Athabasca University Master of Arts - Integrated Studies

USING EMOTIONAL LABOUR AS A TOOL:
AN AUTOETHNOGRAPHICAL LOOK AT POLICING

By

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A Reflexive Comment

I have been well known for my work for a very long time and no matter where I go or with whom I speak I am instantly recognized. More recently, I am recognized as the one who shot native protester Dudley George at the Ipperwash Provincial Park on September 6, 1995. I am acknowledged as the one who pulled the trigger on Mr. Dziekanski at the Vancouver airport on October 14, 2007. And, I am received as the one who made the decision not to search for the missing couple in the backcountry of British Columbia in February 2009. While everyone instantly recognizes who I am, practically no one knows me. I am so embarrassed and so sorry for my behaviour. I want to explain my actions. I want to talk about my abilities and my need for training. This autoethnography reveals several of the many experiences of my more than thirty five years as a police officer. Its purpose is to both pull back the curtain on the 'thin blue line' and to create a contact zone where we can talk. I want to talk about the concept of emotional labour and how I think it can both improve our relationship and improve officers' physical and psychological well-being.

Introduction

> *"The aspects of things that are most important for us are hidden because of their simplicity and familiarity*."
>
> ~Wittgenstein

The first time I activated the emergency equipment of a police vehicle was at CFB Gagetown, New Brunswick in the very early 70s; I was seventeen years of age. Not so many months before

becoming a military police officer, and that first officer violator contact, I was dependant on my mother for major decisions in my life and my days were spent trying to impress members of the opposite sex, learning to drive, and cramming for high school exams. Just prior to flipping on the emergency lights, I was learning to polish boots and practicing ceremonial drill, to make my bed with military-style corners, and enduring the punishment so generously meted out for failures to conform to standards of conduct.

During basic and trades training my teenage identity, one I was hardly even aware of, was gradually stripped away by the condemnation and praise of screaming and spitting drill sergeants. It was replaced with an identity that was confident, self-regulating, trustworthy, dependable and accountable, and above all a team player. By the end of training the word 'sir' rolled off my lips quicker than perspiration off my brow during a ten mile run. I had control of all my youthful inclinations and outbursts. My new identity was pieced together as part of strict and controlling structure that responded to the commands of an internal source of rational authority. It was an identity built for responding to calls, making arrests, and deterring crime. After receiving my culture dependent and mechanical orientation, I was sent to the field where customs and traditions served to harden the new construction. There I experienced elevated levels of work satisfaction, enhanced views of policing and police and favourable evaluations of police impact on the communities in which I served. I believed I was doing significant work and my confidence soared.

In addition to several years as a military police officer, I served a full career in the Royal Canadian Mounted Police (RCMP) and another ten years as the Chief of Police of a small municipal police agency. My overall experience has been that police training in general recognizes the importance of this training model and the construction of such identities. The

identity I was given at age 17 was reinforced over the years by my exposure to police training and culture. That identity was not clear to me until I found myself on the verge of retirement. As I looked back on my career in policing, it was as if I had spent the better part of my life climbing a very high mountain and then some 35 years later I was nearing its apex. From the mountain top, I found myself looking back on from where I had devotedly, respectfully, unquestioningly come. While the whole of it was not evident, I was able to make sense of parts of the encampment where I had been equipped and primed for my journey. Despite the distance, the long and winding path from base camp to where I stood was entirely and clearly visible. From where it began much of the path was well marked, well known and cut deep into bedrock. However, more near its end a new section had been put into service. It appeared to be poorly built on unstable ground and was obviously not well maintained. Its direction appeared arbitrarily established and not always logical or clear. However, given that boldly written and recently erected signs that indicated the new path was a more direct route to the top and encouraged its use, I followed it to the best of my ability. As I reached the summit, I found myself overextended and exhausted by the experience. The paths of the more traditional or professional model of policing and the more contemporary community policing model have both had their toll on me. While the first consisted of many very steep inclines and large obstacles making the climb to the top very tough, it is the quicker route, the supposed softer and gentler climb that I found most difficult.

The strain of always having to make nice, to express emotions I didn't feel or to suppress emotions I felt in order to appease what I thought were the runaway expectations of both a sometimes unreasonable public and overbearing employer with little or no consideration to the resources and training required to travel the new path left me both fatigued and angry. I felt

unappreciated and betrayed; those feelings were often mixed with sudden and sharp feelings of anxiety and remorse. The climb was still difficult for me at times; however, as I neared the top I thought I had a fairly good handle on the mountain's terrain.

At about that same time in my life I began to study under the tutelage of Dr. Richard Marsden of Athabasca University. Under his guidance, so much more came into view; the base camp suddenly came into focus. I was provided the opportunity to look over the mountain and beyond to the valley on the other side. This was part of the journey I had not anticipated I would make as a police officer. The way forward suddenly seemed clear.

I learned that the need for me to express emotions I didn't have and to suppress emotions I had as part of my policing duties had a name. It was called 'emotional labor', a term coined by Arlie Hochschild in 1983 (p. 7). I learned first that the concept was considered a very powerful tool used by large and very successful organizations such as Disney and McDonalds to ensure a better relationship with customers and to keep them coming back. In fact, some businesses believe the performance of emotional labor is so important they often don't trust their employees to perform it. Some require employees to be silent and wear mascot costumes whose smile speaks on behalf of the business. At first, I felt used. I felt as though I was being emotionally manipulated by those businesses and, in initial assignments, I spoke out against the businesses and the practise. Then I learned some research suggests and police agencies were aware the performance of emotional labor might be causing officers emotional problems. I struggled with the question why, if police officers perform emotional labor on a daily basis and that its performance might be making us sick, we were not informed of the concept. I became angry. Finally, I realized that I had been using the concept in my personal daily routine all my life and I

had not been rendered sick as a result, in fact, I concluded it had served me well. I resolved I would consciously use it at work.

Today, we live in a world of increasing complaints against police behaviour. It is a world in which all police officers have come to understand the need for a better relationship with the communities they serve. Unfortunately we also live in a world where increasing numbers of police officers seem unable to cope and are seeking help for psychological problems. I know officers want to do a better job but I feel as though they are not equipped for the challenges of the more contemporary policing approach. I am reminded of the expression – if all you have is a hammer, everything looks like a nail. I began to wonder, would the concept of emotional labour do for other officers what it did for me? Could emotional labour be used as a tool to build a better relationship with community and to construct kinder, gentler, and healthier police identities? This paper explores that possibility and concludes that if properly understood and performed emotional labour will improve officer conduct and will reduce incidents of psychological strain.

Emotional Labour Theory

The use of our emotional system and its impact on work and interactions in the workplace has been researched in studies of job design (Hackman & Oldham, 1980), decision making and innovation (Isen & Baron, 1991), group dynamics (Smith & Berg, 1987), leadership (Yukl, 1989), culture and climate (Schneider, 1990a), and the physical environment (Sundstrom, 1986) (Ashforth et al. p. 88). To provide a framework for a more indepth understanding of emotions and emotional labour, this paper turns first to the seminal work of Arlie Hochschild's (1983) and subsequently the work of Ashforth & Humphrey (1993).

In *The Managed Heart: Commercialization of Human Feeling*, Hochschild (1983) suggests growing competition in the service sector has created an ensuing interest by corporations to achieve an image that suggests a more customer-service orientation (p.9). In order to achieve a favourable impression, corporations attempt to control the emotional displays of their employees. Emotional labour is the management of one's emotions to elicit desired emotional states in oneself and others for a wage (Hochschild, in Domagalski, 844); an act of complying with organizationally mandated behaviour expected during service encounters (Ashforth and Humphrey, p. 88).

Hochschild's theory was inspired by Erving Goffman's discussion on the social construction of society using an analogy of a theatrical performance where as humans we play a role and act out scripts (Goffman, p. 4). Goffman's approach stems from the perspective of symbolic interactionism which is rooted in the premise that humans act and adjust their behaviour during social interactions based on the meaning we have for things and therefore construct their social world (Turner, p. 346). For Goldman the action is a 'strategic front' that is presented in response to each particular interaction (Ibid).

Consistent with the perspective and the analogy, Hochschild (1983) suggests we are all actors. She suggests we adjust our outward appearance by exhibiting certain body language, a method of communication she calls "surface acting" or we work on our feelings, another method of communication she refers to as "deep acting"(p.35), to evoke or to suppress emotion (p.39). In surface acting we deceive others but not our selves (Marsden, p. 67) and our attention is directed toward the audience in an attempt to determine if our acting is working (Hochschild, p. 38). When deep acting, on the other hand, our attention is directed inward on our own feelings and is

an attempt to convince ourselves (Ashforth et al. p. 93). Hochschild then extended Goffman's approach by conceptualizing an emotion culture which is concerned with appropriate "attitudes, feelings, and emotional responses in generic types of situations" (Turner, p. 346).

Hochschild's (1983) study of flight attendants and debt collectors suggests "opposite poles" of emotional labour that correspond with the "toe" and "heel" of the corporate world; on the one hand there is the 'toe' or delivery of service, while on the other hand there is the 'heel' or the collection of payments (p.137-8). When an organization delivers a service it requires employees to feel "sympathy, trust, and good will" to "enhance the customer's status to heighten his or her importance" and to provide for a satisfactory experience in an effort to entice business. When an organization collects payment it requires its employees to feel "distrust" and "bad will" (Ibid, p. 137) to "reduce the customer's status" (Ibid, p. 138) in an effort to force payment. The purpose of emotional labour then is to make citizens feel good or feel bad, depending on the circumstances (Mastracci et al. p. 125).

A theory within symbolic interactionism, Affect Control Theory, is concerned with how the body's interaction with stimuli regulates social life. The theory assumes that social messages that describe our self, others, and our actions carry emotional meanings that are indicative of cultural attitudes toward types of people, out of context. Groups or cultures are symbolic and can only be understood "if the symbolic qualities of this context are appreciated" (Forte, p. 80). Again consistent with the perspective and the analogy Hochschild (1983) suggests since feeling is a pre-action, these scripts, words, or symbols that stand for something else are a powerful means for our culture to direct our actions (Hochschild, p. 56). Hochschild calls these patterns of communication that can be used as the basis for further interaction 'feeling rules' (Ibid, p. 56).

Feeling rules are "internally consistent assumptions" (Forte, p. 80) that allow us to see "our actions in relation to emotional convention" (Ibid, p. 57).

In *Emotional Labour in Service Roles: The Influence of Identity*, Ashforth & Humphrey (1993) follow the lead of Rafaeli and Sutton (1989) in their use of the term "display rules" rather than feeling rules suggesting they refer to what emotions ought to be publicly expressed rather than to what emotions are actually felt. They define emotional labour then as the act of displaying the appropriate emotions (p. 89-90). Hochschild (1983) suggests that just as cultures use feeling rules or display rules as "measures of appropriateness"(p. 59), so to do organizations and their "authorities" use approved scripted social messages to direct the actions of employees (Ibid, p. 75). While police do not use the term or realize they perform emotional labour, their efforts set up its sale (Hochschild, p.91).

Methodology

> *I want you to feel what I felt. I want you to know why story truth is truer sometimes than happening-truth. . . . What stories can do, I guess, is make things present. . . . [T]his is true: stories can save us.*
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> —Tim O'Brien, *The Things They Carried*

The means of research or exploration used in this paper is as new and unique to me as is the concept of emotional labour. Autoethnography is a self narrative that critically assesses the circumstances of self and others in social situations (Spry, p. 710). It is a type of research that connects the autobiographical and personal to the cultural and the social (Ellis, p. xix). It is a form of research that uses an awareness of self as a source of data to interpret and critique one's culture through self-reflections (Duncan, p. 2) and to engage the version of self others have made

of them (Spry, p. 706). The research allows for an emphasis to be placed on the process, the culture, or the self (Holt, p. 1). Ellis & Bochner (2000) suggest the method allows for the text to be written in the first-person voice that may appear as short stories, fiction, personal essays or other narrative forms of writing (in Miller, p. 909). This form of research often involves action, dialogue and emotion normally involved in relationships and institutional practices that are affected by history, social structure and culture (Ibid). The approach has been described using a number of assorted terms including personal ethnography and first person accounts (Ibid) whereas Vryan (2006) suggests it a subtype of the traditional sociological ethnographic approach (p. 405).

There are those who question autoethnography as a genuine form of research, those who are concerned that this research goes against or beyond what has been accepted as academic research in the past (Holt, p. 3). That is to say some believe this research is not as legitimate as previous forms of research such as traditional ethnography which aspires to 'objective' descriptions of experience or those that require qualitative research that is as exact as quantitative. Traditional ethnography is a social science method of research that aims to discover human social phenomena based on empirical research. Over the last century independent researchers have gathered information by means of what amounts to a basic interview (Denzin, p. 2). The data is often still collected by way of interviews, narratives of others experiences, analysis of which are used to offer suggestions about how things could be different (Ibid. p. 2-3). Stories from individuals are said to contain personal meaning and so are very valuable (Ibid. p. 6). The researchers that conduct the interviews in this approach are strangers or visitors to the culture under study. In this approach, ethnographers seek to become involved in and understand the world of others (Duncan, p. 3). These researchers want nothing to do with the aspirations of

"Ellis, Bochner, Richardson, St. Pierre, Holman Jones, and their cohort . . . to change the world by writing from the heart" (Pelias, 2004 in Denzin, p. 422).

The difference is that in autoethnography the researcher, aside from being the primary subject of the research, has intimate knowledge of the group prior to the decision to conduct research whereas the traditional ethnographer necessarily begins with an interest in data collection (Anderson, p. 379). Russel (1998) suggests, through autoethnography, the once "exotic subjects" of ethnographic research tell their own stories (in Duncan, 2004, p. 3). While some suggest autoethnography has recently become more widely accepted and used, others would argue there has always been an element of autoethnography in qualitative research - "Nels Anderson's *The Hobo* (1923), for instance, drew heavily on his personal experience with the lifestyle of homeless men" – (Anderson, p. 373). There are those who believe already being intimate with the culture "confers the most compelling kind of 'being there' on the ethnographer, they come closest of all to understanding and resembling the emotional stance of those they study" (Ibid). An autoethnographer may find him or herself in a "unique empirical context that provides access to data not obtainable by other methods and may provide enhanced "visibility and reflexivity" (Vryan, p. 405). A voice from the past (Mead 1934) suggests "ethnographers would benefit greatly by more reflective re-collecting of its present in light of its past and its promised futures" (in Hunt & Junco, p. 371). If we are unable to reflect on the past and unable to anticipate our future behaviour; then our understanding of that which we study becomes highly incoherent and essentially too general (Ibid). Perhaps no approach should be expected to produce universal, complete, or definitive knowledge (Vrayan, p. 406). Notwithstanding, while all studies are limited no matter if we focus on a number of people or a specific individual, the production and analysis of data is feasible (Ibid).

By using myself as the sole source of data in this study I am siding with those who argue for the use of autoethnography. I am challenging accepted views that suggest my voice should not be included in the presentation of my findings (Charmaz et al. in Holt, 2003 p. 1). Using this methodology, my career is used first to reveal and explore my social and cultural experiences which are then reflected upon to get a more profound understanding of the police culture. I am particularly aware my being a full member of the group under study does not imply an all-encompassing view or complete freedom to suggest what I wish (Anderson, p. 380). There is a very large part of me; no doubt a part of my policing psyche, that accepts I need more evidence before I can speak with complete authority on a subject that even as a member for more than 35 years I did not wholly experience or understand. While in one respect I am representative of a position all police officers share, I am also very aware of my inability to represent the many police officers across the country, the many situations in which they find themselves, and the many cultures to which they belong. The many cultures within policing and the many interpretations of events I know exist among officers are 'highly variable, changing, and contradictory" (Hayano 1979, in Anderson, p. 380).

I personally suggest both approaches are limited. Accordingly I would ask, what is the upshot to ask police officers, people who have been asked for their entire service, some for a quarter century or more, to control and hide their personal emotions and to express emotions they don't have, about what they are feeling? Depending on the questions asked, of course, it may be that to expect a genuine and factual response is perhaps not recognizing the inherent difficulties faced by police in the first place. I sense that in arguing for existing paradigms of observation and techniques of data analysis there is an assumption that the very problem their research attempts to uncover is not obstructing or preventing its reveal. To come clean with a traditional

ethnographer a police officer must often be acting in resistance to the training, the culture, and on occasion contrary to the privacy and confidentiality laws to which and by which individual officers have been sworn, exposed and held accountable. I would pose the question; in resistance does the ethnographer always secure responses which are genuine and free of resentment and vengeance?

I concede that my use of this approach presents further limitations. The first being that despite my position as a full and complete member of the group I am researching, I am aware that as a student I am also a member of the social science community with another identity and goals that benefit from the completion of this research (Anderson, p. 380). A second concern is the fact that within me there is more than one voice (Tompkins, p. 169) and the understanding that the voice that appears on these pages must not be a voice of anger or frustration or even the authoritative or professional voice of a police officer. The voice that needs to appear on these pages is the voice that carries my feelings, the more gentle voice, the more mature voice that I know resides somewhere within me. It is the one I hear in my head. It is the voice that agrees with Rodney King – "why can't we all just get along". It is the voice that agrees with the findings of the Brown Report when it says police officers have a unique perspective on their relationship with the community. It is one that screams out for an approach between the 'just be nice' approach that Mr. King suggests - an approach by the way that I think largely resembles the approach used by police management - and the 'fix everything' approach suggested by the Brown Report. Yet another concern, given the enormity of my task, is the knowledge of my personal inadequacy to represent. I am ill at ease and cautious. No doubt that too is as a result of my background in policing. Yet, how does anyone represent the many officers, the many cultures, and the many voices that exist within policing and should be heard.

Personally I am able to accept that these limitations exist and must be considered in my research. On the other hand, it is unreasonable to me that while everything around us is changing we should insist our methods of research remain constant. It is unreasonable to me that I must wait for the next study and hope I am provided a voice in those things that both affect and matter to me and those I care about. Notwithstanding the foregoing exchange, I agree with Ellis & Bochner (2006) who suggest "debates about definitions and categories of autoethnography sure pale in comparison to lives being lost and the palpable suffering I can feel circulating through my body" (p. 431). It is my belief that all officers deserve to be heard and it is my hope that my concern for my fellow officers and indeed for all of us will become evident and consequently provide the legitimacy required for the acceptance of what is to follow. Hoping I have addressed the concerns of the methodology used and my ability to represent; this paper moves forward.

Humphrey's (2005) advocates for relating one's experiences using autoethnographical vignettes or narratives. Following his lead, in the pages that follow, I offer several vignettes which are representative of the recollection and reconstruction of my experience as a police officer for well over 35 years. The vignettes are an invitation to readers to step into my psyche to know of and experience the policing experiences of my past and to feel what I felt. The vignettes are grounded within a literary review that examines police systems rationalization, emotions generated by police work, and the need for their regulation. They are offered as information about the structure, dynamics and function of my awareness in the cultural context they describe (Vickers, p. 224). The vignettes are of course suggestive of my entire social experiences within and outside of policing that cause me to both resist and produce cultural identifiers (Geesey, 1997, in Vickers, p. 226), however, I suggest they represent the everyday life of many officers. There was a temptation in the beginning to tell of those situations that would rival the most

interesting Hollywood script; yet another influence of my policing background perhaps. However, following Lievrouw (1996) the vignettes offered are those that I believe portray the essence of my reality (in Vickers, p. 227). They are not the most exciting or complicated of my experience and do not represent the violence and seriousness of the calls that police officers must attend on a daily basis. They are vignettes of simple interactions that allow us to view other than what might typically be seen on television so we can sidestep the usual animation or hype and bravado. Then in the interrelated text I invite the reader to join me in an exploration of the nature, causes and consequences of the true emotions involved in policing and the central role they play. As is suggested by Ellis (2004) and since I am concerned about policing in Canada, they are offered so that others may experience their affects on me and consider how they may be similarly affected (Ibid). Before I tell you about my journey to the top of my personal mountain I need to tell you about what I now see from the summit. My view is of all policing. However, I believe that understanding is enhanced when one has a model to view and in Canada there is no better model and none more recognizable than the RCMP. While I served in three, the RCMP is the agency in which I served the longest and the agency that most represents the experience of which I speak.

The Royal Canadian Mounted Police

The RCMP is Canada's national police service and is said to have been born out of the need to bring law and order to Canada's west. The organization was established in May 1873 by the Parliament of Canada. It was modelled after the Royal Irish Constabulary and was first named the North West Mounted Police (NWMP). The "Force", a term by which they are referred, is well known for its March West to Southern Alberta in 1874 where in Fort Macleod, Alberta they established a permanent post. A year later the Force had grown to 1000 men. In 1904 the Force

was granted the prefix "Royal" by King Edward VII. In 1920 after having been merged with the Federal Dominion Police, the Royal North-West Mounted Police (RNWMP) became known as the RCMP. The Force has continually grown and is now considered a Canadian icon. Its motto is "Maintains le Droit".

A report of a task force on governance and cultural change in the RCMP in 2007, the Brown Report, described the RCMP as follows:

> The RCMP is arguably the most complex law enforcement agency in the world today. The RCMP provides, under contract, rural and municipal policing services in all but two provinces, in all three territories and in approximately 200 municipalities and aboriginal communities. It also provides federal and international police services, national police services and protective policing. The RCMP hosts INTERPOL and Europol for Canada. Many Canadians may not realize that the RCMP provides leadership in police training and stabilization efforts around the world, including in Haiti and Afghanistan. There are currently over 27,000 members and employees of the RCMP comprising regular and civilian members of the Force and public servants. The approximately 17,000 regular members are trained as qualified peace officers, are entitled to wear the uniform and are entitled to carry weapons. There are also approximately 3,000 civilian members of the RCMP who are not trained as peace officers. Civilian members provide specialist support to the Force in areas such as forensic science and technology. Additionally, the RCMP employs approximately 4,700 public service employees who are not members of the Force, but who provide specialized services in key areas such as human resources and financial management. The RCMP is led by the Commissioner appointed pursuant to the RCMP Act. The Commissioner has authority to run the business of the RCMP, under the

direction of the Minister. The Force is organized into detachments, which come together under districts and then divisions, ultimately reporting to the Commissioner. Overlaid on this organization is a regional structure which divides the Force into regions for administrative purposes.

Despite being considered by many as a National Canadian icon and indeed the best police agency in the world and even though as an organization they have been called upon to provide leadership in police training and stabilization efforts around the globe, the RCMP seems not to be immune to the issues and strains central to modern policing. A recent event at the airport at Vancouver, Canada is perhaps indicative of their many challenges to provide policing services to a very large and diverse community. The following vignette demonstrates as well perhaps how its members and their families struggle when such incidents occur.

> *For a split second, obviously conditioned to the tone of her voice, my guts were severely rearranged until I reached the living room and learned my wife's gasp was simply a response to a television newscast. Uneasiness remained, however, as I asked the obvious question. However, she was too involved to respond and so I stood next to her and listened attentively to reports of the death of Mr. Dziekanski at the hands of four RCMP officers. If my wife and I would have spoken we likely would have uttered the same words, "here we go again" because that is how we both felt.*
>
> *I heard only a portion of the story; of violent and bizarre psychotic behaviour, a few seconds of police restraint and death and so my first thought was of excited delirium. I had previously listened both to stories told by police officers of having to face extraordinary strength and comments of doubters who attribute the deaths to excessive use of force and police brutality. I also knew that in medicine there is no such diagnosis,*

despite both the rather obvious and violent symptoms and the fact that, as police officers, we were being trained to deal with what we were told was exactly that. My wife had asked me once what I would do if confronted by someone behaving in a similar fashion. In fact, I had often secretly worried that one day I might be able to answer that question by recounting a personal experience. I was worried of being placed in a situation for which I might have no recourse but to act and being faced with an outcome I could not defend.

My second thought was of what had occurred. Any police officer knows enough not to jump to conclusions, to wait until the investigation is completed before deciding on who did what right or wrong. However, contrary to that understanding and even before I finished watching the newscast I had a sick feeling in the pit of my stomach. I felt for Mr. Dzienkanski and his family but I already had a good idea of what was in store for the officers, for my coworkers, for my daughter who is also a member of the RCMP and for both my wife and I. I was already thinking I would not have responded in the same way. I was not openly critical, I suppressed my emotions as my training and the police culture suggested I do and waited, but inwardly I felt the outcome long before it was announced. Of course, there are differing views. While some say we are cut of the same cloth, many others say we are tarred with the same brush. I am able to see both sides. I was angry at those officers but as time progressed I became more and more cynical of society in general and of the RCMP training in particular.

It is my personal belief that two things happened that day but only one got the attention it deserves. The first is that the officers acted too quickly. I believe they responded the way they did in response to their emotions, emotions they were not aware existed. Had they slowed down

for a second or two, possible in this instance, they could have become aware of the emotions being experienced and taken steps to manage them. The second thing that occurred was that officers used weapons they were provided and they used them in the way they were instructed. Had Mr. Dziekanski not died that day, the officers would no doubt have been praised for swift and appropriate action. Instead, the actions and the decisions officers made within seconds are examined and studied after the fact and at length. The examination concluded that the threats of which the officers spoke did not exist and their testimony was discredited. I believe the conclusion fails to take into account the tremendous stress being experienced by these officers and fails to attribute at least partial responsibility to the very large role played by the police culture and their training. Officers in these situations are often as shocked by their actions as is the rest of society. Confused and disillusioned they are left to defend themselves while the impact of the culture and the inadequacy of that training go practically undoubted. It is not as though the complex emotions officers feel and must contend with are not well known within the RCMP.

The Police Sector Council, a national initiative to detect and solve human resources issues in policing, recently reported that workplace stress is impacting the health of Canadian police officers in general who are struggling from rising social pressures. In recent years three reports suggest RCMP officers are struggling both emotionally and functionally and there has been concern expressed about what to do with the human and financial costs of health issues related to officer stress. The first, a report titled "The Future of Disability Programs and Service for RCMP Members & Their Families: Needs Assessment" completed by their Occupational Health and Safety Branch and provided senior RCMP decision makers in 2006, suggests former and serving officers living with psychiatric and other disabilities is growing and the system meant to care for

them is failing (Corley, 2006). The second report titled "Review of the RCMP's Public Complaint Records" prepared by the Commission for Public Complaints Against the RCMP (CPC), a federal agency that receives public complaints about the conduct of RCMP members and reports to Parliament, suggests officers are having emotional difficulty. Three of the most common complaints received in 2007 were neglect of duty, improper use of force, and the display of improper attitude. The third report titled "Rebuilding the Trust: Report of the Task Force on Governance and Cultural Change in the RCMP", submitted to the Minister of Public Safety and President of the Treasury Board in 2007 suggests despair, disillusionment and anger within the ranks of the RCMP and a need for reform to governance, culture and accountability.

The source of the first report, the Occupational Health and Safety Branch, is an internal agency of the RCMP located at RCMP Headquarters, Ottawa. The needs assessment was submitted by the Branch's project director Chief Superintendent C.R. Corley, a long serving and successful member of the RCMP. The report was the result of a study on the needs of disability-related programs and services by serving and former RCMP officers. Its intent was to provide the information required by senior RCMP leaders to make well-informed decisions concerning program modernization. The Branch was in a position to make recommendations but had no subsequent authority. In contrast, the source of the second report, the CPC is an agency independent of the RCMP created by Parliament in 1988 and given a mandate to receive and fairly and impartially examine public complaints against the conduct of RCMP members. It is meant to hold the RCMP accountable to the public. However, the CPC conducts independent inquiries only after the RCMP conducts an initial investigation and only after a dissatisfied complainant contacts the CPC. Critics of the CPC have called the organization toothless. If it is

involved at all, the CPC will only make recommendations to the RCMP relative to their conclusions with the aim of correcting and preventing further problems and complaints, it has no other authority. Any recommendations accepted and carried out are at the discretion of the Commissioner of the RCMP. The report and recommendations are also passed to the Minister of Public Safety and Emergency Preparedness who tables the reports to Parliament. These first two reports make several recommendations that embrace efforts to be more efficient and effective. While I consider it fair to say that these bodies are creatures of the system and so lack the mandate to do much more, their overall affect has been rendered predictable by the traditionally strong management attitude and action in policing. The third report, however, I thought offered the possibility and the hope of something new.

The Task Force on Governance and Cultural Change in the RCMP was a five-member committee established to provide advice on how to strengthen the accountability and governance of the RCMP. Distinguished academics were asked to weigh in. Among them was Gilles Paquet, once professor of economics and Dean of the Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research at Carleton University and currently Professor Emeritus at the School of Management and Senior Research Fellow at the Centre on Governance of the University of Ottawa. Mr. Paquet prepared a background paper for the Task Force in which he concluded among other things the need "to avoid counting exclusively on structural change" and the need to "find a way to make massive socio-therapy palatable and to make it fit naturally" (p. 21). Also consulted were Dalhousie University researchers, Professor Christopher Murphy of the department of Sociology and Social Anthropology, whose interests include the sociology of policing, security and governance, social and criminal justice, and social policy research (Dalhousie University, Faculty of Arts and Social

Services) and Paul McKenna, who studied policing and the RCMP for more than 30 years. They argue the mandate of today's RCMP has become more complex and calls, among other things, for more social research. Chaired by David Brown, Q.C., the committee report became known as the "Brown Report" which contained recommendations with respect to management structures, accountability and oversight, and workplace policies and practices. Their report points to systems and remedies to improper behaviour unable to adequately respond to modern policing needs and suggests that behaviour-driven conduct requires a different approach.

The hope I had was somewhat diminished by the Task Force's 49 recommendations. On one hand, I understand and appreciate their work and conclusions. The Task Force heard of chronic shortages and overworked officers, of fatigue and other health issues. They heard of systems that don't work or in which officers had no faith. As a result of their review, chairman Brown suggests the Task Force saw an organization whose members were "struggling to do their best under the tremendous burden of an inefficient and inappropriately structured organization" (Globe and Mail, Dec 14, 2007). Their "first reaction was to craft solutions to each of these problems- some of which were blindingly obvious" (Ibid). It was later when they recognized that these problems were merely symptoms of the bigger picture that the Task Force called on the academics. On the other hand, I feel as though the Task Force missed the boat. I feel they failed to grasp the fundamental suggestions of the academics with whom they consulted and who recommended social research and a response that included other than structural change. I was hoping not for measures that would ensure T's were crossed and I's were dotted in order to hold both management and officer's feet to the fire but for recognition that there is much to learn by their behaviour. While the report did recommend recognition of the importance of field

coaching, health and wellness and disability among officers, they appeared to be offered with the view of facilitating control and a return of the officers to duty as soon as possible. The recommendation of extended ethics training also fails to do other than hold the members accountable. I was hoping their sights would eventually turn to the individual officers to discover what motivates their behaviour with a view to correcting or redirecting it. While the academics expressed concern over the para-military and hierarchical structure of the RCMP, the Task Force seemed to give the go ahead to rebuild and ensure its continued existence. As could have been anticipated, only minutes after the Task Force released its report, the RCMP Commissioner William Elliott promised sweeping changes citing no other option (Canwest News Service, Dec, 2007).

In March 2007 the Department Performance Report for the RCMP was presented to Parliament by the Honourable Stockwell Day, Minister of Public Safety. The RCMP Report on Plans and Priorities identified five strategies included combating organized crime; reducing the threat of terrorist activity; preventing/reducing youth involvement in crime; enhancing Canada's economic integrity through crime reduction; and contributing to safer/healthier Aboriginal communities. The Minister stated he was pleased with the RCMP efforts. In their 2008-2009 report the strategies remain the same. It speaks of growing expectations, increased demands for services, continuous improvement within the RCMP, ongoing commitment, a drive toward excellence, and new investigative techniques. In the same report Commissioner Elliott suggests the RCMP is ready to meet the challenges. He points to the work done to "enhance management accountability at all levels, and improve . . . policies and practices across a wide variety of areas including: discipline, workplace disclosure, ethics, independent oversight and review, and human and financial resource management" (Treasury Board of Canada Secretariat). While the Report

on Plans and Priorities stops very briefly on its way to setting up what appears to be the familiar but more powerful control structure to suggest the RCMP is striving to build a better understanding of the needs of its employees, it fails to mention the health and well-being of officers. Nowhere did I see a mention of the need for emotional support, consideration of the existing emotional strain they are under, or the emotive burden they will surely experience to satisfy the increasing demands of the new efforts.

I find it rather disappointing that the total overhaul of the RCMP as is suggested seems totally oblivious of the individual officer outside his or her requirement to be effective, efficient, and totally accountable and the technical skills they need to survive. Concern for their emotional needs and skills appear to be of no concern. I am left wondering, what consideration is given for the work of researchers who have been waving a red flag at policing for decades? What consideration is there, for instance, for the work of Harre (2001) whose findings reveal that, although the training academy has a positive impact on attitudes of cadets, the impact dissipates when they leave the academy and are exposed to the work and the culture (p. 402)? What consideration is there for the work of Engel (2000) which found supervisory style has a significant influence on officer's use of force and the need to consider the motivation of officers who use force unnecessarily (p. 262)? Surely there is consideration given to the work of Drodge & Murphy (2002) and Cinite & Murphy (2001) whose work was commissioned by the RCMP and is replete with notices or even alarms about the way officers appraise situations and why officers might behave negatively as they often do or that productivity was significantly related to positive emotions. And then, what conclusions were drawn from reports such as "The RCMP: Yesterday, Tomorrow and Today", closely studied by the Task Force, in which Linda Duxbury suggests that 40 percent of RCMP officers plan to leave before they can collect their pensions.

What went through the minds of those on the Task Force when Duxbury, a highly respected researcher, stated "all these structural changes won't help if we don't fix the fundamentals and they are all about people" (RMCP Watch)? I agree with Duxbury that how officers respond to future challenges and being constantly under the microscope will largely depend, not on the technical skills of officers and the systems within which they operate but on the officers' ability to recognize and manage their emotions. While I am disappointed, I am not totally surprised. It has been my experience that instead of an acknowledgment that these emotions exist and are natural and instead of exploring and becoming aware of the nature, causes and consequences of emotions, there seems always to have been an attempt in policing to "sanitize the emotional messiness of working life" (Waldron, 2000, p. 64 in Fineman 732).

Despite the RCMP's own research indicates the costs of emotional labour and the need to address the emotional well-being of its officers are skyrocketing and while the rising costs suggest it is in the organization's continuing self-interest to scan and remedy these mental health problems at work, emotions in general or emotional labour in particular seems not to be on the agenda. The term emotional labour does not appear anywhere in the various reports resulting from the restructuring of the RCMP or, as was suggested earlier in this paper, even in the policing lexicon. RCMP officers are not being provided the level of training required to perform well in the more contemporary policing approach that requires they are aware of their own emotions and how emotions influence their actions.

Perhaps part of the problem lies in the RCMP's commitment in 1999 to become a learning organization, a move that was said to place a greater emphasis on human and organizational capital. Under this plan the responsibility for learning is placed on the individual and his or her supervisor and employees are expected to develop individualized learning strategies. What the

plan deems significant and successful is the fact that poor performance is identified only in "rare circumstances when learning opportunities were not seized - or when in spite of repeated opportunities, performance was not improved" (RCMP Learning and Development Branch, 1999). The change in methodology encourages cadets to take responsibility for efficiency seeking out the best information available. The employee continuous development program provides just-in-time learning opportunities to address individual employee needs. The emphasis for training is on the individual officer, rather than a "one-size-fits-all" approach (Ibid). The question is, in a para-military organization in which the outward display of one's emotions is discouraged and the terminology which identifies what training might be sought is not known to officers, how is it requested? The next vignette describes an environment in which I worked and in which I was expected to be aware of the need and to ask for emotional support.

> *In the 1980s I was transferred to Fort McMurray where I served for six years. Then a community of 40,000 inhabitants the city is located in the North of Alberta and is the home of the Alberta tar sands. There were over 60 members stationed there at the time and the patrol area included the city as well as three First Nations Territories and several populated areas in the rural district.*
>
> *The city had boomed several times over the previous few decades evidenced by the many vehicles supporting bumper stickers that read "please God, let it boom one more time" but even in this supposedly quieter era it was a very busy and distressing time and place for police. At the time the average age was said to be 26 years and the population was transient. The entertainment was provided mostly by the community's 36 drinking establishments. The alcohol and drugs were plentiful and the young, transient and well paid men working shift work with up to seven days off at once ensured a Tuesday*

morning could be as busy as a Saturday night. It was not uncommon for teenagers with newly issued driver's licences to carry large sums of money and to suggest to officers their fines meant nothing.

The officers worked ten to a shift, single person cars, four days on, two days followed by two nights, and four days off. The officers carried 50 to sometimes over a hundred investigative files and supervisors made several trips per 12 hour shift to and from the records section with carts resembling grocery carts full of files to be reviewed. A slow night would net 50 calls for service – the record while I was there was 180 complaints with 22 impaired drivers during one shift. It was not unusual for officers to work voluntarily for two of their four days off to catch up on the paperwork so as to be in a position to help fellow officers during the next set. The cells often overflowed capacity and it was often said that, if an officer was not involved in at least three fights a shift, he or she was not working.

The day I arrived, the front page of the local newspaper featured a patrol vehicle with a bicycle hanging out of the trunk. There were some derogatory remarks and a question to the community asking, what do you think would happen to the average citizen if one did this? Of course the answer to that question, the accurate response, was 'nothing'. There was nothing wrong with carrying a bicycle in your trunk but the article illustrated the relationship between the police and the news media. As I was to find out, the police relationship with the community was not much better. The officers worked extremely hard for little or no reward. Many experienced personal attacks and serious injury, stress, anxiety, disgust for many of the citizens they dealt with and varying degrees of dislike for supervisors who pushed them further than what should be considered

reasonable. The officers coped in different ways. Some refused to answer their telephones to avoid being called to work overtime or being called at all times of the day and night just to answer complaints and questions. Many suffered personal setbacks as a result. There were over 20 separations and divorces in those six years, one member took his own life, his supervisor eventually took the same way out a couple of years later, and several others experienced emotional breakdowns. I personally never missed a party or celebration but of many of them I have no memory for my method of coping was to drink and I did lots of it. I often felt torn between the expectations of the community and my supervisors and unjustly criticised by both. I often felt fear, anxiety, and isolation but those emotions were never shared with my supervisors or coworkers. They would not have been sympathetic. To show emotions would have been considered weak and inappropriate unless the emotion was anger, dissatisfaction, or frustration, all of which were acceptable to a certain extent but even those emotions had limits that could be exceeded and met with equal disparagement.

There was one occasion when I would have liked to speak to someone. It was shortly after a colleague had taken his own life and, as a shift supervisor, I was dealing with another who was also suicidal. I did make a telephone call to Edmonton to speak with someone in the Member Assistance Program, a unit of one or two officers trained to direct others in need. It was on a weekend and my call was redirected to a regular dispatch line. If it was important, the dispatcher said, she could have someone call me. She wanted my name. I told her it was not important and that I would call back on Monday. I felt my making the call was risky and I never took the risk a second time. I had no appreciation for the emotions I was experiencing and the impact they were having on me. However, I was very aware that showing emotion or asking for support would

have been seen as a weakness and would have had negative consequences. Even today, with all the talk of support, there is still a very strong stigma attached to the expression of emotion and the stigma coupled with a lack of understanding of emotions hinders the development of a better relationship between officers and the community and prevents the administration of care to officers in need of help.

Officers, including many senior officers, remain of the conviction that emotions are "disruptive", "illogical", "biased" and "weak" and have no place in the workplace (Putnam et al. in Mann, p. 4). The view is the result of the influence of rationality (Ibid). Basically, rationality is our idea of acting within reason which means acting within certain rules and an agreed understanding of reality. Police are not alone in their thinking as rationality is advantageous within groups in the sense that our behaving in a way that is considered rational allows others to expect how we will act in a given circumstance. On one level then police thinking is perhaps understandable. However, what is often not understood or appreciated is that rationality often causes officers to be practical rather than visionary, objective rather than subjective. Rationality results in stable organizations but such organizations are predictable; where the contexts require exploration, officers sometimes use control; while officers focus on 'their' role, people are not always considered, officers act on their beliefs and offer impersonalized service. Unfortunately a rational stance also suffers the loss of respect of the community and creates opportunity for conflict. Officers should be informed that as humans we have different ways of understanding reality and emotions play a significant role in its construction.

As humans we possess both an analytical and objectifying or rational system and we possess an intuitive, instinctual or emotional system (Hamalainen et al. p. 9). The products of these systems, rationality and emotionality, have been recognized by Western philosophical thinking

as opposing concepts (Turner, 2009) and the two realms as well as discussions of the associated ideas of absolute certainty vs. intuition or probability has shaped a thousand years of Western thought (Gigerenzer et al. p. 2). This long tradition has suggested that intellectual thinking is the essence of the mental realm (Ben-Ze'ev, p. 161) and that emotions are irrational and non-functional (ibid., p. 189). More explicitly, the rational is said to offer sensible explanations for behaviour and the emotional is "largely subconscious, irrational and intense" (Shinnerer et al. p.1).

Over the years, the concern for emotion became "secondary, implicit, and under theorized" (Turner, P.); whereas, the notion that rationality could make something function at its best was entrenched in behavioural science theory (Gigerenze, p. 4). Today, organizations use the idea of rationality as a calculated resource for following and justifying behaviour in terms that seem rational from the point of view of the organization (Morgan, G, p. 209). As such, the rational features of today's organization, its structures, hierarchies, norms, awards and ceremonies represent the social constructions and meanings that are necessary for understanding how they operate (Morgan, p. 146). They use the appearance of objectivity to communicate organizational authority and use rationality to provide employees with a set of beliefs and a logical context within which they can act as a team (Morgan, p. 146).

As a consequence, rationality introduces rules or protocols and renders certain strategies or models as reasonable, believable, and normal and limits incessant debate among employees over values (Morgan, p. 146). In the rational workplace, like the RCMP, emotional expression is scripted and restricted and officer performance is evaluated against those scripts (Ashforth and Humphrey, p. 108). As such, it is understandable that officers would look upon emotions in the workplace as a disruptive influence on operational competency (Tracy & Tracy, 1998 in

Mastracci et al p. 125). Such thinking is what would have led to the paramilitary structure and accompanying hierarchical supervision, the emphasis on rules, regulations, standards, and tasks assignment based on technical expertise and formalities; they are examples of rationalization at work (Morgan, in Marsden, p. 73). Drodge (2002) suggests within policing the myth of rationality is so pervasive it serves to marginalize the important role of emotions in daily organizational activities (p. 438). However, organizational effectiveness may be improved by embracing what has been viewed as the dialectic between the rationality and emotionality (Mann, p. 99). In an occupation where split seconds sometimes matter, the system that is first to give us information about our perceptual environment, the emotional, is relevant to our personal well-being and deserves further examination.

The following vignette is an example of the part emotions play in organizational activities.

> *I know that, if I were to ask newly trained police officers and many who are experienced for that matter whether they would ever use excessive force or to lash out at someone verbally without provocation, they would be insulted by the insinuation. They know and accept that doing other than what is considered ethical by their profession is simply not an option. Unfortunately, I know of officers who have gotten into trouble for having been dragged along by the slow escalation of their emotions and their adaptation to them.*
>
> *As I write this vignette, I can't help but think of the boiling frog syndrome that many officers hear during training. The syndrome suggests that a frog dropped into a large pot of hot water will recognize that it is in trouble and will leap out of the pot to safety. However, a frog who is placed in a tub of warm water will not feel danger and will stay submerged until it succumbs to water that is gradually heated. The syndrome suggests to*

police officers they should be aware of the gradual changes they experience. I was once one of those officers who got the training, got the message, and I believed I would not be one of those officers who failed to live up to the organization's and the community's expectations of me.

It was mid-afternoon when I was advised my appointment had arrived and they were waiting for me in a small interview room off the front lobby. The couple were a mother and son who wished to voice concern over what the young man thought was police harassment. At the time, I was responsible not only for the direction, guidance, and supervision of other officers but also for the administering of punishment when officers did not conform to behavioural expectations. As such, I had both a professional and personal interest in determining whether the actions of the officers under my command were appropriate.

Immediately upon entering the room I sensed by her facial expression and her posture that the mother was very angry and ready for a fight. The young man's physical stature; his oversized shirt and jersey, sagging pants, and a baseball cap that sat sideways on his head produced an image that I considered somewhat menacing given what we were dealing with in the community at the time. I recognized him. I knew our officers had dealt with him before on many occasions and that he had a lengthy criminal record. The lady spoke first even before I could say good afternoon. Her complaint was that police were stopping her son for no reason at all, the last occasion being two o'clock that morning as he was on his way home. The young man joined in almost immediately, telling his mother at one point to shut up for a minute while he informed me what had been happening and what was to happen in the future. They were heated and it was

likely that the issue at hand would not be resolved to anyone's satisfaction that day. However, the conversation got into high gear almost instantly. I just knew in my heart and soul he was deserving of the treatment he was receiving. I felt he needed to be tuned in. I was aware that the way he spoke to his mother was indicative of their relationship and, given her demeanour, I guessed he probably learned to be an ass as a child. Minutes later, one of the officers for whom I was responsible stepped into the fray to calm me and them down.

Only after the officer interrupted us did I come to my senses and realize that I had become angry and my emotions were showing in behaviour I was exhibiting. The reality was I was not collecting information that could have been immediately resolved or followed up with an investigation; I was involved in an argument. Of course the concerns are obvious. Community members felt aggrieved, officers remained accused, and I had failed to do the job I was expected to do. My problem was that I entered the conversation not fully cognizant of my role, what I might encounter, or my duty to perform emotional labour. Not properly prepared mentally, my emotions got the best of me.

How police officers experience single emotions clearly depends on how conscious they are of their experience (Lambie, p. 274). An awareness that reveals the officer's biases inhibits emotional reactions (Lambie, p. 272), and allows him or her to reflect on whether or not to deliberately act on the emotion (Ibid, p. 275). Therefore, while emotions are of course important to an officer's survival, not being aware of their emotions and how they affect the context in which they are acting might prove to be detrimental. Had I gone into the interview with the view of performing emotional labour if necessary I would have been checking my emotions so I could quickly reduce any tension I might experience. The result would no doubt have been different.

Much like the officers at the Vancouver airport, I was not aware of my emotions and therefore acted on them as humans are apt to do. Without the awareness of and conscious intention to perform emotional labour we act in an emotive default mode. As Duxbury alludes and as research suggests, a failure to properly perform emotional labour leads to poor conduct.

After reading the following vignette, ask yourself how an understanding and performance of emotional labour may have led to more positive behaviour that might have served to strengthen the relationship between police and community.

> *As a young officer working in Wetaskiwin, Alberta in the early 70s, I had occasion to stop a vehicle on highway 2a between that community and Hobbema. It was, I believe, early on a summer's afternoon and on a straight stretch of highway a fair distance from the nearest residence.*
>
> *That was a long time ago and my memory of the event is not what it once was. However, I do remember the vehicle had a broken windshield that appeared to limit the visibility of the driver. My intention was to check the vehicle for road worthiness. If anything positive could have been said of me at that time and in those circumstances was, I knew the law and I was determined on doing what I thought was a great job. I was what might generously be referred to as a keener.*
>
> *The driver was a man about my age at the time. He was a native living in Hobbema and the other passengers were mostly members of his immediate family, one of them an elderly woman. I remember he was unemployed for that is the reason he gave me for not having a drivers licence. I cannot remember mush else of any conversation aside from the fact it was all negative. I had the authority to do what I was doing and I did it swiftly*

and effectively. I do remember I called a tow truck and when it arrived I experienced some resistance from an elder passenger who was seated in the rear of the vehicle. I remember she exited the vehicle only when, upon my command, the tow truck had lifted the vehicle's rear end. My next recollection was of the line of pedestrians walking along the highway as the tow truck departed and I drove off with the ticket folded and tucked away above my vehicle's sun visor.

For those of you born after that time, it might be useful to know that the first call placed on a portable cellular phone was in 1973. Needless to say, I or they didn't have a cell phone and once out of the vehicle and on the highway they were without communication.

This is one of the occasions in my career that has caused me remorse. I didn't really understand my role and the thinking of many at the time had little concern with the treatment of citizens. Let me qualify that by saying that none of the thinking around me at the time saw fit to question my actions. My actions demonstrated a lack of appreciation of how my decisions affected others.

As I look back, I believe the next vignette describes an early opportunity I had to see what was beyond the mountain, my first opportunity to glimpse into another world and culture. Try if you would to put yourself in my shoes. If you were in the same situation, would you have benefitted from the guidance of a supervisor who had knowledge of the concept of emotional labour and how to use it as a tool?

Still in my teens and a military police officer stationed in Gagetown, New Brunswick, I was one of several officers who responded to a domestic dispute in which an assault had occurred and shots were fired. Of course, those were the days before laws took victims of these crimes into

consideration the way they do today and long before the implementation of emergency response teams. At the end of a long cold day, the gunman was successfully removed from the residence and a distraught and bleeding victim sat on a stool in the kitchen. Still shivering from the experience, I stood and waited as another officer tried for some time to get her to accompany him to the hospital to receive medical attention. I was, quite frankly, annoyed and suggested something to the effect that if she didn't want to go to the hospital then who cares. I suggested to the other officer we leave.

The slap I received was my first experience of what happens when police officers react on their emotions. However, the influence of a very strong culture would not allow me to see it for what it was. Unfortunately, lacking appropriate theory of emotion and training to attend reflectively to their emotional experience, officers may experience distorted views (Lambie, p. 278) and may consequently respond differently to the conflicting feelings (Tolich, p. 378). For instance, instead of officers recognizing feelings of anger they may instead feel they are dealing with troublesome and inept "fools" (Lambie, p. 278). In the same way, Goleman (1995) suggests officers may perceive slights when none are intended and imagine aggression when none exist (p. 235, 236). They may see neutral acts as threats and they may jump to conclusions and react as they would or have habitually acted in other and different contexts (Ibid). In my particular case, she was a bitch and a large part of me sided with her husband who, it was becoming clear, was simply pushed into acting the way he did. I would have benefitted from an awareness of the emotions I was experiencing, why I was experiencing them, and the danger of acting on those emotions. I could have benefited from an explanation of emotional labour. I could have used the concept as a tool to enjoy a better relationship with that victim and those with whom I would interact in the future. Unfortunately, in the 1970s emotional labour theory was not the subject of

research it is today. However, it has become relevant to policing as a result of the new direction away from the so called more traditional or professional approach and the implementation of Community Based Policing. Today, with the implementation of the more contemporary policing approach, police are expected to employ a kinder and gentler, more public relations oriented approach and there is a greater expectation that police will hold their emotions in check.

In the traditional role of the past, police are said to have fulfilled the more law enforcement and order maintenance functions for which police were trained to be self-confident, physically capable but emotionally disengaged or stern. Leighton (1991) suggests that, operating under this model, police were reactive; they would sit around and wait for calls from the public or cruise around "hot spots" to deter high risk behaviour (p. 488). This professional approach stressed the importance of racing to the scene of the crime in the hope of catching the criminal, and for a time when police work simply meant focusing on the criminal and enforcing the law, this method of dealing with crime seemed convincing (Bucqueroux, p. 1). However, police are no different today than those organizations who want to provide the best possible service to customers, organizations that have systems and procedures in place designed to teach and compel acceptable emotions. Their more holistic attitude appreciates the involvement of community and of intervention and prevention strategies which are incorporated in the more contemporary policing approach. In this approach police are seen as being more concerned with the perceptions of citizens, as looking for a new relationship with them (Skrogan, p. 1). It is important to remember, however, that the new philosophy and the new approach did not free police from the responsibility of the old approach.

The tendency to view police as either traditional or contemporary often fails to recognize that police are called upon to perform divergent roles, which carries with them the role expectations

and assessments of two groups. The one perspective recognizes that on occasion officers must gain control and sometimes, necessarily resort to various types and degrees of force including "hitting, shooting, . . . handcuffing, . . . [and] threatening" (Bayley and Bittner, in Martin,1999, p. 114). The other perspective holds that policing requires a "caring, negotiating, empathizing, smoothing troubled relationships and engendering cooperation" approach (Mastracci, p. 15). On the one hand, those who are of the view that our justice system and the police are to be physically and emotionally strong are taken aback when police act in a less than dynamic manner. On the other hand, those who are of the view that policing requires restraint, sees a contradiction in and are therefore surprised when police exercise use of force options. The dual role, the requirement to simultaneously perform duties of both the "heel" and the "toe", presents a contradiction and places the police officer in an uncertain position for which he or she must decide to "interpret the event as a conflict requiring an aggressive response or as an interpersonal dispute requiring informal conflict resolution" (Martin, 1999, p. 114). Officers must respond in different ways depending on their interpretation and in the event at the Vancouver airport officers appeared not to have the skills needed to assess the situation for what it was. They interpreted the event as one requiring an aggressive response. A less aggressive response may have had a better outcome. Both responses are forms of emotional labour.

Emotional labour in policing

Not unlike business organizations, police are concerned with their performance and the perceptions of their clients and require the performance of emotional labour. In fact, Mastracci (2008) suggests that in no other occupation is emotional labour more critical than in police work; it is at the "core" of human service work (p. 1). The following vignette is an example of the effective performance of emotional labour by police.

During the summer of 1980 a young constable answered the call to a disturbance at a night club in the North of Alberta. He was alone, not unusual for many officers in Canada, and was just getting out of his vehicle when he was 'sucker punched' by a man who wanted to put on a show for his drunken friends. When the unsuspecting officer fell to the ground; and, as many of the bar patrons who had exited the building to see what was causing the commotion looked on, the officer sustained a beating that put him in hospital. The suspect was long gone when the officer's backup arrived. News of the officer's beating spread throughout the policing community and outraged officers searched franticly for the man that night; however, he was not located. Despite the man's lengthy criminal record and the fact he was very well known by most officers, I did not personally know him.

A couple of weeks later I overheard my detachment commander speaking with the suspect on the telephone. I was eager to be involved in his arrest and so I listened attentively. The man wanted to turn himself in but was scared. I was puzzled by what my supervisor was saying to this man who had put a colleague of mine in the hospital with serious physical injuries. He was promising that he had nothing to fear, that he would not be harmed, that if he surrendered he would be treated with professionalism and that our goal was to see justice done and nothing more. At first I really thought the conversation was meant to lure him to a place where he would get the same beating he gave my colleague. I was surprised and somewhat disillusioned to learn that my supervisor meant what he was saying, that he intended to treat this person, not with respect, but certainly fairly and with dignity. I was dejected.

As seemed always to be the case in my younger years, the cultural expectation that I would always be there to protect my fellow officer was always on the fore of my thinking. I suspect that had I met the suspect in this vignette face to face and alone, the arrest would have been made in a much different fashion. While my supervisor was performing emotional labour, I had no conscious awareness of either my emotions or the need to control them. I was on autopilot and simply reacting to emotions as I felt them. Being on auto pilot does not adequately respond to the expectations of the Canadian public.

Theoretically speaking, Canadians want police who demonstrate an understanding of their perspectives and who are able to represent their interests when called upon to act. Basically citizens are put off by police officers who indulge their own emotions and come across as belligerent and as if they were superior beings. They want that police act in a way that shows wisdom, maturity, and common sense. In essence, citizens want police to be in control of their emotions. Of course, all of this has not been totally lost on police agencies, most if not all of whom have taken steps to manage police officer emotions by using emotional intelligence, the ability to monitor one's performance and to know when to exercise or hold one's effective side in check, as part of its management philosophy.

Mastracci et al. (2006) would agree that to be effective at performing emotion work one must have emotional intelligence (p. 130). However, there are at least several reasons why its use, in policing, seems problematic. First, as Drodge and Murphy (2002) suggest, while emotional intelligence might alter our cognitions and transform our personal and social world (p. 423); organizational contexts do not easily provide the conditions necessary for its development (p. 427). At the level of emotional intelligence "ability", they suggest there might be a tendency to oversimplify and at the level of brain function, emotional intelligence requires deep self-

exploration. Drodge and Murphy (2002) suggest the latter depends on trust which is compromised by the different goals and different agendas at play (427).

Second, because police are socialized against overt displays of emotion and police organizations place a great deal of value on detached rationality (Drodge and Murphy, p. 424) those said to be emotionally intelligent are only those officers seen to be 'rational' and show compassion, calmness and confidence (Fineman, p. 729). Those officers who show signs of boredom, retribution, anger and anxiety would not be considered as emotionally intelligent (Ibid). In its application of the concept of emotional intelligence policing acknowledges the importance of its officers maintaining composure and a good relationship with the community. However, the concept is often used simply to make the unintelligent officers more visible and governable (Miller & Rose, 1990 in Fineman, p. 731). Finally, there seems to be a lack of appreciation for the fact that emotionally intelligent officers might perform differently than the community and supervisors expect or require. For instance, as I did (in the last vignette), on many occasions officers may decide to go with the cultural display rules – one may be emotionally intelligent and choose not to perform emotional labour. Additionally, it may prove emotionally intelligent to express negative emotions, indeed, as we have discussed previously, emotional labour sometimes require that police play a nasty role (Folkman et al. 1998 in Fineman p. 728).

As young as I was at the time described in the last vignette, I had navigated the difficult interactions necessary to be a successful husband, father, son, brother, and constable. I possessed at least the level of emotional intelligence to avoid ill feelings and complaints. However, I belonged to an organization whose members understand the dangers and who appreciate the company of others who understand those dangers, who feel that in many situations unless they stand together all of them will fall. While I possessed the ability to perform the

emotional labour my supervisor was performing, the necessity to perform never entered my mind. I possessed a sense of duty, as a member of that group, to protect and support my colleagues. Making sure the community got the message it was not acceptable to attack an officer was absolutely necessary if it was going to be safe for us to work the streets. I wanted to teach him that he did not only attack that young constable. I wanted to let him know that he attacked the team. I didn't lack emotional intelligence, I had the ability and had it been presented as a job requirement I would have easily recognized the opportunity. I simply did not recognize it because like so many years ago when I got my face slapped, I wasn't aware I should be considering my emotions and how I was reacting to them. I was looking instead for revenge.

Outside using emotional intelligence, police agencies use other tactics to ensure emotional outbursts are controlled. The first step begins in the selection process. Along with cognitive and physical ability police applicants also undergo extensive personal history investigations and psychological testing to determine temperamental fit or the emotional stability required by the job (Martin, p. 113). Psychological testing seems to follow the argument offered by Guy et al. (2008) who suggest that perhaps a person who has a disdain for certain people, products or processes would be more contented and effective working in areas or fields other than those that would require such contact or engagement (in Mastracci, 2008, p. 23). They suggest, on the other hand, people who are empathetic with certain individuals or processes may be more effective and may feel less dissonance working in related positions (Ibid).

Unfortunately the work of police officers does not afford the privilege of interacting and dealing with individuals or in circumstances of their choice. While police officers are permitted the use of discretion which might provide some control over their decisions, there are many situations where police officers are compelled to act and in accordance with organizational and cultural

display rules (Zummuner, p. 362). For instance, under some circumstances it might be necessary for officers to deal with violent behaviour and to lash out at someone or to be hurtful whether or not the officer is predisposed to or has an aversion to aggressive behaviour (Fineman, p. 728). It might also be the case that in some situations being angry or frustrated might prove to be a successful approach and stress-relieving. The expression of negative emotion might also be said to be emotionally intelligent when it has been characterized as "the capacity to process emotional information accurately and efficiently, and accordingly to regulate the emotions in an optimal manner" (Ben Ze'ev, p. 178). While the selection process attempts to hire the right temperamental fit, it is clear that the dual role of police guarantees that whether an officer has an aggressive or submissive personality, he or she will encounter situations for which their persona is in contradiction. Selection then does little to ensure the display of proper behaviour.

After selection, another attempt to manage police emotions starts with police scripts rolled out during training; officers are introduced to the "machinelike qualities of the work environment, including orderliness, precision, and routinization" (Domagalski, p. 835) which become entrenched in their thinking (Martin, p. 122). The RCMP website suggests their training aims to promote personal, professional and social conduct consistent with a code of conduct and pride of self; it facilitates an understanding of the importance of community interaction and of joint problem solving. It is said to instil the attitudes necessary for demonstrating sensitivity and respect. The training program employs a problem solving model known as CAPRA said to be an operational application of the RCMP's mission and vision. The acronym stands for Clients (C), Acquiring and analysing information (A), Partnership (P), Response (R), and Assessment for continuous improvement (A). The program is learner centered which is to say they expect cadets to take responsibility for their own learning. In an integrated problem-based approach Cadets are

required to respond to life-like scenarios that are meant to train for an approach different than an automatic application of the rules and procedures. Cadets are taught problem solving skills, problem analysis and response, and evaluation and assessment. The website suggests the scenarios were developed by experts whose work was able to ensure the best possible response from the perspective of their clients and various partners in the Justice System as well as crime and human behaviour.

While, as part of their training, officers work through scenarios where they learn that the wrong emotion might have disastrous consequences for both the subjects with whom they are dealing and for themselves, officers are mostly taught not to say things that might heighten tensions. Whether or not the officer is successful is largely the result of a decision on the part of the actors or the script provided. Human interaction is complicated, dependant on much more than showing empathy or having a thick skin (Riddle, p. 4). Acting appropriately is often determined by emotions which may either accurately represent the world to us or act as a "blind instigator" that fails to consider representational context (Doring, 2009, p. 240-1). The problem with most scenario training is that they do not allow for the sufficient exploration and understanding of emotions.

In addition, the police training model appears largely based on rational thinking and the traditional requirement to suck it up, to endure as part of the job, is still alive and well. RCMP constables have been trained at Depot Division, the RCMP basic training academy at Regina, Saskatchewan since 1885. Presently officers are offered employment after completion of a general 24 week course referred to as the "Cadet Training Program". The RCMP website online at http://www.rcmp-grc.gc.ca/depot/ctp-pfc/index-eng.htm#aps-spa describes the basic training program in detail. The program consists of 785 hours of training in the following areas: 373

hours of Applied Police Sciences, 75 hours of Police Defensive Tactics, 45 hours of Fitness and Lifestyle, 64 hours of Firearms, 65 hours of Police Driving, 48 hours of Drill, Deportment and Tactics, and 115 hours of Detachment Visits, Exams, etc.

As is evident, officer safety and proficiency in the use of the tools of the trade are a large part of training; many hours are dedicated to driving, shooting, fitness, defensive tactics, and drill or the so called “hard skills”. Officers are educated in the use of firearms, conducted energy devices or Tasers, batons and pepper spray in the classroom and then are required to physically demonstrate a certain level of skill in the gym or on the firing line. Those skills are tested at least annually and if the standard is not achieved there is mandatory remedial training which allows the officer to attain the acceptable level. Failure to do so results in the officer being relieved of duty at least temporarily. The following images of weapons and law books reflect a very large part of what forms an officer’s frame of mind.

Not only does training introduce cadets to the discipline and technical knowledge required of the job, they are also introduced to display rules passed along through myths, war stories, and the emotionally charged beliefs and attitudes of facilitators that are not always positive. Trice (1993) suggests, based on these shared experiences, police cadets learn what emotions to express and how to express them (Martin, p. 112). Training based on reason is effective when the goal is to create a cohesive group of obedient officers who must be counted on to act even in very demanding and dangerous situations. However, the relatively recent adoption of the community based policing model suggests policing has changed and I would have expected to see a much greater emphasis on relevant training. The training model suggests the old ways of thinking are still alive and well and officers are still being oriented toward the more traditional means of police work but there is more.

After training, now fully fledged group members, the officers are introduced to trusted field training coaches and exposed to the full extent of feeling rules contained in operational manuals (Wharton, p. 1999) that regulate emotional labour across policing tasks and assignments (Hochschild, 1983; Rafaeli & Sutton, 1987; Van Maanen & Kunda, 1989 in Domagalski, p. 844). Then they participate in events such as funerals, award ceremonies and retirement parties all of which "support a collective identity, and reinforce organizational values and bonds" (Martin, p.112). Officers thus learn the "content, intensity, and variety" of emotions demanded of police work and once they are learned, the work coupled with their individual ambition motivates the

officer to conform to the organizational norms or display rules (Ibid). The officer's display of the rules is continuously evaluated and reinforced through allied supervisory practices and reward systems throughout his or her career. Hence, officers become self-managed and anyone who steps outside the norms are not accepted as one who is able to withstand the pressures as an effective police officer should (Pogrebin and Pool, in Martin p. 115).

Most officers are well versed in the skills necessary for high risk takedowns such as the one shown in the image below.

Photo Courtesy of "The Taber Times"

These skills and tools are absolutely necessary and the training received is more than justified. However, in comparison, training in emotional awareness and emotional intelligence or the so called "soft skills" that would ready officers for the contemporary policing model in relation to the other training provided is unimpressive.

This paper suggests that, while scenario training and emotionally intelligent policing sounds the ideal, it is the exercise of emotional labour that is of interest. In relational work it is the employee's labour that yields the desirable outcome in the public service exchange between citizen and the police (Mastracci p. 130). It was emotional labour and not on emotional intelligence on which I concentrated when I was hired to run my own agency.

I became the Chief of Police of a municipal agency in Southern Alberta a couple of months after the community experienced a school shooting in 1999. The reputation between the police and the community was such that during most monthly police commission meetings several individuals or groups from the community would be in attendance to register some complaint or another against the actions of police. Unaware at first of the concept of emotional labour, my management team and I spoke daily of a kinder and gentler approach and worked with officers to see themselves as actors. We suggested to officers they needed to recognize both the stage upon which they were performing and the scene that was playing. While they eventually came around to our way of thinking, at first some become rather annoyed and quickly pointed out that they were police officers not actors. However, we introduced them to the idea of being actors by using examples of activities that are considered to employ the so called 'hard' as opposed to 'soft' skills, activities they all appreciated and accepted as real police work. One example we used is that of a high risk vehicle takedown.

You are in your car and you arrive on scene, we told them. The vehicle's emergency lights determine the commencement of the action. When the vehicle stops you know from training exactly how and where to place your vehicle. Just as an actor stands on the X placed on stage and faces the audience, so too is your vehicle placed in such a location and way so as to diminish danger. You are in uniform or costume and it is clear from the driver's dress what role he or she,

the suspect, is playing. You begin to speak. You begin to deliver a script you have well rehearsed. "This is the police. Show me your hands. Throw the keys out the window. Step from the vehicle. Place your hands on your head. Walk backward toward my voice."

They were told that if they performed this well, their audience would applaud their efforts and they would get to perform the activity again in future. If, however, they deviated from the action or the script they risked being criticized for acting improperly. They were taught they were also acting when they deal with a drunk at the bar or with a little old lady at the front counter of the office; each has its accepted script and action. They were taught that if they used the script from the high risk vehicle takedown when involved in the office scene, the play would not be believable and they would lose their audience. Imagine, we would tell them, an 80 year old lady who wants to report the fact that her vehicle keys were lost. What happens if you begin by saying, "lady show me your hands and step away from the counter"? They were eventually convinced that they were in fact actors and they were required to understand both the movie and the scene in which they were starring. In short order, the officers and staff began to take great pride in the kinder and gentler approach and began to wear the concept like a badge of honour.

As a department, we introduced what we called socialization meetings in which our officers would congregate before each swearing in ceremony to meet with each new hire and pass along our kinder gentler approach. We would invite new members to 'not sign' on the dotted line if they could not commit to our approach. They were advised that if they were not of like mind but joined anyway they would not fit in well within our organization. It was suggested to them there were other police agencies where the requirements to act were perhaps not as stringent.

Within four or five months the complaints to the police commission stopped and remarkably, once they did, there was not one complaint registered for the next ten years. The approach also worked well internally. Despite the dismissal of two officers and three civilian staff – significant numbers in a small department-, during that same ten year period, there was not a single grievance from either the police association or Canadian Union of Public Employees.

The following vignette is an example of the efforts put forth by our officers.

> *One afternoon a few years ago one of the constables on my department was asked to attend and speak with an elderly lady at the front counter. She was 86 years old and had just shovelled her driveway (yes, I know). Even without consideration for such an accomplishment at her age, her fortitude was quickly apparent when she began to speak. She was fed up with the police, she said, for not dealing with the hoodlum that lived next door to her residence. She went on to describe how she had shovelled the whole driveway by herself. It had taken her some time, she said, as she was not well. She advised further that her neighbour appeared minutes after she had finished with what she described as his 'new fancy dancy John Deere snow blower' and blew all of the snow off his driveway and onto hers. She was angry at him for sure but it appeared she was angrier at the police for not arresting her neighbour before this because everyone in town knew he was a crook. The demonstration of staying power exhibited by this elderly woman concluded about 20 minutes after the constable said, 'good morning'.*

There was a time in my career where I would have ended this conversation immediately. The lady, regardless of her age, would have been informed that we were not the snow police and this guy had as much right to live next door to her as she had to live next door to him. When she left

I might have said to coworkers that if I was that neighbour I would have thrown much more than snow on her driveway. However, this constable to his credit said nothing. He smiled slightly but not overly and nodded his head at times he thought appropriate. He recognized first and foremost that he was not going to win an argument with an elderly lady of 86 years at least not in the court of public opinion. He no doubt questioned what affect his engaging in an argument would have had on him, the lady, the situation, or the reputation of the police when others in the community heard about it. He decided that he didn't need to defend himself in this particular case. He realized he was not really the subject of her scorn and so he said nothing. He had enough confidence and enough distance from his group identity to step back from the accusations and not be hurt by them.

I remember walking up to the constable after the woman left and shaking his hand. This is a lot to ask of a person who has done nothing wrong, who could not have prevented what had happened. However, in this particular case, he was not threatened and saying little in his defence was the smart thing to do. I thought he had definitely demonstrated the kinder and gentler approach and he came across as very professional in the end. The lady soon quietened down and realized her behaviour was not appropriate. This vignette is to simply demonstrate that, if properly prepared emotionally, officers can become aware of their emotions and manage them, they can be given the tools to be confident enough not to take the criticism personally. As I look back on my career, there are times when I wish I would have had the same awareness and confidence.

My management team and I often discussed the approach and what if anything was being accomplished. We questioned ourselves and we were often questioned. After informing officers around the province of their positive relationship with management, the members of our police

association were often asked what kind of cool-aid they were drinking. Our success was often brushed off by larger departments who held the view that this approach was possible only because of the size of our department. This thinking is perhaps typical of those who see small town police as amateurish and who see the practices originating in them as "unorthodox, adulterated, and unprofessional" and not able to be replicated in the large urban department (Falcone et al. p. 371). Yet, in New York City where the thinking has mostly been that the inevitable price of a drop in the crime rate is an aggressive police force that results in angry police officers and a poor relationship with the community, a case study by Davis et al. (2005) concluded otherwise. In their study of policing in the Bronx titled "Can Effective Policing Also Be Respectful", they found a sudden decline in civilian complaints was due to the role played by precinct commanders. In one precinct, the implementation of a new policy known as CPR or courtesy, professionalism, and respect which mandated new training for recruits at the police academy and in-service training for veteran officers coupled with an ongoing monitoring process was very effective in developing a better relationship with the community and reducing public complaints. Officers were taught to be aware of their emotions and the perspectives of others. There were no merit or demerit systems used and no task force was established. Basically, the new policy simply abandoned the more traditional, hierarchical approach and replaced it with an administrator who got to know his officers and who encouraged a team approach by making the message a part of the daily roll call and regular training sessions. Controlling emotions became a key aspect of their contact with the public and officers began to take pride in the fact civilian complaints against them were down.

Wrobleski and Hess (2000) suggest the work police do can really demonstrate the importance and effectiveness of emotional labour (in Robinson, p. 80). However, the fact that in Canada the

success of some departments is attributed to something other than good police work and the management of emotions is not seen as emotional labour but as a suck it up requirement that is compulsory and artificial, is problematic. Notwithstanding, Drodge and Murphy (2002) seem to agree with those of larger agencies albeit for different reasons. They suggest self-awareness may prove to be a valuable emotional tool for police officers (p, 432), however, they posit officers must see some value in the behaviour they are being asked to perform and to be transformational the behaviour must have widespread value (p. 427). Therefore, the problem facing any police agency no matter their size may be in the officers' understanding of how the concepts of emotional labour and its use leads to better decision making that more positively impacts organizations (Freeman, p. 725). More importantly for individual officers perhaps are the questions: What is in it for me? How is not acting on my true emotions different than just taking abuse from disrespectful citizens, being pushed around by supervisors and elected officials, and being disrespected and undervalued? This paper suggests the answer might be found in the very thing that causes much of the need for emotional labour and regulation in the first place, the culture.

As has been previously discussed, the cultural expectations placed on officers are profound. While perhaps implausible to some among us, officers see the solving of crime rather than their prevention as real police work. As well, different emotion rules seem to be required of officers who work the street than those who work specialized units or sections such as serious crimes investigators. Aside from the procedural and practical advantages provided each, a slightly different culture exists at these levels. While street officers suppress emotions that would be considered 'soft' and opt for the expression of more aggressive emotions, officers whose job it is to interview murder suspects, for instance, seem to have an appreciation for the more restrained

approach. They do not use the term emotional labour but they have an appreciation for the performance of emotional labour not only as a requirement but as a tool.

I see opportunity in this cultural difference and the fact that culture accepts and encourages officers who strive to become better investigators and to one day serve as serious crimes investigators. Drodge and Murphy (2002) suggest self-reflection is a critical first step to emotional awareness and must be accompanied by conditions that will overcome the "socialization and strong normative behaviour" of officers (p. 435). They suggest that, in policing, these challenges have been for the most part neglected (p. 420). This self-reflection, emotional awareness and the performance of emotional labour could be taught along with "neutrality, objectivity and impartiality" and sold as rational thinking (Drodge et al. p. 424). The use of emotional labour as an investigative tool or technique could provide the value for the behaviour they are asked to perform and since almost all officers conduct investigations, it might have sufficiently widespread value which Murphy and Drodge (2002) suggest is needed to be transformational (p. 432).

Notwithstanding the rather obvious conclusion one might draw from the foregoing that the performance of emotional labour would improve the relationship between the community and the police and the suggestion of how the concept might be effectively implemented, one other concern needs to be addressed. Hochschild (1983) suggests the performance of emotional labour can also have an impact on the well-being of officers in that they can experience conflicting emotions which can cause feelings of anxiety and emotional dissonance which may lead to psychological strain.

Emotional Dissonance

Emotional dissonance is the term applied to the sometimes contradictory emotion and feelings of unease experienced by officers when required to perform emotional labour (Hochschild, p. 90). A rather common example is the call to a local grocery retail outlet in response to a call of shoplifting. The officer reacts by displaying emotions that are supported by community standards, her training, and organizational and cultural display rules but when she comes face to face with a young unemployed and poorly dressed mother of three who is caught attempting to leave the store with a quart of milk for her baby, she experiences mixed emotions. The unease is the subject experience of a standard derived from the officer's personal identity rather than her professional identity (Jansz et al, p. 80).

Hochschild (1983) suggests emotional dissonance is akin to cognitive dissonance, a theory developed by Festinger (1957), and found by Van Dijk et al. (2006) to be conceptually relevant to the examination of emotional labour (p. 113), which suggests an inconsistency of beliefs or behaviours will cause an uncomfortable psychological tension and efforts to reduce the feeling. Festinger (1957) invites us to better understand the concept of cognitive dissonance by applying the notion of hunger or thirst, unpleasant feelings we will work to mitigate (Masssaro, p.128). Similarly, Heuven et al. (2003) suggest emotions have a signal function similar to pain, another unpleasant feeling from which we will similarly seek relief (p. 84). Consistent with the propositions from cognitive dissonance theory, when officers are asked to display emotions that are different than emotions personally felt they experience emotional dissonance and attempt to change either what they feel or the way they act (Hochschild, p. 90).

As just mentioned, Hochschild (1983) argued that over time emotional dissonance leads to psychological strain. On the one hand then, officers may feel "alienated" from work (Hochschild, p.7) or fraudulent and less than authentic (Loseke in Ashforth p. 96) and experience

psychological and physical dysfunction rendering them unable or unwilling to perform various functions (Ibid, p. 97). They may experience emotional fatigue, stress, distrust and incompetence (Mastracci, p. 8). Under feelings of strain, officers will put more energy into feeling better and will abandon self-control (Tice, Baumeister, & Zhang, in Van Gelderen et al. 2007).

How officers respond and how they are affected psychologically is greatly dependent on an officers understanding of the demands of their interaction with their clients and their experience in those interactions (Zummer, p. 362). Officers who have no or little control over their responses must constantly deal with the feelings of dissonance and are less likely to be effective (Goleman, p. 36). To help them cope, Flannery & Everly (2000) suggest that some officers will look to "physical fitness, adequate sleep, and a positive sense of purpose and mission" (in Chapin, p. 338). However, despite the pressures to act, and the individual officer's efforts to remain healthy, officers have a limited ability to resist the cumulative effects of stressors (Flannery & Everly, 2000 in Chapin, p. 338). Given organizational pressures and personal values, police also refuse to acknowledge the effect of emotions and use more negative coping mechanisms (Reiser & Geiger, in Aaron, p. 445). And, while in some officers the strain will be transient and be resolved with support, other officers will lose sleep, distance themselves from friends and family, become hypervigilant and even experience post traumatic stress as so many police officers do today (Chapin et al. p. 338). I have personally become isolated and my behaviour has become more introverted. Many of my officer friends have developed a drinking problem, lost their marriages and families, and some –four to be exact - have taken their own lives.

Given Hochschild's assertion that the performance of emotional labour can lead to psychological strain, and given the increasing numbers of police officers in Canada who are experiencing psychological issues, how in all good conscience does this paper recommend the use of emotional labour as a tool? The answer is that research suggests emotional dissonance itself is not problematic (Ashforth, 1993, p. 99), and need not lead to strain (Brotheridge et al. p. 32). Drodge and Murphy (2002) suggest that, while we often think and act without being aware of how we are feeling at the moment, by attending to our emotions, a central feature of the emotional intelligence construct, we can change how we think and therefore what we experience as dissonance (p. 422). In fact, when officers have some control over their performance and possess self-monitoring abilities their work may prove rewarding (Wharton, p. 168).

In addition, if an officer identifies with the role or the values and norms of the role, they may find surface acting acceptable (Ashforth et al. p.108) because while "display rules may regulate emotional behaviour they cannot control emotional experience" (Mann, p. 4). In fact, because dissonance serves as a signal function that binds us to the group and to the context or situation (Thoits 1989 in Ashforth, p. 97), dissonance may prove to be one of the most motivating and satisfying facets of police work (Guy 2008 in Mastracci, p. 10, 14). Rafaeli et al. (1989) appear to agree and suggest that the factor that determines whether or not emotional dissonance is problematic depends on whether or not an officer has internalized organizational display rules. If an officer believes that the display is part of the job then they will act in good faith. If, on the other hand, an officer does not believe that a particular emotion is part of the job they will act in bad faith. It is when an officer acts in bad faith that emotional dissonance will be more strongly related to strain (p. 37). Thus officers who think they are always bending over backwards and who are simply told to suck it up may experience emotional dissonance and strain. However, if

officers see the acting as relevant to a positive or important identity, it may actually enhance energy, contribution, a sense of effectiveness and psychological well-being (Mastracci, p. 8). If officers can be taught to see emotional labour as a tool used in much the way it is used by serious crime investigators, they might perform emotional labour in good faith and as a result establish a better relationship with the community and benefit psychologically.

Conclusion

If perhaps only because of the advances in media technology there seems to be an upsurge in complaints against police brutality and a criticism of police in general. As the voices against police misdeeds become louder and more and more frequent, police agencies respond by developing and implementing more and more processes and programs. The "Brown Report" is a case in point. However, a response that improves only on the structure and function of police neglects alternate possibilities to developing a better relationship based on emotion regulation theory. Remarkably, in spite of the overwhelming need to perform emotional labour, repeated episodes of poor performance, coupled with the almost certain consequential emotional dissonance and possible negative health effects, virtually no attention is being paid to training that would ensure the emotional well-being of police officers.

My study under the tutelage of Dr. Marsden has been on emotion. I found that my police experience has been a series of clashes between the expectations of my training and police culture and the expectations of the new contemporary policing approach. As I reflect, while there is still a tremendous pull to conform to cultural norms, I believe using emotional labour as a tool is a means to have police officers embrace the new reality without giving up their self-esteem. This paper hopes to bring attention to the efforts of the Brown Report and recent steps

by the RCMP which appear to be falling into the same old trap. It suggests a superior response to the difficulties of policing today would include the provision of more relevant training and the introduction of the concept of emotional labour that would provide officers the ability to be consciously aware and understand when an emotion might not be serving their best interests.

In my opening vignette I expressed a concern that officers who dealt with Mr. Dziekanski at the Vancouver airport seemed to be unaware of the emotions that were driving their actions and so responded in what appeared to be a default mode. This response, I believe, is typical of officers who are subjected to our present police training model which tells officers to be nice while training them to be aggressive. It is my belief, if officers were trained in the same manner and to the same extent and required to qualify on an annual basis in the so called "soft skills" as they are in the "hard skills", perhaps the interaction between police and Mr. Dziekanski might have proven to be much different.

As a society it is in our best interest to have a police service we can look up to and trust. However before that can happen, our police officers need to be provided different skills than those they receive in order to "provide service with a smile day after day, week after week, month after month" (Mastracci, p. 134). If the vignettes included in this paper help you, the reader, feel as I do you may now be wondering if the solution could be as simple as making a slight change to the very effective CAPRA problem solving model? Could it be as simple as changing CAPRA to E-CAPRA where E stands for a consideration for the use of emotional labour as a tool?

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