetes than the other groups.

Table 27: Officers reporting suffering from listed health problems by socioeconomic class and race.

Health Problems	Poor/working Class officers of color	Poor/Working Class white officers	Middle/Upper Class officers of color	Middle/Upper Class white officers
Migraines	11%	20%	17%	21%
Diabetes	3%	3%	17%	3%
Chronic low back pain	14%	38%	42%	26%
High blood pressure	11%	23%	33%	12%
Liver disease	0%	0%	0%	0%
Foot problems	23%	23%	17%	16%
Heart disease	0%	3%	0%	3%

Reproductive problems	0%	2%	9%	1%
Chronic insomnia	11%	14%	17%	10%

When it came to aggressive behaviors PWC white officers scored higher than the other groups in three of the four questions (see Table 28). PWC white officers reported getting physical with their pets, children, and fellow officers more often than the other groups. None of the MUC officers of color reported any aggressive behavior.

Table 28: Aggressive behavior measured by officers who responded yes to the questions separated by socioeconomic class and race.

Aggressive Behavior	Poor/working Class officers of color	Poor/Working Class white officers	Middle/Upper Class officers of color	Middle/Upper Class white officers
Been physical with a fellow officer.	0%	1%	0%	1%
Been physical their children.	3%	5%	0%	3%
Been physical with their spouse/significant other.	0%	1%	0%	4%
Been physical with their pet.	3%	6%	0%	4%

PWC officers of color reported higher levels of work/home issues in comparison to the other groups score higher in five of the nine questions. PWC officers of color were almost twice as likely to believe that getting physical once in a while was helpful to a relationship (see Table 29). PWC officers of color were also more likely to believe that it was acceptable to beat a spouse/significant other who was unfaithful or who refused to have sex. PWC white officers were seven times more likely than PWC officers of color to treat their family members like suspects. The difference between PWC white officers and PWC officers of color was significant to a 95% confidence interval.

Work/Home issues	Poor/working Class officers of color	Poor/Working class white officers	Middle/Upper Class officers of color	Middle/Upper Class white officers
I often get home to physically and emotionally exhausted to deal with my spouse/significant other.	18%	22%	25%	16%
I encourage my spouse/significant other to spend time with their family and friends.	74%	77%	75%	68%
I catch myself treating my family the way I treat suspects.	3%	18%	17%	12%
At home, I can never shake off the feeling of being a police officer.	16%	12%	17%	15%
A person who refuses to have sex with his or her spouse is asking to be beaten.	3%	2%	0%	2%
I expect to have the final say on how things are done in my household.	16%	9%	8%	16%
It's okay for a person to get physical with their significant/spouse other if they have been unfaithful.	3%	2%	0%	0%
Getting physical once in a while can help maintain a marriage/relationship.	3%	1%	0%	1%
There is no excuse for people getting physical with their spouse/significant other.	84%	86%	92%	92%

Table 29: Work/home issue questions by socioeconomic class and race.

Workplace participation by socioeconomic class and race. MUC officers of color and white officers reported similar experiences of workplace participation. Both groups indicated that they had less say in the workplace than their poor/working class counter parts. For example, 44% PWC white officers, 40% of PWC officers of color, 31% of MUC officers of color, and 28% of MUC officers felt as though they had an

opportunity to have a say in the running of their agency (see Table 30). MUC officers of color were almost twice as likely to feel as though it was a waste of time to tell management anything. The difference between MUC officers of color and PWC white officers was statistically significant to a 95% confidence interval. MUC officers of color were also twice as less likely to feel comfortable offering their opinion to their supervisors. The difference between MUC officers of color and each of the groups individually was statistically significant to a 99% confidence interval.

Table 30: Workplace participation socioeconomic class and race.

Workplace participation	Poor/working Class officers of color	Poor/Working Class white officers	Middle/Upper Class officers of color	Middle/Upper Class white officers
My supervisors ask me for input on decisions that affect me at work.	55%	49%	23%	49%
I am encouraged to offer my opinion at work.	58%	53%	54%	48%
There is opportunity for me to have a say in the running of this agency on matters that concern me.	40%	44%	31%	28%
Management responds in a satisfactory manner to what I have to say.	41%	45%	39%	38%
From past experience at this agency, I feel it is a waste of time and energy to tell management anything.	26%	24%	54%	31%
I feel comfortable about offering my opinion to supervisors at work.	62%	67%	25%	66%
Those who actually do the work are involved in the writing of policies at this agency.	26%	14%	15%	16%

Conclusion by socioeconomic class and race. Socioeconomic class and race was shown to influence an officer’s overall perceived work stress. MUC officers of color reported higher levels of police job stress and the utilization of negative coping strategies. PWC white officers reported having higher levels of felt stress and suffering from

adverse outcomes. Socioeconomic class and race were not shown to influence an officers overall perceived work stress as much as race alone.

Summary of results

In conclusion the data showed that officers of color and white officers generally view police job stress in significantly different lights each reporting two very different experiences. Officers of color reported experiencing stress strictly related to the job of being a police officer in higher numbers than did their White counter parts. African American officers reported the highest amount of police job stress followed by Latino officers. African American and Latino officers also had identical levels of perceived job stress.

White officers reported overall higher levels of perceived job stress than officers of color. White officers reported the highest stress levels based on three of the five categories used to measure perceived police work stress (felt stress, coping strategies, and adverse outcomes).

When race and socioeconomic class were looked at collectively the data showed differentiation between the sub-groups. For example, MUC officers of color reported the highest levels of police jobs stress, and PWC white officers reported the highest levels of felt stress. Utilizing socioeconomic class as a lens revealed there was marginal differences in perceived job stress between those officers who reported growing up poor/working class and those who grew up middle/upper class until viewed in conjunction with race. The results of the data that stood out will be discussed in greater detail in chapter 5.

Chapter 5: Discussion

The purpose of the study was to answer the questions: What are the differences if any between the perceived job stress of officers of color and white officers, and what are the implications for chief law enforcement officers and administrators? In addition this study examined if socioeconomic class in general and in conjunction with race influenced an officer's levels of perceived work stress. The survey used an established police perceived work stress survey that consisted of four constructs (police job stress, felt (as discussed in chapter 3) stress, coping strategies, and adverse outcomes). A fifth construct was added to measure workplace participation.

Chapter 4 presented the results in three parts collectively by race, socioeconomic class, and socioeconomic class in conjunction with race. This chapter will specifically address the findings in relation to the hypothesis presented in Chapter 2. This study hypothesized that officers of color would score higher than their white counterparts in the categories of police stressors and felt stress; white officers would score higher than officers of color in coping strategies and adverse outcomes. This researcher also had the following assumptions: Latino officers and Asian officers would have similar perceived work stress levels as White officers. Lastly, it was expected that officers who were from similar socioeconomic backgrounds would have similar levels of perceived job stress. Finally, areas of future study, limitations of the study, and the conclusions and recommendations will be presented.

The study datasets revealed five themes not previously discussed in the literature. The five themes are: White officers self-reported higher overall levels of perceived job stress than officers of color in three of the five categories surveyed. In two out of five

categories officers of color reported higher stress levels than white officers. African American and Latino officers have similar overall levels of perceived job stress. Officers of different socioeconomic upbringings self-reported similar levels of perceived job stress. Officers of different socioeconomic upbringings have similar levels of perceived job stress until they are separated by race.

1. White officers self-reported higher overall levels of perceived job stress than officers of color in three of the five categories surveyed. As discussed in chapter 2 police organizational stressors are considered to be the “chief causes of stress” for police officers (Colbert et al., 2007, p. 103). This study hypothesized that officers of color would have higher levels of stress in the categories of police stressors and felt stress, and white officers would have higher levels of stress in the categories of coping strategies and adverse outcomes. Although this study, as with Greshon’s (2000) study, found that white officers had overall higher levels of perceived job stress, this study finds that officers of color have higher levels of police organizational stress. The data confirmed the hypothesis by showing that officers of color had higher levels of organizational stress than white officers. On the other hand, an examination the data revealed that white officers had higher levels of felt stress, utilization of negative coping strategies, and adverse outcomes, which disproved the hypothesis in part.

Minority officers reported significantly lower levels of overall perceived police job stress than white officers despite reporting that they are subjected to harsher police organizational stressors. The data found the actual

job of being a police officer caused white officers more stress than officers of color. The literature stated people of color in the general population have higher rates of physical illness but lower rates of mental illness than whites (Keyes, Barnes, & Bates, 2011, p. 650). This study found that the job of being a police officer caused white officers to suffer from anxiety and adverse health outcomes such as heart disease, chronic low back pain, and alcohol dependence in greater numbers than officers of color. White officers were also more likely to feel depressed and feel uncaring about the needs of the public more than officers of color. Although the literature indicated that people of color suffer from greater physical illnesses than whites in the general population, this data found that not to be the case law enforcement participants in this study.

The literature was mixed in regards to the methods that officers utilized to cope with stress. Haarr and Morash (1999) found that whites used avoidance to cope with stress more often than minorities. In contrast Plummer & Slade (1996) found that minorities used avoidance more. This study found that white officers utilized avoidance as a coping strategy more than African American and Latino officers and in numbers similar to Asian officers.

This study indicates that the stress of being a police officer made white officers more likely to report abusing their spouse/significant other than officers of color. White officers were also more likely to get physically abusive with a fellow officer than officers of color. White officers, despite being less likely to witness their parents be physically abusive with each

other, were the most likely to be physically abusive with their own spouse/significant other than officers of color.

White officers reported being invested in their agencies and believing that their opinions matter. They also felt their race did not cause them to be subjected to unfair treatment or exclude them from preferred assignments. Yet, white officers reported the job of being a police officer caused them more external stress than it did officers of color. This study does not offer a definitive explanation as to why white officers have overall higher levels of perceived police job stress despite reporting they are treated fairly by their respective organizations. Other than generalizations about the overall white population suffering from mental health disorders more than people of color the literature did not offer an explanation as to why this occurs (Jackson Knight, & Rafferty, 2010, p.937).

In examining the data collected for this study and the very limited amount of literature on this topic, it could be theorized that the utilization of negative coping strategies such as yelling at a spouse/significant other, increasing sexual activity, and smoking somehow shields officers of color from the external stresses that white officers experience. Jackson et al. (2010), states that blacks develop adaptive measures that shield them from negative psychological disorders found in whites in spite of engaging in unhealthy physical behaviors more often than whites (p.937) One possible mitigating factor may be the white dominance of the command structure of the law enforcement organizations. The dominance of whites in the command

structure of law enforcement organizations may shield them from experiencing higher levels of organizational stress.

In the department where officers of color held command staff positions (Chief and Assistant Chiefs or their equivalent), officers of color reported lower and white officers reported higher levels of organizational stress. White officers felt as though they would be less likely chosen for select assignments because of their race. This is in contrast to what white officers reported when command staff consisted of mostly white officers.

The data also revealed that white officers reported higher levels of stress related to workplace participation than did officers of color when command staff was comprised of officers of color. White officers indicated that they were less likely to have their opinions solicited and to have a say in the running of their agencies than officers of color when command staff was made up of all or a representation of officers of color. Again, this is in contrast to what white officers reported when command staff consisted of people of their same racial group.

From the data it appears the race of command staff may have an effect on the level of police organizational and workplace participation stress levels of police officers. The researcher will call this theory Racial Composition of Command Staff Theory (RCCST).

In summary, (RCCST) postulates that the racial composition of the command staff of a law enforcement agency will directly affect the police organizational stress levels of police officers depending upon their race. The

racial composition of command staff will also directly affect the degree to which officers feel they have a say in how their organization is managed. This study theorizes that the degree to which this finding is true will depend upon the race of the officer. The findings of Elvira and Town (2001) support the premise of RCCST. In their study of a large corporation they found that race significantly influenced performance evaluations. Elvira and Town (2001) found that white supervisors consistently rated the performance of African American, Latino, and Asian employees lower than their white subordinates. They also found African American supervisors consistently rated their white subordinates' performance lower than their minority subordinates. Elvira and Town (2001) go on to indicate bias in performance evaluations occurred "despite the availability of objective performance measures" when the supervisor and subordinate were of a different race (p.587).

The work of Jackson and Holvino (1988) regarding multicultural organizational development (MCO) also offers support for the premise of RCCST. Jackson and Holvino (1988) state a multicultural organization is one whose self-interest is to enhance its growth by allowing for the full inclusion and participation at all levels the widest variety of cultural perspectives. They also state that there is a direct relationship between the service an organization delivers and its ability to provide a just working environment for all employees (p.19). RCCST, just as with MCO, theorizes that if an organization allows full participation by all employees it will have a just working environment that does not exclude anyone based on their race.

RCCST adds to the literature the notion that the race of officers and that of their command staffs directly affects their police organizational stress levels.

2. In two out of five categories officers of color reported higher stress levels than white officers. This study hypothesized that officers of color would have higher levels of police organizational stress than white officers. This study found that officers of color reported higher levels of stress than white officers in the categories of police organizational stress and workplace participation. The data confirmed the hypothesis.

Officers of color were shown in the literature to have higher levels of police organizational stress. Brandl and Hassell (2009) stated that African American male officers reported significantly higher negative work experiences, such as perception of bias, lack of opportunity, and being underestimated, in comparison with their white counterparts (p.418). This study found that minority officers were more likely to believe that their race would inhibit their ability to be chosen for certain assignments than their white counter parts. This dissertation showed that not only African American officers, but Asian American and Latino officers also reported significantly higher negative work experiences than did their white counterparts.

Although the data found that African American officers reported their opinions were sought out by their supervisors almost twice as often as those of Latino officers, it did little to convince African American officers to believe that their opinions mattered. As the data showed African Americans were less

likely to believe management responded in a satisfactory manner to what they had to say in comparison to white and Latino officers.

This researcher would suggest that the reason for officers of color having higher organizational stress levels than white officers may be due to cultural features of law enforcement organizations spelled out by Haarr and Morash (1999). Haarr and Morash (1999) state negative cultural features of police organizations such as racial discrimination, lack of role models, lack of mentors, denial of alliances among white officers, and white officers being protected by supervisors and colleagues, feelings of isolation, and the burden of being the "token minority" create stress for minority officers (p.307). These cultural features may be those specifically associated with law enforcement organizations that are dominated by white males who hold values that exclude "non-Anglos" (Haarr, 1997, p.55).

The implications for management of this finding are:

- There is a need for bias reduction training for police officers on an annual basis.
- Directed focus on reducing institutional racism within law enforcement organizations. Specifically, reevaluating performance evaluations for bias, providing mentoring, and career advancement opportunities for officers of color should be undertaken.
- Strict enforcement of human resource anti-discrimination workplace policies should be instituted.

Training such as the Fair and Impartial Policing program conducted by the United States Department of Justice Community Orientated Police Services Division (C.O.P.S) is an example of the type of program that could address the implications of this finding. The Fair and Impartial Policing program focuses on reducing unconscious bias by training officers to recognize their implicit biases and provides them with tools to reduce those biases (Fridell, 2015). Training in this area may also help reduce organizational stress levels for officers of color. McCracken (2000) supported this notion when he discussed how the Deloitte Corporation was able to retain their female employees by providing such training focused on gender bias. At Deloitte, this type of targeted training has been shown to increase the retention of women in predominantly male fields via training for retention and mentoring (McCracken, 2000). This type of training could also help retain officers of color, who according to this study were more likely to seek another job outside of their department than white officers due to perceived bias and lack of mentors. The negative effects of RCCST may be reduced if a law enforcement organization were able to successfully implement training in these areas.

3. This study found that African American and Latino officers have similar overall levels of perceived job stress. This study hypothesized that Latino officers would have levels of overall perceived job stress similar to those of white officers. The literature was sparse in the area of Latino police officer stress, but the available literature indicated that Latino officers had levels of

police job stress similar to those of white officers. Brandl and Hassell (2009) found that Latino officers had work experiences similar to white officers and that Latino officers did not experience the same level of negative work experiences as did African American officers (p.421). They were found that African American officers felt as though there was more bias directed toward them within their organizations than Latino officers did (p.420).

This study found that Latino and African American officers reported similar overall levels of perceived job stress, challenging the 2009 findings of Brandl and Hassell. In this study Latino and African American officers reported similar stress levels in four of the five categories used to measure overall perceived job stress. Latino and African American officers also reported experiencing similar levels of police organizational stress.

African American and Latino officers reported feeling as though they were more harshly criticized for their mistakes more than white and Asian officers reported. They were also reported being more likely to seek another full-time job outside of their department.

African American and Latino officers reported similar levels in the category of felt stress. African American and Latino officers reported identical responses when asked if they felt uncaring about the needs of the public while they were at work. White officers were twice as likely to feel uncaring about the needs of the public while they are at work compared to Latino, African American and Asian officers.

When this study examined how certain officers of color dealt with stress the data found that Latino and African American officers utilized similar strategies to cope with stress. They were more likely to report relying on their faith in God to get them through a rough time than were white and Asian officers. They were also more likely than white and Asian officers to utilize negative coping strategies such as yelling at their spouse/significant other or smoking.

African American and Latino officers agreed that it was a waste of time to tell management about anything. Although the stress levels for Latino and African American officers in the category of workplace participation were similar, there were some differences. For example, African American officers self-reported that they were almost twice as likely as Latino officers to have their opinions solicited from their supervisors. Despite this difference, African American and Latino officers still had overall higher levels of stress in the category of workplace participation than white officers.

The similarity between African American and Latino officers found in the data was unexpected. Based on the review of the literature, 54 percent of Latinos in the United States identify themselves as white (Census.gov, 2010). The fact that a slim majority of Latinos identify themselves as being white makes this finding all the more puzzling since Latino officers reported similar overall perceived job stress levels as African American officers. As mentioned previously, Brandl and Hassell (2009) found that Latino officers had police job stress levels similar to those of whites in their study which was conducted

in the city of Milwaukee. The data gathered from their study, conducted in a similar Midwestern setting, adds to the perplexing nature of the findings.

This researcher speculates that the similarities found between African American and Latino officers may be partially explained by their limited numbers in the organizations studied. Members of each group may feel as though they are not accepted by white officers and seek the comradeship of each other. Although the literature stated that 54 percent of Latinos identify themselves as white that does not mean that those surveyed for this study are within that 54 percent. It also does not mean that their white colleagues perceive or treat them as white. Jackson & Wijeyesinghe (2001) state that the “continuous systems of color classification used by Latinos do not fit well with the dichotomous system predominant in the United States” (p.39). Therefore it can be posited that the Latinos in this study may not, as the literature suggested, fit into the color classifications that are utilized within the law enforcement agencies studied here.

Based on this finding administrators should consider the following items:

- i. Officers should be provided with cultural training specific to Latino and African American communities. The need for this training is demonstrated by African American and Latino officers in this study reporting the highest levels of organizational stress related to being discriminated against. Recent national events in Ferguson, New York City and along

the United States and Mexican border involving Latinos and African Americans are also indicative of the need for such training.

- ii. Administrators should take steps to diversify their command staff in order to reduce organizational stress levels for officers of unrepresented racial groups. In this study 38% of African American and Latino officers whose organizational command staff were all white reported feeling their race would hinder them from being chosen for choice assignments. When the command staff of the organization consisted of officers of color, only 14% of African American and Latino officers reported feeling as though their race would hinder them being selected for choice assignments.

Recent events such as those that occurred in Ferguson, Missouri and Maricopa County, Arizona have highlighted the need for implicit bias training for police officers and administrators. In Ferguson an unarmed African American teenager was shot by a white police officer during a confrontation. The event in Ferguson sparked nation-wide protest that centered on the perceived disparate treatment of people of color by police officers. Events in Maricopa County surrounding the practice of racially profiling Latinos led to multiple lawsuits and a Department of Justice investigation. These events have stimulated a national call for more people of color, particularly Latinos and African Americans, to join police departments. If training is not

implemented or is not successful at reducing the police organizational stress for Latino and African American officers' recruitment, retention issues will continue to hinder diversity efforts. Brazzel (2007) and Jackson and Holvino (1988), state an organization becomes a "revolving door" for people of color when it expects them to assimilate to the dominant culture and does not value nor make them feel valued (p.12).

4. Officers of different socioeconomic upbringings self-reported similar levels of perceived job stress. This study hypothesized that officers who were from similar socioeconomic backgrounds would have similar levels of overall perceived job stress; officers who were from different socioeconomic backgrounds would have different levels of perceived job stress. The data collected in this study disproved that hypothesis. Instead the data showed that officers who grew up poor/working class (PWC) and those who grew up middle/upper class (MUC) had similar overall levels of perceived job stress.

The four areas in which PWC officers and MUC officers differed from one another were:

- i. MUC officers were more likely to experience stress as a result of being exposed to critical incidents with the exception of shooting someone, in which case they were three times less likely to experience stress than PWC officers. In terms of being exposed to violence, shooting someone was the most violent of the nine critical incidents measured in this study. This researcher would theorize that the lack of being exposed to violence growing up is

the primary reason for the differentiation. According to the American Psychological Association people from all socioeconomic classes are exposed to violence, but people from lower socioeconomic classes have an increased exposure to violence (APA.org, 2015). It might be speculated that MUC officers may not witness firsthand violence until they become police officers. This researcher believes that the differentiation between PWC and MUC officers in this area will dissipate over time. Violent acts are increasingly being broadcast on television, the Internet, and video games. As a result, exposure to violence is becoming more and more commonplace for all members of society regardless of their socioeconomic class. Lomonaco, Kim, and Ottaviano (2010) found that the “effects of violent media appear to be race, class, and gender blind (p.2). They also found that the “effects of media violence on attitudes and behaviors” is the same across all socioeconomic classes (p.2).

- ii. PWC officers were more likely to self-report anxiety than MUC officers. PWC officers reported higher stress levels in 3 of the 4 questions used to measure anxiety than MUC officers. Stanfeld, Clark, Rodgers, Calwell, and Power (2011) found in their study that growing up “socioeconomically disadvantaged” marginally increased the likelihood that someone would suffer from anxiety in adulthood (p.555). This researcher would contend that the

difference between PWC and MUC officers in this area is due to PWC officers growing up socioeconomically disadvantaged.

- iii. PWC officers were more likely to have interpersonal family issues such as their parents being physically abusive with each other and with the respondent. This researcher would maintain that PWC officers reported higher levels in the interpersonal family conflict area because of their socioeconomic backgrounds. According to the American Psychological Association, women who live in poor/working class households were 4 times more likely to experience violence than women living in wealthier households (APA.org, 2015). This researcher would suggest the differences between PWC and MUC officers in this area would dissipate over time. As stated previously exposure to violence is becoming more pervasive throughout our society, and it is transcending socioeconomic class.
 - iv. PWC officers were also more likely to feel as though they had a say in how their workplace was managed than MUC officers. Currently there is not any available literature regarding the intersection of socioeconomic class and workplace participation. The reasoning for the differentiation in this area is unknown.
5. Officers of different socioeconomic upbringings have similar levels of overall perceived job stress until they are separated by race. Once separated by race officers of color who grew up middle/upper class were shown to have higher

levels of perceived job stress. Although the finding that socioeconomic class alone does not appear to affect the overall perceived job stress levels of police officers, socioeconomic class does appear to influence officers' overall perceived job stress levels when examined in conjunction with race.

For example, MUC officers of color were found to have higher levels of police organizational stress than MUC white officers, PWC officers of color, and PWC white officers. PWC officers of color and PWC white officers reported organizational stress levels that were more similar to each other than to those of MUC officers of color and MUC white officers. The differentiation between MUC officers of color and white officers will be discussed in greater detail later in this section.

In the category of felt stress PWC white officers reported the highest levels of stress. For example, PWC white officers were more likely to report feeling negative, futile or depressed about work than MUC officers of color, MUC white officers, and PWC officers of color. MUC white officers and PWC officers of color reported similar overall levels of felt stress. Although they reported similar levels of felt stress, MUC white officers were four times more likely to feel uncaring about the needs of the public than PWC officers of color.

This difference between PWC officers of color and MUC white officers regarding attitudes towards the public while at work is worthy of additional discussion. Cozzarelli, Wilkinson, and Tagler (2001) found that those who had middle class characteristics (more highly educated and higher

income) believed that poor people were more likely to be criminals, stupid, violent, mentally ill, unmotivated, immoral, and lazy than those who were middle class (p.215). Such sentiments towards the poor may be one reason for the differentiation between PWC officers of color and MUC white officers regarding their attitudes towards the public. Law enforcement agencies often concentrate their resources in areas that have high crime rates, and those areas often have high rates of poverty. MUC white officer's exposure to PWC citizens only while at work, coupled with society's beliefs about poor people, may contribute towards their attitudes regarding the public. Implications of this finding will be discussed later in this chapter.

PWC white officers were more likely to experience anxiety and depression than the three other groups. Breslau et al. (2006) found that whites in the general population were more likely to suffer from psychiatric disorders than Latinos and African Americans (p.63). This may partially explain why PWC white officers report experiencing anxiety and depression more than the three other groups.

MUC officers of color reported suffering from physical stress problems such as migraines, chronic low back pain, reproductive issues, and chronic insomnia more than PWC white officers, PWC officers of color, and MUC white officers. MUC officers of color were almost four times as likely as the other three groups to report suffering from diabetes and almost twice as likely to indicate suffering from high blood pressure.

The fact that MUC of color reported suffering from diabetes and high

blood pressure is perplexing for several reasons. First, Saydah and Lochner (2010) found that those who were from lower socioeconomic classes were more likely to suffer and die from diabetes than those who were middle class (p.387). Second, Brummett et al. (2011) found that those who were from lower socioeconomic classes were more likely to suffer from high blood pressure than those from higher earning households even when race was considered (p.161).

The results reported by MUC officers of color in this study seem to contradict the literature regarding socioeconomic status and health. One possible explanation is that MUC officers of color suffer from diabetes and high blood pressure in greater numbers because of their higher organization stress levels. The work of Huth et al. (2014) may support this theory. In their German study they found that “men and women who experience high job strain are at higher risk for developing type 2 diabetes independently of traditional risk factors” (p.562).

Another possible contributor may be the perceived unfair treatment (e.g., passed over for choice assignments, more likely to be criticized for mistakes) at work MUC officers of color reported experiencing in this study. Robbins, Ford, and Tetrick (2012) found that employees who perceive they are treated unfairly at work suffer from physical health problems such as hypertension, high Body Mass Index (BMI), and cancer more than those who did not perceive they were treated unfairly at work.

The data found that MUC officers of color and MUC white officers were more likely to feel they had the least amount of input in how their agency was managed. MUC officers of color were less likely than the PWC white officers, PWC officers of color, and MUC white officers to feel comfortable offering their opinions to their supervisors. MUC officers of color were also two times less likely to have their opinion solicited by their supervisor. They were also twice as likely to feel it is a waste of time to tell management anything compared to the three other groups.

Jackson, Knight, & Rafferty (2010) theorized that if whites lived under the same economic conditions as people of color they would experience similar stress levels (p.933). Based on Jackson et al.'s (2010) research this researcher hypothesizes that officers from the same socioeconomic class, regardless of race, would have similar levels of perceived job stress, but the data found that not to be the case. This researcher was surprised by the results MUC officers of color reported. Applying recent work in the area of intersectionality may help shed some light on this study's results.

Intersectionality theory as presented by Jones and Wijeyesinghe (2014) discusses how people as members of multiple social identity groups (gender, race, socioeconomic status, sexual orientation) experience power, privilege and subordination across multiple locations and points where those identities intersect with one another (p.12). For example, a white male, who is gay and is socioeconomically privileged, may strongly identify with his sexuality, but may fail to recognize the power and privilege that his gender

and race provide him (p.15). The gay male in this case has both privileged and oppressed identities, and these may be in conflict with each other depending on the individual.

Applying the concept of intersectionality, this researcher theorizes that MUC officers of color had overall higher levels of perceived job stress due to their race, which for many of them may be their only oppressed social identity. All the MUC officers of color in this study self-reported as male, heterosexual, and college educated.

Intersectionality offers one possible explanation that some MUC officers of color, because of their privileged identities (socioeconomic class, gender, and sexual orientation), were not as prepared as PWC officers of color to handle going into a profession where historically many “white male officers often place minorities into devalued social defined roles” (Price and Sokoloff, 2004, p.532) Due to their socioeconomic privilege MUC officers of color may not have had to deal with being devalued to the same extent as PWC officers of color. Entering a profession where the dominant population often places minorities into subservient roles may cause MUC officers of color more stress than the other three groups studied.

PWC white officers may not have the same levels of perceived job stress as MUC officers of color because of their class backgrounds. It appears the racial identity for MUC officers of color may cause tension with their socioeconomic identity and this may be one reason for the differentiation. The experience of MUC officers of color growing up with middle class privilege

may have partially shielded the compounded effects of their targeted racial and class identities as experienced by PWC officers of color. Becoming a police officer who was raised middle class may force them to reflect more on their race, and it appears some may have been ill prepared to do so.

The intersectionality of race and socioeconomic class in the area of police officer stress has not been examined previously, and the information presented in this study adds to the literature in this area.

Future study

The information gathered in this study provides for areas of additional study, specifically in the area of gender. Race and class were shown to be the dominant factors in perceived police officer job stress, but it was examined without taking gender into consideration. Gender has been shown to influence police officer stress by Brandl and Hassel (2009), but no literature exists that examines the influence gender may have on police officer stress in conjunction with race and socioeconomic class.

One question for further study could be, “How does gender influence police officer stress when intersected with race and socioeconomic class?” For instance, would a white female who is heterosexual, educated, and middle/upper class have stress levels similar to MUC officers of color, or would the influence of race be more prevalent? And if race were found to be more prevalent why would that be the case? As law enforcement agencies are becoming more diverse, information about the influence gender may have on police officer stress would assist agencies with providing a work environment that is welcoming to all employees.

An examination of the data revealed that the racial makeup of command staff influences the police organizational and work place participation stress levels of those who are underrepresented. Additional study on the racial composition of command staff and police officer stress could be conducted to get a better understanding as to why the racial composition of command staff influences police officer stress. Another question for further research might be, "What factors contribute to or limit officers of different races abilities to treat those who they supervise and lead equitably and without bias?"

Another question for further research would be, "What are the differences if any with how effectively MCOB could be effectively undertaken by law enforcement organizations headed by elected Sheriffs versus those headed by appointed police chiefs? Theoretically, Sheriff's on day one of taking office could use their leeway to completely change the command staff of their organization since they are elected. Having the ability to make such substantive changes in a short period of time may or may not allow a Sheriff to transition an organization from a monocultural organization to a multicultural more quickly than a police chief.

Literature regarding the overall police job stress levels of Asian and Native American officers is nonexistent. The data gathered from this study should be expanded upon and examined in greater detail to get a better understanding of Asian police officer stress. As more Asian Americans join police departments, it would behoove law enforcement organizations to understand what contributes to their stress levels. Because Native American officers comprised such a small percentage of officers from the departments surveyed an accurate assessment of their police stress levels could not be

determined. However a future study could be conducted with a larger sample size to add clarity and understanding to this under researcher area.

Limitations

As mentioned in Chapter Two, racial identity within the Latino community is complex and does not easily fit into racial categories as currently theorized within the United States (Jackson & Wijeyesinghe, 2001). The survey instrument provided respondents with five racial categories to choose from when identifying their race. Respondents who selected Latino as their race were not provided with a space to identify their ethnicity. This limited the ability to examine certain Latino ethnicities and their relationships with African Americans. Having this information may have provided some insight as to why African American and Latino officers in this study had similar overall perceived job stress, whereas; those in Brandl and Hassell's (2009) study did not.

Socioeconomic class was measured using four categories (poor, working class, middle class, upper class), but those categories were not defined. By not having the categories defined, it is plausible that respondents who actually grew up in different socioeconomic classes could have self-reported inaccurately. In America socioeconomic class is often debated, and there is not a generally accepted single definition of what constitutes middle class. An example of this was illustrated by the following incident. A respondent, after taking the survey, sent the researcher an email stating that they grew up in a two-parent household where both of their parents worked, but they lived paycheck to paycheck. The respondent said they went to their family cabin every other weekend, but their parents did not have enough money to pay for them to go college. The respondent selected working class then and asked if his/her selection was correct. The respondent's

question demonstrates one of the limitations of not defining socioeconomic class in the survey instrument. Based on what the survey respondent told the researcher, some might consider this respondent's upbringing middle class as opposed to working class. It's worth mentioning that "almost nine in ten Americans define themselves as middle class" in self-reports regardless of their income or education levels (Reeves, 2014).

Respondents were asked if they could trust their partner in the police organizational stress category. The question did not allow respondents to indicate the race of their partners and whom they did or did not trust. Respondents should have been asked if they trusted their partners who were officers of color or white officers. By not gathering such information the term "partner" must be taken in general terms. Given the demographics of respondents, it is reasonable to assume that the majority of "partners" would probably statistically have been white officers.

Responses to this survey were self-reported, and, as with most self-reporting, there is no way to independently verify the information provided. This is worth discussing particularly when it comes to self-reporting regarding mental health outcomes. Wallihan, Stump, Callahan (1999), found that 24 percent of the respondents in their study failed to self-report being hospitalized within a 12 month period when cross checked with the respondents medical records (p.667). In their study respondents under reported their hospitalization and this may or may not have occurred in this study. There was no data available to cross check respondent responses to mental health questions. One way this research attempted to address the limitation of self-reporting was to cross check the self-reported race of respondents with the demographics of the respondent's agency. Nevertheless, respondents potentially could have misidentified their race. The researcher

was contacted by an officer who indicated he/she selected her/his race as being Other to avoid being singled out.

Although the sample size of the survey was representative of the area in which it was conducted, additional respondents from different geographic locations would strengthen the results of this study. The number of respondents who were people of color was low (20 percent), but it was reflective of the survey population. In addition, although the survey was written at a 10th grade level, some of the questions may have been difficult to comprehend among those for whom English was not their native language, as was the case for some of the Asian officers who contacted this researcher.

The limited amount of literature available on perceived job stress in conjunction with race and socioeconomic class was a limitation for this study. Much of the information found in this study has not been previously examined, making comparison with similar studies impossible. The lack of literature in the area of racial job stress, socioeconomic class and job stress, and police stress in regards to Native American, Asian and Latino officers is also presented a challenge for this study.

In terms of methodology, the length of the study may have prevented some of the respondents from offering complete responses. The researcher expected a slightly better overall response rate than 57.7 percent given that the researcher is a law enforcement officer and respondents were given time on duty to participate in the survey. The researcher added an extra category to the survey instrument that increased the survey from 132 questions to 136 questions. The majority of those who completed partial responses (4.6 percent) stopped completing the survey between questions 90-105. The survey response rate may have been increased if the survey were shorter. All of the data

gathered was valuable, but redesigning the survey so it is shorter may increase the response rate during future study.

Lastly, interpretation of findings where no literature was available may be subject to researcher bias. This researcher is an African American police officer who has also served as the president of a local branch of the National Association for the Advancement Color People (NAACP). Although steps such as providing limited interruption of findings without supporting literature and having a racially diverse dissertation committee were taken some interruption may still be influenced by researcher bias.

Conclusion

This study found that officers of a different race than command staff experience higher levels of police organizational and workplace participation stress than officers who are of the same racial background as their command staff. This research proposes a Racial Composition of Command Staff Theory (RCCST) based on these findings. In short, RCCST states that the race of command staff directly affects police organizational and workplace participation stress levels. This theory can potentially help law enforcement administrators who manage organizations that have retention problems to make promotional decisions that would assist in reducing stress related turnover.

Specifically, if a law enforcement agency has a problem with retaining employees of color, the agency could consider diversifying its command staff to lower organizational stress levels and possibly retain some employees. This could result in potentially significant cost savings from not having to re-train new officers. A participating agency in this study reported it had 45 percent of their employees of color

resign and take positions with other law enforcement agencies over a four-year period. The cost to replace those employees is estimated to be over a half million dollars.

Demographics of the United States are changing rapidly. This study recommends that law enforcement administrators strive to make their workplaces more welcoming to people of color. As this study has shown, officers of color experience stress differently than white officers. Law enforcement agencies that have all-white command staffs should seek to diversify their staff and provide bias reduction training to officers. For example, ninety-nine percent of white officers in this study reported they believed minority officers were held to a lower standard. This finding may indicate that white officers hold unexamined assumptions and therefore may not see the need for bias reduction training.

The information from this study regarding the similarities in overall perceived job stress levels of Latino and African American officers is compelling. African American and Latino officers perceived they were being discriminated against in numbers that were 40 times that of white officers. Perception may be the reality for most. Law enforcement agencies may not be able to sustain their numbers given the current changes in demographics if officers of color were to leave agencies at rates higher than white officers. The gap between the experiences of Latino and African American officers and white officers in law enforcement has to be closed if law enforcement organizations are to remain viable in the future.

Middle/upper class officers of color were found to have the highest overall levels of perceived police job stress. This finding that socioeconomic class in conjunction with race influences an officer's perceived job stress is new to the literature. Although socioeconomic class alone was not shown to influence the perceived police job stress

levels of police officers when class and race were factored into the analysis revealing patterns emerged.

Currently law enforcement organizations do not consider a person's socioeconomic background when they are making hiring decisions. Law enforcement agencies run candidates through an extensive background process that involves a credit check and a full financial disclosure on part of the applicant. Applicants who have poor credit or are in poor financial standing are often not selected during the hiring process. The Los Angeles Police Department for example on its recruiting page indicates that a person's credit history is taken into consideration "from a risk management perspective" (joinlapd.com, 3/15/2015). It is further revealed on the page that goes onto to say having good credit "may make you less susceptible to impropriety on the job". There has not been anything written about this particular subject in the literature, but many law enforcement agencies still utilize credit history as a means of screening applicants.

Given the earlier finding that PWC officers of color were four times more likely to care about the needs of the public than MUC white officers, law enforcement administrators may want to consider hiring certain candidates who do not have ideal credit. With such a large disparity, it would also be beneficial for law enforcement agencies to provide training to MUC white officers and MUC officers of color on how to view the public so such disparities do not continue.

These findings coupled with recent events around the country involving communities of color may be a portent of things to come if law enforcement does not act. Administrators can use the information from this study highlighting the disconnect between communities of color and largely white police forces as one more piece of

justification for providing training on implicit bias to their officers as well as to administrators.

Recommendations

In conclusion, the recommendations for command staff that emerge from the findings are:

1. Officers of color and white officers experience stress differently. The information gained from this study suggests a need for stress reduction programs that consider for race and class. Such programs do not currently exist, but the data from this study may provide the justification for the creation of such programs. Current law enforcement Employee Assistance Programs (EAP) are geared towards treating mental health disorders that are more prevalent in the white population, such as anxiety and depression. This study suggests that current EAP programs that assume “one size fits all” may not be meeting the needs of an increasingly diverse law enforcement profession. The findings show that officers of color experience stress as a direct result of being discriminated against in the workplace. Stress reduction programs that address racial stress may help reduce the police organizational stress levels of officers of color.

2. The racial composition of command staff was shown to influence the police organizational stress levels of those who are not represented within the command structure. This study found that when the command staff is not representative of its police force underrepresented officers have higher stress levels. When the command staff of a law enforcement organization is diversified,

the stress levels of all officers regardless of race may equal out. Major American corporations such as Hilton Hotels, Wachovia, and United Parcel Service(UPS) have found the benefits to diversity in American business and society are many (Forsythe, 2005). Walker (2014) states that diversity breeds innovation, and corporations with diverse teams are among the world's top financial performers. Administrators might consider multicultural organizational development (MCO) as one approach to diversifying their command staffs in order to reduce the police organizational stress levels of those who are not represented.

3. Officers of color who grew up middle/upper class (MUC) experience the highest levels of police organizational stress. MUC officers of color reported that they were the most afflicted by racial discrimination in the workplace. Administrators could then consider providing MUC officers of color with additional stress reduction resources. The continued steep increases in health care costs to departments could provide a solid incentive to at very least consider undertaking cost benefit analyses to calculate the potential savings of such an approach to stress reduction.

4. White officers experience the highest levels of depression, alcohol dependence, and physical health problems as a result of stress. Administrators could consider having staff members from Employee Assistance Programs (EAP) make presentations at annual department meetings that highlight the services that they offer. Specifically services that help with depression and stress induced physical illnesses. EAP's have been in existence for some time but police officers may not be utilizing them as much as they could be. Establishing a personal

connection with EAP staff may increase the likelihood of officers seeking help from the program. Reducing the stress levels of white officers may also lead to reduction in health care cost related to treating lower back injuries and other stress related physical illnesses.

5. The need for implicit bias training for all law enforcement officers has been demonstrated by the findings of this study. This study demonstrates that bias and the perceived unfair treatment of officers of color has manifested itself within those law enforcement organizations studied in the form of perceived institutional racism. Implicit bias training in addition to improving community relations, may help also reduce the police organizational stress levels of African American and Latino officers. A police culture that is attentive to the possibility of implicit bias internally can help reduce the police organizational stress levels of all police officers. This study recommends that administrators implement anti-bias training to reduce the police organizational stress levels of those who are not represented in the command staff.

Recent events in Ferguson and elsewhere indicate race continues to be a major, if not the prevalent, concern in today's law enforcement profession. Law enforcement organizations that consist of mostly white officers are experiencing contentious issues with Latino and African American communities. Today it is the Latino and African American community that law enforcement is having trouble interacting with. Tomorrow it may be a different community that law enforcement struggles to effectively and competently work with. Bias reduction training could provide police officers with the training they need to interact with all communities regardless of their demographic

makeup. Implicit bias reduction training (in conjunction with greater efforts at recruiting and retaining a more diverse police force) may also help prepare both law enforcement command staff and officers to more competently interact with racially and/or socioeconomically diverse communities.

As the demographics in America change, law enforcement agencies will have little choice but to change. Simply put the White population is decreasing, and minority populations are increasing. Demographics may force change that the current dominant group may be unwilling to make on their own. The white-male-dominated profession may be slow and resistant to change, but this researcher is hopeful that change will occur. It is the hope of the researcher that the data gathered from this study will better inform the profession by making a studied case for reducing bias within law enforcement. The public increasingly is coming to expect nothing less. Hopefully this study contributes to making the case for change within the profession by providing administrators with new information and recommendations to help meet the expectations of the public for the future.

Appendix 1

Modified JHU Project SHEILDS Questionnaire

Thank you for taking the time to complete this questionnaire. Since the questionnaire is completely anonymous you will not have a place to list your name or any other identifying information.

I. Background information

- 1) What is your gender? Male Female
- 2) What is your birth year? 19_____
- 3) What ethnic/racial group do you belong to? **African American, Asian, Caucasian, Hispanic/Latino(a), Native American, Other**
- 4) Highest level of education completed: **High School ,Some College, College, Graduate School**
- 5) How many years you been employed with this department? **1-5 years, 5-10 years, 10-15 years, 15+ years**
- 6) What is your current rank? **Correctional Deputy Civilian, Correctional Deputy Licensed, Correctional Officer Trainee (still on probation), Officer Trainee, Licensed Officer, Correctional Corporal, Licensed Corporal, Correctional Sergeant, Licensed Sergeant, Correctional Lieutenant, Licensed Lieutenant or above**
- 7) Did you serve in the military? **Yes, No**
- 8) Do you routinely have contact with suspects? **Yes, No**
- 9) What is your marital status? **Married, Live in partner, Separated/Divorced, Single, Widowed**
- 10) What is the total number of times you have been married?
- 11) Where you married before you joined the force? **Yes, to my current spouse, Yes, to a former spouse, No**
- 12) How many children are living in your home (full or part-time)? If none check N/A. # children, N/A

If you are currently married, or with a significant other, please answer the following questions, if not please check N/A.

- 13) What is the gender of your spouse/significant other? **Female, Male, N/A**
- 14) Does your spouse or significant other have a job? **Yes, No, N/A**
- 15) Is she/he a police officer or in law enforcement? **Yes, No, N/A**

- 16) What is the highest level of your spouse/significant other? **High School, Some College, College, Graduate School**
- 17) If your spouse/significant other has been married please indicate how many times not including this marriage. # of times, N/A
- 18) Growing up what would you consider your household? **Impoverished, Working Class, Middle Class, Upper-Class**
- 19) What would you consider your current household? **Impoverished, Working Class, Middle Class, Upper-Class**

II. Work Attitudes

Please check the box that best describes how much you agree with the following statements: Strongly Agree (SA), Agree (A), Neither Agree/disagree (ND), Disagree (D), Strongly Disagree (SD).

- 20) There is good cooperation between units.
- 21) I can trust my partner.
- 22) I view my work as a job it's not a career.
- 23) There is enough time at the beginning or end of the day for chores at home.
- 24) It is likely that I will look for another full-time job outside of this department within the next year.
- 25) Compared to my peers (same rank), I find that I am likely to be more criticized for my mistakes.
- 26) I feel that I am less likely to get chosen for certain assignments because of "who I am" (e.g., race, gender, sexual orientation, physical characteristics).
- 27) Within the department gender related jokes are often made in my presence.
- 28) When I am assertive or question the way things are being done, I am considered militant.
- 29) Promotions in this department are tied to ability and merit.
- 30) Media reports of alleged law enforcement misconduct are bias against us.
- 31) The administration supports officers who are in trouble.
- 32) I have had to make split second decisions of the job that could have had serious consequences.
- 33) The department tends to be more lenient in enforcing rules and regulations for female officers.
- 34) Some officers would put their work ahead of anything-including their families.
- 35) Female officers are held to a higher standard than male officers.
- 36) The department tends to be more lenient in enforcing rules and regulations for minority officers.
- 37) Minority officers are held to a higher standard than White male officers.

III. Events at Work

If you have ever experienced any of the following, please indicate how much it emotionally affected you. Please check N/A if you haven't experienced it.

	Not at all	A little	Very Much	N/A
38) Making a violent arrest				
39) Shooting someone				
40) Being the subject of an internal affairs investigation				
41) Responding to a call related to a chemical spill				
42) Responding to a bloody crime scene				
43) Personally knowing the victim				
44) Being involved in a hostage situation				
45) Attending a police funeral				
46) Experiencing a needle stick or other exposure to blood and bodily fluids				

Did ANY extremely stressful event you experienced cause you to feel any of the following, for 3 or more months?

47) Cause you to have intrusive or recurrent distressing thoughts, memories, or dreams about the event?	Yes, No
48) Make you avoid things related to the event (i.e., thoughts, places, conversations)	Yes, No
49) Make you feel detached from people and activities that are important to you.	Yes, No

Please check the box that best describes how much you agree with the following statements: Strongly Agree (SA), Agree (A), Neither Agree/disagree (ND), Disagree (D), Strongly Disagree (SD).

- 50) I can obtain helpful stress debriefing when I need it (i.e., not just going to the bar)
- 51) I feel that I can rely on support from my family, friends, etc.
- 52) I feel optimistic and hopeful about the future.
- 53) I feel like I am on autopilot most of the time.
- 54) I feel like I need to take control of the people in my life.
- 55) I feel burned out from my job.
- 56) I feel like I am at the end of my rope.
- 57) I feel I treat the public like they are impersonal objects.
- 58) I have accomplished many worthwhile things in this job.

59) My beliefs about my personal safety, spirituality, etc, have been changed by my experiences at work.

IV. Dealing with Stress

When dealing with stressful events at work, how often do you:

Never, Sometimes, Frequently, Always

- 60) Draw on your past experiences from a similar situation you have been in before.
- 61) Stay away from everyone, you want to be alone.
- 62) Talk with your spouse, relative, or friend about the problem.
- 63) Smoke more to help you relax.
- 64) Pray for guidance and strength.
- 65) Make a plan of action and follow it.
- 66) Exercise regularly to reduce tension.
- 67) Yell or shout at your spouse/significant other, a family member, or a professional.
- 68) Let your feelings out by smashing things.
- 69) Hang out more with fellow officers at the bar.
- 70) Gamble.
- 71) Increase your sexual activity.
- 72) Rely on your faith in God to see you through this rough time.
- 73) Try to act as if nothing is bothering you.

During the past 6 months...

- 74) Did you ever worry or feel guilty about your alcohol consumption? **Yes, No, N/A**
- 75) Did you ever drink more than you planned? **Yes, No, N/A**
- 76) Did you have periods when you could not remember what happened when you were drinking? **Yes, No, N/A**

V. Health Section

Do you suffer from the following health problems? Please check all that apply.

Yes No

- 77) Migraines
- 78) Diabetes
- 79) Chronic low back pain
- 80) High blood pressure

- 81) Liver disease
- 82) Foot problems
- 83) Heart disease
- 84) Reproductive problems
- 85) Chronic insomnia
- 86) Do you currently smoke cigarettes, cigars, or a pipe? Yes, No
- 87) Have you had any serious injury (i.e., car accident, etc.) in the past 6 months?

In the past 6 months, how often did you have (check all that apply):

Never, Sometimes, Frequently, Always

- 88) Pains or pounding in your heart and chest.
- 89) Faintness or dizziness.
- 90) Loss of sexual interest or pleasure.
- 91) Feelings of low energy or slowed down.
- 92) Thoughts of ending your life.
- 93) Feelings of being trapped or caught.
- 94) Headaches or pressure in your head.
- 95) Blaming yourself for things.
- 96) Feeling blue.
- 97) Nausea, upset stomach, stomach pains.
- 98) Suddenly scared for no reason.
- 99) Feeling no interest in things.
- 100) Trouble getting your breath.
- 101) A lump in your throat.
- 102) Feeling hopeless about the future.
- 103) Spells of terror or panic.
- 104) Feeling so restless you couldn't sit still.
- 105) Crying easily.
- 106) Feeling that something bad was going to happen to you at work.

How often are the following statements true?

Never, Sometimes, Frequently, Always

- 107) I feel tired at work even with adequate sleep.
- 108) I am moody, irritable, or impatient over small problems.
- 109) I want to withdraw from the constant demands on my time and energy from work.
- 110) I feel negative, futile or depressed about work.
- 111) I think that I am not as efficient at work as I should be.
- 112) I feel physically, emotionally and spiritually depleted.
- 113) My resistance to illness is lowered because of my work.
- 114) My interest in doing fun activities is lowered because of my work.
- 115) I feel uncaring about the problems and needs of the public when I am at work.
- 116) I have difficulty concentrating on my job.
- 117) When I ask myself why I get up and go to work, the only answer that occurs to me is "I have to".

VI. Behaviors

Have you ever gotten out of control and been physical (e.g. pushing, shoving, grabbing) with:

- 118) A fellow officer. **Yes, No**
- 119) Your child(ren). **Yes, No, N/A**
- 120) Your spouse/significant other. **Yes, No, N/A**
- 121) Your pet(s). **Yes, No, N/A**

Have these people ever gotten physical with you?

- 122) A fellow officer. **Yes, No**
- 123) Your spouse/significant other. **Yes, No, N/A**
- 124) Your parents (when you were a child). **Yes, No**
- 125) Did your parents ever get physical with each other? **Yes, No, Don't know**
- 126) Suspects or civilians. **Yes, No**

VII. Work-Home Issues

Please check the box that best describes how much you agree with the following statements: Strongly Agree (SA), Agree (A), Neither Agree/disagree (ND), Disagree (D), Strongly Disagree (SD). N/A 127 and 128

- 127) I often get home too physically and emotionally exhausted to deal with my spouse/significant other.
- 128) I encourage my spouse/significant other to spend time with their family and friends.
- 129) I catch myself treating my family the way I treat suspects.
- 130) At home, I can never shake off the feeling of being a police officer.
- 131) A person who refuses to have sex with his or her spouse/significant other is asking to be beaten.
- 132) I expect to have the final say on how things are done in my household.
- 133) It is okay for a person to get physical (e.g., shoving, grabbing, smacking) with his or her spouse/significant other if they've been unfaithful.
- 134) Getting physical once in a while can help maintain a marriage/relationship.
- 135) There is no excuse for people getting physical with their spouse/significant other.

Thank you for your time and effort. Your input will be valuable in identifying ways to make your work environment a better place. If you have any questions, comments or need more information, please contact Sergeant Booker Hodges.

Appendix 2

Letter to Chief Law Enforcement Officer seeking permission to survey their agency

Chief Law Enforcement Officer

RE: Permission to Conduct Research Study

Chief/Sheriff:

I am writing you to request permission to conduct a research study at your Sheriff/Police Department. I am currently enrolled in the Doctorate in Public Administration Program at Hamline University and am in the process of writing my dissertation. I have been a police officer for over 8 years and I am currently employed by the Dakota County Sheriff's Office where I serve as a patrol Sergeant. My dissertation title is A comparative study of perceived work stress among officers of color and white officers and its implications for management.

I hope that you will allow me to utilize your departmental email system to administer my dissertation survey via Survey Monkey. The identity of the survey participants will be anonymous as will the name of your department/office. The name of your department/office will be referred to as a Midwestern Police Department/Midwestern Sheriff's Office. If your approval is granted, participants will complete the survey on-line during on-duty time. The survey process should take no longer than 15 minutes.

The purpose of this research is to provide administrators with the necessary information to develop recruitment and retention plans for officers of color. When my dissertation is published, only pooled results will be documented and your Office/Department will not be identified. No costs will be incurred by either your Office/Department or the individual participants. Once the survey is complete I will provide you with a copy of the Executive Summary.

Your approval to conduct this study will be greatly appreciated. I will follow up with a telephone call next week and would be happy to answer any questions or concerns that you may have at that time. You may contact me at my email address bbhodes01@hamline.edu, or by phone at XXX-XXX-XXXX.

Sincerely,

Booker T Hodges

Enclosures

Appendix 3

Electronic Consent Form

The purpose of this research project is to examine the perceived job stress of law enforcement professionals. This research project is being conducted by Booker Hodges at Hamline University in partial fulfillment of the requirements for a doctorate in Public Administration. You are invited to participate in this research project because you are a law enforcement professional.

Your participation in this research study is voluntary. You may choose not to participate. If you decide to participate in this research survey, you may withdraw at any time. If you decide not to participate in this study or if you withdraw from participating at any time, you will not be penalized.

The procedure involves completing an online survey that will take approximately 12-15 minutes. Your responses will be confidential and we do not collect identifying information such as your name, email address or IP address.

All data is stored in a password protected electronic format. To help protect your confidentiality, the surveys will not contain information that will personally identify you. The results of this study will be used for scholarly purposes only. The data collected from this survey will be destroyed 1 year after the research project is complete.

If you have any questions about the research study, please contact Booker Hodges. This research has been reviewed and is accordance with Hamline University Institutional Review Board procedures for research involving human subjects.

ELECTRONIC CONSENT: Please select your choice below.

Clicking on the "agree" button below indicates that:

- you have read the above information
- you voluntarily agree to participate
- you are at least 18 years of age

If you do not wish to participate in the research study, please decline participation by clicking on the "disagree" button.

ELECTRONIC CONSENT: Please select your choice below. Clicking on the "agree" button below indicates that: • you have read the above information• you voluntarily agree to participate• you are at least 18 years of age If you do not wish to participate in the research study, please decline participation by clicking on the "disagree" button.

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