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Workplace Stressors and Withdrawal Intentions in Law Enforcement: The Role of Living a Calling

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WORKPLACE STRESSORS AND WITHDRAWAL INTENTIONS IN LAW

ENFORCEMENT: THE ROLE OF LIVING A CALLING

by

Kristin N. Weber

A Dissertation Submitted in

Partial Fulfillment of the

Requirements for the Degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

in Educational Psychology

at

The University of Wisconsin—Milwaukee

August 2022

ABSTRACT

WORKPLACE STRESSORS AND WITHDRAWAL INTENTIONS IN LAW
ENFORCEMENT: THE ROLE OF LIVING A CALLING
by

Kristin N. Weber

The University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee, 2022
Under the Supervision of Professor Nadya A. Fouad

Working in law enforcement is considered a dangerous and challenging profession. Not only do law enforcement officers experience stress related to job tasks but they experience additional job stress related to organizational processes and procedures. Ongoing exposure to job stress can lead to low job satisfaction and high job turnover (Biggs, Brough & Barbour, 2014). However, the job turnover for those in law enforcement is only approximately ten percent. To date, there has been no research examining this discrepancy or predictors of low withdrawal intentions in law enforcement. This study looks to examine the relationship between living a calling, job stressors, perceived organization and withdrawal intentions for those working in law enforcement. A survey was distributed to sworn, law enforcement officers currently working in a law enforcement role (N=134). The results suggest that living a calling predicts low withdrawal intentions for law enforcement officers who consider their work as a calling. Job stressors or perceived organizational support were not shown to influence the living a calling and low withdrawal intentions relationship. The implications and limitations of this study are also discussed.

Keywords: Living a calling, law enforcement, organizational support, withdrawal intentions

To my husband, my family,
and those who have supported me
along the way, thank you!

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ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

First and foremost, I want to thank my husband, Joe, who has been along for this journey from day one. You have held down the home fort while I've been on this adventure and, through late nights, panicked moments, and loads of stress, you have been the voice of reason. For that, I am truly grateful. I could not have done this without you. As we always say, we are in this together and this accomplishment is as much yours as it is mine.

I would also like to acknowledge my cohort mates who have been a source of support throughout this adventure. We made it through this program together. I specifically want to thank Karaline Fusco and Nina Linneman. I am so grateful for our time together in this program and everything I have learned from you both. I also cannot thank you enough for your amazing ability to hold me accountable to the personal goals I've set for myself. Without you two, who knows the number of hours of unnecessary stress and sleepless nights this project would have required.

I would also like to thank my dissertation committee, consisting of Drs. Leah Rouse, Kelsey Autin and Chris Lawson for their support and guidance over the past few years. To Dr. Rouse, I want to say thank you for your unwavering support for research with a law enforcement population. I truly value your outlook on research and appreciate your challenge to give a voice to this unique population. I aspire to carry forward this challenge in my future research endeavors. To Dr. Autin, I want to say thank you for your practical strategies for navigating this daunting project. I also want to say thank you for your endless patience and support as I slowly built confidence in statistics over the course of this project. To Dr. Lawson, I would like to say thank you for challenging me to think about every aspect of the research process, including thinking critically about my research questions, the grounding theoretical framework, how I

present the results, and even my writing style. I truly appreciate your willingness to challenge me on my critical thinking and your commitment to helping me become an overall, well-rounded researcher.

Finally, I would like to thank my advisor and committee chair, Dr. Nadya Fouad, for all her continued support throughout my doctoral training. I entered this program knowing that I wanted to work with you and you took a chance on me. I am so appreciative of your wealth of knowledge and your patience as I grew as a psychologist-in-training. I am truly grateful for all your guidance as this project came to fruition, your demand for intellectually rigorous research, and your challenge to make a meaningful contribution to the field of Vocational Psychology. I hope to honor everything you have taught me throughout the course of my career.

Chapter One

Introduction

Problem Statement

The workplace demands of law enforcement officers often include environmental stressors, occupational stressors, threat of personal danger and exposure to traumatic events (Walker et al., 2016). Law enforcement officers witness a number of traumatic events throughout the course of their work, including bombings, shootings, fire emergencies, assaults, domestic violence, child abuse and death (Boothroyd et al., 2018). Exposure to traumatic events in the workplace can cause both short-term and long-term consequences for law enforcement officers, including irritability, anger, withdrawal from friends and family, flashbacks, nightmares, and emotional numbing (Boothroyd et al., 2018). In addition, the prevalence of traumatic stress among law enforcement officers can range from approximately 35% if exposed to repeated incidents of traumatic stress (Papazoglou, 2013). Biggs et al. (2014) suggest that exposure to considerable job stress, such as workplace traumatic stress, is positively correlated with low job satisfaction and higher turnover intentions. However, according to the Patterson et al. (2010), the turnover rate for law enforcement is only approximately 10 percent. Given the literature has yet to address this discrepancy, this study looked to examine factors that predict why law enforcement officers stay in the occupation despite considerable work-related stressors.

Introduction

Law enforcement is a profession that is commonly understood to be challenging, stressful and dangerous (Brandl & Stroshine, 2003). According to Boothroyd et al. (2014), approximately 88% of police officers surveyed reported being exposed to multiple traumatic situations with the

most significant being shootings, abuse, family violence, the death of a child/youth and the death of a colleague in the line of duty. In turn, this exposure to trauma can lead to negative consequences such as compassion fatigue, burnout, and vicarious trauma. Zhao et al. (2002) argue that organizational stressors also contribute to police officer stress. Hawkins (2001) notes that factors such as the authoritarian structure of policing, lack of participation in decision-making, lack of administrative support and unfair discipline are often cited in policing literature as stressors. In addition, Bennett and Schmitt (2002) suggest that the lack of supervisor support is also contributes to police officer stress. Given exposure to trauma and organizational stressors, it is likely that police officers would leave the occupation for alternative work; however, this is not the case (Patterson et al., 2010).

Police officers choose to enter the field of policing for a number of different reasons. Howes and Goodman (2015) suggest that police officers choose the field because they tend to find enjoyment in policing-type work and feel they are personally suited for the role based on their interests. They may also be motivated by a sense of altruism (Birch et al., 2017). Howes and Goodman (2015) note that "desire to contribute" was one of the top three values for police officers who enter the profession, which encompasses the desire "to make a difference," "contribute to the community" and serve others. In a qualitative study of American Indian law enforcement officers, Arndt and Davis (2011) found that American Indians enter the field in service to the collective community. Birch et al. (2017) also suggest that a shared sense of community amongst officers contributes to persistence in the field. A working environment in which similar individuals are able to work towards similar goals is important for police officers (Birch et al., 2017).

Although trauma exposure and organizational stressors are addressed in the policing literature, much of the research is focused on interventions to reduce stress. Research has yet to explore the discrepancy between high workplace stressors and low withdrawal intentions and has yet to address what factors that may predict low withdrawal intentions in law enforcement. One factor may revolve around spirituality and calling. Arndt and Davis (2011) suggest that American Indian police officers find a spiritual meaning to their service in law enforcement that is embedded in their cultural worldviews and find meaning by contributing to wellbeing the collective whole. Given the prosocial and altruistic nature of policing, Charles (2009) suggests that the construct of calling may be a salient construct for police officers warranting further exploration. To date, there are no theoretical frameworks that specifically examine the role of calling in law enforcement; however, Duffy et al. (2011) provide a general framework for understanding the relationship between calling and work. Duffy et al. (2011) hypothesize that calling contributes to increased work commitment, job satisfaction, job performance and lower turnover intentions at work. To date, law enforcement literature has yet to consider calling as a contributing factor in law enforcement turnover. This study aims to address this gap between predicted withdrawal from the law enforcement profession and actual withdrawal intentions by utilizing the Work as a Calling Theory (Duffy et al., 2018) to examine the relationship between living a calling, workplace stressors and low withdrawal intentions for law enforcement officers.

Research Question 1: What is the relationship between living a calling and withdrawal intentions for law enforcement officers who experience considerable workplace stressors?

By definition, living a calling is considered to be strongly correlated with occupations that hold pro-social values (Dik & Duffy, 2009). This may include occupations that have a particular focus on positive, helping relationships with others. The National Center of O*NET Development (2019) suggests that law enforcement, specifically the role of sheriff deputy, fall within the category of social interests suggesting that the construct of calling may be more salient for law enforcement officers than current research suggests. This study looks to explore the salience of living a calling in law enforcement, in addition to examining the relationship between living a calling and withdrawal intentions.

Hypothesis 1: There is a direct relationship between living a calling and low withdrawal intentions for law enforcement officers.

Calling research suggests that living a calling may also have a "dark side." The negative consequences of living a calling may include increased likelihood of burnout, exploitation and workaholism (Douglass et al., 2016). In order to capture the multidimensional nature of workplace stressors found in the policing literature, workplace stressors will be conceptualized by two constructs: job stressors and perceived organizational support. This study looks to specifically examine the impact of living a calling, job stressors, and perceived organizational support on withdrawal intentions.

Hypothesis 2: Workplace stressors, which is comprised of job stressors and perceived organizational support, moderates the relationship between living a calling and withdrawal intentions.

To be more specific, directionality is important in defining the relationship among these variables. Perceived organizational support and job stressors will moderative the relationship between living a calling and low withdrawal intentions such that when perceived organization support is high and job stressors are low, the relationship between living a calling and withdrawal intentions will be strengthened. This is further explored in the following hypothesis:

Hypothesis 3: High perceived organizational support and low levels of job stressors moderate the relationship between living a calling and low withdrawal intentions.

Historically, the policing literature has focused on the assessment and management of workplace stressors yet has failed to address other predictors that may contribute to withdrawal intentions in law enforcement. The current study looks to address this gap in the literature by applying an appropriate theoretical framework to the research, addressing the potential salience of calling in law enforcement, and examining the impact of living a calling and workplace stressors on withdrawal intentions.

Definition of Terms

For the purpose of this research, the following terms are defined.

"Law Enforcement" is defined as "the individuals or agencies responsible for enforcing laws and maintaining public order and public safety. Law enforcement includes prevention, detection, and

investigation of crime and the apprehension and detention of individuals suspected of law violation" (Bureau of Justice Statistics, 2016).

"Calling" is defined as a transcendent summons, experienced as originating beyond the self, a sense of destiny or perfect fit with one's passion, to approach a particular life role in a manner oriented towards demonstrating or deriving a sense of purpose or meaningfulness and that holds other-oriented values and goals as primary sources of motivation (Dik & Duffy, 2009; Duffy & Dik, 2013).

"Presence of a Calling" is defined as "feeling summoned to a particular kind of work through which one will achieve purpose in life and contribute to the greater good" (Duffy et al., 2018).

"Living a Calling" is defined as the ability to work within a career to which one feels called (Duffy & Dik, 2013).

"Withdrawal Intentions" is defined one's intention to leave the occupation (Blau, 1985).

"*Job Stressors*" is defined as the combination of compassion satisfaction, burnout and secondary traumatic stress.

"Burnout" is defined as feelings of emotional exhaustion, depersonalization, and diminished personal accomplishments that occur in others who work with people in various helping capacities (Hawkins, 2001).

"Secondary Traumatic Stress" is defined as vicarious trauma or the secondary exposure to others' traumatic events as a result of one's work (Hudnall Stamm, 2012).

"Compassion Satisfaction" is defined as the pleasure derived from the ability to do one's work well (Hudnall Stamm, 2012).

"Perceived Organizational Support" is defined as "an employee's global belief regarding the extent to which an organization values their contributions and cares about their well-being" (Eisenberg et al., 1986).
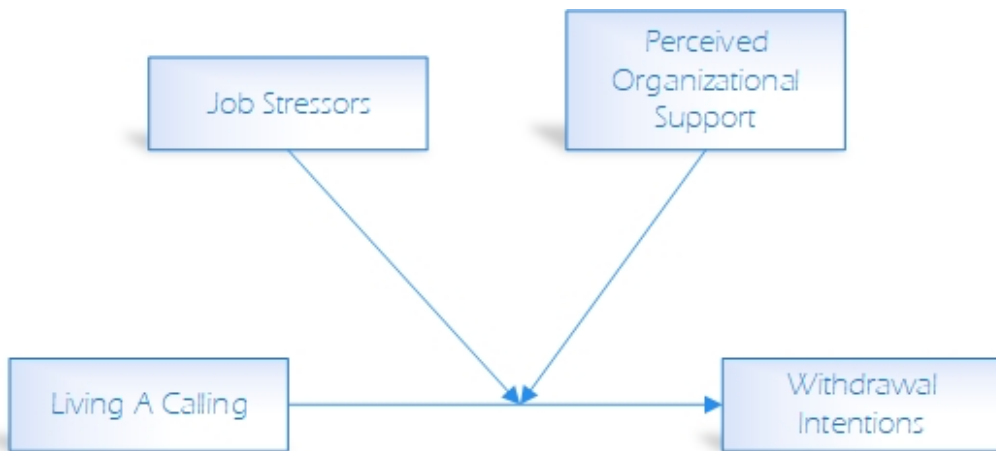

Figure 1. Proposed model for the present study.

Chapter Two

Literature Review

Introduction

This chapter will start with an overview of the law enforcement profession and then

narrow the focus on two broad categories of stressors encountered in law enforcement including

job related stressors and organizational stressors. Following the discussion on the law

enforcement profession, this chapter will explore the constructs of calling specifically examining

the presence of calling, living a calling and the dark side of calling. Finally, the chapter will

conclude with an examination of the theoretical grounding for the proposed study and conclude

with the research questions.

The Law Enforcement Profession

Law enforcement is defined as "the individuals or agencies responsible for enforcing

laws and maintaining public order and public safety. Law enforcement includes prevention,

detection, and investigation of crime and the apprehension and detention of individuals suspected

of law violation" (Bureau of Justice Statistics, 2016). There is projected to be almost 850,000

police officers working in Law Enforcement in the United States by 2019 (Bureau of Labor

Statistics, 2019). In a comparative study of law enforcement applicants and high school students,

Lord and Friday (2003) found that interest in the profession was the number one reason

applicants and high school students considered a career in law enforcement. In a study of 182

current police officers, Howes and Goodman (2015) also found that interest, enjoyment, and

opportunity was the primary reason participants chose to enter law enforcement. Participants

were interested in the variety of work, the challenges of the work environment and predicted that

they would find the work enjoyable. The unpredictable nature of policing was also considered attractive to perspective law enforcement officers.

In addition to being interested in the field, Howes and Goodman (2015) also found that altruism was an important theme in the decision to join the law enforcement profession. Eighteen percent of participants indicated an altruistic motive for their career choice, including making a difference, contributing to the community and being in service of others (Howes & Goodman, 2015). In a study of 256 correctional officers, Schossler et al. (2010) suggest that service is one of the distinguishing factors that contribute to specifically pursing policing verses other subspecialties of law enforcement like corrections. In qualitative interviews with 12 American Indian police officers, Arndt and Davis (2011) found that the law enforcement profession is considered a valuable service to the community and to serve the community as a police officer is considered an honor. Finally, in a qualitative study of 14 police officers currently working in the field, Birch et al. (2017) found that altruism was a common theme that contributed to the overall professional wellbeing and the decision to continue working in the field of law enforcement.

Law Enforcement Officer Stress

The fact that law enforcement officers experience a number of job stressors is well documented in the literature (Brandl & Stroshine, 2003). However, there are two distinct categories in which work stressors fall: job-related stressors and organizational stressors (Zhao et al., 2002). Job-related stress refers to the stressors law enforcement officers experience in the process of carrying out their job duties. This can include exposure to difficult or traumatic situations that involve violence, abuse, serious injury and death, thus exacting a psychological toll on the officers. Organizational stressors specifically target stressors that are related to an officer's perception of his or her work environment (Zhao et al., 2002). For example,

organizational stressors may encompass challenges related workload, supervisor support, appropriate equipment and working conditions (Zhao et al., 2002). The literature suggests that both job-related stressors and organizational stressors can negatively impact law enforcement officers (Zhao et al., 2002; Bennett & Schmitt, 2002; Brandl & Stroshine, 2003; Hassell & Brandl, 2009).

Job Stressors for Law Enforcement Officers

Police officers experience a number of difficult challenges in the course of their work, specifically in the context of carrying out the job duties of a police officer. Boothroyd et al. (2014) examined 207 first responders, in which 72% were police officers, as part of a group intervention to address traumatic stress exposure. Of the participants surveyed, eighty eight percent of the participants identified experiencing more than one traumatic event throughout the course of their work. Events included witnessing family violence, abuse, and shootings and the death of a child. For police officers in this sample, the most difficult traumatic event experienced was identified as witnessing the death of a fellow officer in the line of duty. Weiss et al. (2010) sampled 719 police officers from four departments across the United States and found that approximately 38% of the sample reported experienced being shot at least once in their career and approximately 2% reported having this experience between 10 to 20 times in the course of their work. Weiss et al. (2010) further noted there was a negative correlation between the frequency of the traumatic event occurrence and the perceived severity of the event. In this study, officers were asked to report the frequency in which they have experienced 34 specific traumatic events and the perceived severity of each event based on the impact it had the officer's ability to cope. Events that occurred less frequently were considered to have greater perceived

severity. For example, Weiss et al. (2010) found that officers in this sample perceived "Making a mistake that resulted in serious injury or death of a fellow officer" was ranked as having the most severe impact on an officer's ability to cope, while "seeing a dead body" was identified as having the lowest perceived impact on an officer's ability to cope.

Police work also involves exposure to more minor hazards that initially may not be seen as traumatic but can still have a negative impact on officers given repeated exposure. Brandl and Stroshine (2003) examined 1,054 police injury incident reports and found that police officers are also exposed to a number of common physical injuries, such as lacerations, sprains, infections, and contusions as part of fulfilling their job duties. These injuries often occur while controlling suspects, conducting investigations, apprehending a fleeing suspect or experiencing a vehicle accident. Although assaults on officers were particularly rare in this sample, they did occur. This suggests that even minor injuries over a prolonged period of policing could act as an additional psychological stressor for officers.

As a means to manage the stressors of policing, Freedman (2004) suggests that police officers develop of number of different coping skills. In a qualitative study of 12 first responders, Freedman (2004) examined how the role of professional training and socialization, social background and occupational community impact one's ability to manage job stressors, specifically after the events of the 9/11 terrorist attacks. Freedman (2004) discovered that police officers often view themselves as self-reliant, individualistic and fearless, developing an emotional detachment to the experiences they encounter. Freedman (2004) argues that trauma exposure is socialized to be normative in policing culture. For example, when encountering an event in which a fatality has occurred, a rookie officer may be assigned the role of guarding the deceased in what Freedman (2004) labels "the death encounter." This exposure to death in the

course of job duties is considered a rite of passage for new officers. This encounter also serves a training experience for officers in how to support those grieving the deceased, while subsequently developing emotional detachment to the experience of death. In a study of 193 police officers, Chopko et al. (2017) further support the finding that emotional detachment serves as a primary coping skill for law enforcement officers. According to the authors, police officers are likely to focus on action-oriented responses as a means to cope with distress, "limiting their emotional and cognitive engagement when experiencing distress" (Chopko et al., 2017). Although emotional detachment serves to help police officers manage exposure to repeated traumatic stressors, Chopko et al. (2017) argue that emotional detachment also trickles over into other areas of an officer's life, including family life which can contribute to distress and dysfunction in personal relationships. Mikkleson and Burke (2004) sampled 766 police officers involved in a police union and further concluded that job demands, in addition officer burnout, have a correlation with work-family conflict. However, this finding is subject to considerable scrutiny due to very low reliability of the measures utilized in the study. In a study of 292 police officers from 11 different agencies in Arizona, Johnson (2012) concluded that police officer burnout is more likely to happen early in one's career and job satisfaction tended to decline as job tenure increased.

Finally, Freedman (2004) also noted that "heroizing" law enforcement officers can have further detrimental effects, including increasing the psychological stressors. First responders were surveyed regarding their experience after their involvement following the 9/11 terrorist attacks. The participants noted that the response from the public had both positive and negative consequences. Freedman (2004) suggests that first responders were "heroized" by the general public for their response to the attacks and praised for their ability to carry out difficult job duties

in the context of this traumatic event. However, for some this response had unintentional consequences, including an increase in psychological stress. For example, given the cohesion amongst this population, when events such as the death of a fellow officer occurs, this can create considerable psychological stress given that the communal sense of identity is shaken. Not only do the job duties themselves contribute to psychological stressors, but the reaction of the public in the context of traumatic events can also contribute to this stress.

There are both strengths and limitations to the body of literature of job stressors in policing. Exposure to traumatic stress in the course of carrying out job duties is well recognized as problematic for law enforcement officers; however, there is little literature that effectively conceptualizes traumatic stress and burnout through a theoretical lens. Much of the literature focuses on intervention research to combat the negative consequences of traumatic stress exposure without a clear understanding of the theoretical framework behind why traumatic stressor exposure leads to considerable challenges for this population. Furthermore, the measures used in these studies were found to have very low reliabilities or be inappropriate for the context. For example, the measure for psychological health in Mikkleson and Burke (2004) demonstrated a reliability of .39 which is considerably below the commonly accepted reliability of .70. In addition, one study measured the variable of police officer cynicism utilizing a burnout inventory making an implied link between the two constructs without empirical support suggesting that burnout effectively measures cynicism in this population, thus resulting in a substantial threat to the validity of this study.

Risk Factors and Protective Factors to Trauma

Although there are a number of stressors police officers face over the course of their work, there are risk factors and protective factors that need to be considered when discussing trauma exposure. Risk factors can be considered in two different categories; pre-traumatic factors and post-traumatic factors (Ellrich & Baier, 2017). Pre-traumatic risk factors can be defined as sociodemographic and psychosocial variables that can contribute to a traumatic stress response (Ellrich & Baier, 2017). Samuels (2004) found the one of the primary pre-traumatic risk factors for police officers developing a traumatic stress response to an event on the job is past trauma experiences in childhood. Past trauma experiences in childhood could include events such as physical, emotional, or sexual abuse or neglect (Samuels, 2004). In a study of 681 police officers, Ellrich and Baier (2017) found that prior trauma, as well as poor psychological adjustment, was the strongest risk factor for post-traumatic stress symptoms. In addition, Papazoglou (2013) found that prior trauma and acute anticipatory stress was the primary difference between resilient and traumatized police officers. Additional factors such as childhood abuse, vicarious trauma and family psychopathology were correlated to greater episodes of dissociation which, in turn, is a predictor for the future onset of trauma (Papazoglou, 2013). Although much of the trauma literature suggests that women are more at risk for a traumatic stress reaction, Ellrich and Baier (2017) also found that female police officers are no more at risk of developing a traumatic stress response to an event than male police officers. When examining age, the literature is also mixed with no clear consensus as to whether or not young people or older adults are more at risk (Ellrich & Baier, 2017).

Despite a number of risk factors, there are also a number of protective factors against a trauma in law enforcement. Although the literature suggests that prior exposure to traumatic

events in childhood is the primary risk factor, Papazoglou (2013) suggests that past trauma can also be a protective factor. Papazoglou (2013) noted that prior trauma can assist police officers in their work by helping them utilize adaptive responses to traumatic events encountered while on duty. Papazoglou (2013) also noted that personality characteristics such as agreeableness and consciousness can be important predictors of adaptive adjustment to traumatic experiences. Traits such as open-mindedness, flexibility and the tendency to think positively also enhance a police officer's ability to cope.

In addition to individual factors that serve as protective factors for police officers, there are also organizational protective factors. Ellrich and Baier (2017) suggest that regular preparation prior to engaging in critical events and debriefing after critical events can serve as a protective factor. By engaging in preparation and follow up when possible, Ellrich and Baier (2017) found that police officers demonstrate increased perceptions of control and competence which can be essential for coping with critical events. Social support is also a primary protective factor. "Cohesiveness among officers, as well as feeling like one can rely on his or her colleagues both during and after extremely stressful situations, can be a helpful coping strategy" (Ellrich & Baier, 2017). When embedded into the police culture or "brotherhood", police officers are better able to manage high-threat situations and are often less likely to experience traumatic stress (Anderson & Papazoglou, 2014).

Critical Incident Stress Debriefing (CISD) is also a tool that is frequently used by agencies to help officers cope with stressful events (Pasciak & Kelley, 2013). However, the efficacy of CISD has been hotly debated over the last 20 years (Honig & Sultan, 2006). On one hand, those who support the use of CISD argue that those who participate are less likely experience long-term negative effects of the stressful event (Honig & Sultan, 2006). Those who

argue against the use of CISD suggest that positive results come from a strong therapeutic alliance and therapist characteristics, not a specialized debriefing technique (Honig & Sultan, 2006). Honig & Sultan (2006) also note that CISDs are criticized because they undermine personal resiliency. In a case study with 400 law enforcement officers from California, Honig and Sultan (2006) found that CISD was beneficial if based on a resiliency support model. This model utilizes proactive and preventative intervention that focuses on health and wellbeing (Honig & Sultan, 2006). CISD was also a beneficial when it utilized psychologists, peer support personnel, chaplains and specially trained team members (Honig & Sultan, 2006). Using a two-step approach was also beneficial with the first step being on-site psychological first aid and crisis assistance (Honig & Sultan, 2006). The second step of the debriefing only commenced after the incident was resolved and all tasks related to the event had been concluded (Honig & Sultan, 2006). With a resiliency focus, psychological first aid, and individual debriefings, Honig and Sultan (2006) found that CISD had a profound impact on law enforcement officer's ability to rebound after a critical incident.

Despite their use, Division Twelve of the American Psychological Association (APA) has specifically noted that psychological debriefings are not considered an evidenced-based intervention for addressing exposure to trauma and addressing posttraumatic stress disorder (American Psychological Association, 2016). Although some who participate in critical incident debriefs may report helpful short-term outcomes afterwards, the medium- or long-term effect of psychological debriefings to trauma is questionable at best (APA, 2016). In a meta-analysis conducted by Van Emmerik et al. (2002), 29 research articles were reviewed that specifically focus on CISD as an interview. The results suggest that CISD has no effect on reducing the symptoms of PTSD or other trauma-related symptoms. In fact, the effect size for CISD was

significantly lower than other non-CISD interventions and was equal to no intervention at all

(Van Emmerik et al., 2002). Van Emmerik et al., (2002) further argue that CISD has a

detrimental effect of those who have experienced a traumatic event and interferes with one's

natural resiliency. The authors argue that CISD may inadvertently pathologize normative,

adaptive responses to traumatic experiences and inadvertently lead one away from natural social

supports such as family, friends, coworkers and other forms of social support (Van Emmerik et

al., 2002). Finally, the authors further argue that CISD may not allow enough time for

habituation after exposure to trauma-related internal and external stimuli subsequently creating

hypersensitivity to these stimuli (Van Emmerik et al., 2002). Given that CSID is not currently

supported as an evidenced-based practice by the APA, it should not be considered as a "best

practice" approach to intervention.

Police Culture

Although police culture may be considered a protective factor against trauma, Rojeck and

Decker (2009) found that not all police officers experience police culture in the same way.

Despite efforts by law enforcement agencies to have gender and racial diversity among police

officers in their department, police officers holding a minority or marginalized identity are often

not fully embraced within the police organization (Anderson & Papazoglou, 2014). This is

further evidenced by the overrepresentation of minority police officers in complaints of

discrimination, holding "less desirable" positions within the department and being passed over

for a promotion or leadership positions (Rojeck & Decker, 2009). Although police culture can

serve as a protective factor against traumatic stress, Hassell and Brandl (2009) suggest

discrimination adds to increased stress on minority police officers and contributes to unfavorable work experiences.

To determine what constitutes a "prototypical" police officer, one can examine the demographic make-up of the law enforcement occupation, as well as the predominate personality characteristics that contribute success in the profession. In 2019, the demographic make-up of law enforcement was predominately white men, with approximately 82% of officers being male and approximately 82% of officers being white (Bureau of Labor Statistics, 2020). Detrick and Chibnall (2006) suggest that successful law enforcement officers were most often considered intelligent, sociable, self-assured. They demonstrated traits such as heighted awareness, discernment, and wariness, as well as a sense of guardedness and circumspection (Detrick & Chibnall, 2006). Social dominance theory would suggest that those who hold these "prototypical" characteristics would be valued in police culture while those who do not hold these characteristics are less likely to be embraced by the police culture ingroup. Those who hold these valued characteristics are viewed as the "top" of the hierarchy, are considered more successful, and more deserving of resources (i.e. higher salary, positions of leadership, etc.). Those who do not have these characteristics are considered subordinate, less successful in the professional and less deserving of resources (i.e. desirable positions, salary, and leadership roles). Thus, those considered in the outgroup may not benefit from police culture as a protective factor against the stressors of the job. In fact, police culture could be seen as an increased stressor for officers not considered part of the police culture ingroup.

On an individual level, social dominance orientation (SDO) can also play a role in who becomes embedded in police culture and who remains in the outgroup. Social dominance orientation "refers to how much a person's view of social dominance hierarchy influences his or

her behavior or attitudes" (Jones et al., 2013, p. 101). Jones et al. (2010) note that people with higher SDO often choose careers such as law enforcement because of the inherent hierarchical nature of the profession (p.102). This is further supported given that law enforcement is responsible for enforcing laws and maintaining public order and safety (Bureau of Justice Statistics-Law Enforcement, n.d.). In the context of police culture, high SDO may function to marginalize officers who do not fit the "prototypical" features that are valued in the profession. For example, police officers with high SDO, specifically in leadership roles, may support policy and procedures that support the dominate police officer group and effectively "other" the subordinate police officer group. Police leadership with high SDO may also value "prototypical" behaviors from other officers and subsequently reinforce these behaviors when awarding promotions, commendations, etc.

Hassel and Brandl (2009) noted that minoritized police officers attempt to cope with this hierarchical framework by "playing up" identities or characteristics that more closely align with the dominate group and socially distance themselves from others in the subordinate outgroup. For example, Hassel and Brandl (2009) suggest black males "play up" masculinity in an attempt to align with dominate white officers. White women socially distance themselves from black women in an attempt to align with white dominate male officers and black male officers may be deliberately unsupportive of black female officers in an effort to distance themselves from minority status (Hassel & Brandl, 2009). Consequently, behaviors such as this serve to solidify the hierarchical nature of police culture and effectively maintains a subordinate group of officers within the police force.

Organizational Stressors for Law Enforcement Officers

In addition to job-related stressors, police officers also experience stressors related to structural organization and management practices within departments (Zhao et al., 2002). Zhao et al. (2002) surveyed a sample of 345 police officers from two cities in the Pacific Northwest with a population between 150,000 and 180,000 people. In this sample, organizational challenges, such as bureaucracy, was shown to have adverse effects on police officer stress level. Further, organizational bureaucracy was shown to be a significant predictor of distress in five core areas: interpersonal sensitivity, obsessive/compulsive behavior, anxiety, depression, and anger/hostility. Of those surveyed, the lack of autonomy was one of the primary concerns for police officers who were college-educated. Johnson (2012) further supports this concluding from a sample of 292 police officers that autonomy is an important factor in job satisfaction for police officers. In addition to autonomy, Johnson (2012) suggests that support from peers and management were both predictors of job satisfaction for this sample. Finally, in a sample of 650 police officers from Barbados, Jamaica and Trinidad and Tobago, Bennett and Schmitt (2002) conclude that poor relationships with supervisors can contribute to police cynicism and job dissatisfaction. Bennett and Schmitt (2002) further suggest that poor community relationships may predict higher levels of police cynicism towards their work and greater job dissatisfaction. On the contrary, Kuo (2015) surveyed a sample of 1,315 Taiwanese police officers and found that relationships with colleagues and supervisors were correlated with higher levels of affective commitment to police work and higher levels of job satisfaction. Finally, Richardson et al. (2006) suggest that job demands and lack of resources to carry out job tasks can contribute to higher levels of stress and increased cynicism in their sample of 150 Norwegian police officers.

However, the low reliability of the measurement tools utilized in this study suggests that the conclusions drawn by Richardson et al. (2006) should be critically examined.

There is some literature to suggest that levels of stress may differ across social groups, such as race, gender, and tenure in the profession. In their study of 345 police officers, Zhao et al. (2002) observed a significant difference in level of stress by gender, as related to organizational challenges. In this sample, female officers experienced greater levels of stress than male officers. In a sample of 1,191 police officers, Hassell and Brandl (2009) found that African American women were most likely to experience the most negative workplace stressors, followed by African American males, Latina females, and White females. However, Johnson (2012) suggests that that African American police officers demonstrated a higher level of job satisfaction despite organizational stressors compared to their White and Hispanic colleagues. Hassell and Brandl (2009) found that sexual minorities did not experience more negative workplace stressors than their counterparts. Finally, Thompson et al. (2006) surveyed a sample of 213 Australian police officers and found that organizational stressors were higher for more senior ranking officers when compared to lower ranking colleagues. Johnson (2012) further noted that officer burnout was more likely to occur early in one's career. In addition, the study also noted that job satisfaction was negatively correlated with job tenure in the profession suggesting that the longer an officer's tenure in the field, the lower their job satisfaction (Johnson, 2012). These studies suggest that there is some evidence that organizational stressors differ across a few demographic domains, including race, gender, organizational status, and tenure in the profession.

Despite the literature supporting organizational challenges as a primary stressor for police officers, this literature is subject to considerable criticism. First, many of the scales used to

measure these variables demonstrated poor reliability. Reliabilities as low as .58 were still used to draw conclusions from the data despite being well below the commonly accepted reliability of .70. Yet, some of the studies still suggested conclusions despite low reliabilities. In conjunction with low reliability, many of the measures used to assess organizational stressors were created by the authors for the specific study, without acknowledgement of a theoretical rationale. These author-created measures lack validity evidence because they have not been previously validated on any other population prior to their use. In addition to limited reliability and validity of the measures used in these studies, there is also very little theoretical framework in this literature. A lack of theoretical framework suggests that there is little rationale for testing specific relationships between constructs and undermines the creditability of the conclusions drawn from the data. Given that much of the literature is also conducted with international populations, special consideration should be given to the context of the study. Professional duties and organizational structures may differ across international cultures and may not match the context of professional duties and organizational structures in United States. The final criticism relates to gender differences in the data, one study that indicated differences by gender dropped all female participants from the sample in order to glean specific conclusions from the data. Despite treating gender as nuisance variable, dropping a particular demographic variable because there are between group differences clearly suggests that conclusions gleaned from the data are not generalizable to all groups of police officers.

The Construct of Calling

The most controversial aspect of the calling literature is the definition of calling itself (Duffy & Dik, 2013). Throughout the literature, calling has been described in a number of different ways suggesting there may be multiple understandings of what it means to feel "called"

to a profession. Bunderson and Thompson (2009) suggest that the construct of calling is derived from religious roots and is often referred to the neoclassical understanding of calling. In a religious context, a sense of calling can reference a message from the divine figure guiding one into a specific life of ministry or service to others and heavily emphases a sense of destiny and duty to others. However, Bunderson and Thompson (2009) note that this definition has evolved throughout religious history to encompass one's faithfulness in performing a social role that both pleases a diving figure and contributes to the general welfare of others. At this time, the neoclassical understanding of calling is often understood to be as follows:

> that place in the world of productive work that one was created, designed,
>
> or destined to fill by virtue of God-given gifts and talents and the
>
> opportunities presented by one's station in life. It assumes a world of
>
> productive work in which individuals specialize for the benefit of the
>
> whole, i.e., an occupational division of labor" (Bunderson &Thompson,
>
> 2009).

The alternative to the neoclassical understanding of calling is captured in a more modern and secular understanding of this construct. According to Duffy and Dik (2013), modern approaches to the definition of calling have shifted to encompass constructs such as meaningfulness, self-fulfillment and a sense of personal happiness. However, Duffy and Dik (2009) clarify this construct by identify three primary components consistent across the understanding of this construct. First, there is a sense of an external summons. This summons could come from the divine, consistent with the neoclassical understanding of calling, or can be derived from a family obligation, a societal need, a need to serve one's country or some other external force (Duffy & Dik, 2013). The second component of calling is the sense that one's approach to work and sense

of purpose in life are congruent. This further suggests that work can function as a domain in which one finds life purpose. The final component of calling is the aspect of prosocial work values. This prosocial component suggests that a calling can be used to either directly or indirect help or serve others, in addition to advancing the greater good (Duffy & Dik, 2013). Given all three of these primary components, the current understand of calling is defined as follows:

a transcendent summons, experienced as originating beyond the self, to approach a particular life role in a manner oriented towards demonstrating or deriving a sense of purpose or meaningfulness and that holds other-oriented values and goals as primary sources of motivation. (Dik & Duffy, 2009)

Despite the varying understandings of calling as a construct and its evolution over time, the definition of calling outlined by Dik and Duffy (2009) will serve as the working definition throughout this study.

Perceiving a Calling

The first consideration in the discussion of calling is presence of a calling. Presence of a calling has been shown to have a number of impacts on career exploration. In a sample of 3,019 college students, Duffy and Sedlacek (2007) examined the salience of a calling among a group of first-year college students and discovered that the approximately forty percent of students experience the presence of a calling. Although this did not differ across gender, Duffy and Sedlacek (2007) did find small but significant differences when comparing across other variables. African Americans were slightly more likely to identify the presence of a calling when compared to other racial groups and those with higher education goals were more likely to endorse the presence of a calling. When examining the presence of calling in a working adult

population of 201 employees working in several federal and consulting organizations in Washington DC, personal income or finances did not appear to be significantly correlated with the presence of a calling (Duffy et al., 2012). Given that between group differences are fairly small, Duffy and Sedlacek (2007) suggest that the presence of a calling is relevant for many populations. This is particularly salient when examining a potentially diverse population of law enforcement officers.

Not only does the presence of calling appear to be a salient experience for many, the presence of calling has an impact on multiple domains. The presence of a career calling has been found to positively correlate with life meaning (Duffy & Sedlacek, 2007) and life satisfaction for the college student population. This suggests that those who experience the presence of a calling experience greater life meaning and greater life satisfaction than those who do not experience the presence of a calling. Despite considerable debate over the definition of calling, Duffy and Sedlacek (2007) discovered that the presence of a calling has minimal overlap with religiousness suggesting that a religious affiliation is not required to experience the presence of a calling.

Not only has calling been shown to be a salient construct for many, the presence of a calling also correlates with career-decision making. Students who struggle to discern a calling or feel as though they are still searching for a calling are more likely to experience less life meaning and job satisfaction (Duffy & Sedlacek, 2007). Decision-making confusion and commitment anxiety are also consequences of the struggle to discern or perceive a calling when Galles & Lenz (2011) studied university students in a career development course. However, students who experience a calling are less likely to have the negative experiences related to the search for a calling (Duffy & Sedlacek, 2007). Furthermore, in a study of 407 undergraduate college students at a public university in Northern Germany, Hirschi (2011) found that once there is a presence of

a calling, students are more likely to have greater career decidedness, career engagement, career confidence, work centrality, and altruism. The presence of calling can lead to increased engagement in the career-decision making process for students and is not limited to those who hold pro-social work values, but rather includes a variety of students with varying work values (Hirschi, 2011).

When studying 312 undergraduate students from a large southeastern research university, Duffy et al. (2010) build on this by finding that students who perceive a calling have more self-efficacy in the career decision making process which subsequently leads to increased academic satisfaction. In their study of 846 German university students, Hirschi and Hermann (2012) further suggest that students who perceive a calling demonstrate increased self-efficacy in career planning. More specifically, higher levels of calling predict greater career adaptability, specifically in the domains of career concern, curiosity and confidence which promotes greater career decisions self-efficacy (Douglass & Duffy, 2015). Additionally, calling leads to increased work hope which translates to the establishment of career goals and motivation to pursue a particular career path (Duffy et al, 2010). Douglass and Duffy (2015) suggest that the presence of a calling may promote students to see a meaningful and prosocial career for themselves in the future. This may motivate students to pursue career decisions that align with this calling. Subsequently, the career decision-making process can also help confirm one's sense of calling for students (Hirschi & Hermann, 2012).

The presence of a calling helps contribute to a sense of vocational identity for students and can assist in the career-decision making process. In a study of 292 college students, Duffy, Douglass, Autin et al. (2014) found that students who have a calling are more likely to experience life as meaningful and endorse personal growth opportunities. A higher sense of

career identity is shown to be correlated with engagement in career preparation activities, thus leading to lower levels of career distress and higher levels of overall employment for a sample of 667 young adults attending a university or technical college (Praskova et al., 2015). For many who discern and identify a calling, the result can be a sense of calm after deciding on a career choice or career plan which was identified as a common theme in the qualitative research study by Hernandez et al., (2011). Further, students who find their career choice and calling important are more likely to downplay negative feedback about their career choices and be less willing to compromise in their career choices (Creed et al., 2018).

The presence of calling is also not limited to only students. Duffy et al. (2012) explored how the presence of calling impacts working adults. Perceiving a calling contributes to greater career commitment, work meaning, and life satisfaction. Like college students, there appears to be minimal differences in the presence of calling among diverse groups of working adults, including SES and subjective social class. Finally, Duffy et al. (2017), suggest that presence of a calling allows one to experience a maximum level of well-being and further predicts that one will live out their career calling resulting in additional benefits.

Despite empirical evidence suggesting that the presence of calling is a salient experience for many and has a number of empirically supported benefits, there are a number of critiques to the literature. The primary concern with some of the older research is the subjective nature of calling. For many of the studies, the calling construct was not clearly defined for participants prior to measurement; therefore, it is possible that participants have differing opinions of the calling construct which may impact validity. There were also measurement issues present in many of the studies. These include utilizing scales that do not have reliability or validity available. In addition, one of the primary measures used to measure presence of calling, a 2-item

scale by Dik et al. (2012), has questionable reliability and validity given there are only two items. Conclusions drawn by Hirschi (2011) should also be scrutinized given that all the measures used were direct translations for the English-version to German. Direct translation without consideration of cultural differences could be potentially problematic given the understand of one's calling, or the presence of calling, may differ. Finally, as will be a common critique throughout the discussion of the calling literature, much of the research has been conducted on college students in the career decision-making process. Fewer studies have explored the presence of calling in adults, as well as the presence of calling for adults in various stages of career-development, such as maintenance or transition, or exploration in middle adulthood. One also may need to consider measuring a variable like life satisfaction in a college student population. As Duffy and Sedlacek (2007) suggest, the construct of overall life satisfaction may be too distal for undergraduate students; therefore, the correlation of presence of calling and life satisfaction may be overstated given this is not likely a salient construct for young adult students.

Despite some limitations, the presence of a calling literature has definite strengths. There is a theoretical foundation utilized throughout the literature. In addition, two studies particularly looked to explore presence of calling among diverse samples, including those of differing race and socioeconomic status. Although additional research is needed, the current literature on the presence of calling lends itself to some creditable conclusions how calling impacts well-being, career decision-making, and vocational identity.

Not only does the presence of a calling have positive benefits, the presence of a calling can be solidified by a number of life events. Haney-Loehlein et al. (2013) suggest that salient life events lead to a stronger presence of calling and can solidify a calling for an individual.

Although the definition of calling originated from religion and was previously affiliated with a religious connotation, Horvath (2014) suggests religiosity is not as salient in relation to a transcendent summons.

Living a Calling

Not only does the presence of a calling have benefits for an individual but living out a calling also has benefits on career choices and overall wellbeing. When studying a sample of 553 working adults living in the United States, Duffy et al. (2013) found that living out a calling is more important than perceiving a calling. Much of the calling literature focuses on calling in the domain of career development, specifically related to career decision making. Those who feel they are living a calling often have greater self-efficacy in making career decisions (Allan & Duffy, 2014) and develop strategies that can assist in managing potential barriers in the career decision-making process (Creed et al., 2016). After studying a sample of 664 students from a university and vocational training college in Australia, Praskova et al. (2015) suggest that living out a calling can lead to utilization of more career development strategies, better self-regulation skills, increased work motivation and a higher perception of employability than those who do not live out a calling. Finally, for a sample of first-year psychology students, Creed et al. (2016) found that living a calling is strengthened by one's career interest and one's engagement in the decision-making process.

For those who are established in a career, living a calling has additional benefits. There is considerable research to suggest that living a calling is highly correlated with work engagement and career commitment. Those who feel they are living out a calling demonstrate more engagement in their work and demonstrate increased commitment to their career than those who

do not feel they are living out a calling (Hirschi, 2012; Duffy, Allan, Autin et al., 2014; Xie et al., 2016). Organizational citizenship behavior, or commitment to an organization outside of contractual job duties, tends to be higher for those living a calling compared to those who do not see their work as a calling evidenced in a study of 160 insurance salespersons from South Korea by Park et al. (2016). In a study by Lobene and Meade (2013), a higher commitment to living a calling can also lead to higher job performance for a sample of public-school educators. Finally, living out a calling has been correlated with increased career adaptability and increased ability to manage job-related stressors when compared to those who are not living out a calling (Guo et al., 2014; Hirschi, 2012). In addition to commitment and engagement, living a calling can foster a greater sense of occupational identity (Hirschi, 2012) and an overall positive sense of self-identity (Torrey & Duffy, 2012). In a study of 270 social work students from multiple Chinese universities, Guo et al. (2014) suggest a number of positive benefits of living a calling, including the ability to manage work related stressors. Living a calling can also have global benefits outside of the career domain. Duffy et al. (2017) suggest that living out a calling is linked to increased life meaning which in turn can lead to increased overall life satisfaction.

Calling also leads to positive outcomes that influence job retention. Duffy et al. (2011) suggest that calling is associated with higher job satisfaction and commitment to the business or organization when sampling 370 employees recruited from a western research university in the United States. In a sample of 378 faculty members from 36 public universities across the United States, when an employee had higher job satisfaction and higher organizational commitment, they are less likely to consider leaving their current position, and thus demonstrated lower withdrawal intentions (Garcia & Spector, 2015). In addition, the relationship between calling and organizational commitment is also predicated on the sense that the organization or employer

fulfills one's goals (Cardador et al., 2012). If one feels that the organization or employer helps fulfill an employee's calling, the employee is less likely to leave that organization. In a study of 364 individuals working in health care occupations for a large midwestern health care organization, Cardador et al. (2012) found that living out a calling can be strengthened or reinforced by a strong sense of professional identity and a sense of security in the availability of one's work. With a professional identity, security in work, and organization commitment, an employee living out a calling is less likely to withdraw from his or her current employment. However, it should be noted that withdrawal intentions may actually increase if one feels little commitment to the organization and discerns that his or her calling lies elsewhere (Duffy et al, 2011).

Douglass et al. (2016) suggest that living out a calling needs to be considered in a multicultural context. First, living out a calling appears to be a salient construct in many difference cultures, including German, Australian and South Korean populations (Hirschi, 2012; Creed et al., 2016; Park et al., 2016; Choi & Cho, 2017; Lee et al., 2019). For a sample of 328 South Korean teachers, living a calling was shown to lead to increased self-efficacy and greater outcome expectations in their teaching which positively impacts overall life satisfaction (Lee et al., 2019). Furthermore, Choi & Cho (2017) suggest that living out a calling in the work domain can lead to increased performance in one's family domain thus leading to increased life satisfaction in a sample of active-duty Navy members in South Korea. Marks, Harrell-Williams, Tate, Coleman and Moore (2018) found that living a calling can be heavily influenced by family values and expectations for some cultural groups when they studied a group of 400 women of color. For those who identify as part of the Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual and Transgender community, the ability to live out a vocational calling is highly correlated with workplace climate and job

satisfaction when studying a group of 171 working adults who identified as a sexual minority (Allan et al., 2013). In a qualitative study of females returning back to the community after being incarcerated, Snodgrass et al. (2016) found that religion and God may play a strong of a role in living a calling. Finally, living a calling may differ across socioeconomic demographics. When examining a sample of 601 working adults, Duffy et al. (2018) suggest that higher social status is correlated with an increased sense of living out a calling. In addition, higher socioeconomic status can also lead to an increased sense of living out a calling (Duffy & Autin, 2013). However, it is important to note that work volition has been shown to be a predictor of living a calling (Duffy & Autin, 2013; Duffy et al., 2018).

Despite the number of benefits to career decision-making, career maintenance, and life benefits, there are a number of criticisms to the current body of literature. Of the numerous articles on calling, the majority are cross-sectional in design thus limiting the conclusions that can be drawn from the data. The two longitudinal articles that examine calling also garner criticism given that the duration between trials was only six months which is a very short period from which to draw conclusions about the effect of calling over time. Furthermore, as with perception of calling, living a calling research also relies heavily upon the college student population. Although it is possible that living a calling influences this young a group of individuals, it is also possible that living a calling is too distal of a construct for college students just starting out in their career. In addition to college students, much of the research has been conducted using Amazon Mechanical Turk. Although there can be benefits to accessing this population, much of the research continues to reflect a predominately white, middle to upper socioeconomic status, educated demographic. Calling research may benefit from accessing populations that include marginalized populations, including people of color, sexual minorities,

and those of low socioeconomic status. Finally, much of the research on living a calling lacks a strong theoretical framework. Although a minimal amount of recent calling literature is framed in the context of the Psychology of Working Theory or Career Construction Theory, additional research grounded in theory is warranted.

The Dark Side of Calling

Although there is considerable empirical evidence to suggest that living out a calling is beneficial, there are a number of studies that suggest living a calling can have some potential down sides. This is what has been known in the literature as "the dark side of calling" (Dik & Duffy, 2013). In a qualitative study of 17 participants working a Midwestern medical school, Bott et al. (2016) examine how calling impacts medical professionals, both positively and negatively. Although medical professionals identified a number of benefits to living a calling, living a calling negatively impacted medical professionals in a number of ways. First, medical professionals indicated that they were more willing to work long hours because they felt called to their work (Bott et al., 2016). Working long hours and having intense commitment to work impacted the time medical professionals were able to spend with others and the amount of leisure time they had available, subsequently impacting their relationships with others and their self-care (Bott et al., 2016). This idea is further supported by Keller et al. (2016) who suggest that workaholism is more highly associated with living calling and strong future orientation in a sample of German participants. In addition, Hirschi et al. (2019) build on this and examine how older adults experience the presence of a calling. In their study of 599 older adults, ages 50 to 60, the presence of a calling can promote the tendency of workaholism (Hirschi et al., 2019). Although the presence of a calling was not directly related to work-nonwork conflict,

workaholism was directly related to work-nonwork conflict. For older adults, this relationship suggests that, the presence of a calling can lead to workaholism which can impact work-life balance due to the tendency to work long hours and manage many job demands that may spill over into family life. Finally, in a qualitative study of 23 zookeepers, Bunderson and Tompson (2009) living out a calling can also come with multiple sacrifices, including pay, comfort and personal time, as well as a moral obligation related to the work. For example, zookeepers noted having to do unpleasant tasks, feeling overworked and being exploited by management, but yet stayed in the occupation because they felt called to the work. Where others may choose to leave a difficult workplace setting, these participants stayed because of a calling. These studies demonstrate that, although calling has been linked to a number of positive outcomes, those who live out a calling are more likely to experience a sense of workaholism and work commitment which may have a negative impact on one's relationships and self-care.

The current literature suggests that calling has been linked to greater career adaptability; however, Lysova et al. (2019) challenged this notion suggesting that career adaptability may be more salient for young adults and less salient for working adults. In a study of 1232 alumni from a public university in the Netherlands, Lysova et al. (2019) suggest that working adults who live out a calling may demonstrate more rigidity in their career goals related to their calling and may limit employability. However, personal professional development (PPD) mediates this relationship suggesting that the strengths of the relationship between rigidity and employability is impacted by PPD. Lysova et al. (2019) suggests that calling leads to personal professional development related to said calling. Because personal professional development is specifically focused on the calling, this may limit one's ability to be flexibility in career goals and employability. Finally, it may not be possible for one to live out a calling in one's primary work;

therefore, one may take on a secondary work in order to fulling a sense of calling. In a study

comparing 227 undergraduate business students and 114 individuals identified as dual-job

holders, Webster & Edwards (2019) suggest that utilizing secondary employment to fulfill a

calling may act as a psychological resource drain on one's primary form of work. For working

adults, living a calling can subsequently limit flexibility in career goals and employability

suggesting another potential downside to living a calling.

Finally, calling can have an impact on life domains related to overall well-being and life

satisfaction. This is especially salient in cases in which one's calling goes unanswered or one is

unable to life out one's calling. Gazica and Spector (2015) examined how living a calling

impacts faculty at a university. The author's conclusions are consistent with other calling

literature, suggesting that those living out a calling have positive life, job and health benefits;

however, the study also examines the negative impact on those who feel they have a calling but

are unable to live out that calling. When compared, those who have no calling at all report higher

work engagement, career commitment, fewer symptoms of physical health symptoms and lower

withdrawal intentions than those who have an unmet calling. Current research suggests that

without accessibility to pursue a calling and a sense of meaning, having a calling may actually

result in lower overall life satisfaction (Duffy et al., 2016). This conclusion suggests that,

although living a calling has empirically supported benefits, it may be better to have no sense of

calling at all then have an unmet calling.

The literature on the "dark side of calling" is subject to criticism. The primary criticism is

the limited amount of scholarly work examining the possible negative impact of living a calling.

At this time, there are only a handful of studies that look at the negative impact of calling

suggesting that there is minimal empirical support for this relationship at this time. Further

research is warranted to specifically examine the relationship between calling and negative outcomes, including the possibility of additional mediators or moderators that may be at play (Duffy & Dik, 2013). Additionally, all the articles related to the negative impact of calling remain either qualitative or cross-sectional in design which significantly limits the generalizability of the conclusions gleaned from the data. Additional longitudinal research is necessary to further examine the possible relationship between calling and negative outcomes. Duffy et al. (2018) further suggest the relationship between calling and negative outcomes remains theoretical at this time until further research can be conducted.

Work as a Calling Theory

In order to establish a parsimonious and empirically supported framework to understand calling, Duffy et al. (2018) proposed the Work as a Calling Theory. Duffy et al. (2018) suggest three primary goals of the proposed model. The first is to unify and integrate the components of the calling literature which includes perceiving a calling, living a calling and the possible outcomes. The second is to suggest that living a calling can be an outcome, as opposed to a predictor or moderator to other workplace experiences. Third, the model looks to capture the dichotomy of living a calling, which includes both positive and negative outcomes. Finally, the model places the presence of a calling as a predictor to a number of work-related outcomes with living a calling as the desired outcome which more accurately reflects the current literature.
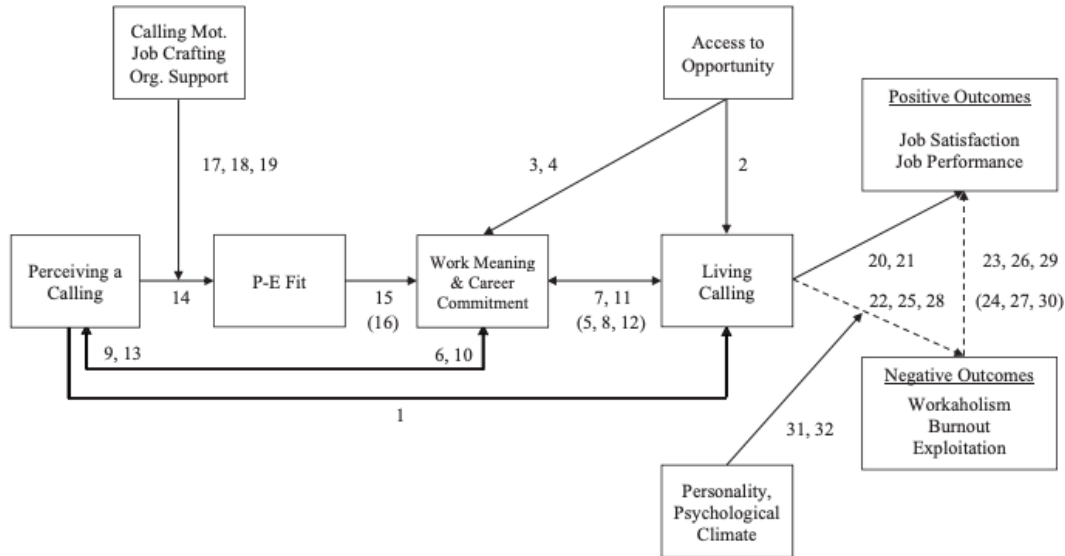
Figure 2. Work as a Calling Theory (Duffy et al., 2018)

The Work as a Calling Theory (Duffy et al., 2018) outlines a total of thirty-two specific

relationships. The link between perceiving a calling and living a calling is the core relationship in

the model, with living a calling as the core outcome variable. As outlined previously, perceiving

a calling is directly linked to living a calling; however, this relationship is mediated by person-

environment fit and work meaning and career commitment. Research on person-environment fit

(P-E fit) supports the conclusion that when work environment characteristics and personal

characteristics are congruent, work experience is more than likely positive (Duffy et al., 2018).

In this model, Duffy et al. (2018) hypothesize that P-E fit moderates the relationship between

perceiving a calling and living a calling meaning that one may be more likely to choose a

profession that more closely aligns with one's sense of perceived calling.

The relationship between perceiving a calling and PE-fit is also moderated by calling

motivation, job crafting and organizational support. Duffy et al. (2018) propose that these factors

can contribute to how well the fit is between one's work environment characteristics and

personal characteristics. Calling motivation suggests that one has to be motivated to follow

through with the pursuit of calling after one is perceived. Duffy et al. (2018) further suggest that

not all workers have the opportunity to choose work that aligns with a calling or have the ability

to change to be congruent with a calling. In these cases, job crafting may be necessary meaning

one may be able to make adjustments to one's current work so that one's current work may be

more congruent with a sense of calling, thus improving P-E fit. Finally, Duffy et al. (2018)

hypothesize that organizational support moderates the relationship between perceiving a calling

and P-E fit. This suggests that those who have strong organizational support are more likely to

have the necessary support to make adjustments to their current work, so it more closely aligns

with a sense of calling. Those who perceive a calling and have high organizational support will

be more likely to feel their work environment fits them well (Duffy et al., 2018).

Work meaning and career commitment also moderate the relationship between P-E fit

and living a calling. First, Duffy et al. (2018) hypothesize that the perception of a calling will

garner work choices that are inherently meaningful by definition. By pursing work that aligns

with one's calling, Duffy et al. (2018) hypothesize that one will find the work meaningful. Thus,

meaningful work will, in turn, strengthen one's sense of living out a calling. Career commitment

also serves as a moderator in this set of variables in the model. Similar to work meaning, Duffy

et al. (2018) propose that choosing work that closely aligns with one's perceived calling leads to

more investment in the work and commitment to profession, even when confronted with

evidence that may negatively impact that sense of calling (see Bunderson & Thompson, 2009).

Finally, this model further hypothesizes that the relationship between work meaning and

career commitment and living a calling is moderated by access to opportunity. In the WCT

model, access to opportunity encompasses factors such as "oppression, racism, classism, sexism

and heterosexism that constrain employment opportunities" (Duffy et al., 2018). Access to opportunity looks to capture the impact social factors contribute to living out a calling. For example, minoritized people may have little choice in accessing employment opportunities that align with a calling because of social factors such as poverty and discrimination.

The theoretical model outlined by Duffy et al. (2018) suggest that living a calling predicts both positive and negative outcomes. The calling literature suggests that living a calling can result in increased job satisfaction (Duffy et al., 2012, 2014) and job performance (Park et al., 2016; Bunderson & Thompson, 2009; Duffy et al., 2012). To capture the "dark side of calling" discussed by Dik and Duffy (2013), the Work as a Calling Theory proposes that there are potentially negative outcomes for some people which includes workaholism, burnout, and organizational exploitation. Finally, the relationship between living a calling and negative effects is moderated by personality factors and psychological climate. However, both of these relationships remain as theoretical propositions and have not garnered strong support in the current body of calling research.

There are both strengths and limitations to the Work as a Calling Theory suggested by Duffy et al. (2018). In terms of strengths, first, this is the first theory that reflects the current body of calling literature and attempts to link conclusions in the research to fit one theoretical framework. In addition, it is the first theory that links perceiving a calling and living a calling to work related outcomes (Duffy et al. 2018). However, this model is subject to some criticism, mainly related to the prosocial definition of calling. Duffy et al. (2018) argue that much of the calling literature has been conducted in environments that reflect prosocial values and involve participants that value strong social interests in their type of work. Subsequently, if this is considered in the context of person/environment fit, the research does not necessarily reflect

those who seek or work in occupations that have little or no emphasis on social factors. Additional research is needed to examine how or if occupations that do not emphasize social values fit within the context of this model. Duffy et al. (2018) also suggest that this theoretical model does not necessarily reflect how calling may differ throughout different life roles across the lifespan. This suggests that calling may look different for those who are at different life stages, which may include a sense of calling outside of paid work depending on the contextual factors based on life stage. Finally, there is no literature to date that tests this model as a whole. In a study of 424 working adults living in the United States, Duffy et al. (2019) only found empirical support for a portion of the model, specifically the first 18 of the 20 proposed relationships tested in the model. However, the relationship between perceiving a calling and career commitment, as well as the relationship between perceiving a calling, career commitment and living a calling, was not supported (Duffy et al., 2019). Additional empirical support is necessary to determine if the Work as a Calling Theory is supported as model in its entirety.

Summary

Law enforcement is a difficult and dangerous profession. Not only do law enforcement officers experience job stressors, such as repeated exposure to traumatic events, they also experience stressors related to the organizational structure and management of law enforcement agencies. The withdrawal intentions literature would suggest that law enforcement officers would be predicted to leave the profession for alternative work because of significant workplace stressors. However, the law enforcement literature has demonstrated that officers stay in the occupation despite considerable workplace stressors. This discrepancy has yet to be examined in the body of literature.

In addition, the literature suggests that police officers enter the law enforcement profession because of interest in the field, self-efficacy in completing job duties, and a sense of altruism. Because of this sense of altruism and the prosocial nature of policing, the construct of calling in the law enforcement profession may be a salient construct worth exploration. Living a calling has been shown to have a positive impact on work, including increased job satisfaction, job performance and low withdrawal intentions. Yet, the current literature has not considered calling as a contributing factor in low withdrawal intentions of law enforcement officers.

This study intended to contribute to the literature in a number of ways. First, the study addressed the discrepancy between predicted withdrawal intentions and actual withdrawal intentions of law enforcement officers by specifically examining the relationship between living a calling, job stressors, perceived organizational support and withdrawal intentions. Second, the Work as a Calling Theory (Duffy et al, 2018) was used to test both the direct effects of living a calling on withdrawal intentions of police officers, as well as the moderating effectors of job stressors and perceived organizational support on withdrawal intentions. Finally, each variable in the proposed model was measured using a reliable and valid measure which lends empirical support to potentially significant conclusions.

Introduction

This chapter will examine the methodological framework for this study. This chapter will examine the research participants, recruitment process, data collection process, and measures.

Recruitment and Data Collection

The population of focus for this study focused on sworn law enforcement officers. Given the range of personnel that often work within a police department, the target sample focused on sworn law enforcement officers and may have included law enforcement officers working in a variety of settings, such as a correctional facility, a patrol division, investigation, narcotics, natural resources, school setting, etc., depending on the police department. Inclusion criteria were outlined in the informed consent and requested that participants be at least 18 years of age, English speaking and currently working as a sworn law enforcement officer.

In order to determine the number of participants necessary to ensure adequate power, a power analysis was conducted utilizing G-Power. Based on the suggestion of Watson et al. (2016), effect size and power were modeled after previous research. The power analysis for this proposed study was modeled on Duffy et al. (2019) who suggest a medium effect size and 80% power would be an appropriate guide. Because the proposed model includes a total of five predictors, which includes the three predictors and two interaction terms, the total number of participants needed to detect a medium effect size for a given power of .80 (80%) was calculated to be 92 participants.

Participants were recruited through professional law enforcement agencies across the state of Wisconsin, as well as additional recruitment via snowball sampling through professional contacts due to difficulty with participation during the initial stages of recruitment.

Data collection was in the form of a survey method (See Appendix A). Informed consent and all the survey measures were compiled into a survey on Qualtrics. A survey link was sent to the professional associations for dissemination through their list serv databases. Officers also chose to participate through self-selection. As incentive for completing the survey, participants were offered the opportunity to be entered to win one of five $20 Amazon gift cards. Through the process of snowball sampling, two specific law enforcement departments requested that the gift card option be removed from the survey prior to sharing the survey with their officers, as accepting gift cards was not in line with departmental policy on accepting payment from the public. At the request of those departments, the option was removed to be in compliance with department policy and participants were advised prior to starting the survey that the gift card option was not available to them due to departmental policy restrictions. Gift card winners were randomly selected upon the completion of the data collection process.

The data is stored in a secure, encrypted file on a password protected computer in the possession of the lead researcher. Files are only accessible to the lead researcher. Data will be maintained for a duration of seven years.

Participants

A total of 247 law enforcement officers participated in the study. After preliminary data cleaning, there were a total of 201 cases appropriate for data analysis. Of the total number of participants, 137 cases indicated that that living a calling was a salient construct and were

included for data analysis. Of the cases utilized in data analysis, 102 participants identified as

men and 34 identified as women. One participant did not report a gender. Three participants

identified as American Indian or Alaska Native (2.2%), 1 participant identified as Asian (0.7%),

2 participants identified as biracial (1.5%) and 130 participants identified as White (95.6%). One

participant did not report race. The participant age range varied from 23 years old to 67 years old

(M=41.51, SD=9.52) with varying departmental tenure spanning from as little as 4 months to as

long as 42 years (M=15.63 years, SD=9.51years). Departmental rank data was also collected and

aggregated to limit identifiability. Participants fell into four categories of police rank, including

sworn personal (N=76), leadership (N=29), administrative leadership (N=11) and specialty

positions (N=18). The department size reported by participants ranged considerably with the

smallest department size having a single digit number of sworn officers and the largest with over

800+ sworn officers (M=250, SD=192.64). Two participants chose to describe their departments

by stating "large" which could not be numerically classified. The settings in which the

participants worked were fairly evenly distributed with approximately 25% working in an urban

setting (N=35), 36% working in a suburban setting (N=49), and 39% working in a rural setting

(N=53). Approximately 47% of participants (N=63) indicated they had experienced previous

trauma prior to entering their career in law enforcement. Approximately 53% of participants

(N=71) of participants indicated that they had not experienced previous trauma prior to entering

their career in law enforcement.

Measures

There was one screening measure and four primary measures used to assess the variables

included in this model. A modified version of the Brief Calling Scale (BCS, Dik et al., 2012) was

used as a screening tool to determine if calling was a salient construct for participants. Participants were provided the opening stem from the BCS (Dik et al., 2012) along with the definition of calling. They were asked to identify if they feel they have a calling towards working in law enforcement and asked to respond using a dichotomous yes/no response. Participants were also asked when this calling developed and were allowed to provide an open-ended, free-text response. Participants who identified a calling towards working in law enforcement, evidenced by a yes response to the dichotomous portion of the BCS question, had their subsequent data retained for data analysis.

To assess the variable of living a calling, the Living Calling Scale (LCS; Duffy et al., 2012) was utilized. This is a 6-item measure that assesses the degree to which one feels called to a particular job or line of work. Responses to each item are recorded in an 8-point Likert scale with 1 being Strongly Disagree, 4 being neutral and 7 being Strongly Agree. An eight is indicative of the not applicable ("I don't have a calling") response. A total score is comprised by summing the scores of each of the six items. Scores of eight were not considered, as they indicate that living a calling is not applicable for that participant. In the initial development of this scale, Duffy et al. (2012) found that the LCS demonstrated a strong internal consistency reliability at an alpha coefficient of .85. In subsequent studies, the internal consistency reliability coefficient has ranged from .94 to .97 when used to assess a sample of working adults. Two studies have also suggested that the LCS has some consistency over three time when used with a sample work working adults (e.g. Duffy et al, 2014; Duffy et al, 2017). Given the theoretical framework of this study and the support in the literature for using this scale with working adults, the Living Calling Scale (Duffy et al., 2012) appears to be the most appropriate measure to assess the variable of living a calling. The internal consistency for this LCS in study was .96.

To assess the role of job stressors on police officers, the Professional Quality of Life Scale-Version 5 (PROQOL-5; Hudnall Stamm, 2012) was utilized. The PROQOL-5 is a 30-item measure that looks to assess one's quality of life in the context of a helping profession within the last 30 days. The measure consists of three subscales: Compassion Satisfaction, Burnout, and Secondary Traumatic Stress. The compassion satisfaction scale consists of items that measure the degree of pleasure one derives from doing one's work well (Hudnall Stamm, 2012). This subscale has an average score of 50, a standard deviation of 10, and has demonstrated a reliability of .88. The burnout subscale looks to assess the degree of hopelessness or difficulty in doing one's work effectively (Hudnall Stamm, 2012). This scale also has a mean score of 50, a standard deviation of 10, and has demonstrated a reliability of .75. Finally, the secondary traumatic stress scale consists of items used to assess the degree to which secondary exposure to traumatic events over the course of one's work impacts one's work functioning. This scale has a mean score of 50, a standard deviation of 10 and has a reliability of .81. According to Hudnall Stamm (2012), the PROQOL-5 has good construct validity and has been used in over 200 published studies. The PROQOL-5 has also been validated across a variable of demographics including gender, age (above age 18), race, income, years in the field and years with one's current employer. Although not specifically designated for the use with police officers, the PROQOL-5 appears to appropriately assess the impact of job stressors on work.

For the purposes of this study, only the secondary traumatic stress subscale of the PROQOL-5 was utilized in an effort to avoid multicollinearity concerns with other subscales and predictors. Given that compassion satisfaction as a construct is the inverse of burnout and secondary traumatic stress, multicollinearity could be problematic if all three subscales are used as predictors. Although burnout may also capture job stressors experienced by police officers,

burnout and perceived organizational support may be too closely correlated as well. Therefore, using the secondary traumatic stress subscale from the PROQOL-5 is the most appropriate measure stressors experienced of police officers over the course of their job duties with another variable capturing job stressors related to organizational challenges within the police department. The internal consistency for the PROQOL-5 secondary traumatic stress subscale was .86 for this study.

Perceived organizational support was assessed using the Survey of Perceived Organizational Support-Short Form (SPOS; Eisenberger et al., 1986). SPOS looks to assess the degree to which one feels one's organization values one's contribution to the work and the degree to which the organization cares about one's wellbeing (Rhoades & Eisenberger, 2002). The SPOS has been reduced from the original 36-item measure to an 8-item measure consisting of the highest loading items on this unitary construct. Items are rated on a 6-point Likert scale ranging from 1 as strongly disagree to 7 as strongly agree. The internal consistency reliability is .97 (Eisenberger et al., 1986). In a review of the literature, Rhoades and Eisenberger (2002) suggest that the SPOS has been validated across diverse occupations and organizations. Perceived organizational support has also been shown to be related but distinct from other constructs such as affective organizational commitment, effort-reward expectancies, supervisor support, perceived organizational politics, and job satisfaction (Rhoades & Eisenberger, 2002). In a meta-analysis, Kurtessis et al. (2015) demonstrated that the SPOS was used to assess perceived organizational support in approximately 558 studies suggesting that it is a well validated tool and can be considered appropriate for this study. The internal consistency for the SPOS in this study was .93.

The final measure utilized in this study looked to assess the dependent variable of withdrawal intentions. Withdrawal intentions will be assessed using a 3-item measure from Blau (1985) that captures one's intention to leave one's current occupation. Items are measured using a 5-point Likert scale ranging from 1 as strongly disagree and 5 is strongly agree. Internal consistency reliability for this measure is .87. This measure has been utilized in the calling literature and has been shown to have a reliability coefficient of approximately .92. According to Duffy et al. (2011), this measure has also been shown to be positively correlated with aspects of career commitment. Because this scale measures the unitary construct of withdrawal intentions and has demonstrated good reliability and validity, it appears appropriate for the study. The internal consistency of this Withdrawal Intentions measure in this study was .87.

The survey included collection of demographic information based on the current law enforcement literature. Demographic information included race, gender, age, length of tenure in the department, length of service, departmental rank, department size and type of department location (i.e. urban, suburban, rural). Officers were also asked if they have experienced any previous trauma prior to their law enforcement services. There were two additional qualitative questions asking participants to indicate how the department handles critical incident debriefing and a final question asking for any additional information that may contribute to why law enforcement officers chose to stay in the profession. These questions, along with the previous qualitative question regarding the development of calling, were reviewed and coded.

Data Cleaning and Analysis

To answer the research questions, the data analysis for this study consisted of a linear multiple regression analysis with double moderation. Prior to any data analysis, the data required cleaning using a case-wise deletion method. A total of 247 participants completed the survey. Thirty-six cases were eliminated because the initial BCS screener question was not completed and/or over ninety percent of the survey was not completed. All additional participants who responded "no" to the BCS calling screener (N=68) were also removed from the participant pool leaving an initial total of 143 cases. Seven additional cases were deleted due to large amounts of missing data (e.g. over 90% or missing entire scales) leaving the final number of eligible cases at N=137.

There was a small amount of missing data that had to be addressed prior to data analysis. The procedure for addressing missing data was dependent on the severity of the data that is missing and best practices, as advised by Schlomer et al. (2010). In this study, the amount of missing data was approximately 0.02% of the total amount of data collected. The missing data occurred completely at random. Due to the very minimal amount of missing data in this data set, mean substitution was used to address this concern. Schlomer et al. (2010) note that mean substitution is not necessarily advised given the potential for added bias in the data; however, additional recommended practices for addressing missing data, such as Expectation Maximization (EM) or Full information maximum likelihood (FIML), are not ideal for this data set. These alternative methods suggested by Schlomer et al. (2010) are designed for much larger data sets and are designed to address larger amounts of missing data (e.g. closer to 5%) rather

than the 0.02% of missing data demonstrated in this data set. Additionally, using an alternative method, such as EM, could create additional bias in the data and cause additional challenges with inferential statistics (Schlomer et al., 2010).

Once the data was cleaned, the first step was to run descriptive statistics, including minimum and maximum values, to confirm that there are no values outside of the expected range of the Likert scale for all of the variables. This ensured that there is accuracy to the data prior to analysis. The total range for the Living a Calling Scale (LCS) was between 6.0 and 43.0 (M=34.05, SD=8.90). The total range for SPOS was between 10.0 and 56.0 (M=33.92, SD=12.36). The total range for PROQOL-5 Secondary Traumatic Stress Subscale was between 10.0 and 46.0 (M=23.82, SD=6.80). The range for the Withdrawal Intentions Scale was between 3.0 and 15.0 (M=6.58; 3.65). There were no cases outside of the expected values in this case.

The next step in the data analysis process was to check that all of the linear regression assumptions had been met. This includes plotting predicted values against residual values to ensure that a linear model is an appropriate fitting for the data (Cohen et al., 2003, p. 125). A visual review of the plot suggested the data points were fairly evenly dispersed above and below zero throughout the range of x-values suggesting a liner relationship is appropriate.

Homoscedasticity of variance was assessed to ensure that there is not a systematic relationship between the variability of the residuals and the values of the predictors (Cohen et al., 2003, p. 130). This was determined by visually confirming that there is an equal spread of residuals across the range of x-values. A visual review of the plot suggests that the assumption of homoscedasticity was met. There was no visual evidence of systematic relationship amongst the residuals.

The assumption of normality of residuals was visually assessed using frequency distribution of the residuals at each value of x (Cohen et al., 2003, p. 137). A visual review of the residuals on a q-q plot suggested that residuals were normally distributed evidenced by a fairly straight line. This was further confirmed by a fairly normally distributed histogram when the residuals were graphed. The skewness of this distribution was .681 and the kurtosis was -.334; both were close to zero further suggesting normality of residuals.

The additional regression assumptions can be considered in the context of the overall study design. The assumption of independence of residuals is met via the study design. The value for one variable is not related to the value of another variable in a case. The assumption of measure measurement was assessed in the study design by utilizing reliable and validated measures for each of the variables (Cohen et al., 2003, p. 145). By utilizing the WCT model as a theoretical framework, the assumption that all variables identified by the theory are included in the model will be met. All six assumptions are determined to be met and a linear regression model was determined to an appropriate statistical analysis for this data set.

The next step in the data cleaning process was to determine if there were any issues with outliers. Outliers can represent data that is contaminated in some way and can have a profound impact on regression coefficients, standard error, and overall estimate of R^2 (Cohen et al., 2003, p. 390). The diagnostic measures to determine outliers in this data set included examining leverage, standardized residual and influence values for each observation included in the data set. As cited by Cohen et al. (2003), the standard rule of thumb used for determining high leverage values is $3M_h$ suggested by Belsley, Kuh and Welsch (1980). Using this benchmark, $3M_h$ in this study was .13139 which was used as the benchmark measure to determine high leverage; however, there were no cases that exhibited unusual leverage values in this data set.

The standardized residuals were also examined. The examination of standardized residuals helps determine the discrepancy or distance between the predicated and observed value of Y (Cohen et al., 2003, p. 398). Eliminating outliers removes the influential pull outlying data points have over the overall regression line, thus improving the overall regression line fit with the data (Cohen et al., 2003, p. 398). In order to do this, the externally standardized studentized residuals were examined, as this is preferred by Cohen et al. (2003) for determined high levels of discrepancy. In small sample, Cohen et al. (2003) suggest that the rule of thumb is for determining high levels of discrepancy is ±2. There were three cases that exhibited high levels of discrepancy over the suggested cutoff and were eliminated bringing the total number of cases to N=134.

Cook's D was the final measure of influence used to determine if there were any outliers that needed to be addressed in the data set. Cook's D is a global measure of influence and can help determine on an individual case impacts the overall regression equation if removed (Cohen et al., 2003, p. 402.). Cohen et al. (2003) suggest that the general rule of thumb is any case that has a Cook's D value of 1.0 or above be more closely examined to determine if it could be considered an outlier in the data set. In this data set, there were no values that demonstrated unusually significant influence which warranted deletion.

For the purpose of this study, the data analysis was conducted via the PROCESS macro for SPSS (Hayes, 2018). In the PROCESS macro, model two, also known as the double moderation model, was utilized to analyze the data. The interpretation of the statistical analysis included assessing the R^2 value for all five predictors in the model, as well as the main effects of living a calling, secondary traumatic stress and perceived organizational support on withdrawal intentions. The impact of the interaction terms in the model were also interpreted by determining

if the change in R^2 due to these interaction terms is statistically significant. Finally, the impact of living a calling on withdrawal intentions was also assessed based on the significance at each level of both moderating variables. For example, the impact of living a calling on withdrawal intentions was assessed with low levels of job stressors and low levels of perceived organizational support, with low levels of job stressors and average perceived organizational support, and with low levels of job stressors and high perceived organizational support. The impact of living a calling on withdrawal intentions was assessed at average job stressors and low perceived organizational support, with average job stressors and average perceived organizational support and average job stressors and high perceived organizational support. Finally, the impact of living a calling on withdrawal intentions was assessed at high levels of job stressors and low perceived organizational support, high job stressors and average perceived organizational support and high job stressors and high perceived organizational support. Conclusions were drawn based on statistical significance using an alpha level of .05 for each analysis.

Research Question One Results

Prior to analysis of the proposed model, an independent samples t-test was conducted to determine if there was a difference in withdrawal intentions of law enforcement officers who identified their work as a calling. The independent samples t-test suggests there is a significant difference in withdrawal intentions between those in law enforcement who considered their work as a calling (M=6.392, SD=3.458) and those who did not identify their work as a calling (M=7.478, SD=4.054); t(199)=-1.978, p=0.049. This suggests that that those who view their

work as a calling demonstrate lower withdrawal intentions than those who do not view their work as a calling.

Research question one looks to examine the relationship between living a calling and withdrawal intentions. In order to understand this relationship, it is important to first understand the larger model as a whole. There are a total of five predictors included in the total model, living a calling, job stressors, perceived organizational support, the interaction between living a calling and job stressors and the interaction between living a calling and perceived organization support. When considering all five predictors in the model, all five predictors accounted for approximately 22.86% of the variance in withdrawal intentions for those in law enforcement with $F(5,128)=7.5864$, $p<.0001$, $R^2=.2286$. This can be considered a small effect size.

Hypothesis one theorizes that there is a direct relationship between living a calling and low withdrawal intentions for law enforcement officers. The results suggest that living a calling significantly predicts low withdrawal intentions for law enforcement officers, $b=-0.0696$, $t(128)=-2.29$, $p=.0238$. There are also additional main effects that are also significant into this model that can be discussed. The main effect of perceived organization support also significantly predicts low withdrawal intentions, $b=-.0759$, $t(128)=-3.26$, $p=.0014$. The main effect of job stressors, measured by secondary traumatic stress, also significantly predicated withdrawal intentions, $b=.0924$, $t(128)=2.09$, $p=.0382$.

Hypothesis two looked to examine if workplace stressors, which is comprised of job stressors and perceived organizational support, moderated the relationship between living a calling and withdrawal intentions. This was conceptualized using two independent moderators, or interaction terms. The interaction between living a calling and perceived organization support was not significant, $b=.0031$, $t(128)=1.25$, $p=.2149$, which suggests that perceived organization

support does not moderate the relationship between living a calling and withdrawal intentions. The addition of this interaction is not statistically significant, $F(5, 128)=1.55$, $p=.2148$, $\Delta R^2=.0092$. The second interaction between living a calling and job stressors was also not significant, $b=-.0013$, $t(128)=-.3157$, $p=.7527$, which suggests that job stressors also do not moderate the relationship between living a calling and withdrawal intentions. The addition of this interaction was not considered significant, $F(5,128)=.0997$, $p=.7527$, $\Delta R^2=.0006$.

Finally, hypothesis three suggested that high perceived organizational support and low levels of job stressors moderate the relationship between living a calling and low withdrawal intentions. Perceived organizational support and job stressors were not shown to moderate the relationship between living a calling and withdrawal intentions, as noted in hypothesis two. Had perceived organizational support and job stressors been shown to moderate the relationship between living a calling and withdrawal intentions, three by three matrices would have been used to determine if living a calling predicated withdrawal intentions and the significance of the corresponding contributions of both moderating variables.

Qualitative Questions and Coding Process

Although this study was not designed as a mixed-methods study, three additional qualitative questions were included to give participants an opportunity to provide a voice to their experiences working in law enforcement. Participants were offered the opportunity to elaborate on when their sense of calling in law enforcement developed. For example, did this sense of calling develop prior to entering the profession, after working in the field for some time, after a significant event or experience occurred? Participants were also offered the opportunity to elaborate on how their department handles critical incidents. Finally, participants were offered

the space to provide any additional feedback on why law enforcement officers may choose to stay or leave the profession.

For each qualitative question, all participant responses were compiled into a Microsoft Excel spreadsheet. Each response was reviewed by the primary researcher and themes were recorded using the spreadsheet. The frequency in which each theme was identified throughout all the responses was also recorded. Once all responses were reviewed and the initial round of coding was complete, the primary researcher completed a second round of coding to help ensure initial coding integrity. Each participant response was reviewed for a second time and themes were double checked for accuracy and integrity. After the second around of coding was complete, all identified themes were reviewed and combined into subthemes, as necessary.

The Development of Calling Qualitative Data

For those participants who indicated that law enforcement is a calling, 129 participants chose to elaborate on their experience of calling through the free-text response box option. There were three primary themes that emerged from the responses, including the development of calling prior to entering law enforcement, the development of calling after having worked in law enforcement, and calling as an ongoing process.

Ninety-seven participants indicated that they experienced a calling to law enforcement prior to entering the law enforcement. Approximately 28 participants indicated that they perceived a calling prior to entering law enforcement; however, they did not choose to elaborate further. Six additional subthemes were identified under this "prior to entering" theme: Congruence with values, interests or skills, Influence of a specific event, Family influence,

Observations of law enforcement officers, Influence of military experience and Religious influence.

The subtheme with the largest number of responses was Congruent values, interests or skills with 19 responses. In this subtheme, participants indicated that the law enforcement profession was congruent with their values, interests or skills which contributed to their sense of calling in a meaningful way. For example, one participant indicated:

I felt in my high school and college years that our society has some great unjustices (sic) and if I could help prevent victimization I would. I have always viewed myself as a 'helper' and someone to bring positivity to situations that require intervention.

Other participants discuss a feeling of filling both a need and the feeling as the profession "fit" for them. For example, one participant summed it up by stating, "I feel called because there's a need and my personality fit the needs for the job."

There were ten participant responses that reflected the subtheme of an influence of a specific event that influenced the development of their calling to law enforcement. Responses coded into this subtheme specifically noted an influential or impactful event in their response that influenced their sense of calling to the profession. For example, one participant indicated, "After the [local organization] shooting, calling to research criminal psychology and why people do such horrific things and others don't and use that to prevent events in the future." Other participants indicated historical events, such as the terrorist attack on the United States on September 11, 2001, as contributing to their sense of calling to law enforcement. One participant noted a specific family tragedy that influenced the officer's sense of calling and yet another

participant noted a specific "life-changing" encounter with a law enforcement officer as a catalyst for the development of calling to the field of law enforcement as a profession.

There were two additional subthemes that emerged from the data which included the influence of family on calling and the influence of previous military experience on calling, as well as the influence of observing those in law enforcement and the influence of religion. Nine participant statements referenced either having a family member or a loved one working in law enforcement or a civil service profession which contributed to one's perception of a calling to law enforcement. One participant shared, "Both my parents were dispatchers and Emergency Medical Technicians in my hometown. I learned from a young age listening to their experience that I wanted to be part of that." An additional eight participants noted the specific influence of their previous military experience on the development of their calling to work in law enforcement. One participant expressed, "the calling developed while I was in the military and saw the good things we did overseas. I wanted to continue my service and felt law enforcement was my calling." Four participants noted that seeing those in law enforcement prior to entering the profession contributed to their sense of calling to the profession. One participant shared, "I saw the direct impact a professional, compassionate law enforcement officer could make on a person, a neighborhood and community." Finally, one participant indicated a religious calling to the profession. This participant shared this experience:

Unbeknownst to me, I was called into this profession by Jesus. I was actually studying Kinesiology and Psychology at [name of university], in hopes of becoming an Orthopedic Surgeon. God called so I answered and applied to the [name of department] and was hired approximately one year later.

The other primary theme that was identified through the coding process was a sense of calling that developed after entering law enforcement. Twenty-five participants indicated that they perceived their sense of calling having developed after having worked in law enforcement, as opposed to prior to entering. Although approximately 15 participants only indicated they felt a sense of calling after entering law enforcement, 10 participants chose to expand on their responses. Two participants noted that they had not previously felt called to their work; however, their sense of calling developed after a promotion and change in responsibility. One participant noted the perception of calling developed after working in law enforcement and "believed I was part of a larger organization and felt a sense of belonging." Another participant spoke about perceiving a calling only after leaving law enforcement and then returning to the profession:

> After working in this profession for a few years, I started to realize that while
> most people would not be able to do this job, I do it and I do it very well. It can be
> very rewarding when you are able to help someone and provide a 'service' to a
> person that needs it the most and putting others over yourself. I quit law
> enforcement for a year after being in the profession about three years. It was in
> that years' time where I really realized what I gave up and how much impact I had
> in my community. It really is an experience that is hard to explain.

The final theme that was identified during the coding process was that the sense of calling was an ongoing process. Two participants specifically noted that they felt called at many points prior to and throughout their time working in law enforcement. One participant shared, "at all times: before, during, and now reaching the end…still called." Another participant shared "it continues to grow and strengthen" when asked about when describing the presence of a calling.

The Management of Critical Incidents

Participants were asked to speak on how their respective departments responded to critical incidents and addressed critical incident debriefing. One hundred twenty participants chose to respond to this question. There were six primary approaches that were identified. Holding a meeting or debriefing to discuss the incident was the most endorsed approach to addressing critical incidents (N=77). Individual counseling and/or EAP support was the next highest resource endorsed (N=53), with peer support following (N=45). One common approach among responses was providing a general list of resources for officers to utilize (N=37). Eight participants indicated that their respective departments provided religious support and six participants indicated that administrative leave was part of the critical incident response.

There were also three themes that emerged from the responses. The first theme that emerged was the sense that either nothing or very little was done regarding critical incident debriefing (N=21). Multiple participants noted that their department's response to critical incidents are "nonexistent" or "a joke." One participant noted "they have no substance to them." Other participants noted that the department may fail to utilize services "often minimizing incidents." A second participant echoed this minimization thought, noting, "The department fails to understand the incidents that are cumulative in trauma building. I see and hear things that other officers don't want to hear and see, it adds up but doesn't fall into the normal 'critical incident" definition."

This moves into the second theme that was identified which is the need for improvement. Five participants specifically noted that there is a need for improvement in how critical incidents are addressed within their departments. Two participants noted that the definition of "critical incident" may need to be adjusted. "Sometimes our department fails to identify something as a

'critical incident' because it doesn't meet their subjective view of a critical incident." Another participant echoed this stating, "…yet for [a specific resource] to be activated, in practice a death must occur, yet sworn staff routinely encounter traumatic incidents outside of death including attempted suicide attempts, self-harm actions and assaults." Another participant shared:

> It's my opinion that there are many more critical incidents than are identified by the agency or policy, traumatic events have a negative impact on the welfare of employees. The agency makes it that if any employee needs any welfare assistance after a traumatic incident, they may ask for and receive help. But, I believe the agency should take a more active role in identifying those incidents and helping those involved.

However, there were fifteen participants that expressed a positive statement regarding how their respective department responded to critical incident debriefings. Multiple participants expressed how they believed their agencies does a "very good job caring for its employees" and feel as though they have a "good handle on what seem to be the modern practices." One participant shared the following statement:

> One of the things this agency has gotten right is the care for persons involved in critical incidents. The resources made available are amazing. We have gotten it right because of the volume and experience of incidents that has gotten us to where we are, learning from past incidents and responses to those.

Additional Considerations for Law Enforcement Withdrawal Intentions

Participants were provided the opportunity to provide any additional feedback they felt may be important for understanding why law enforcement officers chose to either stay or leave

the profession. Ninety-three participants chose to respond to this item and 6 primary themes emerged.

The first primary theme that emerged is the idea of person-environment fit. This suggests that something about the job characteristics matches the needs or the characteristics of the person (N=84). Five of the six common reinforcers found in Dawis and Lofquist's (1984) theory of work adjustment were identified as subthemes: autonomy, status, altruism, comfort and achievement.

The most common subtheme reported by participants was a sense of altruism in law enforcement (N=36) which contributes to why officers stay in the profession. A sense of altruism can include a sense of moral values, social service, and coworker relationships. Multiple participants shared their belief that officers stay in the profession because they want to make their community a better place and feel that they can make a difference. One participant expressed, "the reward for helping others in crisis far outweighs dealing with the trauma." Another participant noted:

It's a unique calling and there is a need to help those who need it. Our goal is to provide a safe community for all to live, knowing that we may pay the ultimate sacrifice in doing so. At the end of the day we hang onto hope that we have made a positive difference, and our self-worth is not determined by what the public may think of LE, or what our administrators or government might think of LE, but what we know in our being of who and what we are and the positive impact we strive for with everyone we have contact with.

The next commonly reported subtheme was comfort (N=29). This included things such as compensation, benefits, job security, and working conditions. Many participants noted that the

compensation, benefits and job security were all factors that may contribute to why officers would stay in the law enforcement profession. One participant noted, "Honestly, you cannot beat the benefits provided with healthcare and retirement packages." Another participant shared, "It pays well for something that requires minimal education and people get used to their way of life."

A third theme was status (N=12) which consisted of statements that reflected a sense of recognition, authority or status by others or the community. One participant noted, "A police officer may choose to stay in this profession if they feel that they have the support of administration." Other participants described the profession as "honorable" and noted that the community shows its appreciation for officers. One participant shared, "it's a noble profession. They stay in the job because citizens show their appreciation. It's not a job for everyone."

Achievement is another person-environment subtheme identified by five participants. This subtheme includes statements involving the ability to utilize one's skills within the profession, as well as have a sense of accomplishment. Four participants noted that they enjoyed what they do and felt they were good at it which contributed to why they may stay in the profession. One participant noted, "I am finally getting my dream job" which contributed to the decision to remain in law enforcement.

The final person-environment subtheme identified was autonomy (N=2) which included statements related to being able to use one's creativity and one's degree of responsibility. Both officers who endorsed this theme spoke about the profession being unique and indicated "there is no other job like it."

Another major theme identified in the participant responses was a sense of feeling stuck or trapped which contributed to why officers continued to stay in law enforcement. Nineteen

participants indicated statements related to feelings of being trapped or stuck in law enforcement for various reasons. Eight participants expressed feeling stuck due to the financial investments, such as retirement, health insurance, or salary. Other participants expressed concerns regarding the transfer of skills to other professions or settings. One participant summed it up as follows:

> Over time a police officer will feel trapped by the benefits. Even if officers do not
>
> like their jobs, they feel as though they would not find a better equivalent job. If
>
> an officer had prepared by going from high school to college and went the route
>
> of a criminal justice degree, they have no other [or] few other skills.

Another officer described a different perspective:

> I myself don't have a college degree. Many employers require one, even for the
>
> most remedial work. This requirement screens me out of many job opportunities
>
> that I would otherwise likely be a strong candidate for based on the education I do
>
> have and current work experience. Additionally, finding a job that would
>
> overlook a lack of education credentials that pays what my current position does
>
> is difficult…

One officer noted, "Some people stay because they don't feel they have transferrable skills for another profession. We are now viewed as all being racist and the profession in general is not respected. We feel stuck."

Another major theme that emerged from the data revolved around the current sociopolitical climate around law enforcement. Fifteen participants indicated that the current sociopolitical climate around law enforcement may contribute to why police officers chose to leave the profession. One participant noted the following:

I think the recent narrative being sold and believed by the general public is that

police officers are inherently bad people that need a reeducation. The acceptance

of vilifying law enforcement has caused such as negative community connection

that I fear good officers won't be able to take much more abuse from the public

before leaving the profession.

Other participants indicated that they would no longer chose the profession if they had to start over and some would actively discourage others from pursing law enforcement as a career. One officer shared, "Given today's current view of law enforcement, I don't know why anyone would want to start a career in this profession, even if it is their calling. If I were 20 years younger, I would be changing careers." Another participant expressed, "I would NOT recommend LE to anyone who is looking for a career based on the current state of thinking and constantly making LE out to be the reason for all the problems of our world. We have been turned into scapegoats for all of society's ills and working 30 years in a profession where everyone hates you is not something I would recommend." An additional participant expressed the following:

The fact that at times our profession as a whole is sullied by the actions of a few

or even one, has a significant impact on the morale of officers. All cops are bad—

most are decent, hard-working and fair people. We know that, but the public

doesn't. Some officers have a hard time dealing with that.

Would not enter or recommend for others is another theme that emerged for eight participants. These are responses that are frequently hold a negative valance around the profession and suggest that participants would not choose to enter the field or would actively discourage others from joining the profession. One participant shared, "No idea why anyone would want to do this job. I can't wait to get out. I do everything in my power to discourage

others from doing it. It's not the stress from the calls, it's the organizational stress." Another participant noted, "It's a terrible time to be in this profession and knowing what I know now, I should have chosen a different career." Another participant shared, "I cannot find a reason why a person would want to stay in this profession."

The negative impact of remaining was an additional theme that was identified. Four participants spoke specifically about the challenges of remaining in law enforcement. One participant shared, "Many of us are aware of the long-term impacts to our physical and mental health has been negatively impacted the longer we stay." Two participants spoke about the job being "thankless" and one noted, "the job is thankless, doesn't pay well, will destroy your body, could destroy your mind and ruins hundreds of families every year." When speaking about officers remaining in the profession due to the benefits, another officer shared, "With retired police officer suicide rates as high as they are, you wonder at what cost people willing to take from those benefits."

The final theme that emerged from the data was a sense of identity. Two participants specifically noted that police officers may remain in the profession because being a police officer because "part of who you are." Another participant shared the following:

This is what I have done almost my whole adult life. I am a cop; it becomes your identity. I help kids and put people in prison who do nasty shit. I know that matters even if people hate me for things I'm not. Staying is a complicated thing, it changes day to day…I got into this profession to help people and I still hold on to that.

Summary of Results

In summary, the proposed model suggests that living a calling, job stressors, and perceived organization support account for approximately 23% of the variance in withdrawal intentions in the law enforcement profession for those who view law enforcement as a calling. This is considered a small effect size.

Only one of the three hypotheses was supported. Hypothesis one was supported suggesting that there is a direct effect of living a calling on low withdrawal intentions for those in law enforcement who view their work as a calling. Hypotheses two and three were not supported. Job stressors and perceived organizational support did not moderate the relationship between living a calling and withdrawal intentions which was suggested in hypothesis two. Hypothesis three was also not supported suggesting that high organizational support and low job stress served as moderators to withdrawal intentions.

Three qualitative research questions were asked which allowed participants to share how their calling developed, how their department responded to critical incidents and any other additional factors that may contribute to the withdrawal intentions of law enforcement officers. Results suggested that calling developed in three primary ways, either prior to entering the field, after entering the field, or that the development of calling was an ongoing process. There were six primary ways departments managed critical incidents with the most frequently endorsed being holding a meeting or debriefing following by individual counseling or EAP. There were also themes addressed the lack of attention to this process, the need for improvement and the positive view of addressing critical incidents. Additional factors that contribute to why an officer may stay in the profession included person-environment fit factors, such as a sense of altruism or

comfort, as well as factors that may impact one's decision to stay, including the feeling of being

stuck and the current sociopolitical climate around the law enforcement profession.

Chapter Five

Discussion

Restatement of the Problem and Theoretical Background

Working in law enforcement is often understood to be challenging and dangerous profession (Brandl & Stroshine, 2003). Officers are frequently exposed to challenging situations that can include shootings, emergencies, serious injuries, domestic violence, and child abuse (Boothroyd, Green & Daugherty, 2018). Repeated exposure to these kinds of events can have both short-term and long-term psychological consequences for those working in law enforcement (Boothroyd, Green & Daugherty, 2018). Previous research suggests that considerable job stressors are positively correlated with low job satisfaction and high turnover intentions (Biggs, Brough & Barbour, 2014). Given the stressors of law enforcement officers, one may predict that law enforcement officers would have high turnover in their profession given the stressors they encounter in their work. Yet, the turnover rate for law enforcement is only approximately ten percent (Patterson et al., 2010). To date, there has been no research that has examined the discrepancy between the predicted withdrawal intentions in law enforcement verses the actual withdrawal intentions in law enforcement. This study looked to explore predictors of law withdrawal intentions in law enforcement, specifically focusing on the role of living a calling.

With calling as the primary predictor of interest, this study utilized the empirical framework proposed by Duffy et al. (2018) in the Work as a Calling Theory. This theory serves to combine the existing literature on calling in work and create a unified and parsimonious understand of how perceiving and living calling influences one's career decision-making and work-related outcomes. In this theoretical model, living a calling is considered an outcome variable that, in turn, predicts both positive work-related outcomes such as job satisfaction and

job performance (Duffy et al., 2018). However, living a calling may also predict negative work-related outcomes such as organizational exploitation, burnout and workaholism (Duffy et al., 2018). This study is grounded in this theoretical framework in order to examine the possibility that low withdrawal intentions could be a positive work-related outcome of living a calling.

Summary and Implications of the Findings

This study looked to explore the relationship between living a calling and withdrawal intentions in law enforcement. The survey was sent out to sworn law enforcement officers currently working in law enforcement and view their work in law enforcement as a calling.

Considering the proposed model as a whole, the relationship between living a calling, job stressors, and perceived organizational support accounted for approximately 23% of the variance in withdrawal intentions for law enforcement officers who view law enforcement as living their calling which is considered a small effect size.

Hypothesis one proposed that there was a direct relationship between living a calling and low withdrawal intentions for law enforcement officers. This hypothesis was supported suggesting that is a main effect of living a calling on low withdrawal intentions, as well as a main effect of job stressors on withdrawal intentions and perceived organization support on withdrawal intentions.

Hypotheses two and three were not supported. Hypothesis two suggested that job stressors and perceived organization support moderated the relationship between living a calling and perceived organizational support. However, these variables were not shown to significantly moderate this relationship. Hypothesis three expanding on hypothesis three suggesting that low job stressors and high perceived organizational support moderated the relationship between

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living a calling and withdrawal intentions; however, given these interaction terms were not considered significant, hypothesis three was not supported as well.

A strength of this research is that it adds to the current body of research on calling. As Duffy and Dik (2013) note, the construct of calling, including how it is defined in the literature, has been controversial. This study identifies calling as a salient construct in law enforcement based on the current definition proposed by Dik and Duffy (2009) and Duffy and Dik (2013). Approximately 55% of the initial law enforcement participant pool in this study indicated that law enforcement could be viewed as their calling. This further confirms what has previously been established by Charles (2009) suggesting that calling is a salient construct for those working in law enforcement, as well as what was identified by Arndt and Davis (2011) suggesting that some law enforcement officers find spiritual meaning through their work in the law enforcement profession.

For law enforcement officers, living a calling predicts low withdrawal intentions which is consistent with the theoretical perspective outlined by Duffy et al. (2018). This expands the current understanding by Duffy, Dik & Steger (2011) by clarifying that living a calling predicts withdrawal intentions specifically for law enforcement officers, as opposed to the perception of a calling suggested by previous research. In addition, this study further supports the conclusions drawn by Garcia and Spector (2015) who suggested that those who have an opportunity to live out their calling demonstrate lower withdrawal intentions than those who have an unanswered calling or no calling at all. This study further contributes to the current literature by demonstrating that the relationship of living a calling to withdrawal intentions was not influenced by job stressors or perceived organizational support for law enforcement officers. This study suggests that despite some of the challenges that come with working in law

enforcement, law enforcement officers who are living out their calling have low withdrawal intentions. Furthermore, the positive benefits of living a calling may carry forward further and including greater job satisfaction and improved job performance (Duffy et al, 2012; Park et al, 2006; Lee, Chen & Chang, 2016).

This study also alludes to the possibility of the "darkside" of calling suggested by Duffy and Dik (2013). This study demonstrates that the relationship between living a calling and low withdrawal intentions was not significantly influenced by the moderating variables of job stressors and perceived organizational support meaning that, even at low levels of organizational support and high levels of job stress, law enforcement officers who view law enforcement as living a calling maintain low intentions of leaving the profession. This may leave them potentially vulnerable to negative consequences such as workaholism, burnout, and organizational exploitation (Dik & Duffy, 2012). Although not specifically measured in this study, the qualitative results support some of these conclusions suggesting that some law enforcement officers may feel "stuck or trapped" in the profession despite also feeling called. Other law enforcement officers specifically noted the negative consequences of continuing to stay in the profession, including the physical and mental toll the profession may take on one's physical and psychological wellbeing, as well as personal relationships.

A final implication of this study sheds light on the impact of the current sociopolitical climate on those working in law enforcement. A Washington Post article from June 2020 outlines twelve high-profile cases of police violence towards people of color that has led to national protests and a nationwide call to action regarding police reform, including the Black Lives Matter movement (Duncan et al, 2020). Two of the cases in the national spotlight occurred during the proposal and data collection phases of this project.

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According to the Washington Post (2020, June 8), on March 13, 2020 in Louisville, Kentucky, Breonna Taylor was killed after police entered her home using a battering ram in search of narcotics. Taylor was shot eight times by police and no narcotics were recovered. The three white officers involved in the incident were placed on administrative leave pending investigation; however, no charges have been filed.

The case of George Floyd is likely the most notable case to have occurred during the course of this project. According to the Washington Post (2020, June 8), on May 25th, 2020 in Minneapolis, Minnesota, George Floyd, as 46-year-old, African American man, was confronted by Officer Derek Chauvin for allegedly using a counterfeit $20 bill to pay for an item at a nearby deli. Chauvin, a 44-year-old, white officer, now formerly with the Minneapolis Police Department, was observed on video kneeling on the neck of Floyd for nearly nine minutes while Floyd repeated tried to indicate that he could not breath. Floyd died as a result of his injuries sparking nationwide outrage. Chauvin has been found guilty on criminal charges of second-degree unintentional murder, third-degree murder, and second-degree manslaughter with sentencing to follow at a later date (Levenson & Cooper, 2021). Three additional officers are awaiting possible charges in the death of Floyd.

This study sheds some light on the impact of the current sociopolitical climate on those working in law enforcement currently. Although not measured quantitatively, the qualitative feedback from participants clearly suggests that the current climate has an impact on law enforcement. Fifteen participants specifically spoke about the challenges of working in law enforcement given the current climate. Although there were no officers who indicated they intended to leave the profession due to the current sociopolitical climate, many indicated that they would discourage others from entering the profession given the challenges officers currently

face. Many further indicated that the current view of law enforcement in the media and in the general public put additional strain on officers. One officer described treatment of law enforcement officers by the general public as "abuse" and indicated that "good officers" will likely be unable to continue working under such challenging conditions. However, there is a sense of optimism communicated by some officers in that there are hard-working officers who are dedicated to their work, care about the community and who feel the community cares about them despite the current challenges law enforcement faces.

Limitations of the Research and Future Directions

There are a number of limitations to this research that need to be considered. First, there are limits to the generalizability of these conclusions to law enforcement with the first being around the construct of calling. In this study, there was an initial participant pool of approximately 247 law enforcement officers; however, only approximately 55% (N=137) endorsed calling as an applicable salient construct. Although calling may predict withdrawal intentions for those living a calling, predictors of withdrawal intentions for those who did not endorse calling as a salient factor remain open for further exploration.

The definition of calling also remains a limitation of this study. Although Dik & Duffy (2009) and Duffy & Dik (2013) provide a definition for calling that guided this study, 25 participants indicated that a sense of calling developed after entering the field of law enforcement and two participants indicated that they experienced calling as an ongoing process. Although a sense of calling may be a salient construct for these participants, it also begs the question of how a sense of calling is independently operationalized outside of similar constructs

such as meaningfulness or purpose. Future research may look to clarify the nomological network around a sense of calling and similar, yet independent, constructs.

The representative nature of this sample is also a limitation of this study. Over 95% of the sample consisted of participants who identified as white. Conclusions drawn from that data may not accurately represent the experiences of people of color working in law enforcement. With a more representative sample, further research could explore if calling predicts lower withdrawal intentions for those who hold a minoritized racial identity. This sample was also recruited from law enforcement officers currently working in the state of Wisconsin. The experience of law enforcement officers working in Wisconsin, or in the Midwest, cannot necessarily be generalized to other law enforcement officer's experiences areas of the county.

An additional limitation of this study is that only a small portion of the Work as a Calling model was examined. Although the proposed model contributes to WCT in part, it only accounts for a very small portion of the theoretical framework and did not empirically assess how living a calling and low withdrawal intentions fits into the larger scope of work as a calling theory over time. This study remains only a small, cross-sectional snapshot of those living a calling in law enforcement. Further research would look to examine the applicability of WCT to those in law enforcement over time, including from the perception of a calling, through living a calling, and the resulting outcomes longitudinally ideally addressing all 32 proposed relationships.

Given this model only accounts for approximately 23% of the variance in withdrawal intentions, future research could also consider the influence of alternative variables that could serve as potential moderators to the relationship between living a calling and withdrawal intentions. As Duffy, Dik and Steger (2011) suggest, career commitment could be a potential moderator that could be explored in the future. Duffy et al. (2019) also suggest that factors such

as burnout, workaholism, and organizational exploitation could also be moderating variables worth further exploration. Personality factors may be another area for future exploration (Duffy et al, 2019). Factors, such as perfectionism, dependability, self-esteem, openness, need for achievement and motivation, could all potentially influence the relationship between living a calling and withdrawal intentions in law enforcement. Given the "brotherhood" nature of police culture, it may also be advantageous to explore additional variables such as organizational embeddedness or job embeddedness and how this may influence the relationship between living a calling and withdrawal intentions. Finally, future research could also explore how the role of previous trauma experienced by law enforcement officers and the efficacy of critical incident management may influence job stressors which, in turn, may influence living a calling and withdrawal intentions.

Future research should continue to examine whether the Work as a Calling Theory is the most effective theoretical framework to explain the career development process of law enforcement officers. As this study demonstrates, the construct of calling did not apply to every law enforcement officer. By grounding this study in the WCT framework and effectively placing living a calling as a predictor, the theoretical framework fails to explain the career development process for approximately 45% of the initial participant pool in this study. Future research could explore placing living a calling within the framework of a theoretical model that has more empirical support, such as Dawis and Lofquist's (1984) theory of work adjustment, which may help explain the career development process for a larger portion of law enforcement officers.

In addition, future research may also explore whether living a calling best functions as a predictor versus a mediating or moderating variable within the theoretical framework. This study suggests that both job stressors and perceived organizational support also have a main effect on

withdrawal intentions. Although WCT places living a calling in the predictor role, future research may explore if placing living a calling better explains low withdrawal intentions in a moderating role. For example, if job stressors predict withdrawal intentions in law enforcement, future research may explore if living a calling moderates this relationship functioning as a form of resiliency.

Incidentally, this study was conducted during a time that was described in a Forbes article as a "historic police exodus" due to the current sociopolitical climate around law enforcement (2021, April 29). According to Forbes, multiple departments across the United States are struggling with record numbers of law enforcement officers leaving the profession, with some agencies seeing up to 20% decrease in the number of officers within departments (McEvoy, 2021). This study demonstrates that there is a significant difference in withdrawal intentions of law enforcement officers who view their work as a calling and those who do not identify calling as a salient construct related to their work. Although participants in this study did not indicate that they planned to leave the profession because of the sociopolitical climate, future research may look to explore more about those making the decision to leave and clarify the roll calling may play in one's decision to leave or stay in the profession given challenging contextual variables, such as the sociopolitical climate surrounding the profession.

Future research may also look to address "the dark side of calling" noted by Dik and Duffy (2013) for those working in law enforcement. This study suggests that living a calling predicts low withdrawal intentions for law enforcement officers; however, some participants noted that there challenges to remaining in the profession. This may include a negative impact on one's physical or psychological wellbeing despite a sense of calling. Future research may look to examine interventions to help mitigate the dark side of calling for those who feel called to the

law enforcement and may be experiencing some of negative outcomes, such as psychological withdrawal or burnout, but would like to remain in the profession.

In summary, there are a number of limitations to this study, most notability the limitations to generalizability based on study design, sample restriction, and the demographic make-up of the sample. However, the study provides a starting point on which to build in the future. Additional moderating variables may be helpful to consider in the future, such as career commitment, burnout, personality factors, organizational embeddedness and the efficacy of critical incident management. Future research may also include the rigorous testing of the WCT model, as well as other career development models, in an effort to better understand the career development of law enforcement officers as a whole. This further includes building our understanding on how to help law enforcement officers with a calling who experience negative outcomes of living a calling and how contextual factors, such as the sociopolitical climate, impact an officer's decision to leave. Finally, future research may continue to discern whether living a calling most effectively explains career development as a predictor, a mediator or as a moderator variable within a theoretical framework.

Conclusions

This study aimed to examine the relationship between living a calling, job stressors, perceived organization and withdrawal intentions for those in law enforcement. There appears to be a direct relationship between living a calling and low withdrawal intentions for those in law enforcement who consider their work a calling. This relationship is not influenced by outside variables such as job stressors and perceived organizational support. These results are consistent with previous literature suggesting that calling remains a salient construct for those working in

law enforcement and lower withdrawal intentions can be considered a positive worked-related

outcome resulting from living a calling.

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Survey

Calling, Job Stressors, and Withdrawal Intentions in Law Enforcement

University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee

Informed Consent to Participate in Research
Study title: Workplace Stressors and Withdrawal Intentions in Law Enforcement: The Role of Living a Calling.
Researcher[s]: Kristin Weber, M.S. and Dr. Nadya Fouad, Ph.D
We're inviting you to take a survey for research. This survey is completely voluntary. There are no negative consequences if you don't want to take it. If you start the survey, you can always change your mind and stop at any time.
What is the purpose of this study? I want to learn more about how law enforcement officers view their work and factors that contribute to whether officers stay in the profession or decide to leave.
What will I do? The survey will ask questions about how you view your work, possible stressors you may have experienced in the course of your work and whether you intend to leave the profession. It includes questions about possible exposure to trauma in the course of your work and trauma exposure prior to entering the law enforcement profession. The survey will take about 15-20 minutes.
Risks
·Risks that you may experience from participating in this study are considered minimal.
·Some questions may be personal or upsetting. You can skip them or quit the survey at any time. There is potential risk of distress or recalling traumatic memories.
If you become distressed and/or need additional support, please reach out to the following resources:
  o National Alliance on Mental Illness: 1-800-950-NAMI
  o National Alliance on Mental Illness Crisis Text Line: text "NAMI" to 741741
  o National Suicide Prevention Hotline: 1-800-273-8255
  o Police Officer Support Team 24hr Confidential Line: 414-352-5125
·Online data being hacked or intercepted: Anytime you share information online there are risks. We're using a secure system to collect this data, but we can't completely eliminate this risk.
· Breach of confidentiality: There is a chance your data could be seen by someone who shouldn't have access to it. We're minimizing this risk in the following ways:
 o We'll store all electronic data on a password-protected, encrypted computer.
 o Survey data will be deidentified. No identifying information will be collected in the main survey.
 o Participants will be directed to an additional survey to enter an email address for the prize drawing. While your email address is not being collected in the main survey, there is a small chance that they two surveys could be linked for those who participate in both the main survey

and the prize drawing. Main survey data will be deidentified and all email addresses will be kept confidential.

Possible benefits: There are no potential benefits to participating in this study other than furthering research.

Estimated number of participants: 100 Law Enforcement Officers

How long will it take? Approximately 15-20 minutes

Costs: None

Compensation: You will have the option to enter a drawing for 1 of 5 $20 Amazon gift cards. Participation in the study is not required to enter the prize drawing. Participants will be able to enter the prize drawing using the link below.
https://milwaukee.qualtrics.com/jfe/form/SV_086ILbMUgzi1yMl

Future research: De-identified data (all identifying information removed) may be shared with other researchers. You won't be told specific details about these future research studies.

Confidentiality and Data Security We'll collect the following identifying information for the research: email address. If you decide to enter the drawing, this information is necessary to send you a gift card if you are chosen. Email addresses collected in a separate survey and will be stored separately from the primary survey data to promote confidentiality.

Where will data be stored? As an encrypted document, on a password-protected computer in possession of the primary researcher.

How long will it be kept? Data will be destroyed once data analysis is complete or after five years. Email addresses will be destroyed upon the completion of data collection.

Who can see my data? ·We (the researchers) will have access to de-identified data (no names, birthdates or address). This is so we can analyze the data and conduct the study.
·Agencies that enforce legal and ethical guidelines, such as
   o The Institutional Review Board (IRB) at UWM
   o The Office for Human Research Protections (OHRP)
·We may share our findings in publications or presentations. If we do, the results will be aggregated and de-identified (no name, birthdate, address, etc.) If we quote you, we'll use pseudonyms (fake names).

Questions about the research, complaints, or problems: Contact Kristin Weber at weberkn@uwm.edu or the research supervisor Nadya Fouad at nadya@uwm.edu

Questions about your rights as a research participant, complaints, or problems: Contact the UWM IRB (Institutional Review Board) at 414-662-3544 / irbinfo@uwm.edu.   Please print or save this screen if you want to be able to access the information later.
IRB #: 21.071
IRB Approval Date: 10/14/2020

Agreement to Participate Your participation is completely voluntary, and you can withdraw at any time. To take this survey, you must be: ·At least 18 years old ·Living in the United States ·English-Speaking ·Currently working in law enforcement and are a sworn officer.   If you meet these criteria and would like to take the survey, click the button below to start.

○ Yes

○ No

Q2 What is your gender?

○ Man

○ Woman

○ Another gender identity not listed here (Please specify)
_____

Q3 Choose one race that you consider yourself to be:

○ American Indian or Alaska Native

○ Asian

○ Black or African American

○ Native Hawaiian or Pacific Islander

○ White

○ Biracial

Q4 What is your current age?

_____

Q5 How long have you been with your current department? (Please indicate the number of years.)

_____

Q6 What is your current departmental rank?

_____

Q7 Please indicate the approximate size of your department?

_____

Q8 Which best describes your department's location?

○ Urban

○ Suburban

○ Rural

Q9 Some people, when describing their careers, talk about having a "calling." Broadly speaking, a "calling" in the context of work refers to a person's belief that she or he is called upon (by the needs of society, by a person's own inner potential, by God, by a Higher Power, etc.) to do a particular kind of work and may feel their work a perfect fit for their interests or their destiny.

Based on the above definition, do you feel you have a calling to work in law enforcement?

○ Yes

○ No

Q10 If you feel called to work in law enforcement, when did this calling develop? (Prior to entering the profession, after working in the profession, as you approach retirement, etc.)

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

Q11 Thinking about the definition of calling provided, please answer the following items if you currently feel a calling to law enforcement.

	Strongly Disagree	Moderately Disagree	Slightly Disagree	Neutral	Slightly Agree	Moderately agree	Strongly agree	Not Applicable-I don't have a calling
I have regular opportunities to live out my calling.	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○
I am currently working in a job that closely aligns with my calling.	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○
I am consistently living out my calling.	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○
I am currently engaged in activities that align with my calling.	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○
I am living out my calling right now in my job.	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○
I am working in the job to which I feel called.	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○

Q12 When you help people you have direct contact with their lives. As you may have found, your compassion for those you help can affect you in positive and negative ways. Below are some questions about your experiences as an officer. Consider each of the following questions about you and your current work situation. Select the response that honestly reflects how frequently you experienced these things in the <u>last 30 days</u>.

	Never	Rarely	Sometimes	Often	Very Often
I am preoccupied with more than one person I help.	○	○	○	○	○
I jump or am startled by unexpected sounds.	○	○	○	○	○
I find it difficult to separate my personal life from my life as an officer.	○	○	○	○	○
I think that I might have been affected by the traumatic stress of those I help.	○	○	○	○	○
Because of my helping, I have felt "on edge" about various things.	○	○	○	○	○
I feel depressed because of traumatic experiences of the people I help.	○	○	○	○	○
I feel as though I am experiencing the trauma of someone I have helped.	○	○	○	○	○

I avoid certain activities or situations because they remind me of frightening experiences of the people I help.	○	○	○	○	○
As a result of my helping, I have intrusive or frightening thoughts.	○	○	○	○	○
I can't recall important parts of my work with trauma victims.	○	○	○	○	○

Q13 Listed below are statements that represent possible opinions that you may have about working with your current police department. Please indicate the degree of your agreement or disagreement with each statement by selecting the response that best represents your point of view about your current department.

	Strongly Disagree	Moderately Disagree	Slightly Disagree	Neither Agree nor Disagree	Slightly Agree	Moderately Agree	Strongly Agree
The department values my contribution to its well-being.	○	○	○	○	○	○	○
The department fails to appreciate any extra effort from me.	○	○	○	○	○	○	○
The department would ignore any complaint from me.	○	○	○	○	○	○	○
The department really cares about my well-being.	○	○	○	○	○	○	○
Even if I did the best job possible, the department would fail to notice.	○	○	○	○	○	○	○
The department cares about my general satisfaction at work.	○	○	○	○	○	○	○
The department shows very little concern for me.	○	○	○	○	○	○	○
The department takes pride in my accomplishments at work.	○	○	○	○	○	○	○
Please mark this answer as Strongly Agree.	○	○	○	○	○	○	○

Q14 The following statements refer to your current occupation. Please indicate your level of agreement with each statement using the following scale:

	Strongly Disagree	Slightly Disagree	Neutral	Slightly Agree	Strongly Agree
I am thinking about leaving my current occupation.	○	○	○	○	○
I am actively searching for an alternative to my occupation.	○	○	○	○	○
I intend to stay in my current occupation for some time.	○	○	○	○	○

Q15 Have you experienced any trauma in your life prior to your service in law enforcement?

○ Yes

○ No

Q16 If you become distressed and/or need additional support, please reach out to the following resources:
- National Alliance on Mental Illness: 1-800-950-NAMI
- National Alliance on Mental Illness Crisis Text Line: text "NAMI" to 741741
- National Suicide Prevention Hotline: 1-800-273-8255
- Police Officer Support Team 24hr Confidential Line: 414-352-5125

Q17 Please describe how your current department handles critical incident debriefing? (i.e. providing coping resources, providing wellness resources, individual debriefings, etc.)

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

Q18 Is there any additional information you would like to provide regarding why a police officer may choose to stay in the profession?

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

Q19 Would you like to enter the drawing for the chance to win a $20 Amazon Gift Card?

○ Yes

○ No

<p style="text-align:center">CURRICULUM VITAE</p>

Education

University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee (Anticipated Graduation: August 2022)
Milwaukee, WI
PhD Educational Psychology
Specialization in Counseling Psychology

Gateway Technical College   May 2016
Kenosha, WI
Alcohol and Other Drug Certificate

University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee   May 2014
Milwaukee, WI
MS Educational Psychology
Emphasis in Community Counseling

Carroll College   May 2008
Waukesha, WI
Bachelor of Arts Degree
Major: Religious Studies Minor: Criminal Justice

Licensure

Licensed Professional Counselor
Clinical Substance Abuse Counselor

Relative Work Experience

08/2021-Present **Psychology Intern (≈40 hrs/week)**   Federal Medical Center-Fort Worth
Federal Bureau of Prisons, Fort Worth, TX

- Provide evidenced-based individual and group interventions for inmates with various mental health and co-occurring medical concerns.
- Assist in the facilitation of substance use treatment in a therapeutic community setting according to corresponding policy and procedure.
- Contribute to evaluations regarding competency to stand trial and criminal responsibility for inmates in various stages of the legal process.

09/2017-07/2021 **Mental Health Professional (PRN staff; ≈12 hrs/week)**
Wellpath (formerly Correct Care Solutions)
Waukesha County Jail Waukesha, WI

- Provided direct clinical and consultation services for patients with mental health concerns.
- Actively assisted in onboarding new contracts and assessing compliance with national standards.
- Consulted with facility classification and segregations boards regarding mental health.
- Utilized crisis intervention skills when working with patients in custody.

09/2020-08/2021 **Research Assistant/Practicum Student Intern (≈20 hrs/week)**

Menomonee Tribal Jail/Maehnowesekiyah Wellness Center

Menomonee Indian Tribe of Wisconsin

Menomonee County, Wisconsin

- Assisted programs in the completion of the Zero Suicide initiative self-study process.
- Facilitated policy and procedure development for Zero Suicide initiative within corrections.
- Actively participated in the Psychological Autopsy training and certification process.
- Provided clinical services for the Menomonee community, as needed.

08/2019-03/2020 **Practicum Student Intern (≈20 hrs/week)**   Mendota Mental Health Institute

Wisconsin Department of Health and Human Services

Madison, WI

- Utilized psychological testing and drafted reports that help inform competency to stand trial evaluations.
- Provided individual competency restoration sessions for patients deemed not competent to stand trial.
- Lead competency restoration groups of patients deemed in need of treatment to competency.
- Engaged in individual therapy with patients adjudicated not guilty by reason of mental disease or defect.

09/2018-06/2019 **Practicum Student Intern (≈25 hrs/week)**   Taycheedah Correctional Institution

Wisconsin Department of Corrections

Fond du Lac, WI

- Facilitated a coping skills building psychotherapy group focused on mindfulness and meditation.
- Provided individual psychotherapy interventions for incarcerated women.
- Utilized testing and assessment to provide appropriate recommendations for psychotherapy treatment and institutional programming
- Collaborated with licensed providers regarding crisis intervention and risk assessment.

12/2017-08/2018 **Practicum Student Intern (≈20 hrs/week)**   Cornerstone Counseling Services

Milwaukee, WI

- Completed initial diagnostic evaluations for children, teens and adults.
- Provided outpatient psychotherapy services for children, teens and adults.
- Participated in weekly staffing and collaboration with colleagues.
- Collaborated with primary care providers regarding care of mutual clients.

09/2017-12/2017 **Practicum Student Intern (≈15 hrs/week)**   Mindstar Counseling

Milwaukee, WI

- Actively lead a skills-building group for adolescent girls involved in human trafficking.
- Provided individual psychotherapy interventions for both adults and children.
- Developed comprehensive treatment plans for each client seeking treatment.
- Participated in weekly supervision and case consultation with colleagues.

05/2016-09/2017 **Mental Health Coordinator (≈40 hrs/week)** Correct Care Solutions
Waukesha County Jail
Waukesha, WI

- Provided direct clinical and consultation services for patients with mental health concerns.
- Consulted with classification and segregations boards regarding mental health.
- Utilized crisis intervention skills when working with patients in custody.
- Compiled monthly statistics and quality improvement plans for the Mental Health Department.

05/2014-05/2016 **AODA/Mental Health Counselor/Case Manager (≈40 hrs/week)**
Quality Addiction Management
West Milwaukee, WI

- Completed intake assessments and identified patient needs.
- Developed comprehensive treatment plans specific to patient needs and treatment goals.
- Provided individual psychotherapy for adult patients struggling with substance abuse.
- Used case management skills and reliable referrals to connect patients with necessary services.

09/2013-05/2014 **Counseling Intern (≈20 hrs/week)** Lutheran Counseling &
Family Services of WI
Wauwatosa, WI

- Co-facilitated AODA focused group counseling.
- Provided psychotherapy services for children ages 4 through 10 in a school setting.
- Counseled adult clients in an outpatient mental health clinic environment.
- Observed and contributed to patient care as part of a treatment team.

Conferences Attended
- American Psychological Association Annual Convention, August 2019
- American Psychological Association Annual Convention, August 2018
- American Counseling Association National Conference, March 2016
- American Counseling Association National Conference, March 2013

Teaching and Training Experience
- Suicide Prevention and Detection, Waukesha County Sheriff's Department, March 2021
- COUNS 840 Psychological Assessment, Associate Lecturer, University of WI-Milwaukee, Spring 2021
- COUNS 751 Multicultural Considerations in Lifespan Psychopathology, Associate Lecturer, University of WI-Milwaukee, Spring 2021
- COUNS 800 Theory and Practice of Group Counseling, Teaching Assistant, University of WI-Milwaukee, Spring 2021
- COUNS 755/765/970 Pre-Practicum 1/Supervised Practicum 1/Supervised Practicum 2 in Clinical Mental Health Counseling, Teaching Assistant, University of WI-Milwaukee, Spring 2020
- COUNS 755/765/970 Pre-Practicum 1/Supervised Practicum 1/Supervised Practicum 2 in Clinical Mental Health Counseling, Teaching Assistant, University of WI-Milwaukee, Fall 2019
- COUNS 775 Trauma Counseling II: Diagnosis and Treatment, Instructor, University of WI-Milwaukee, Spring 2019

- COUNS 774 Trauma Counseling I: Theory and Research, Instructor, University of WI-Milwaukee, Spring 2019
- COUNS 774 Trauma Counseling I: Theory and Research, Instructor, University of WI-Milwaukee, Fall 2018
- COUNS 710 Counseling Theories, Teaching Assistant, University of WI-Milwaukee, Fall 2018
- Suicide Prevention and Detection, Waukesha County Sheriff's Department, March 2018
- Suicide Prevention and Detection, Waukesha County Sheriff's Department, September 2017
- Suicide Prevention and Detection, Waukesha County Sheriff's Department, March 2017
- Suicide Prevention and Detection, Waukesha County Sheriff's Department, September 2016

Professional Memberships
- American Psychological Association (APA), 2018-present
- APA Membership in Division 1, Division 17 and Division 42.
- National Certified Counselor (NCC), 2015-present
- American Counseling Association, 2013-2018

Research Experience
- Developed research proposals, literature reviews, methodological critiques, and engaged in manuscript writing for a research team led by Dr. Nadya Fouad.
- Ad Hoc reviewer for the Journal of Career Development (February 2020).
- Collaboratively develop research questions and produce poster presentations for a research team led by Dr. Marty Sapp.
- Actively participated on a qualitative research team focused on career counseling. Led by Ashley Kies, Spring 2014
- Gained experience coding and transcribing research interviews on a qualitative research team with a focus on historical trauma. Led by Ia Xiong, Spring 2014
- Current research interests include values-driven living, career choice, living a calling, vocational issues in law enforcement.

Presentation and Publication Experience

Weber, K., Gloede, M., Ricondo, K., & Sapp, M. (2019, August). *Exploring the Attitudes of Counseling Students Towards Hypnosis*. Poster presentation at the American Psychological Association National Convention, Chicago, IL.

Sapp, M., Gloede, M., **Weber, K.,** & Ricondo, K. (2019, August). *Hypnosis and Test Anxiety*. Poster presentation at the American Psychological Association National Convention, Chicago, IL.

Sapp, M., Gloede, M., Ricondo, K., & **Weber, K**. (2019, August). *Primer on Effect Sizes for Hypnosis Research*. Poster presentation at the American Psychological Association National Convention, Chicago, IL.

Gloede, M., Sapp, M., Ricondo, K., Love, T., & **Weber, K**. (2019, August). *Mindfulness and Hypnosis: Measuring Curiosity and Decentering Using the Toronto Mindfulness Scale*.

Poster presentation at the American Psychological Association National Convention, Chicago, IL.

Ricondo, K., Sapp, M., Gloede, M., Love, T., & **Weber, K**. (2019, August). *Hypnosis to Improve Selective Attention in College Students*. Poster presentation at the American Psychological Association National Convention, Chicago, IL.

Fouad, N. & **Weber, K**. (2020, August). *Social Identity and the Perception of Career Choices* [Poster session canceled]. American Psychological Association National Convention, Washington D.C.

Fouad, N., Kozlowski, M., Schams, S., Gorel, E., **Weber, K.,** & Diaz Tapia, W. (2019, August). Why Aren't We There Yet? Research on the Career Development of Women. Symposium at the American Psychological Association National Convention, Chicago, IL.

Fouad, N. A., Kozlowski, M. B., Singh, R., Linneman, N. G., Schams, S. S., & **Weber, K. N**. (2019). Exploring the Odds: Gender Differences in Departing the Engineering Profession. Journal of Career Assessment. https://doi.org/10.1177/1069072719876892

Goral, E., Schafer, J., & **Weber, K**. (2018, August). *Gender and Hypnosis*. Poster presentation at the American Psychological Association National Convention, San Francisco, CA.

Activities, Service and Awards
- Active Member of the Counseling Psychology Student Association 2017-present.
- President of the Counseling Psychology Student Association, 2018-2019.
- Acted as Student Practicum Coordinator for the Counseling Department at the University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee, 2017-2018.
- Contributed to the Chancellor's Advisory Committee on Mental Health and Reaching Students in Need workgroup at the University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee, 2017-2018.
- Participated in an experiential learning workgroup focused on improving student experiences campus wide at the University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee, 2017-2018.
- Participated in American Counseling Association Graduate Student Ethics Competition, 2013.
- Active member of the Counseling Student Organization at the University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee from 2012-2014.
- Awarded the Religious Studies Award in 2008 for outstanding academic achievement and community service.