

To Conserve and Protect: “Making Sense” of Conservation Officer uses
of Emotional Labour

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ABSTRACT

Given the unique role that conservation officer's play in our society, it is critical that researchers better understand factors that may influence the activities and behaviours of the individuals tasked with dealing with complex emotions of others, ensuring the safety of Canada's backcountry wilderness, all while maintaining a tough persona and enforcing the law (Moreto et al., 2015; Moreto, 2016). Hochschild's (1983) concept of "emotional labour" is employed within this document to explore the extent to which conservation officers rely on their ability to deal with complicated emotions, within themselves and those of individuals they encounter. Due to the limited literature exploring the nexus between conservation officers and emotional labour, a grounded theoretical approach was selected to accommodate the emerging nature of these concepts. Identifying the driving factors in conservation officer behaviour provides avenues to better understand the feasibility, applicability, and likelihood of success when introducing policy aimed at improving officer mental health (Moreto et al., 2015). This study is based on twelve in-depth qualitative interviews and six commentated walks with members from provincial and private parks in British Columbia, Canada. Within it, I will explore how conservation officers engage in emotional labour, as well as its impact. The results reveal how managing emotions according to the organizationally mandated display rules can affect an officer's well-being and it highlights the need for future research to enable park enforcement organisations to deal more effectively with work-related stress.

KEYWORDS: Conservation Officers, Emotional Labour, Stress, Investigative Work, Law Enforcement, Trauma, Hauntology, Violence, Pictorial Analysis, Member Reflections, Commentated Walks, Sensemaking, and Coping

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1 | INTRODUCTION

Work as a conservation officer requires individuals to perform several investigative tasks, beyond what the role description typically outlines (Moreto, 2016). This may include responding to emergencies, interviewing witnesses of serious crimes, consoling victims, and making arrests. Dealing with emotions is a circadian feature of everyday conservation officer work and this is especially relevant when conservation officers must manage both their emotions and those of the individuals with whom they deal (Moreto, 2016). Conservation officers are unique because their work requires them to repeatedly manage potentially traumatic disasters and crime incidents where they are put at an increased risk of assault, injury, or death on the job all while managing the emotions of victims, witnesses, co-workers, and themselves. Conservation officers are at an elevated risk of developing occupationally derived mental health disorders; oftentimes, with substantial implications for their health, well-being, and job performance (Arnetz, 2009; Van Patten and Burke, 2001).

Although dealing with crime, aggressive persons, and natural disasters is a commonly understood requisite aspect of enforcement work, very little is known about how conservation officers manage their emotions when it comes to these encounters (Van Patten and Burke, 2001). Significant changes have been made to the role of the conservation officer where the duties have been expanded to encompass many activities normally attributed to the police or security (Pennaz, 2017). Henry (1995) suggests that this evolving and unique exposure by enforcement personnel attributes directly to the coping styles employed and is a catalyst for unique and obscure uses of emotional labour to ensure enforcement personnel can “make sense” of their occupational role.

Sociologist Arlie Hochschild (1983) has provided a useful reference point for indexing how people shape and manage their feelings and how social structure and institutions mandate or attempt to control these efforts. “Emotional labour” (EL) is a term coined by Hochschild (1983) which describes how workers modulate their emotions to accomplish occupational tasks as maintained by workplace norms. Although previous studies have considered the EL aspects of other law enforcement groups (Huey and Kalyal, 2017; Stenross and Kleinman, 1989), few researchers have considered the degree to which emotion management is a critical aspect of the work of conservation officers (Moreto, 2016).

Given the unique role that conservation officer’s play, it is critical that researchers better understand factors that may influence the activities and behaviours of the individuals tasked with dealing with complex emotions of others, ensuring the safety of Canada’s backcountry¹ wilderness, all while maintaining a tough and confident persona and enforcing the law (Moreto

¹ This thesis was written in the territories of the Coast Salish, Mathxwí First Nation, the Semá:th First Nation, and the Stó:lō people, and on the ancestral and traditional homeland of Soowahlie First Nation where the commented walks took place. I have the responsibility and power to conduct culturally safe and appropriate research that is dedicated to undoing the ongoing colonial processes embedded within research itself.

et al., 2015; Moreto, 2016). Hochschild’s concept is employed within this document to explore the extent to which conservation officers² rely on their ability to deal with complicated emotions, within themselves and those of individuals they encounter. Due to the limited literature exploring the nexus between conservation officers and EL, a grounded theoretical approach has been selected to accommodate the emerging nature of these concepts. Identifying the driving factors in conservation officer behaviour provides avenues to better understand the feasibility, applicability, and likelihood of success when introducing policy aimed at improving officer mental health (Moreto et al., 2015).

Conservation officers are a critical human element in conservation science, but there is limited research on the perceptions and experiences of officers working on the front lines (Moreto, 2016). In many countries, conservation officers are frontline guardians responsible for the management, protection, and monitoring of wildlife species and protected areas (Moreto, 2016). Sandy and Devine (1978) indicate there are four stress factors that specifically affect law enforcement officials working in remote, rural, and park areas: (1) limited manpower and lack of security; (2) lack of resources; (3) inactivity; and (4) social factors including the lack of anonymity. Sometimes stress in the workplace is caused by the organisational requirement for workers to engage in EL (Hochschild, 1983).

Moreover, evidence is emerging which suggests that “soft enforcement” tactics that encourage compliance through informal methods, are dwindling and “hard enforcement” is becoming more commonly used by park enforcement personnel (Pendleton, 1996; 1997). Hard enforcement is associated with the formal tactics typically ascribed to police work like arrests, stern warnings, citations, and other police strategies (Moreto, 2016). The backdrop for this shift is associated with the increase in serious crime in forests and parks (Pendleton, 1996; Shore, 1994). With the increased utilisation of hard enforcement techniques, the increase in serious crime, and the similarity between conservation officer work and other law enforcement work (Pendleton, 1996; Shore, 1994), it seems indicative that EL is regularly practised by conservation officers. There is no substantial literature that examines these phenomena together, and researchers have been transferring concepts from police work and applying it to park rangers and conservation officers (Moreto, 2016). There must be formal scholarly acknowledgment of the EL and emotional work that conservation entails. Research on conservation officers is required to ensure the credibility, validity, and reliability of these transferred concepts and to understand how conservation officers engage with EL.

² “Conservation officers” is the overarching term used to identify seven different groups of eco-enforcement personnel in this project: park rangers, park wardens, park hosts, park patrollers, park security, conservation officers, and park bylaw enforcement. A patroller’s day-to-day work includes promoting compliance with the rules and regulations of campgrounds and other public areas in Provincial and private parks for the purpose of ensuring the safety, security, and enjoyment of the public, investigating violations and complaints, providing visitor services and they may perform maintenance tasks. The role is sometimes seasonal, and they primarily operate between May and October. Importantly, the work varies significantly across work roles.

Moreover, there is a spectral presence that is central to the EL conducted by those working within law enforcement. Hauntology is a branch of philosophy that refers to the persistence and even return of elements from the social and cultural past in a manner that is ghostly (Derrida, 1993). Within enforcement groups like conservation officers, there is a unified cultural pressure for officers to “be tough”, “suppress weak feelings”, and “don’t show fear” (Tracy, 2005) while simultaneously existing in an atmosphere where reaching out for mental health support or guidance is shunned and vanquished. There is a spectral layer to managing emotions in law enforcement – one that is fortified and unified by the prevalence of violence in their everyday work. Officers undertake a great emotional toll while making sense of this violence (Huey and Kalyal, 2017) and the spectral presence looming over the profession produces these traumatic experiences. Officer’s emotional experiences remain suspended in time; they are unable to move forward without anticipation of fear, anxiety, and anguish and unable to look back without seeing violence, trauma, and injury. Their emotional experience is ghostly and serves to prevent law enforcement groups from moving forward beyond their philosophies that are embedded in violence and colonialism. The culture has incorporated these spectres and learned to walk with them, allowed them to remain alive inside and continue to produce traumatic experiences (Frosh, 2012).

The material presented is based on an analysis of data drawn from twelve in-depth qualitative interviews, which utilized a feminist methodology to counterbalance power discrepancies, and six commentated walks, which illuminate the lived experiences of conservation while giving voice to their experiences working in the field. Raullet-Croset and Borzeix (2014) explain that commentated walks make it possible to identify “signs” which can trigger memory and narratives and even access to the real space. It leads the researcher to see with the eyes of the participant the relationship to space and place. These commentated walks were intended to illuminate the lived experiences of conservation officers while giving voice to their experiences working in the field (Rouleau et al., 2014).

During the interviews, conservation officers spoke frankly of the careful balance they must often strike between managing their own emotions to conform with enforcement culture and perform their work effectively while also conducting face-work which involves presenting warm and pleasant emotions and suppressing irritation in mannerisms, language, and facial expressions (Crawley, 2004; Tracy, 2005). In doing so, it was revealed that conservation officers engage in EL, and that officers engage in boundary-setting and other strategies to manage the emotional aspects of their work.

Data analysis allowed for the creation of a central theory: the emotional work of law enforcement is besieged by voices from its unsettled past and officers must deal with these (in)visible traces of trauma and violence that are embedded within law enforcement, while also managing their own emotions in their daily interactions and attempting to manage the emotions of individuals with whom they deal. A latent purpose of this study was to unveil the tactics conservation officers use to comprehend their emotions and how their work impacted their lives.

The current study revealed that conservation officers engaged with deep acting and surface acting regularly, with some long-lasting effects on their personal lives including self-doubt, cynicism, disengagement, depression, anxiety, and post-traumatic stress disorder (PTSD). The current study found that conservation officers in BC felt low levels of organisational identification due to lack of training and pay; decreased personal accomplishment from high stress and lack of support; burnout and cynicism from the lack of support and training from their organisation; and stress and fear after dealing with traumatic situations.

The project below is divided into eleven sections that will explain and justify the research. Following this introduction will be the literature review, which assesses the current state of knowledge regarding the interaction between conservation officers and EL, sensemaking and coping, and an in-depth analysis of hauntology and its spectral presence embedded within law enforcement. I also review the methodological application of a grounded theory study using Huey and Kalyal's (2017) analysis of investigator uses of EL as the main method-guide for this qualitative research design.

This project is inductive in nature and themes emerged based on what respondents said about emotions and work; importantly, following the inductive protocol of grounded theory was essential for this project to reach its full potential. I discuss the use of a grounded theoretical framework which sought to accommodate the emerging concepts in this field and acted as a road map for decision making. A grounded theory approach acts as both a theoretical and methodological framework since it affects both the philosophical underpinnings of the research along with concrete methods. Section four explores the qualitative multi-method design used for this thesis and serves to explore the constructivist grounded theoretical analysis methods central to this research.

Part five explores the method utilised to conduct this research. The use of semi-structured interviews, selection and recruitment of a convenience participant sample, data collection, transcription of interviews, and data analysis involved methodological decision making which was guided by a feminist methodology and a grounded theoretical approach. The feminist methodology became critical for decision making and positioning myself within the research. Grounded theorists study their data early and begin the process of sorting, separating, and synthesising data using qualitative coding methods (Charmaz, 2006). I coded the data after I finished each interview to ensure established themes were clearer and more connected. This practice is called theoretical sampling, and this method of data collection and analysis helps guide the research towards data saturation. Grounded theorists also emphasise what is happening during the scene when they code data as well, which allows for a rich interpretation of the scene (Charmaz, 2006).

Data collection follows the recruitment concept where I deferred to convenience sampling (Dantzker et al., 2016). This was ideal in this scenario as some of the initial participants were already contacts of mine. Creswell and Creswell (2017) advise that the two important points

regarding positionality and reflexivity a qualitative researcher should discuss are past experiences and how they can shape interpretations of the data. My role in the study, personal background, culture, and experiences hold potential for shaping my interpretations of themes as they advance and can influence the meaning ascribed to data and maintaining a feminist lens to the project ensures I am accountable for my knowledge claims (Conti and O’Neil, 2007). My role is researcher, and my background comes from work in the criminal justice system. Moreover, I worked at Cultus Lake as the Park’s Bylaw Enforcement supervisor from 2013 to 2016. This indicates I also have experiences where I had to use EL techniques and this knowledge is what sparked the idea for this research. My connection to the setting, enforcement culture, and some of the participants is important. These experiences helped my understanding of participant’s experiences, and I was able to relate to them in many ways.

On six spring mornings, I hiked through the wilderness with various officers from across the Fraser Valley and Lower Mainland of BC. Being an avid hiker certainly helped me in this venture. Being in the physical location brought a unique experience to everyone involved and the section on data collection contains details from the six commentated walks my research cohort and I conducted. It is important to mention that I am dedicated to doing no harm to the research sites and it is important to show my respect to the First Peoples of Canada. This research took place on the traditional and unceded territory of the Coast Salish, Mathxwí First Nation, Semá:th First Nation, and the Stó:lō people, and on the ancestral and traditional homeland of Soowahlie First Nation where the commentated walks took place. I am privileged to live, study, and work here. The land has a deep history that we will explore and acknowledge in greater depth. Later, we delve into the research regarding memory and literature on interviewing experts and elites.

I utilised a multi-pronged approach when it came to data analysis. This project contains some exploratory and abstract concepts like social semiotics and haunting and connects them to more concrete concepts in literature like EL, the effect of violence, trauma, and research aimed at exploring colonialism. The goal is to provide alternative insight using a new conceptual framework. This provides an opportunity to look at EL through a new lens: one with a rich history that values memories and how they influence us. I will discuss how haunting of spaces, places, thoughts, and events is a critical aspect of conservation officer and enforcement work in the wilderness. Landmark research in hauntology is applied using Mark Fisher’s *Ghosts of My Life* (2014), Jacques Derrida’s *Spectres de Marx* (1993) and Avery Gordon’s (2008) *Ghostly Matters*.

To make connections between haunting and EL, Dyck’s (2022) work aimed at researching colonialism and its connection to law enforcement is explored and hauntological philosophy is applied to make sense of the relationship. Clogg’s (2022) article analysed the Coastal GasLink relationship (or lack thereof) with the Indigenous people of the Wet’suwet’en territory and their subsequent interaction with the RCMP. This experience is connected to the Starlight Tours, an unofficial police practice where Saskatoon RCMP officers would drive people to rural areas outside of town and leave them to walk home as a means of punishment (Dyck, 2022; Stewart,

2018), and the spectral presence that looms over these events are revealed. I discuss the culture of policing and how dominant philosophies in law enforcement such as racialized policing, generalized distrust, the “tough street cop” persona, and perpetrated and experienced violence have been sustained through time and effect every person involved in law enforcement (Dyck, 2022). In addition, I articulate how these policing philosophies and cultural norms have been transferred to the work of conservation officers as well.

In making the case for paying attention to the haunting in enforcement work, I focus on two aspects of EL and their spectral effects on one another. Firstly, conservation officer EL is reimagined as work that results from haunting experiences for law enforcement officers. Secondly, the culture of silence and solitude that is central to law enforcement serves to protect the crypt which keepsakes many traumatic and harmful law enforcement philosophies. The culture maintains the crypt through their incorporation of the spectres of violence and colonialism which are embedded within law enforcement. The spectres make themselves known in a time that is not theirs and disrupt relationality for officers (Gordon, 2008). The constant stream of EL that is central to work in law enforcement is made exponentially more difficult as it is besieged by voices from traumatic and violent memories from the not-so-distant past and the anticipated violence imagined in the future. This is an approach to EL that has not been incorporated in the current literature.

This is an important approach future scholars in criminology should consider. Virtually all studies that examine enforcement officer trauma and their subsequent coping strategies focus on front-line police officers who interact with the public every day (Burruss et al., 2018). Researchers do not usually separate officers by rank or role even though the enforcement industry has grown increasingly specialised where unique work responsibilities shape an individual’s working experiences. As a result, there is a need to understand the unique components that influence the experience of trauma and the use of coping strategies employed by enforcement officers in specialised roles, like conservation officers (Holt and Blevins, 2011; Holt et al., 2017; Van Patten and Burke, 2001). Making connections between EL and hauntology provides useful insight into the onset and sustainability of trauma and how law enforcement EL is uniquely haunted.

In a similar vein, Valverde’s (2006) analysis of social semiotics and pictorial analysis is explored to help understand and interpret the data and artefacts gathered during this project. Valverde (2006) provided readers with analytic tools, garnered from post-structuralist theory, social semiotics, film studies, and post-colonial studies, to look at the contradictions within dominant cultural products while also focusing on the differences among representations. While analysing the data, I used Valverde’s (2006) approach to break down the social semiotics and to help assign meaning and understanding to the photographs taken during the commentated walks and artefact analysis. I completed multiple image analyses where I generated meaning from the readily available details of the images including a patrol hat, the shine of a participant’s new patrol boots, and even the extensive ink splotches on an officer’s notebook. A closer look at the

culture surrounding enforcement attire revealed that their uniform articles have powerful connotations and denotations that may influence viewer’s opinions on authority and power. Some of their uniform articles no longer resemble the traditional conservation officer image; a warm welcoming persona often affiliated with classic cartoon characters like “Yogi Bear” and “Boo Boo” from the 1960s (Pennaz, 2017). Their attire has adjusted to reflect the increased requirement for them to perform law enforcement duties. The word “S.W.A.T” is even written on some of their uniform articles which crystallises their image of authority.

After a thorough data analysis and application of semiotics to the images, section ten describes the expected contributions of this research to policy makers and academia, as well as the possible benefits for participants. I also engage in a discussion regarding the research limitations, with a critical feature being the ongoing pandemic, COVID-19. Finally, section eleven summarises the entirety of the project with a conclusion and directions for further research. In this space, I utilise reflexivity to engage in self-reflection on this project. Being close to the experiences, participants, and even location, I noticed a marked change in myself as a researcher and a person as the project went on. Here is where I finalise the project with important quotes, images, and pieces of emotional history that the participants left behind with me.

2 | LITERATURE REVIEW AND THEORETICAL POSITION

Tying the occupation of conservation officers together with EL empirically serves to embed them within the literature and provide theoretical grounding for future scholars who study these connections. There are limited connections in the current literature (Moreto, 2016) and carefully examining the concepts from this literature makes it possible to clarify core ideas, articulate definitions, and extend the concepts of EL to conservation officers within Canada. Helpfully, there has been some research into the EL work undertaken by police officers and correctional officers (Huey and Kalyal, 2017; Stenross and Kleinman, 1989; Tracy, 2005) and this research functioned as a reference point for the work undertaken in this project.

This project is inductive in nature and themes emerged based on what respondents said about emotions and work. Critically, following the protocol of grounded theory functioned as a roadmap in methodological decision making and theory generation. As a result of the somewhat early ambiguity, the literature presented here covers a variety of topics including EL and conservation, commentated walks and memory, sensemaking and coping, and interviewing experts and elites. This provided strong scholarly grounding which helped guide this project. Because of how similar the roles are between conservation officers and police, much of the research on police is transferred and applied to conservation by scholars and policy makers (Pendleton, 1996). However, I argue that there must be research on conservation officers to ensure the credibility, validity, and reliability of these transferred concepts.

2.1 EMOTIONAL LABOUR AND CONSERVATION OFFICERS

It has been over thirty-five years since Hochschild's landmark (1983) work titled, *The Managed Heart*, which introduced the concept of EL to sociology with specific attention placed on the “commercial management of feeling” in customer service interactions (Dashper, 2020). EL as a concept has been drawn upon extensively to garner understanding of employee behaviours (Dashper, 2020), and it has been the subject of critique and testing among many prominent scholars in sociology and criminology (Bolton, 2004; Bolton, 2009; Brook, 2009; Gabriel et al., 2015). Dealing with emotions is a circadian feature of investigative work (Huey and Kalyal, 2017) and Hochschild (1983) has provided a useful reference point for indexing how people shape and manage their feelings and how social structure and institutions mandate or attempt to constrain or control these efforts (Wharton, 2009). Hochschild describes EL as the management of feelings to generate publicly observable body and facial displays that are intended to invoke a particular state of mind in others (1983).

Definitionally, EL has been challenged in several ways since its conceptualization (Mastracci et al., 2006). It has been described as a covert resource (Hochschild, 1993), as the act of complying with mandated organisation display rules (Ashforth and Humphrey, 1993; Humphrey, 2000), as an invisible yet expected aspect of job performance (Karabanow, 2000; Steinberg and Figart, 1999), and as the planning and control required to express organizationally desired emotions during interpersonal relations (Domagalski, 1999). A vocabulary that captures the demands of EL has not been conceptualised yet and understandably so; it does not easily fit into any single box (Mastracci et al., 2006).

Emotion work (EW) is an act that is required by organisations and has social and economic functions. Hochschild (1983) claims that organisations mandate public displays of emotion, and they hire and compensate employees who can follow their performance guidelines, which suggests EL has exchange value. Emotional performances are bought and sold as commodities, and workers are required to suppress their private feelings and only show the desirable work-related emotions (Mastracci et al., 2006).

Hochschild's (1983) main argument is that when organisational expectations and pressures contradict a worker's emotions and self-conceptions, workers may experience alienation, dissatisfaction, burnout, and a sense of inauthenticity. The lineage of EL is rooted in social science theories which attempt to explain the influence of macro-level forces on cognitions, emotions, and behaviours of individuals (Goffman, 1959; Hochschild, 1983; Marx, 1867; Marx, 1906; Mead, 1934). Hochschild's (1983) version of EL derives from Goffman's (1959) “dramaturgical” or “acting” perspective of displays of emotion in social interaction (Mastracci et al., 2006).

There are two modes of EL: “surface” and “deep” acting. Nylander et al. (2011) articulate that surface acting regards simulating emotions that the individual does not truly feel, almost like

“faking it”. Genuine feelings are suppressed, and the individual would simply be acting in accordance with the organisational rules. When the required emotions are displayed and they are at odds with inner feelings, this dissonance is called “emotive dissonance” (Hochschild, 1983; Scott and Barnes, 2011). Deep acting is the opposite. The individual makes an emotive effort to attempt to feel the emotion they are expected to showcase. Deep acting and emotive effort do not generally result in emotive dissonance because more bona fide feelings are presented (Hochschild, 1983). As a performance, EL involves both surface acting, where the worker simulates emotions, and deep acting, where workers attempt to feel the emotions they are required to display (Goffman, 1959; Hochschild, 1979; Hochschild, 1983).

Hochschild (1983) identifies five key themes of EL that are integral to understanding public service workers and their experiences with emotions: (1) the experiences of individuals who engage in EL; (2) comparisons between those who engage in EL and those who do not; (3) the context where this labour may be positive or negative; (4) differences between workers that condition their responses to EL; and (5) the ramifications of EL at work for the private life of workers (Hochschild, 1983; Wharton, 1999).

In a careful transition from the theoretical to concrete, the following section begins to unpack conservation officer experiences, perceptions, and their changing climate. The role of conservation officers has changed significantly over time, which is an important driver for the connection between EL and their work environment.

2.12 CONSERVATION OFFICERS, WILDLIFE LAW ENFORCEMENT, AND CONSERVATION CRIMINOLOGY

Conservation officers are a critical human element in conservation science, but there is limited research on the perceptions and experiences of officers working on the front lines (Eliason, 2006; Moreto, 2016). In many countries, conservation officers are frontline guardians responsible for the management, protection, and monitoring of wildlife species and protected areas (Moreto, 2016). Without human’s involvement in wildlife conservation, certain species become at higher risk of extinction, which makes park rangers, conservation officers, and other wildlife law enforcement extremely important (Moreto et al., 2016).

In the same vein, there are many terms used to describe park enforcement officers including Park Rangers (Day, 2010), Conservation Officers (Ledford et al., 2021; Walby and Hurl, 2014), Forest Service Officers (Pendleton, 1996), Wildlife Enforcement (Digun-Aweto et al., 2019), Fish and Wildlife Officers (Benoit, 1973), Game Wardens (Oliver and Meier, 2006), Environmental Conservation Officers (Benoit, 1973), Fish and Wildlife Officer (Government of Canada, 2022), Fishery Officer, Forest Ranger, Wildlife Management, Game Officer, Game Warden, Natural Resources Officer (Government of Canada, 2022), Park Bylaw Enforcement Officers, Park Security, among many others. These positions differ tremendously across all aspects of their work, and it is not feasible to conceptualise each role for this research paper.

However, when it comes to the sample studied for this project, their roles were formally titled, “Park Ranger”, “Park Patroller” or “Park Bylaw Enforcement”. A vocabulary that captures the demands of conservation officers and their work has not been conceptualised yet (Mastracci et al., 2006).

Conservation officers hold a unique position in society- one that demands them to be tough, develop and nurture a breadth of knowledge about the environment, protect people from contact with wildlife, ensure a safe and secure park experience, capture nuisance animals, and enforce laws (Government of Canada, 2022; Pennaz, 2017). All of this comes at a price to their wellbeing and mental fortitude. The field of conservation criminology is emerging and offers a framework for understanding illicit human behaviour and the cognitions, institutions, and emotions that affect relations with the environment (Gore, 2011). This research does not focus on this aspect of conservation officer work; however, this area of overlap in conceptuality is where this study on conservation officer emotions can be elaborated in the future.³

Conservation officers are often required to enforce laws that seek to protect wildlife and natural ecosystems while minimising negative human impact on the ecosystem (Government of Canada, 2022) and acknowledging this relationship is a step towards advancing our understanding of the human element of environmental crime. Of the empirical research available, most has occurred in more developed countries and has focused on enforcement styles, park responsibilities, and occupational duties (Palmer and Bryant, 1985; Shelley and Crow, 2009), stress and concerns (Walsh and Donovan, 1984), discretion (Eliason, 2003; Carter, 2006), dangers (Forsyth, 1993), and job satisfaction (Eliason, 2006). Only a small amount of research has examined the lived experiences of wildlife enforcement personnel (Warchol and Kapla, 2012; Ogunjinmi et al., 2008). In their study of wildlife law enforcement personnel, Warchol and Kapla (2012) examined ranger training, field responsibilities and operations, and perceived threats. In 2008, Ogunjinmi et al. investigated Nigerian ranger’s job satisfaction where they examined age, family size, monthly income, work experience, and number of wives as relevant factors. The authors highlighted that most respondents were dissatisfied with their occupation (Ogunjinmi et al., 2008).

In many cases, park officers are poorly trained (Moreto, 2016; Warchol and Kapla, 2012). Moreto (2016) examined the occupational stress faced by rangers in Uganda and found that ranger’s experience internal stressors which are related to the lack of equipment, transportation, and training. Warchol and Kapla (2012) found that there was great disparity in the

³ Green criminology refers to the study of environmental harm, environmental laws, and environmental regulation by criminologists (White, 2013). The key focus of green criminology is *environmental crime*; however, this has been debated and conceptualised in different ways within the broad framework of green criminology. Some scholars (Clifford and Edwards, 2012) find these concepts to be strictly tied to legal definitions and with what the law says. Other scholars find environmental crime to include social behaviour and ecological crime which may be interpreted as environmental crime, regardless of legal status. The field of conservation criminology is emerging and offers a framework for understanding illicit human behaviour and the cognitions and institutions that affect relations with the environment (Gore, 2011).

training available for rangers due to a lack of standards in hiring and training. In addition to inadequate training, conservation officers have been given other law enforcement duties that go beyond the scope of typical park officer duties (Eliason, 2006; Pennaz, 2017; Sherblom et al., 2002). An ever-increasing population coupled with growth in the areas of recreation and technology over the past twenty-five years has led to these significant organisational changes that can be seen across wildlife management agencies (Sherblom et al., 2002). In Sherblom et al.'s (2002) study examining changes to the game warden service they found that enforcement of boating regulations, recreational vehicle regulations, and drug laws were some of the additional enforcement duties conservation officers have taken on.

While law enforcement activities used to represent a very small aspect of work as a conservation officer, there has been a massive shift in the amount of law enforcement work undertaken daily by conservation over the past couple of decades (Eliason, 2006; Pennaz, 2017). Traditional conservation officer duties like protecting natural resources of the park, patrolling the backcountry, and ensuring visits to the park were enjoyable have had to make way for a breadth of enforcement changes which have now become integral parts of the job (Eliason, 2006; Meadows and Soden, 1988; Soden and Hester, 1989). Soden and Hester (1989) in their study regarding changes to the role of park services indicated that since the United States National Park Service's creation in 1916, conservation officers have had to assume the role of law enforcement, despite organisational and personal characteristics that do not support this role. Some rangers in their study were fine with the additional law enforcement duties, but others, who were typically more tenured rangers, felt the changes were an intrusion on their professional careers. This disconnect led to cynicism⁴ and job dissatisfaction and some rangers felt it would leave a negative mark on their career. The authors indicated that “Smokey may have traded his shovel for a gun, but the findings suggest that he is not necessarily happy about it” (Soden and Hester, 1989).

Pennaz (2017) provides a zoomed in analysis of changes to enforcement milieu for rangers working in the national park service. The United States (US) exported the “Yellowstone Model” or “fortress conservation” to the rest of the globe in 1872 after the birth of the first US National Park (Brockington, 2002). The “Yellowstone Model” emphasises the forceful taking of lands, with rangers going so far as to use violence to evict and exclude local inhabitants and users of these areas for the sake of conservation. While the US has slowly shifted away from this model, the militarization of park service workers across the globe has not been perceived in a positive light by everyone (Pennaz, 2017).

Lands once belonging to Indigenous peoples have been taken (sometimes with brutal force) to protect the area under the title of “National Park” (Horning, 1999; Powell, 2002; Jacoby, 2003; Kosek, 2006; Sundenberg and Kaeserman, 2007). These persecutions and

⁴ Cynicism reflects an indifferent attitude toward work (Violanti et al., 2018).

displacements have not been forsaken with constant disagreements between Indigenous peoples and the park service still an ongoing issue (Keller and Turek, 1998). Pennaz's (2017) research also highlighted the complexity of the park ranger role and how rangers all found their own ways to approach law enforcement. Some rangers were more comfortable emphasising education rather than punishment, and they identified with the “ranger-as-host” persona. However, due to role ambiguity, mixed workplace requirements, and lack of an unified overseeing body, other rangers made their law enforcement duties central to their day-to-day work and they were constantly on the lookout for violations (Pennaz, 2017).

Saini et al.'s (2020) work aimed at providing a snapshot of ranger perspectives on their working conditions and how that in turn affects their motivation is a critical piece of literature when it comes to understanding how conservation officer's work affects their daily lives. Saini et al. (2020) collaborated with the Worldwide Fund for Nature (WWF) to develop a set of survey questions which were distributed across 293 conservation sites across Asia, Africa, and Latin America. Across the forty countries surveyed, a total of 1,742 rangers shared their experiences. Their study presents a snapshot of ranger experiences and indicates that rangers are in general, motivated professionals who are dedicated to their work despite the less than favourable working conditions and lack of public recognition (Saini et al., 2020). Saini et al. (2020) also found that rangers found some dissatisfaction in their work as it is dangerous, low salaried, and contributes to a poor work-life balance. Major issues for their sampled group were the lack of access to health care, weapons, and potable water, which contributed to the brutal working conditions. The results from their study confirm much of what was only previously anecdotally discussed about the unsafe working conditions of rangers (Saini et al., 2020). While the work of conservation officers is different across cultures, countries, languages, and spaces, a seemingly universal challenge is lack of adequate training (Moreto, 2016; Ogunjinmi et al., 2008; Saini et al., 2020; Warchol and Kapla, 2012).

This little attention paid to parks enforcement personnel means levels of support from governmental and non-governmental organisations are reduced (Digun-Aweto et al., 2019; Saini et al., 2020). According to Ogunjinmi et al. (2008) and Moreto (2016), park enforcement officers are usually stressed about work due to inadequate training, funding, equipment, and poor salaries. Moreover, park enforcement officers typically operate in remote areas that have limited populations and their roles have historically been downplayed, with perceptions being that their work is not “real” law enforcement (Palmer and Bryant, 1985). Oliver and Meier (2004) and Sandy and Devine (1978) articulate that rural officers often find it difficult to disassociate themselves with their work, primarily because they work in small communities, and they often felt like they were on 24/hr. duty.

In a similar vein, crime and enforcement in leisure and recreational settings often sparks ambivalence and mixed feelings when it is studied and researched (Eliason, 2006; Pendleton 2000). Conservation officers, in the traditional view, are expected to provide wildlife education, share ecological knowledge, and help people have a pleasant experience in a leisure setting

(Pendleton, 2000). The conservation officer role is forever scarred by paradox when it comes to enforcement of rules and laws. The institutional pressures to ignore crime and enforcement in leisure settings suggests that higher-ranking officials within conservation do not understand the phenomena (Eliason, 2006).

Conservation officers engage in “soft enforcement” (they are “peacemakers”) where they use the lowest level of enforcement possible to address a situation and prevent it from recurring (Charles, 1982). Sometimes, they engage in “hard enforcement” tactics, where they issue tickets and citations and make arrests (Pennaz, 2017; Pendleton, 1998). In Forsyth’s (1994) study on soft and hard enforcement, he found that those who engaged as “peacemakers” generally had higher levels of job satisfaction when compared to hard enforcers.

An emerging concept in the field of conservation and green criminology is *intergenerational responsibility* (White, 2013). This principle is abridged by two important obligations: (1) present generations do not act in ways which guarantee the existence of future generations; and (2) use and access of specific natural areas is discriminatory in nature (White, 2013). Humans are construed as the central point of value when it comes to environmental harm; but some green criminologists are advocating for *environmental rights* which factors in *human rights* as one component of the complex ecosystem that makes up the environment (Christoff, 2000; Thornton and Tromas, 1999; and White, 2013).

Wildlife crime is an under-researched topic in criminology, but it is receiving more attention from green criminologists (White and Heckenberg, 2014) and conservation criminologists (Gibb et al., 2009). Wildlife crime literature within criminology has been dominated by three main concepts: poaching (Pires and Clarke, 2011; Clarke and de By, 2013), trafficking (Warchol et al., 2004) and law enforcement activities (Walsh and Donova, 1984; Forsyth, 1993; Oliver and Meier, 2006; Warchol and Kapla, 2012). Conservation officer uses of EL tactics, their daily emotional work, and any resulting cynicism or mental health degradation has not been studied in the past.

Thus, given the inherent tensions of the conservation officer role and disparities between competing philosophies, there is potential for value and emotional conflicts to emerge.

2.13 FOUR TYPES OF EMOTION MANAGEMENT

Bolton and Boyd (2003) offer an addition to the EL definition by synthesising the four types of emotion management as: (1) prescriptive; (2) presentational; (3) pecuniary; and (4) philanthropic. These four types of emotion work have distinct characteristics that differentiate them from one another. Pecuniary emotion management designates the commercial use of emotion in organisations noting that social actors bring important skills to work as an officer through a lifetime’s training in “presenting the self” (Goffman, 1967). During face-to-face interactions with victims, perpetrators, and the general public, organisations will mandate the use of this style of emotion management because it fits the norms and expectations of work as an

officer. The associated motivations of this style of emotion management are “commercial” and “instrumental”. Those using this style of emotion management are merely following the externally imposed rules that have been developed for organisational motivations (Bolton and Boyd, 2003).

Presentational emotion management, like pecuniary, also recognizes that officers bring important skills to their work (Goffman, 1967). Presentational styles of emotion management are surface level and enforcement officers may enact it during a social encounter within the workplace. The associated motivations of this style of emotion management are “ontological”, “security”, and “conformity”. Routine compliance with social emotion rules is of utmost importance for law enforcement officers using this style of emotion management (Bolton and Boyd, 2003). These two styles of emotion management are vulnerable to developing burnout because individuals who deploy this tactic lack any form of job control which is conducive to increased stress (Tracy, 2005).

Prescriptive emotion management is when an officer may showcase emotions desired by occupational management but not necessarily as an exercise in cost-effectiveness (Bolton and Boyd, 2003). The associated motivations of this style of emotion management are “altruism”, “status”, and “instrumental” because law enforcement officers engaging in this style of emotion work generally enjoy the social nature of their work. However, they are generally empty of feeling due to their instrumental nature of “buying in” to organisational demands (Bolton and Boyd, 2003). This style also is risky when it comes to the development of stress as a result of the use of surface level acting, which I explore shortly (Nylander et al., 2011).

Philanthropic emotion management relates to how an officer may not only follow the organisational prescription of EL, but they decide to put a little more effort during social exchanges in the workplace. The associated motivations of this style of emotion management include terms like “gift” and this is where the officer is so fine-tuned and advanced in their skills of emotion management that they are able to mix and manage all forms of emotion management (Bolton and Boyd, 2003). Huey and Kalyal (2017) showcase that more advanced officers may showcase philanthropic emotion management by their strategic displays of empathy. To support victims and families emotionally, sometimes officers employ empathy strategically to meet work-related goals (Huey and Kalyal, 2017).

2.14 DISPLAY RULES

One of the clearest and most common illustrations of EL in the case of enforcement relates to interactions involving verbal abuse by members of the public (Huey and Kalyal, 2017). Officers cannot react the way they would like to because of overt and covert control exercised by their organisation. These are called display rules. Overt display rules are established through organisational policies whereas covert rules are conveyed through the actions and behaviour of

members. These unequal power relationships dictating emotions become a source of emotional strain for workers (Huey and Kalyal, 2017).

An integral point of this research suggests that dissonance is especially problematic for workers who have yet to manifest the organisational emotional role expectations or norms (Tracy, 2005). Conservation officers who believe that showcasing certain emotions should be part of the job generally do not feel as psychologically uncomfortable as those who do not believe the facade should be part of the job or, they fake it in bad faith (Tracy, 2005). Ashforth and Humphrey (1993) suggest that officers who's psychical allows for belongingness and oneness with the organisation generally feel more authentic when showcasing the expected emotions.

2.15 FACE WORK AND THE UNIFORM

The construction of an authoritative, dispassionate, and confident persona can involve a large degree of “face work” along with numerous emotion work strategies (Crawley, 2004). This face work is enacted by employing strategies of depersonalization, humour, detachment, and the development of a rhetoric of coping. Law enforcement officers are expected to present warm and pleasant emotions and suppress irritation in their mannerisms, language, and facial expressions (Tracy, 2005). Law enforcement officers are expected to express emotions that signal they truly care for victims in a deep personal way. They enact this by listening patiently while victims discuss tragedies they have faced (Tracy, 2005).

Empathy is a normal human emotion that law enforcement officers working with victims, families, witnesses, and suspects must display in order to meet occupational necessities and further an investigation (Huey and Kalyal, 2017). Officers show empathy to support victims and families emotionally and sometimes they employ it strategically to meet work-related goals. Building relationships based on trust and empathy with victims can be important to the success of a case but some officers felt this subject is *more* than normal enforcement work. This acknowledges the importance of victim and family loss and provides comfort, assuring them that the loss is not just part of someone's job, but responding officers feel it at a personal level. Often, officers find that this display of emotions feels gratifying and personally satisfying. Officers felt this was more than enforcement work as they had to step into a new role centred around counselling the distraught (Huey and Kalyal, 2017).

Suspicion is also an emotion that requires a specific display of facial expressions to properly “engage in being suspicious” (Tracy, 2005). Officers often avoid any physical contact with victims and perpetrators all while engaging in specific verbal and body language displays to signal authority while still being approachable. Officers with higher levels of skilfulness can engage in philanthropic emotion work while still showcasing suspicion (Bolton and Boyd, 2003).

Also, certain acts become more permissible when one dons a uniform (Crawley, 2004). The uniform symbolises authority and gives the wearer a *feeling* of authority, even if they do not

truly believe they maintain it. In addition, the uniform provides cognitive protection for the officer or law enforcement personnel. The uniform signifies mental preparedness for the task at hand and provides the wearer with the sense of having a team who are unified in combating a common issue (Crawley, 2004).

2.16 SUPPRESS WEAK EMOTIONS AND BE TOUGH

There is a plethora of work about prison officers and front-line police officers and their requirement to perform EL highlighting the need for them to suppress weak emotions and be tough (Crawley, 2004). This is useful to mention here as the experiences cross over to enforcement culture. Prison officer work is problematic because it emerges during interactions with prisoners who are societally deemed as *unworthy* of compassionate and sympathetic emotions (Crawley, 2004). Primarily in the discussion of sex offenders, prison officers who work closely and positively with them often find it difficult to suppress feelings of disgust and anger. Oftentimes when prison officers develop feelings of sympathy towards these types of prisoners, they also mature feelings of distress and guilt since the conflicting feelings are not met with grace from fellow prison officers (Crawley, 2004).

In relating this research to other enforcement specialties, Burruss et al. (2018) explain that officers who specialize in cases involving child pornography and sexual exploitation are required to view harmful and disturbing images and video files constantly throughout the course of an investigation. Officers in this field also find it difficult to suppress feelings of disgust, anger, resentment, and emotional burnout (Stenross and Kleinman, 1989). By restricting the ability to show emotions and always remain tough/courageous, the police culture encourages the quashing of emotional reactions that help control stress. These conditions often discourage investigators of sexual crimes from discussing experiences with friends, family, and even mental health practitioners (Stenross and Kleinman, 1989). As a result, officers may repress their feelings which can lead to harmful physical and psychological health effects in the long term (Burruss et al., 2018). It is important to recognize the differences in EL effects across different law enforcement groups, as they are nuanced, but share some similarities.

In addition, confidence, courage, and indifference are performed daily by law enforcement (Crawley, 2004). Managing fear is an integral role and when this feeling is not under complete control, an officer may suffer with anxiety and even PTSD. In terms of toughness, this norm is exemplified by hours of physical training that instruct law enforcement how to kick, hit, handcuff, apply pressure points, and take down culprits (Tracy, 2005). This suggests that every officer should be tough and without fear in an arena where fear should be the primary emotion (Tracy, 2005).

Plus, the culture of law enforcement does not support people who have mental health issues (Ombudsman Ontario and André, 2013). Going for mental health counselling can reduce an officer's likelihood of receiving promotions and they may be shamed by their peers and even

their superiors. Moreover, some of the physical symptoms of high stress and anxiety, like high blood pressure and in later stages heart disease, can result in officers being removed from work on the road. This is a real threat and an active barrier for officers looking to better their mental health. Counteracting this culture and recognizing how widespread these experiences are across law enforcement groups is a first step to making this line of work more tolerable in the long run (Ombudsman Ontario and André, 2013).

To address the limited research, this research will draw from EL literature (Hochschild, 1983), literature examining personal strategies deployed by conservation officers to deal with work-related stress (Daus and Brown, 2012), and literature on stress, PTSD, and emotional distress (Saakvinte and Pearlman, 1996). This framework views EL as an occupational requirement for law enforcement. This is a logical starting point for the examination of conservation officers EL because officers are enmeshed within a broader environment that demands their emotions are carefully controlled and sifted through overt and covert organisational policies. Law enforcement agencies expect officers to suppress their emotions (Rafaeli and Sutton, 1987) while delivering a professional service (Tsai and Huang, 2002).

2.17 EL CAN BE PERSONALLY GRATIFYING AND LEAD TO JOB SATISFACTION AND PERSONAL ACCOMPLISHMENT

Wholehearted deep acting can be draining whereas surface acting is likely to cause cynicism, disengagement, and self-blame (Hochschild, 1983). Studies have found that job satisfaction and personal accomplishment are tied to deep acting (Bolton and Boyd, 2003; Kruml and Geddes, 2000) and Wharton (1999) suggest that the consequences of EL may be incredibly convoluted. However, the practice of EL is not problematic in and of itself; actually, the effects may be beneficial in some instances.

Rewarding aspects of EL stem from instances when the act verifies a person’s self-concept and identity (Schaible and Gecas, 2010). EL shares similarities with physical labour in that they both require skilled experience and are subject to divisions of labour and external controls (Mastracci et al., 2006). Even authentic emotional expression is work and should not be understood as merely a facet of a worker’s personality (Hochschild, 1983). Self-deception in the form of both surface and deep acting is likely to have repercussions for the individual’s sense of authenticity; however, deep acting and emotive effort do not generally result in emotive dissonance because more bonafide feelings are presented (Hochschild, 1983). EL and emotion work endure as critical concepts in the study of organisations and employee attitudes (Dashper, 2020). Authenticity and organisational identification results in higher levels of job satisfaction and greater effort contributions when accomplishing a work task (Bhowmick and Mulla, 2016; Efraty and Wolfe, 1988).

Law enforcement personnel are uniquely positioned workers in society as their work often requires them to display negative emotions (Walsh and Bartikowski, 2013). Most EL work

is in the customer service industry where positive emotions are the desired display rules (Wharton, 1999). Irrespective of the display rules, being positive or negative, managing emotions by means of deep acting leads to personal accomplishment whereas surface acting leads to depersonalization and emotional exhaustion (Bhowmick and Mulla, 2016). How the public perceives an officer's authenticity and sincerity when they express negative emotions is tied to personal accomplishment; officers yield better results during negative interactions with the public when they can effectively communicate their emotions (Bhowmick and Mulla, 2016). If anger is shown genuinely during the execution of the task, personal accomplishment can be achieved; the authentic display of negative emotions is what assists completion of the task.

Much of the EL literature looks at customer service roles where workers are serving to make customers happy and they are wishing to evoke a positive emotion from their clients (Bhowmick and Mulla, 2016; Wharton, 1999). Positive emotions are what keep customers and clients coming back to your business or continue to use your services. Presenting “negative emotions” goes beyond typical customer service emotions such as cheerfulness and gratitude; rather, officers showcasing negative emotions often aim to display strictness or disappointment (Wharton, 1999). When it comes to law enforcement, they are not always trying to evoke positive emotions; rather, they are working to gain *compliance* (Bhowmick and Mulla, 2016; Wharton, 1999). They achieve compliance using a variety of tactics that sometimes include showcasing emotions like sternness, toughness, and rigidity. These emotions intend to evoke compliance in others but are not necessarily positive emotions and they do not always allow an officer to express how they truly feel about a situation (Wharton, 1999).

As an example, an officer may attend a domestic abuse call where there are allegations of child abuse. During that call, they may speak with perpetrators using a tough and stern demeanour, despite feeling fearful, anxious, or even re-living past abusive experiences. In using this demeanour, they are trying to show authority and gain compliance from the perpetrator. This is how law enforcement may engage with EL using negative emotions. While talking to the victims, they may show compassion, understanding, and empathy to earn their trust. They are trying to invoke feelings of ease and trust from victims - which is another way they conduct EL. EL becomes very complicated when there is a mixing of emotions based on situational factors, individual emotional management skills, and discretion in the role (Bhowmick and Mulla, 2016; Wharton, 1999).

Strong identification with the organisation yields higher levels of job satisfaction and personal accomplishment - two concepts that resist burnout (Bhowmick and Mulla, 2016). In instances where workload is high and there are many tasks to be completed, the facilitation of higher levels of engagement through strong identification with the organisation also promotes personal accomplishment. In a similar vein, increases in occupational level promote increased job control, which is another aspect of personal accomplishment, as the workers responsibility also increases (Bhowmick and Mulla, 2016). Increases in work responsibility also suggest a worker has tenure at their organisation.

Deep acting is an emotional regulation strategy that is beneficial to health (Bhowmick and Mulla, 2016; Brotheridge and Grandey, 2001; Brotheridge and Lee, 2002; Goldberg and Grandey, 2007; Hulsheger et al., 2010; Wharton, 1999). Authenticity and strong identification with the organisation hold the key in reducing the levels of burnout via deep acting (Bhowmick and Mulla, 2016).

2.18 THE NEGATIVE CONSEQUENCES

The negative consequences of EL are visible when an individual does not accept the expectations imposed on them, but they are forced to engage in emotional displays consistent with the organisation's expectations (Hochschild, 1983). This discrepancy between expressive action and internal standards is called emotional dissonance and it can occur with deep acting or surface acting (Schaible and Gecas, 2010). One of the primary consequences of emotional dissonance is inauthenticity and this stems from awareness that the worker is being untrue to themselves and others. These feelings of inauthenticity are associated with alienation, burnout, job dissatisfaction, and cynicism (Schaible and Gecas, 2010). EL interferes with a worker's ability to reconcile their real feelings with what the organisation mandates as “false” displays of emotion. This dissonance often leads to work and personal maladjustments including poor self-esteem and organisational exit (Tracy, 2005). Wholehearted deep acting can be draining whereas surface acting is likely to cause cynicism, disengagement, and self-blame (Hochschild, 1983).

Studies have found that job satisfaction and personal accomplishment are tied to deep acting (Bolton and Boyd, 2003; Kruml and Geddes, 2000) and Wharton (1999) suggests that the consequences of EL may be incredibly convoluted. There is a growing body of literature focused on workers who perform EL, especially in qualitative case studies (Wharton, 1999). Although officer interactions with EL and the subsequent psychological consequences are not the focus of this research, the literature provides a rich source of information regarding issues that arise when one consistently performs EL. Regardless, most of the research aligns with Hochschild's (1983) warning's about the psychological dangers of performing EL and case study information generally emphasises the paths workers take to resist loss of positive self-image and circumvent feelings of inauthenticity (Wharton, 1999).

While EL can be gratifying, fun, and even emotionally healthy, it has been linked to a plethora of negative psychological effects like depression, cynicism, role alienation, burnout, stress, self-alienation, emotional numbness, job tension, and the stripping away of individual experience (Tracy, 2005). Most of the research suggests that the hardship of EL is caused by “emotive dissonance” or a rift between outward expression and one's inner feelings (Hochschild, 1983; Tracy, 2005). Situations involving trauma along with an excessive workload coupled with physically or verbally abusive members of the public leads to high stress and burnout among law enforcement officers (Huey and Kalyal, 2017). Some officers turn to alcohol to address work-related stress, and this can lead to instances of domestic abuse, divorce, and suicide. Some law enforcement officers are so committed to their line of work that there is a substantial cost to their

family and personal health. Trying to cope with stress using alcohol puts further strain on their social relationships (Huey and Kalyal, 2017).

Inauthenticity and emotive dissonance can cause an estrangement between self and the work role (Wharton, 1999). Workers may feel compelled to display other emotions despite experiencing certain inner emotions when working with customers and the public. Occasional disjuncture between felt and displayed emotions is often inconsequential; but regular engagement with emotive dissonance can be personally taxing. Most people are generally motivated to enhance their sense of self as being authentic and purposeful; it is the chronic test of these markers of self that can be so damaging (Erickson and Wharton, 1997). From Hochschild's (1983) point of view, emotive dissonance is most injurious when it comes at the expense of the self and produces feelings of inauthenticity. Dissonance is problematic, but not to the same capacity that emotive dissonance is. For example, when acting is attributed to the demands of the job rather than motivations of the self.

Fusion of the self and work role intensify the risks of burnout: the restriction of inner signals of feelings and emotions (Maslach, 1976; Maslach and Pines, 1977; Maslach and Jackson, 1982; Wharton, 1999). This kind of result for law enforcement personnel can be ruinous as burnout often manifests as a robotic, unempathetic, and detached person (Albrecht and Zemke, 1985). On the flip side, becoming too identified with a work role can result in burnout as well; the feelings expressed at work become inseparable from the self. Depersonalizing and detaching from work over time becomes emotionally tiresome and elevates their risk of burnout (Wharton, 1999). Workers at risk of this kind of burnout are often the ones who find EL to be natural; ironically, the authenticity and sincerity these workers retain may actually increase their risk of burnout (Wharton, 1999).

When it comes to law enforcement officers of serious crimes like homicide, the repeated exposure to death desensitises officers, the death of children makes it more difficult for them to display the emotional requirements of the job (Huey and Kalyal, 2017). This is caused primarily by the perceived innocence of the victim and a personal sense of failure to protect an innocent life that is easy to identify with. Continuous encounters like these where officers are unable to deploy their usual coping mechanisms of emotional distancing can lead to grave stress and emotional trauma (Huey and Kalyal, 2017).

Theodosius (2006) suggests that there is more to the story of emotion management than Hochschild's exposition recommends. She argues that some emotions remain unarticulated and unmanaged and too much emphasis is placed on the organisation as the deciding factor for work and emotion. Theodosius (2006) contends that workers participate in the process and can lapse what is emotionally expected of them. Bolton and Boyd (2003) suggest that there are commercial, executive, and social meaning frames that dictate emotion work as well. Not all emotionality is dictated by the organisation and corporation profit is not always the primary goal of the worker. In some circumstances, workers may exhibit conduct that maintains the frame,

other instances the frame may be challenged by the worker’s liveliness or playfulness (Bolton and Boyd, 2003).

Surface acting can be used as a tool to fake an impression of a different emotion in the minds of perpetrators without officers necessarily trying to feel that negativity. Deep acting can be more injurious when display rules are negative because deep acting attempts to integrate feeling the same emotion and expressing it (Bhowmick and Mulla, 2016). In the long term, there are serious consequences for displaying and experiencing negative emotions as part of the provisions of a job. Anxiety disorder, self-injury, depression, and suicide are akin to deep acting with negative display rules (Fredrickson and Cohn, 2010). These negative emotions should be addressed forthwith to develop good health and psychological wellbeing, for example, via cognitive behavioural therapy. A conservation officer may fabricate their emotions during an investigation without trying to find harmony between the expressed and felt emotions (Wharton, 1999). Satisfaction of completing a task is a positive emotion that many workers may rely on to help them achieve a healthy balance while engaging with surface acting. Bhowmick and Mulla (2016) contend that when employees must reconcile with a negative display rule, surface acting may be more constructive to wellbeing than deep acting. Disentangling the effects of authenticity and the experience of EL in a context where there are negative display rules is a latent function of this thesis.

Workers generally protect themselves by the avoidance of overidentifying with their jobs in order to maintain a healthy distance between them and their work role (Wharton, 1999). To protect their identity, individuality, and authenticity, workers often employ a variety of strategies to express themselves and protect their dignity (Wharton, 1999). Emotional performances enacted daily by law enforcement in Wharton’s (1999) study ranged from inflated merriness to suppression of anxiety and fear to creation of a tough and angry demeanour which demonstrates the complex web of EL expectations crucial to work in law enforcement (Tracy, 2005).

Huey and Kalyal (2017), Stenross and Kleinman (1989), and Moreto (2016) provide nuanced data looking at the emotional experiences of enforcement officers. Although the management of emotions among conservation officers is not the central focus of these studies, they provide an in-depth look at the experiences of enforcement officers and how they determine an understanding of the world around them.

2.19 THREE KEY RESOURCES: HUEY AND KALYAL (2017), STENROSS AND KLEINMAN (1989), AND MORETO (2016)

Current EL literature is focused on the management of emotions in service organisations; studies focusing on conservation officers are limited. North American authors Huey and Kalyal (2017) and Stenross and Kleinman (1989) have published studies concerning police investigators and their management of EL. Moreto (2016) published an article which examined law enforcement ranger perceptions of occupational stress in Uganda. Although the data is not

transferable to North American rangers (Moreto, 2016) due to the vastly different economic, political, administrative, social and historical contexts of these areas (Pennaz, 2017), the major themes have provided us with some direction to begin understanding how conservation officers manage the wide-ranging implications of EL in their work and personal lives.

Huey and Kalyal's (2017) work aimed to employ Hochschild's conceptualization of EL to the work of police investigators tasked to the fields of property crimes, forensic identification, sex crimes, major crimes, and homicide investigation. Huey and Kalyal (2017) identified four key themes: (1) most crime investigators highlighted situations they found emotionally disturbing; (2) investigators found it important to maintain an empathetic face while working with the public and also performing deep emotional acting; (3) emotional distress was caused by constantly being exposed to traumatic situations; and lastly, (4) investigators employ personal strategies to deal with their work-related stress (Huey and Kalyal, 2017). They cap off their article with a call out to other researchers to unpack the topic more and conduct more research in an evidence-based manner (Huey and Kalyal, 2017).

Stenross and Kleinman (1989) examined the differences in detective's EL with criminals and with victims, outlining the strategies detectives used to transform EL into engaging work. The focus was on how detectives made their work “bearable”. Stenross and Kleinman (1989) revealed that detectives preferred interactions with criminals over interactions with victims. The detectives found it easy to discount the emotions of criminals, which led them to believe the emotional displays were inauthentic. This lack of authenticity allowed detectives to ignore any emotional displays with ease. Victim interactions, on the other hand, were very difficult to overcome and turn into a positive experience as detectives felt the emotions of victims more easily. Two concepts became clear with how detectives managed their interactions with victims: certain organisations had buffers between detectives and victims, and position prestige shielded detectives by allowing them to be effectively neutral. Stenross and Kleinman (1989) capped off their article by outlining that a qualitative approach is very useful in uncovering the meanings detectives give to their tasks.

Moreto (2016) provides the only research aimed at exploring “law enforcement rangers” and stress associated with their work. Moreto's (2016) ethnographic study including interviews and participant observation which examined ranger perceptions of workplace stress in a protected area of Uganda. Like research on police occupational stress, Moreto found that enforcement rangers experience numerous stressors and emotional challenges unique to their profession. Moreto (2016) found that enforcement rangers are exposed to various work-related, internal, external, and task-related personal strains. Moreto's (2016) work is ground-breaking in the field of both conservation and criminological literature by exploring law enforcement rangers, who are an important but neglected human dimension of conservation criminology. Results from the study have implications in making sense of occupational stress among non-police law enforcement (Moreto, 2016) and serve as a key resource in understanding park enforcement uses of EL tactics.

With this literature in mind, the following section provides additional literature associated with sensemaking and coping; two deeply intertwined concepts that influence one’s capacity to accept and understand the world around them. The following review of sensemaking and coping provides strong scholarly grounding for methodological decisions, participant behaviours, and researcher reflexivity.

2.2 SENSEMAKING AND COPING

Sensemaking refers to the ongoing process of understanding and interpreting a phenomenon so individuals and groups can reflect and rationalise stimuli (Brown et al., 2008; Weick et al., 2005). Sensemaking often takes place when the current state of a situation, action, or behaviour is perceived as different from an individual or group’s expected state (Weick et al., 2005). Importantly, the interplay of interpretation and action is the focus rather than the influence of evaluation on choice. When action is the focus, interpretation becomes the core phenomenon (Laroche, 1995; Lant, 2002; Weick, 1993). Scott Snook illustrates this concept in his (2001) analysis of a friendly fire accident in Iraq where two F-15 pilots shot down two friendly helicopters resulting in the deaths of twenty-six people. Snook illustrates that by asking “why did they decide to shoot?” focuses attention on the *wrong* decision instead of framing the question towards meaning. This alters the focus from individual decisions to somewhere where context and individual action overlap (Snook, 2001).

Canteril (1941) used the term “frame of reference” to refer to a collective point of view that directs and informs interpretations. Organisations can often have their own collective thought which enables them to explain, understand, comprehend, predict, and extrapolate. The idea that sense is collectively pooled is critical to understandings of organisations as networks of “intersubjective shared meanings”, mutually engaged paradigms, and habituated patterns and routines of action that “fix” community understanding (Canteril, 1941). Interestingly, most work on sensemaking assumes that organisational teams often have consensual thinking, “intersubjectivity” (Linell and Markova, 1993), collective thought or knowledge (Fleck, 1935; Walsh, 1995), or shared interpretive schema (Ranson et al., 1980).

Brown et al. (2008) found in their study of organisational sensemaking that a basic shared storyline of sensemaking is appropriated, modified, and embellished by individuals to make peculiar sense of ambiguous actions and outcomes. Individuals within organisations may put forth efforts to edit, filter, and re-sort experiences into different storylines and this is often a source of contention. While their case study illustrates that sense is often collective, it also reveals that actors within organisations have considerable ability in determining their own highly personal interpretations of events that have unfolded (Brown et al., 2008).

Coping is an aspect of sensemaking and may take place after sense has been made. There are different styles of coping, namely, active and passive coping strategies (Violanti et al., 2018). Active coping styles are used to alter or manipulate the stressor, whereas passive coping styles

reflect maladaptive behavioural reactions to the stressor (Lazarus 1993). Passive coping does not contribute to reducing trauma or stress (Arnetz et al., 2012). For law enforcement officers in particular, research indicates they often lack active coping styles such as positive reframing and problem solving (Evans et al., 1993; Hart et al., 1995); often, police will rely on passive coping such as alcohol use and avoidance (Amaranto et al., 2003).

Anshel's (2001) model of stress in law enforcement suggests that officer's experience includes a wide variety of stressors, first officers must make sense of the stressor and then decide with what coping strategies they will employ. It is the intersection of reality, environment, and an individual's perception that shapes the experience of stress and officer coping decisions (Webster, 2013). Importantly, Ménard and Arter (2013) found that officers with less experience have difficulty determining the correct coping strategy and their psychological wellbeing depends greatly on their chosen coping methods and social support available to deal with them.

Literature in coping strategies explains that increased PTSD symptoms in law enforcement officers are related to passive and lower-level active styles of coping (Violanti et al., 2018); however, the greatest PTSD risk factor is lack of perceived support (Dougall et al., 2001; Ozer et al., 2003; Robinough et al., 2011). The use of active coping (which involves positive reframing, active acceptance, and planning) reduced the association of PTSD symptoms (Violanti et al., 2018). Law enforcement officers use both sensemaking schemes and coping tactics aimed at reducing the prevalence of stress and PTSD in their lives.

With this literature in mind, the following section provides additional literature associated with the project and how data was gathered and analysed. The review of sensemaking and coping provides strong scholarly grounding for methodological decisions, participant behaviours, and researcher reflexivity. The next section redirects this thesis' focus to the literature involved in understanding and interpreting this data set. Mark Fisher's (2014) approach to hauntology and Jacques Derrida's *Spectres de Marx* (1993) and Avery Gordon's (2008) *Ghostly Matters* are three pieces of work I will highlight to help reflect critically on the data set and what it reveals.

2.3 HAUNTOLOGY AND THE SPECTRES OF COLONIALISM

Forbidden Planet, a science fiction movie from 1956, has been praised as a precursor to contemporary science fiction cinema as the first movie to be entirely set on a foreign planet (Wierzbicki, 2005). When *Forbidden Planet* was created it was genuinely trying to invoke the future; to capture what it might be like, and to anticipate it by actively creating new conceptions of it (Cashill, 2007). Not only did the movie prove that big budget Sci-Fi films could be successful, but it was also the first major movie to have an entirely electronic soundtrack (Cashill, 2007; Wierzbicki, 2005). The electronic soundtrack did not simply consist of already familiar melodies being played on synthesizers, it sounded genuinely strange and futuristic at the time - giving one a glimpse of a different world. By the time that the movie's aesthetic was revived in Stephen King's *The Tommy Knockers* (King, 1989), Gene Roddenberry's *Star Trek*

(Roddenberry, 1966 - 1969), and the video game *Fall Out: New Vegas*, it was no longer a glimpse or an anticipation of the future (Clegg, 2015; Fisher, 2012). Rather, it had become a crystallised artefact which rather than evoking the future like *Forbidden Planet* did, it invokes the hopes for a long lost future that never arrived. In the late Mark Fisher’s terms, it became a lost future (Coverley, 2020; Fisher, 2012).

Fisher (2012) believed that these lost futures are all around us. The deterioration of the future meant a loss of social imagination: the capacity to envision a world drastically different from the one we currently live in. In the grand scheme, Fisher suggested this means that culturally, we have accepted our circumstances as our reality going into the future (Fisher, 2012). Anachronism, the tendency of time periods to “slip” into one another, is what Fisher believes our current society is enduring. The montaging of earlier eras and jumbling of time is so prevalent in our daily lives that we hardly notice it. Fisher believes this has deflated expectations and altered the texture of everyday life beyond our recognition. Culturally, the present has become difficult to articulate or perhaps, there is no present to grasp anymore (Fisher, 2014).

In his book titled *Capitalist Realism*, Fisher describes a state of realism that involves new rigid neo-liberal economic order (Fisher, 2009). To Fisher, capitalist realism can be seen as a state of tumultuous ideological atmosphere where we are unable to imagine a world outside of capitalism. Fisher designates our new being as a purely business ontology; an almost new sociological metaphysics and a core state of innate being that purely revolves around business. Nothing can be abstract or separate from capital - our hobbies, interests, philanthropy, can never be truly separate from a rigid system of pure monetary based productivity (Fisher, 2009). Fisher explains this state of reality through the ideas and lenses of hauntology and lost futures in his book titled *Ghosts of my Life* (2014).

In all our experiences, the present is always mixed in with the past and the future (Derrida, 1993). What is present is always mixed up with what is absent, and we can only make sense of any present moment by comparing it with the past and anticipating the future (Derrida, 1993). Sometimes, time can feel disunited or disjoint, and the past begins to impede of the present. To give an example, imagine hearing a song played on a piano. At any single moment you are only hearing one of the notes; only one of the notes is fully present. On its own this single note is not a song or a melody, and the only way to make sense of the melody is to constantly mix the present note with the ones you are no longer hearing and the notes you are expecting to hear. The piano melody is never fully present but only occurs during an interplay between the past, present, and future. We can only make sense of the future through the past and only make sense of the past through the future. Derrida (1993) refers to these phenomena of mixing the past, with the present, and the future as hauntology.

The study of hauntology is becoming increasingly familiar to criminal justice scholars (Davis and Blanco, 2013; Frosh, 2012). Gordon (2008) provides us with the fullest exploration in recent academic literature of the concept of haunting as a social phenomenon. Gordon (1997;

2008) explains that “haunting” describes the singular yet repetitive instances when your bearings on the world lose direction, home becomes unfamiliar, and when what’s in your blind spot comes to view. Haunting raises ghosts that alter the experience of time and in the way we separate the past, present, and future (Frosh, 2012). Fiddler (2018) tells us that haunting is not concerned with the validity of spectres; rather, it points to the fleeting nature of the living present. In this case, the past is still alive and at work (Fiddler, 2018).

Derrida paid great attention to language and terminology when he coined the term *hauntology* (1993). *Hauntology* is a combination of the words *haunt* and *ontology*. *Ontology* is a branch of philosophy that studies the nature of being. Therefore, *hauntology* refers to the persistence or even return of elements from the cultural or social past, in a manner that is ghostly (Derrida, 1993). In the original French diction, the “H” is silent; therefore, both *hauntology* and *ontology* are pronounced the same. The word itself functions as part of the deconstruction of the speech/writing binary where speech is the privileged term because the word can only ever be fully present in writing. At the same time, the word is in a sense *hauntological* because it differentiates itself from *ontology* through a letter that is real, yet silent. Real, yet absent (Derrida, 1993).

Derrida (1993) theorised that within certain narratives, philosophies, and ideas there can exist fissures which are remote holes of prior philosophy that come back and show themselves; even though their immediate relevance may be surpassed. In Derridian terminology, they *haunt* the present. Derrida’s entire philosophical project is ontological. Either pull of a binary is never fully present because it is always mixed up with its opposite, even sustained by its opposite. *Hauntology* plays on this existence as something that exists and transcends time - moving from the past and into the present. Haunted by what no longer exists and by what does not yet exist. Our experience is ghostly, as it can be absent yet real (Derrida, 1993).

Einstein, physics, and relativity may be able to give us an objective basis of time, but that objectivity does not relate to our internal subjective experience with time in many ways (Fisher, 2014). We interact with time often with art and popular culture, and many people have a nostalgia about the music of the 1970s. A purely scientific approach to time does not get at the core ways in which we subjectively interact with it as a conception and Fisher sees this subjective time as something phenomenological. Fisher (2014) relates *hauntology* to celebrities in the 1970’s in Britain. To Mark Fisher, people like Jimmy Savile, a popular DJ and businessperson involved in child entertainment is a great example of the traumatic core of the pop culture illusion of the 1970s. At one point, Savile was an iconic celebrity who was knighted and was in the hearts of millions of British citizens; but, he was later found guilty of sexual abuse with children being his primary victims. Historical periods return but not always as nostalgia and sometimes as trauma. Yet, this trauma is continually hidden in plain sight (Fisher, 2014). Haunting is not the same as being traumatised, oppressed, or exploited; rather, haunting *produces* these experiences (Gordon, 2008). Haunting is distinctive in that it is a state where

unresolved social violence makes itself known; when our blind spot comes into view (Gordon, 2008).

Mark Fisher brings the focus of this ontology towards art, media, and culture while other scholars of hauntology including Frosh (2012), Derrida (1993), Fiddler (2018), Gordon (1997; 2008), and Schwab (2012) aimed their phenomenological expansion to criminology and the study of criminal justice. The perpetration of colonialism in Canada articulates the experience of haunting in a way that is deeply connected to law enforcement.

Colonialism, a complex process involving land acquisitions, colony establishment, and economic, social, political, and demographic authority, provides understanding of how intergenerational trauma can thrive within culture and society (Gosden, 2004; Paterson, 2011; Panich and Schneider, 2015; Silliman, 2005; Trabert, 2017). Colonialism is about power, and it has been used to create cultural and social transformations across the globe (Dietler, 2010); but, colonialism in Canada has haunted many aspects of our society and it remains entangled and embedded in the political, economic, and legal context of the country (Dyck, 2022). Clogg (2020) studied the impact of law enforcement’s involvement in the Wet’suwet’en territory, after Hereditary Chiefs issued Coastal GasLink an eviction notice.

When I hear about the arrest of peaceful land protectors, I think about all the times I’ve heard that colonialism happened “a long time ago.” This is 2019. It never ended. When I see colonial violence in action I grieve not only for those brave people who stand peacefully as they are overwhelmed on their own lands, but also for future generations who will be forced to pay for our hubris. (Clogg, 2020, pp. 2)

The RCMP imposed a military style raid on the Wet’suwet’en territory when protestors refused to allow Coastal GasLink to begin work building their pipeline; more than thirty people were arrested at gunpoint where they spent the weekend in holding cells (Clogg, 2020; Dyck, 2022). Those arrested were released more than three-hundred kilometres away from their territory and onto the streets of Prince George, British Columbia. The method in which they were released is symbolic of police power (Clogg, 2020), and the spectral presence fortified by the Starlight tours looms once again over Canadian society. The Starlight tours were an unofficial police practice where Saskatoon RCMP officers would drive people to rural areas outside of town and leave them to walk home as a means of punishment (Dyck, 2022; Stewart, 2018). At least three Indigenous men lost their lives to this unethical, inhumane, and brutal practice and it was demonstrative of how settler colonialism is ongoing in the culture of policing (Stewart, 2018). The only way we can make sense of a situation is by mixing our knowledge of the past with the present and what we anticipate the future to be (Frosh, 2012) and throughout time, police have engaged with violence in ways that demean and degrade Indigenous populations in Canada (Dyck, 2022). This racialized policing style is indicative of what police claim to be prior philosophy, but these ideas permeate today; they are sustained by the spectres of violence that are embedded within law enforcement. The Starlight tours and the Wet’suwet’en territory stand-

off are connected by violence, and this collective traumatising has haunted all groups involved (Dyck, 2022).

Colonialism is baked into the core of what Canadian society is built upon; especially when it comes to law enforcement (Dyck, 2022). The exploitation and violence that was imposed through colonialist activities has left a lasting impact on Canadian society that has resulted in a cultural trauma that is often misunderstood, mismanaged, and revictimized. Law enforcement has been used as a catalyst of colonial power within Canada (Dyck, 2022) and the violence involved in their exercise is how the culture of law enforcement itself has become traumatized which has led to a deep-rooted haunting that looms over the profession. I believe the RCMP are haunted by the spectres of their violent endeavours, but their law enforcement culture developed particular spectres that have influenced law enforcement within Canada as a whole. The trauma involved in police violence has been transmitted through everyday open communication in the media, by reading formal records and documents in their police reports, and in their indirect communication, like when they chose to release Wet’suwet’en people three-hundred kilometres from home. The problems are connected, mixed, and sustained by one another.

Criminology itself is haunted (Fiddler et al., 2022). The discipline is besieged by voices from its unsettled past; plus, its future is threatened. These ghosts appear in ways that are different from the spectral forms we find familiar in science fiction and horror movies and cinema. Rather, these spectres leave (in)visible traces in spaces, images, and texts. They radiate from sources of fear and trauma, and we often must live with our dead. Some of these spectres must be confronted and exorcised while others remain at society’s edges. Populations can become haunted, and Fiddler et al. (2022) indicate that the Dakota Sioux population of Minneapolis have been haunted by the European-American settlers who arrived in 1680, and perhaps the haunting has also happened in the reverse direction. After colonisation, slavery soon followed but was forbidden in the Northwest Territory in 1787. This wasn’t enforced and minority populations were starved, assimilated, and enslaved. In 2020, Minneapolis was reminded of these terrors when Derek Chauvin, a Caucasian police officer, knelt on the neck of George Floyd for eight minutes and forty-six seconds while being filmed for the world to spectate. He couldn’t breathe and he cried for help. The world was divided, and the fissures of prior trauma came into view (Fiddler et al., 2022).

Dominant philosophies in law enforcement such as racialized policing, generalized distrust, the “tough street cop” persona, and perpetrated and experienced violence have been sustained through time and effect every person involved in law enforcement (Dyck, 2022). Places, people, objects, and ideas embedded with violence not only haunt the actual victims, but they also weave their way through the lives of multiple generations of people who come from a variety of different experiences (Schwab, 2010). Violence has a way of haunting even prior to its legacy transmission and these traumatic memories can trap people, disrupting relationality. One could feel as if they are being assaulted by intrusive voices and attempt to close off these thoughts, denying them the space to work through their psyche. However, traumatic memories

come back as flashbacks and nightmares and when ignored can lead to physical symptoms and cause bodily pain (Schwab, 2010). The damage from these violent histories can lay dormant in a person’s psyche where it is transmitted to the next generation, like a disease.

Trauma can be transmitted transgenerationally through everyday open communication, through reading formal records and documents, indirect communication like overhearing a conversation, perceiving non-verbal interactions, and feeling the weight of the psychical environment (Braga et al., 2012). Another way trauma is passed on is when a person knows something traumatic happened, but it is never discussed or is kept silent. Scholarship aimed at studying the Holocaust and Colonialism has revealed the relationship between an intensely traumatic experience lived through one generation and its continued effects in later ones. To be haunted is more complex than being affected by what others tell us or what we have seen or heard. There is an inner voice that will not stop speaking and harbours a presence that we are in-tune with and over encumbered by - which also embodies past experiences and future anxieties (Frosh, 2012).

The transgenerational trauma has built over many years of law enforcement and has bolstered the “us versus them” mentality that is central to the culture of law enforcement. Violence has a way of changing how one perceives the world and when the work role involves addressing violence or perpetrating violence, the spectres of law enforcement peek through the fissures that were never reconciled. In connecting these concepts to the conservation officers studied in this cohort, they are embedded within the same culture as other law enforcement personnel, the culture of solitude, silence, and subjugation. There is a code of silence built and fortified within the culture of law enforcement; one that is ingrained by the colonial system. Colonialism has built the ground in which law enforcement walks on and these experiences are internalised by everyone involved (Dyck, 2022).

Moreover, officers are required to strike a delicate balance between managing their own emotions in order to conform with this enforcement culture and perform their work efficiently while simultaneously presenting an empathetic face to victims, victim’s families, and suspects (Huey and Kalyal, 2017) and this seems to have been prevalent for a very long time. In doing so, officers undertake a great emotional toll, especially during difficult cases. Their collective trauma has haunted the role profoundly and there are (in)visible traces throughout the profession. Ghosts are not a representation or a simple copy; they have an ingrained textual relationship to that which it haunts (Wolfreys, 2017). The spectre inhabits an identity or a structure in a way that disrupts or displaces the decorum of the form from within itself. Trauma has been incorporated into the culture of law enforcement, and the temporal disturbance involved in this experience is a key feature that is real (Frosh, 2012).

Obviously, the concept of hauntology is complex and often misunderstood as merely a metaphor. Rather, these ghostly experiences have very real-life ramifications, which I noted with the examples of Jimmy Savile (Fisher, 2014), Dakota Sioux, and George Floyd (Fiddler et al.,

2022), and in my look at colonialism within Canada (Dyck, 2022). In the context of EL, the spectres are embedded in the culture of law enforcement and there are (in)visible fissures that run rampant throughout the work. This thesis does not attempt to unpack all the ghostly layers of law enforcement; this thesis would be many pages too long. Rather I am aiming to explore the work and the haunting involved in the emotional experiences officers have with the work itself. Of course, we cannot understand these spectral layers without first examining the cultural pressures on law enforcement to “be tough”, “suppress weak feelings”, and “don’t show fear” (Tracy, 2005).

2.4 THE HAUNTING CULTURE OF LAW ENFORCEMENT

In Canada, the Royal Newfoundland Constabulary (RNC) was formed nearly 300 years ago (Mercer, 2021). Britain’s first governor, Captain Henry Osborne, travelled to St. John’s in 1729 and began developing policing as we know it in Canada. At the time, Canada and Newfoundland were separate countries within the British Empire and the RNC is the oldest national police force in Canada today (Mercer, 2021). The North West Mounted Police (Renamed the Royal Canadian Mounted Police [RCMP] in 1920) was developed in 1873 and originally had three-hundred officers. Since its conception, violence and trauma have been baked into the very essence of policing and it haunts the profession in profound ways. Their propensity for violence led to their attempt at total genocide of Indigenous people through the starlight tours, residential schools, the forced relocation of Inuit people to the high Arctic and “the Qimmijjaqtauniq”, referring to the slaughter of Inuit sled dogs, and the sixties scoop; the spectres from these atrocities loom over Canadian society and the role of law enforcement in (in)visible ways (Dyck, 2022).

Haunting *produces* trauma, oppression, and exploitation (Gordon, 2008). Haunting is distinctive in that it is a state where unresolved social violence makes itself known to us, and can make us feel disjointed (Frosh, 2012). From one perspective, haunting may be described as the ability for a presence that remains unseen to make itself felt in everyday life and this oscillation results in anticipation or fear and it causes us to act or respond in ways we may not understand (Wolfreys, 2017). Huey and Kalyal (2017) indicate their research cohort had ongoing and persistent traumatic experiences in law enforcement that required an almost constant stream of EL to manage. How we deal with haunting from the past and continue to act in the present is intertwined with EL and it makes it more difficult to practice it; further, I suggest that it is especially difficult when individuals are working within law enforcement. EL is already a difficult practice, but it is made more challenging when fear and violence are central to the work. The collective anxiety of police and law enforcement are traumas that have been produced by spectres from the violence that is central to the role.

The role of a conservation officer has changed tremendously, becoming more like law enforcement and less like “keepers of the forest” (Pennaz, 2017). This shift in their work responsibilities has embedded conservation officers in the same culture as police and other law

enforcement groups who experience or perpetuate violence regularly. Colonialism has haunted law enforcement organisations across Canada and the spectres from this violence loom over those who are involved in the culture of law enforcement itself. This haunting experience produces the trauma and traumatic experiences we see so prevalent in the daily lives of those working within law enforcement.

The violence, mistrust, and “us versus them” mentality has haunted the culture of law enforcement since its conception in ancient times, but there is a marked time where there was a great shift in the culture within policing. During the late 19th century, policing in the United States had been complicated by immigration and migration which reshaped the cultural and ethnic makeup of cities (Fogelson, 1977; Lardner and Reppetto, 2001). Police ability to gain cooperation depended mostly on the individual officer’s abilities to *persuade* which was different from the English system which relied on “Peel’s Principles”; a national system that regarded police officers as citizens in uniform and laid the method for “ethical policing” (Emsley, 2013). As a result, American police departments developed a specific style of law enforcement that allowed individual officers to have more discretion in their day-to-day work and those methods have permeated in policing as we know it today (Radzinowicz and Hood, 1990).

This change in policing where individual officers were given the ability to use their personal discretion has haunted the EL involved in law enforcement. This increased discretion produced the myth of the “tough street cop”; an image that still dominates media portrayals and police lore and changed how it felt to be a police officer (Radzinowicz and Hood, 1990). The solitude, anxiety, and fear involved in this culture was produced by spectres that remain embedded within law enforcement. The propensity for the culture to be closed off by a code of silence makes addressing the spectral presence almost impossible.

This shift in law enforcement expectations is where I believe EL became exponentially more difficult. Alan Williams (1981), a police historian, believes that the foundations of modern policing were laid in pre-revolutionary years and that law enforcement duties were extremely difficult, even with the increases in “manpower”, funds, and equipment. I believe that work in law enforcement is haunted by these experiences from the past and by what is expected to come next for them. These spectres are embedded, engrossed, and they encapsulate the law enforcement culture in the modern era. Officers undertake a great emotional toll during their work, especially during difficult cases. Officers showcase both boundary setting tactics they employ to manage the emotional aspects of their work and the vast effect on their own emotional and mental well-being. This constant slew of emotional work can often lead to negative psychosocial effects (Huey and Kalyal, 2017) which in a preliminary way is how the spectres materialize.

The violent ghostly layers of law enforcement’s history points to the cultural internalised feelings of mistrust. Transgenerationally, violence has become central to the culture. Perpetrating it, fearing it, or witnessing it are spectral reminders to mistrust and internalise. The spectres of

violence are strangers that change the way officers approach life and how they view themselves and the world. In his book *Psychologist with a Gun*, Harvey Schlossberg (1974) relived the first time he wore his law enforcement uniform home. He did not recognize himself, and neither did his mother. He felt *different*. With his uniform, badge, and gun he felt taller. Schlossberg is known to many as the father of modern police psychology in the United States. But, not all officers have the luck Schlossberg did and one does not have to look very far to see them.

Looking at the culture throughout time, we can see how the spectres have an acute impact on the way that law enforcement officers manage their emotions. Suicide, alcohol abuse, anxiety, PTSD, and depression are common emotional experiences for individuals working within law enforcement. The culture of fear and mistrust is passed down and these spectres face few challenges.

In a careful transition from abstract to real, the loss of an object, individual, place, community, or ideal should be addressed by slowly replacing what was out there with something else inside (Fiddler, 2018). This is an internalisation that allows for continued growth of the person which Fiddler (2018) calls “introjection”. Under normal circumstances, a person mourns, and this facilitates and integrates these feelings into a healthier space within their psyche. By contrast, a person who denies their losses incorporates them into their lives keeping it alive inside. The term “incorporation” reflects occurrences when the individual denies the loss and the object is brought within but they treat it as if it were alive; this is a tactic used consciously or subconsciously to circumvent mourning (Schwab, 2010). This allows the spectres to speak through the individual and still convey a message (Davis and Blanco, 2013; Fiddler, 2018). Incorporation is a defensive tactic based in denial (Schwab, 2010). Fuss (1995) argues that people who refuse to mourn and incorporate become like the living dead; they build the grave within themselves.

Derrida (1994) explains that the process of incorporation is done in secret, behind the recognition of the individual and a structure called a crypt is built around it to protect it. If the crypt is cracked or a fissure becomes present, the spectre may become partially revealed in speech, text, and it may manifest itself in some tangible symptoms (Derrida, 1994; Anastasiadis, 2012). Fiddler (2018) explains that these fissures can be cracked purposefully through psychoanalysis and one can begin to move from incorporation to introjection. This crypt keeps the individual and other people safe from its contents (Fiddler, 2018), but cracking or breaking it will often reveal the cultural or societal traumas hidden within it.

Attempts to address emotive dissonance is bound to encounter ghosts: past traumas make their presence felt in a time that is not properly theirs, officers are unsettled in their ability to “make sense” of their experiences, and the asserted line between past and present appears elusive (Huey and Kalyal, 2017; Wharton, 1993; Wilke, 2010). Oftentimes, the past is too alive to be closed and sealed off as the past. PTSD is a symptom of resistance in moving on from past traumas and it is indicative of the grip this mental health disorder has over individuals (Burruss

et al., 2018). Gordon (1997; 2008) tells us that haunting is a force that mixes the utopian with the injurious and these utopian dimensions can only be realised once one confronts those deep-rooted injustices. In order to loosen the grip EL holds over officers, for example, one would have to dig deep into what it means to be an officer and unravel the requirements to “be tough”, “suppress weak feelings” and “conduct constant face work” (Crawley, 2004; Tracy, 2005). Reckoning, then, might change anyone involved.

Uses of Critical Incident Stress Debriefing (CISD) or Cognitive Behavioural Therapy (CBT) after exposure to trauma is a framework of learning based on an imaginary of linear time; meaning, officers have abnormal experiences, they recognise and “make sense” of what they saw, learn how to cope, and eventually heal (Litz et al., 2002; Mitchell, 2004). Yet in the case of most officers, the job is haunted and non-reconcilable: their trauma is left to simmer and emotive dissonance boils over (Wilke, 2010). Still, the haunting of conservation officer EL initiatives are only a limited section of the ghostly matter. Only the inherent trauma and emotional work of the job are encompassed by this confrontation with haunting (Mitchell, 2004; Wilke, 2010). The normalised mechanisms of EL causal to depression, anxiety, alcohol and drug abuse, and suicide are sustained and remain unaddressed (Huey and Kalyal, 2017).

Officers use programs like CISD, CBT, or forms of psychoanalysis as an opportunity to converse with the ghosts of the past. Without programs like these, justice is not served to both the officer and their ghostly counterparts (Mitchell, 2004). The work conservation officers conduct is haunted and this subsequently leads to the constant practice of EL and the potential onset of PTSD. A new point of analysis in criminal justice should be “haunted roles”. Seeing the spectres is not the same as doing justice to them but noticing their effect on emotions in the workplace has potential to reveal how we engage with them and how we can begin to move towards introjection (Wilke, 2010).

In closing out this literature review, it is important to reiterate that the inductive nature of this project relies on a grounded theoretical framework to guide the research process. What follows is a careful articulation of my framework for inquiry. Grounded theory will guide the project and the work on EL and policing, commentated walks and memory, sensemaking and coping, and interviewing experts and elites provides scholarly guidance for interview questions, researcher reflexivity, and participant expectations.

3 | FRAMEWORK FOR INQUIRY: CONSTRUCTIVIST GROUNDED THEORETICAL ANALYSIS

Grounded theory has proven to be a durable choice of methodology for qualitative researchers since its development in the 1960s, with over 3,650 journal articles published, both on grounded theoretical outcomes and on the methodology itself (Mills et al., 2006). The founders, Glaser and Strauss, have provoked much discussion surrounding grounded theory based on diverging positions and approaches (Corbin, 1998). There has been thorough debate

regarding which of the founding theorists have broadened the methodology in productive and useful manner (Boychuk Duchscher and Morgan, 2004; Heath and Cowley, 2004).

Grounded theory is a theoretical framework where collected data informs the foundation of theory and researcher analysis of these data generates the constructed concepts (Charmaz, 2006). Grounded theorists collect data to develop theoretical analyses from the roots of a research project. They study how participants explain their actions and statements and follow that by asking what analytical sense can be made from them. Learning about participant's lives and experiences is the goal and being open to what is happening in interviews or study areas provides a window of opportunity. Grounded theorists start with data and these are constructed through interactions, observations, and materials; importantly, these theorists attend to what is said, seen, and sensed during interactions with participants (Charmaz, 2006).

Methods in grounded theory consist of systematic but flexible guidelines for collecting and analysing data to construct theories that are grounded in the data. Formulaic rules are set aside and heuristic devices and general principles are offered (Charmaz, 2006). Most grounded theories are substantive theories because they pose measured dilemmas in specific substantive areas of research (Charmaz, 2006). The logic of grounded theory can span across substantive areas of study towards formal theories, which means specifying relationships between abstract concepts to make sense of issues in other areas (Charmaz, 2006). Each research study or exploration within a particular arena helps to refine formal theory.

This work is being framed within the wider criminological theoretical discourse on EL and EW; however, due to the limited nature of research focused on the nexus between conservation officers and EL (Moreto, 2016), a grounded theory approach has been selected to accommodate the emerging concepts in this field. Grounded theory is a research approach where theory evolves from information amassed methodically during the research process (Glaser and Strauss, 1967). This design for inquiry has a sociological background where the research involves multiple stages of data collection and the clarifying of interrelationships between categories of information (Creswell and Creswell, 2017).

Grounded theory has become a landmark theoretical framework for researchers in social science and its qualitative methodology offers an approach to generating theory, an explanation for what is happening, that is inductive in nature (Glaser and Strauss, 1967; Harris, 2015). Deploying Creswell and Creswell's (2017) assumptions about constructivism and interpretivism, this project is seeking to generate a theory that explains how conservation officers engage with their world and make personal sense of it based on their social perspectives and historical experiences. The use of grounded theory means that a constant comparative method is incredibly useful in organising and analysing collected data (Chun Tie et al., 2019). The constant comparisons will be made throughout this project with frequent references to Hochschild's (1983) work in EL and Huey and Kalyal's (2017) research on investigators and their uses of EL

tactics and Moreto’s (2016) work on law enforcement rangers and perceptions of occupational stress.

Grounded theory, although reputable, is not without criticisms (Goldthorpe, 2000; Mjoset, 2005). Small sample sizes, fluid or “floating” hypotheses, and lack of rigour are common criticisms of the framework. In addition, some scholars argue that the original sense of grounded theory cannot be plausible because researchers bring their own biases, assumptions, and views to the study (Charmaz, 2006; Mills et al., 2006). Mitchell (2014) argues this is why qualitative research is the home for constructivist grounded theoretical studies. Constructivist grounded theorists attempt to clarify, seek, and problematize their assumptions and hold a high degree of reflexivity rather than be purely objective in their data collection (Edwards and Jones, 2009). Importantly, constructivist grounded theoretical studies have a unique role in socially constructed hierarchies (Charmaz, 2006) because the researcher brings their knowledge of these social constructions to the study (Mitchell, 2014).

When discussing the reliability and validity of grounded theory research, this project aimed to find more meaningful coherence with participant comments, rather than focus on the accuracy of individual truths (Mitchell, 2014). Constructivist grounded theorists provide space for participants to share additional complexities, reflections, and make changes to their comments. Participants are given space to reflect on their experience and are allowed to change what they feel necessary to properly articulate their experiences. This is more meaningfully coherent than member checks for this socially constructed project because that maintains the ontological beliefs this project espouses (Tracy, 2010). Using a constructivist grounded theoretical methodology suggests that the results of this project are co-constructed (Mitchell, 2014) and member checking to ascertain the truth of the findings is inconsistent with the reality and paradigm of this project (Tracy, 2010).

For these reasons, a constructivist grounded theoretical approach appears to be appropriate based on the research question and the limited literature aimed at explaining the experiences of conservation officers with EL. Following is a conceptual roadmap and defence of the choice to use a qualitative methodology as well as a grounded theoretical approach.

4 | RESEARCH DESIGN: QUALITATIVE MULTI-METHOD STUDY DESIGN

This research employed a qualitative multi-method data gathering design where multiple qualitative components were used within one design (interviews and commentated walks) (Tashakkori et al., 1998). In this study, triangulation of data sources was completed by conducting expert interviews, completing a commentated walk, and analysing artefact materials. This has ensured that established themes are based on converging several sources of data and perspectives from participants (Creswell and Creswell, 2017).

4.1 QUALITATIVE STUDY DESIGN

Over the past twenty-five years, a plethora of qualitative researchers have asked, “how can research audiences know the findings of an inquiry are worth paying attention to?” (Tracy, 2010). Lincoln and Guba began the search for these values and qualities in 1985 and they sparked an equivalent eagerness among numerous other scholars in qualitative research (Bochner, 2000; Creswell, 2007; Denzin and Lincoln, 2005; Guba and Lincoln, 2005; Richardson, 2000; Seale, 1999; Stenbacka, 2001). As social knowledge is constantly expanding and planted within current conversations and local contexts, it is important to maintain a dialogue regarding what makes the cut for good qualitative research (Tracy, 2010).

Tracy (2010) explains that conceptualising a pedagogical tool for understanding good qualitative research is timely and necessary, especially as qualitative research is still fighting for credibility among other types of researchers. This project uses Tracy’s (2010) eight principles for quality qualitative research to ensure this project’s data was gathered and reflected upon in a way that was ethical, coherent, and reasonable. Tracy’s (2010) principles for quality in qualitative work include: (a) worthy topic, (b) rich rigour, (c) sincerity, (d) credibility, (e) resonance, (f) significant contribution, (g) ethics, and (h) meaningful coherence.

Worthy Topic

Worthy topics can rise from a variety of instances including disciplinary priorities, societal events, and even personal events (Tracy, 2010). Schwandt (1996) coined the term “critical intelligence” while Guba and Lincoln (1989; 2005) recommended a similar level of raised awareness they called “educative authenticity”. Studies that are pursued without a larger significance or personal meaning may be engaged with in a shallow manner, where less devotion is dedicated to the data collection and design (Miles and Huberman, 1994).

Worthy studies often point out surprises and shake reader’s assumptions about the nature of reality (Tracy, 2010). This project seeks to be worthy by asking unaddressed and unanswered questions about the reality of conservation work. When it comes to being a worthy topic, conservation officer uses of EL tactics and how this impacts their lives is significant, timely, and relevant in a time when the theoretical spotlight is on law enforcement personnel across the globe. As this thesis has revealed, conservation officers are held to a similar standard from their employers and co-workers as law enforcement groups when it comes to always maintaining a tough and professional demeanour. This is an interesting finding as this has never been conceptualised before, nor is it a widely known issue. Audiences of this research may find it compelling and interesting to hear the gravity and extent to which EL work influences the daily lives of conservation officers. It could be theorised that the requirement to conduct more law enforcement activities and even the militarization of certain conservation groups are widely unknown aspects of this line of work that may serve to highlight the complexity of conservation work.

Studying Social Phenomena

This research approach is qualitative and there are several reasons why a multimethod qualitative approach is more efficient for this project than a quantitative or mixed-methods approach could be. First, this research asks how conservation officers experience and manage their emotions, and this is typically associated with ethnography or interviewing as they represent more “open-ended” styles of research (Creswell and Creswell, 2017). EL is a social phenomenon and exploring the meaning ascribed to it by conservation officers is an identified research gap (Hochschild, 1983). Secondly, the philosophical assumptions of the study are constructivist in nature (Gray, 2014). Constructivist researchers often look for the processes of interaction between individuals with a focus on specific contexts in which people live and work. Thirdly, this research honours an inductive style with a focus on individual meaning and reporting the complexities of EL strategies (Gray, 2014). Lastly, this research is interpretive in nature and Creswell and Creswell (2017) maintain that interpretive studies attempt to explore people’s experiences and their views or perspectives of these experiences, and these studies are typically qualitative and inductive.

The use of grounded theory means that a constant comparative method is highly useful in organising and analysing collected data (Chun Tie et al., 2019). The methodological plan of action which guides the collection and usage of data is rooted in analytical induction where research relies on qualitative rather than quantitative data (Pendleton, 1998). Below, I will begin to discuss the nuances of grounded theory and how this project utilised this concept as the method and methodology.

4.2 CONSTRUCTIVIST GROUNDED THEORETICAL ANALYSIS

Grounded theory seeks to identify and build a functional theory about a phenomenon of interest (Mitchell, 2014) and it has become the most popular form of qualitative analysis over the past half-century since its inception in 1967 (Thornberg and Dunne, 2019). Barney Glaser and Anselm Strauss’ unearthing of grounded theory made a cutting-edge statement about qualitative research, and some scholars indicate this was a crucial turning point in the uprising of qualitative research (Thornberg and Dunne, 2019; Denzin and Lincoln, 1994).

Grounded theory is both a method in qualitative research and a methodology (Turner and Astin, 2021). In terms of methodology, grounded theory provides the framework of principles that the methods are based on. In its application, theories are generated based on data collected in an open and inductive approach. The methods in grounded theory provide the strategy for conducting the research by outlining how data will be collected, analysed, and interpreted (Thornberg and Dunne, 2019; Turner and Astin, 2021). In practice, concurrent data collection and analysis coupled with the use of memos and codes is how data is analysed. Grounded theory focuses on generating a theory that is shaped by the views of participants and grounded in that data thereby advancing beyond depiction and towards theoretical explanation. The approach to

grounded theory depends on the researcher’s comprehension of the ontological underpinnings of the different approaches, their perspective, and the match with the researched topic (Turner and Astin, 2021).

The forefathers of grounded theory intended it to be approached inductively (Corbin and Strauss, 1967); but scholars have begun to challenge this linear ideology (Mitchell, 2014). Some scholars argue that grounded theory that is purely inductive is impossible, and this is due to the researcher’s involvement in data collection and analysis (Mitchell, 2014). The researcher is heavily involved in the progress and expansion of a theory which relies on grounded theory; the subjective nature and meticulousness of these studies are sometimes questioned (Mitchell, 2014). Nonetheless, grounded theory is a systematised, rigorous, and disciplined process (Turner and Astin, 2021).

Grounded theory has numerous distinguishing features that cultivate this methodical process (Turner and Astin, 2021). Grounded theory is an inductive process where the researcher enters the data collection period with no preconceived ideas about the findings. This means the focus of the research may shift and evolve over time as the researchers continue to unearth what their participants deem is important. Researcher openness is a compulsory aspect of grounded theory, and an attitude of strangeness is adopted to ensure that researchers can question and delve into every aspect of participant experiences (Petintseva et al., 2020b). When it comes to data analysis, a hallmark feature of grounded theory involves the process of theoretical sampling. As researchers analyse the data, they continue to collect data simultaneously to ensure the experiences and characteristics of participant experiences are fully explored (Turner and Astin, 2021).

Another feature of grounded theory involves researchers keeping memos and coding aspects of the data to break it down into smaller, digestible components (Turner and Astin, 2021). These codes are then further equated and compared to understand and explain any variation in the data before they are coalesced to form more conceptual categories. Memos can often contain details hidden behind the comparisons and what connections are made between categories. Memos are crucial in grounded theoretical analysis and further research analysis (Turner and Astin, 2021).

According to the methodology of grounded theory, to ensure a strong research design researchers should choose a research framework that is harmonious with their beliefs about the nature of reality (Mills et al., 2006; Turner and Astin, 2021). Consciously ensuring these beliefs are subject to ontological questioning can reveal the methodological and epistemological possibilities of the study. It is not an easy task to determine one’s view of the nature of reality and truth as we are all influenced by cultural and historical context (Mills et al., 2006). Constructivism is a research paradigm that refuses the existence of an objective reality; rather, it insists that realities are social constructions of the mind (Guba and Lincoln, 1989). Those who deny the existence of an objective reality assume a relativist ontological position, where the

world consists of many individual realities made malleable by context (Mills et al., 2006). Relativists assert that good, right, rationality, truth, or even norms must be understood as relative to a specific paradigm, form of life, society, culture, scheme, or framework (Bernstein, 1983).

Theoretical sampling relies on the co-construction of theory, using the participant experiences in conjunction with the researcher’s understanding and perception of the data they collect (Turner and Astin, 2021). Theoretical saturation is achieved once all the concepts that form the theory have been well cognized, grasped, identified, and grounded in the data (Turner and Astin, 2021). Epistemologically, constructivism accentuates the subjective interrelationship between the participant and the researcher, and the co-construction of a reality (Hayes and Oppenheim, 1997; Pidgeon and Henwood, 1997). Objective observations are not requisite and researchers in their “humanness”, must acknowledge their values and communicate this to readers as an inevitable aspect of the outcome (Appleton, 1997; De Laine, 1997; Guba and Lincoln, 1989; Stratton, 1997). This project relies on the strength of theory co-construction and the results are expressed in a way that relates the concepts to one another (Turner and Astin, 2021).

Constructivist grounded theorists acknowledge that theory is formed by grounding the data in the experiences of the participants (Charmaz, 2006); as articulated, the researcher helps co-construct the theory based on their interactions with the participants (Mitchell, 2014). Ultimately, as the researcher, I co-constructed the theories that emerged and the data has exposed the conservation officer’s experience with EL and the social support officer organisations have provided (Mitchell, 2014). This suggests that reflexivity and positionality will be critical components of the research process.

Creswell and Creswell (2017) advise that there are two important points regarding positionality and reflexivity a qualitative researcher should discuss: past experiences and how past experiences can shape interpretations. My background comes from work in the criminal justice system and indicates familiarity with using EL techniques. Moreover, this connection to enforcement culture is important as it aids in understanding participant’s experiences. This level of closeness can influence data negatively when gone unaddressed (Creswell and Creswell, 2017) and adopting an attitude of strangeness will be critical (Neuman et al., 2004). Creswell and Creswell (2017) suggest that researchers should take notes on their personal experiences during the study and use multiple strategies for validation to promote accuracy of the information. Using a feminist methodology during interviews takes the examination of power in the research process a step further by arguing that the power dynamic between the researcher and expert informant not only shapes the interview process but defines how knowledge is created (Conti and O’Neil, 2007). These are all tactics aimed at increasing the validity of the study and increasing the ability to assess the accuracy of the findings.

Although philosophical ideas generally remain hidden in research, this information helps to explain why I chose a qualitative approach for my research (Creswell and Creswell, 2017).

Worldviews are general philosophical orientations about the world that act as a basic set of beliefs that guide action. My approach and research methodology will be influenced by whether I think it is possible to try to measure an objective “truth” or if I believe generalizability is less important than understanding the real workings behind reality (Creswell and Creswell, 2017). I relate more strongly to the latter.

I connect with social constructivists because these types of researchers believe that individuals seek understanding of the world they live and work in (Creswell and Creswell, 2017). Subjective meanings are developed from experiences with meanings directed towards certain objects. Typically, the goal for constructivists is to rely on the participant’s views of the situation while using broad questions so participants can construct the meaning of a situation, typically forged in interactions or discussion with others. Importantly, constructivists also focus on the specific contexts where people live and work to understand the cultural and historical settings of the participants (Creswell and Creswell, 2017).

Because of limited literature looking at the nexus between law enforcement officers and EL practices (Pendleton, 1997; Pendleton, 1996), a constructivist approach is also useful in theory generation and social construction (Creswell and Creswell, 2017). In the following section, I will delve into the methodology used to gather the data.

5 | METHODS

Most research in EL is strictly qualitative and sticks to the standard interview (Huey and Kalyal, 2017; Stenross and Kleinman, 1989). This research is unique in that it deploys multiple levels of qualitative analysis through commentated walks, artifact analysis, and conducting interviews that rely on feminist methodology (Conti and O’Neil, 2007). Researchers do not usually focus on specific roles in enforcement when it comes to EL even though the park enforcement, private police, and enforcement industry has grown increasingly specialised where unique work responsibilities shape an individual’s working experiences. As a result, there is a need to understand the unique components that influence the experience of trauma and the use of coping strategies employed by officers in these specialised roles.

5.1 POPULATION AND SAMPLE SIZE

Considering the goals of this research, which involve revealing the connection between EL and conservation officers, I chose two groups of participants who have the most direct and relevant involvement with park enforcement. This research cohort consists of current and retired conservation officers. While all willing participants were accommodated to the best of my abilities, there are some factors which may have excluded participants for ethical and practical reasons.

In the following segment, recruitment principles are explored. As a preamble, recruitment did not lead to all conservation officers in the population being available for the research;

convenience sampling was the chosen method (Dantzker et al., 2018). Sampling the population of conservation officers was critical as reaching the entire population is not feasible (Dantzker et al., 2018). The sample size is $N=12$ and this is a number generated from like studies (Huey and Kalyal, 2017; Stenross and Kleinman, 1989).

5.12 RECRUITMENT

I began the recruitment strategy by preparing myself and reading all applicable literature, studying the parks and their unique qualities, and defocusing (Crano and Brewer, 2002). Personal preparation is where the recruitment strategy can best begin; when studying experts, a researcher needs to deploy a great amount of flexibility and be prepared for tests of knowledge on any applicable organisations (Conti and O’Neil, 2007). Gatekeepers identified included front desk agents, supervisors and managers, and various park boards (Creswell and Creswell, 2017).

I initially reached out to media personnel from numerous organisations in BC offering conservation officer work via publicly available emails. I found the emails by going to their website and by searching through Indeed.com - which is normally a website used for finding a job. There are many different organisations, large and small, offering conservation officer work in BC and locating these agencies by searching for employment as a conservation officer was a simple way to find organisational emails. In a recruitment effort, I explained the research and the importance of this for conservation efforts in BC. I also advised them of the benefits to conservation for their involvement with the research. These efforts felt fruitless; I hardly received any responses or indications the organisations even received my email. I had to regroup and develop an alternate plan.

I found success in recruitment by calling publicly available phone numbers and requesting to speak with the manager or supervisor on site. I called five different agencies: Parks Canada, BC Parks Service, Commissionaires BC, and Mt. Seymour Parks and I received approval from site supervisors to conduct this research. Once initial access was granted, I emailed a brief explanation of the study using a prestigious UW letterhead, as research indicated this additional professionalism when working with experts can be helpful with gaining access (Conti and O’Neil, 2007). This email indicated that the research was funded and supported by the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada, the Department of National Defence, along with the UW Ethics Board, and it stressed the value of the organisation’s involvement. Following the access ladder ensured gatekeepers were recognized as vital persons of importance in conducting the study (Neuman et al., 2004).

Once this access was garnered and supervisors provided me with contact details for participants, I began my research. Conservation officers were contacted via email and given the study details and information regarding counselling, mental health support, and consent (Creswell and Creswell, 2017). This was the comprehensive plan to begin recruitment and initial gatekeepers were very friendly and accommodating. I began by reaching out to the participants I

knew already; I once worked as a conservation officer and had some connections to Cultus Lake which helped me gain access.

The two participants I knew were treated similarly to others with few exceptions; I informed them that participation is an altruistic decision rather than an obligation to a friend. Both participants acknowledged their interest in the results and insisted they agreed to the interviews for an opportunity to talk about their profound experiences at Cultus Lake. I spent a great deal of time talking to them about their involvement in the research and I acknowledged that an element of “social coercion” and “friend obligation” may be present. They both indicated that they had a desire to draw attention to the way conservation officers conduct their work in Canada. These relationships deepened since the interviews, and these two participants still indicate being thankful for the opportunity to speak candidly about their work. The initial trust I had built with these two participants was a defining characteristic of their involvement.

I reached out to many previous co-workers who either declined or showed clear apprehension and anxiety on being involved in such a procedure. Those participant wishes were acknowledged and respected; it is not easy talking about emotions with other people. McConnell-Henry et al. (2009) discuss the challenges associated with interviewing people you know and this work was instrumental in decision making when it came to participant involvement. I did not approach certain participants from Cultus Lake as I still maintained an element of authority over them; few participants still use me as a professional reference for applications to police departments. In reflection of the power-dynamics of these relationships, it was important I did not speak with these participants as coercion could have been an element (Conti and O’Neil, 2007). I was also concerned these participants would find it difficult to engage truthfully with the research, as they may have felt they needed to manage my impressions of them. I also began to question myself: what if these participants tell me about an unethical behaviour they engaged in and then I was questioned by the police in a pre-employment interview for them later? Anonymity and confidentiality of my participants is of paramount importance and introducing that level of cognitive dissonance to this research was not an element that I was willing to support. These non-participant voices are still valuable and important to delve into at some point.

Researchers who engage with a feminist methodology are accountable for their knowledge claims and a critical examination of my positionality and the micropolitics of this research led to decisions on recruitment that may be different from other pieces of research (Conti and O’Neil, 2007). On a related note, some conservation officers asked if certain officer’s voices were represented in the research; I used this as an opportunity to snowball sample extra participants or respectfully explain anonymity again (Dantzker et al., 2016). This segways us nicely into discussing the sampling strategy deployed to this project.

5.13 SAMPLING STRATEGY

Conservation officers working within British Columbia are the interest group for this study. To start, participants were sampled using convenience sampling (Dantzker et al., 2016). This was ideal in this scenario as some of the participants were already known to me. However, I also used a snowball sampling technique where I asked participants to point me in the direction of anyone else they deemed useful for the research. This relies on the expertise of others to identify prospective individuals for sampling. I ensured anyone identified has worked as a conservation officer within BC, which is a requirement for involvement in this research (Dantzker et al., 2016). These sampling techniques are both typically used in qualitative exploratory research (Creswell and Creswell, 2017). Many participants have worked for different organisations as conservation officers and they acted as a crucial link between other participants and I (Dantzker et al., 2016).

5.14 DATA COLLECTION

In grounded theory, data collection and analysis occur almost simultaneously which is a process referred to as theoretical sampling (Corbin and Strauss, 2008). During the theoretical sampling process, I looked for emerging themes from the data and used that information to synthesise further questions for the next round of data collection. I continued this process until no new themes emerged. The constant comparative method is used to analyse the data continuously during data collection and continues until the researcher can formulate a theory (Corbin and Strauss, 2008). As I will discuss in more depth later, reflecting on the data is what turned my attention towards a few new concepts and lines of questioning including hauntology, soft and hard enforcement styles, and EL effort and personal accomplishment. This was the brick and mortar of the data collection strategy.

Building upon that, I utilised a qualitative multi method design where multiple qualitative components were used within one design (interviews, commentated walks, and artefact analysis) (Tashakkori et al., 1998). Triangulation of sources was utilised to accommodate the emerging nature of the research topic and the qualitative nature of the available data on EL (Shane, 2010). During the research period, I lived in a city adjacent to Cultus Lake, where all the commentated walks took place. This provided me with quick access to the site. Data was collected using three qualitative methods aimed at providing the participant with the opportunity to focus on what they felt was important.

The interviews were semi-structured and open-ended (Glaser and Strauss, 1967), and included questions like: (1) How much autonomy do you have in your role?; (2) Tell me about a time when you felt burnout; (3) Do you deal with any mental health related issues associated with your time working as a conservation officer?; and lastly, (4) what changed in your personality after you started working as a conservation officer? The interviews were designed to open conversation and allow for comprehensive discussions and all interviews were

approximately two hours (Moreto, 2016). Importantly, the participants in this research were considered *experts* in their field and this style of interview required careful attention to power imbalances in the process of data gathering (Conti and O’Neil, 2007).

Expert interviews describe interviews that aim to elicit specific knowledge by speaking to experts or people who have privileged access to certain information (Petintseva et al., 2020a). Using a feminist methodology to address power imbalances requires that a researcher becomes answerable for their knowledge claims and how that information is shared. Because of the potential impact of power from both that of the participants and I, analysis of the micropolitics of the research process is central to the documentation and sharing of the research (Conti and O’Neil, 2007).

Most of the interviews took place at the respondent’s park where they worked as a conservation officer, except for three officers who elected to conduct virtual interviews due to their distance. I commuted to these locations to make the interview most convenient for officer involvement. For the initial interview, participants were asked to bring in an artefact to act as a point of discussion. An artefact included anything associated with their experience working as a conservation officer which could include images, videos, uniforms, awards, or anything else associated with their experience (De Leon and Cohen, 2005). Importantly, I ensured participants were aware that bringing in an artefact is voluntary and not a requirement of engaging in the study. The artefacts served as talking points and allowed me to probe into why they felt it was relevant to their experiences with EL (De Leon and Cohen, 2005).

After interviews were completed, participants were asked to take me to a location where they experienced significant emotions while still being required to be professional (De Leon and Cohen, 2005). With this, I took photos to document the scenes while asking participants to tell me about why the location is important. Raulet-Croset and Borzeix (2014) explain that commentated walks make it possible to identify “signs” which can trigger memory and narratives and even access to the real space. It leads the researcher to see with the eyes of the participant the relationship to space and place. These commentated walks were intended to illuminate the lived experiences of conservation officers while giving voice to their experiences working in the field (Rouleau et al., 2014). This data reveals how conservation officers “make sense” of their emotions and how they come to terms with the nature of their work. This concurrent and embedded multi-method approach helps to analyse the results of the study using a multilevel approach.

Achieving rigour involves discussing the physical time spent conducting and collecting data with participants (Tracy, 2010). Interviews were designed to last between two to two-and-a-half hours and all were completed in person, with exception of three. Conducting the commentated walks took anywhere from one to two and a half hours as well for each participant and six of them were able to participate. The time spent collecting data was approximately forty-two hours and that does not involve the time spent analysing artefacts or analysing the data.

Rigorous researchers consider everything about their data critically, including how to collect it (Tracy, 2010).

5.15 TRANSCRIPTION

Transcription is a strong act of representation, and it manages how data are conceptualised (Oliver et al., 2005). The transcription process is incorporated into the methodology of this project and periods of reflection were utilised to reflect and honour both the research process and participant voices (Oliver et al., 2005).

Interview notes were taken in a written log and a tape recorder was used to ensure reliability and validity of transcription (Moreto, 2016). I used a denaturalized transcription model which focuses on the information content of speech and allows for verbatim depiction of speech (Oliver et al., 2005). De-naturalism focuses on the accuracy of the substance of the interview involving the meanings and perceptions shared and created during the interview. De-naturalism is an approach to transcription that suggests within speech there are perceptions and meanings that construct our reality (Oliver et al., 2005). Studies involving ethnography (Agar, 1996; Carspecken, 1996), grounded theory (Charmaz, 2000), or critical discourse analysis (Fairclough, 1993; van Dijk, 1999) find the de-naturalist method to be of relevance. The law enforcement community uses unique language and slang that has been transcribed as they were stated by the participant. I ensured participants explained slang and specialised language which was also transcribed verbatim.

5.16 DATA ANALYSIS

The constant comparative method involved in grounded theoretical projects is used to analyse the data (Corbin and Strauss, 2008). These comparisons are made until the researcher can formulate a theory. The methodological plan of action that guides the collection and usage of data was rooted in analytical induction where research relies on qualitative rather than quantitative data (Pendleton, 1998). Grounded theorists study their data early and begin the process of sorting, separating, and synthesising data using qualitative coding methods (Charmaz, 2006). Coding distils data, sorts them, and allows for comparisons between concepts to occur. Coding is the process of attaching labels to segments of data which describe the details of each segment. Grounded theorists also emphasise what is happening during the scene when they code data as well (Charmaz, 2006).

I began by organising the data which involved transcribing interviews, scanning materials, typing up field notes, cataloguing any visual materials, and arranging data by type (Creswell and Creswell, 2017). I winnowed the data which involved focusing on some of the data and putting aside other parts of it. This was impactful because it allowed me to aggregate the data into a small number of themes (five to seven themes). The data was hand coded by going through each line of transcript and assigning codes (Creswell and Creswell, 2017). By

making and coding numerous comparisons, the analytical grasp of the data will begin to form (Charmaz, 2006). Grounded theorists write preliminary analytic notes referred to as memos regarding codes and comparisons. This process allows researchers to define ideas that best fit the research question and interpret the data as temporary categories. These categories grow in time and become more theoretical because of engagement in successive levels of analysis (Charmaz, 2006).

Themes and concepts used to explain the grounded theory are formed using a process of selective, axial, and open coding (Corbin and Strauss, 2008). Open coding is expansive and primarily conducted after the first round of interviews. This process identifies emerging concepts from the literature and helps develop or alter the next round of interview questions. Identifying sub-concepts, dimensions, and properties are all aspects of axial coding, which helps unveil relationships and continua of concepts. Properties and dimensions generate sub-concepts with properties describing concepts and dimensions are the continua of properties (Corbin and Strauss, 2008). Integrating the concepts and connections made during axial coding begins the process of selective coding where a narrative develops. All three of these coding techniques will be utilised to create a conditional matrix, which provides a visual picture of conceptual relationships represented in the data. This illustrates the interconnectivity of a grounded theoretical approach (Corbin and Strauss, 2008).

A constructionist perspective was utilised as an interpretive lens to begin the process of assigning meaning to the data (Creswell and Creswell, 2017). By adhering to Glaser’s (1978) concept-indicator model, which first suggests researchers look for key concepts and then for terms and phrases that indicate the concept, I utilised a commonly used analytical model for grounded theory. To code for “emotions”, I looked for words and phrases including “cry”, “crying”, “upset”, “anger”, and “feelings” (Huey and Kalyal, 2017). Key indicators to specify “emotions” included concepts and words like “stress”, “impact”, “burnout”, “depression”, and “falling apart”. After initial coding, I reassessed the transcripts and re-coded using a concentrated approach aimed at drawing parallels between concepts (Huey and Kalyal, 2017).

Strauss (1987) indicated that there is tremendous value in doubling-back and re-assessing the collected data throughout the duration of the project. Strauss (1987) further recommends that researchers should backtrack to collecting data, re-coding, and memoing to avoid losing precious dividends this procedure may reveal. Because adding a longitudinal element is not feasible for this project, I backtracked to re-code and memo to make sure I was thorough.

As Tracy (2010) indicates, rich rigour is an aspect of qualitative research that should be utilised to bolster the research project’s quality. Before making any claims, evidencing the due diligence undergone for this project seems fit. Prior to making any claims, I ensured there was enough significant data to support them. As this project has an N=12, it was important that I asked the right questions, cultivated an inductive story sharing space, and corroborated the research via triangulation of sources (Corbin and Strauss, 2008). The results have been analysed

in a way that pushes past convenience and articulates substantial, meaningful, and significant claims (Tracy, 2010).

Lastly, it is important to mention I have kept a code book. A codebook provides a label for each code, a brief definition of it, information about guidelines for using the code, and an example quote that illustrates the code (Creswell and Creswell, 2017). The codebook evolved during the study and all changes were documented. The following section describes how the theoretical components of how data was gathered in this project. Commentated walks have the propensity to trigger memory narratives in participants. This mode of gathering research proved to be an insightful journey, where participants were able to recall memories from being in the physical space and place.

5.17 GENERATING A THEORY GROUNDED IN PARTICIPANT EXPERIENCES

The thorough application of important methods of grounded theory refines the analysis resultant in the generation of a cohesive, inclusive grounded theory that explains a progression relating to phenomena (Creswell and Creswell, 2017). The outcomes of a grounded theory study are communicated as an arrangement of concepts, connected to one another in a unified whole, and articulated through development of a substantive theory (Chun Tie et al., 2019). This substantive theory is a theoretical elucidation or interpretation of a studied phenomenon. Consequently, the characteristic of grounded theory is the development of a theory supported, based, and reinforced by the collected and generated data. To ensure quality, rigor is an essential element that must be present throughout the research process (Chun Tie et al., 2019).

The quality of the generated theory is correlated with three divergent areas fortified by: (1) the researcher skills, knowledge, and expertise brought by the researcher; (2) the methodological resemblance to the research question; and (3) the technical precision of the methods (Creswell and Creswell, 2017). Methodological similarity is strengthened when the ontological position of the researcher is aligned with the research questions and the chosen methodological approach. Data generation and analytical conceptualisation should be rigorous during the research process to ensure a high-quality generated theory (Creswell and Creswell, 2017). Procedural precision necessitates close attention to preserving a detailed audit trail using memos that dictate procedural logic and data management strategies (Chun Tie et al., 2019). An audit trail of decision making, alterations to the direction of the research, and decision rationale is essential to ensure rigour in the completed grounded theory (Chun Tie et al., 2019).

The following analysis of commentated walks and memory bolsters the rigour of this project by delving deeper into a concept related to EL (Tracy, 2010). Discussing these theoretical constructs thoughtfully prepares readers and researchers for the complexity of collecting data with these participants.

5.18 COMMENTATED WALKS AND MEMORY

When we think of an individual memory, many times we are recalling an episodic memory (Hasselmo, 2012). These are rich recollections of sequential events from the recent or even distant past that play out in our minds, almost as if we can *relive* them. Some events result in minimal memories or those that are quickly forgotten, whereas others may be explicitly detailed and imprinted into our brains. One’s episodic memory can encode every moment of an event creating a path of footprints one can retrace and relive (Hasselmo, 2012). There are many types of memories; however, episodic memory regards a special spot for this project.

Episodic memory is understood as memories of events and specific information like names, dates, and experiences (Tulving, 1972). Episodic memories seem to be perceptually encoded, and they are linked to the five senses which is why they can be triggered by a sight, a sound, or a smell. Tulving coined the term in the early 70s and he claims that the brain has the capacity to mentally time travel to past episodes of life and replay them from memory as if reliving them (Eichenbaum and Cohen, 2001; Tulving, 1983; Tulving, 2002). Episodic memory is distinct from other kinds of memory because the focus is on the past and is coupled with feelings of remembering; other knowledge we encode is often purely factual, without any personalised past enmeshed within it (Hasselmo, 2012).

Mitchell (2007) revealed in his study of episodic memory recall and the five senses that visual prompts and verbal prompts added immensely to his study because he was able to trigger a tumble effect of stories. Mitchell wrote, “...on many occasions my questions result in scant responses or no information at all. In most of these instances I get the feeling that interviewees are not deliberately withholding information but simply cannot recall specific incidents or facts in response to the stimulus provided” (p. 61). Mitchell (2007) indicated that during his study he used various stimuli including the smell of eucalyptus oil which resulted in a story where a respondent’s mother used to pin a handkerchief dipped in the oil to their shirt when they were sick. Commentated walks and memory meet at the intersection of the five senses. Sight, hearing, taste, smell, and touch can all aid in memory recall (Eichenbaum and Cohen, 2001; Mitchell, 2007; Tulving, 1983; Tulving, 2002), and the act of “walking with” participants holds potential to reveal episodic memories (Rouleau et al., 2014).

In urban anthropology and sociology, commentated walks can tell the deep-rooted stories of a space or place (Rouleau et al., 2014). The origins of commentated walks can be traced back to France in the early 1930s where the concept was initially studied by phenomenologists (Merleau Ponty, 1945), anthropologists (Mauss, 1934; 2009), and sociologists (Goffman, 1959); later, semiologists, linguistics, and philosophers also began studying these early concepts (Augoyard, 1979). In the 1970s, American ethnomethodologists began studying “the art of walking” (Ryave and Schenkein, 1974), and performance studies along with the ecology of action became legitimate domains of research. French philosopher De Certeau (1980, pg. 14) wrote, “The act of walking is to the urban system what a speech act is to language.”

This early conceptual idea was called a “promenade walk” which functioned as an ecological device for thoughts to develop and evolve by allowing the mind to wander (Rouleau et al., 2014). Thus, walking became fundamental as memory and narratives flourish when signs become easier to notice and see. Walking provided access to the real and lived relation with space. This “field work on the move” is an ethnographic tradition that allows a researcher to see with the eyes of a person and determine the behaviours, emotions, imagination, and sociability it provokes (Rouleau et al., 2014).

With the aim of gaining access to how participants feel in a space, researchers cannot overlook how they feel during interaction with the person observed (Rouleau et al., 2014). Noting a researcher’s own feelings, emotions, and surprises they encounter during the walk by taking an ethnographic approach adds to reflexivity and positionality of the researcher. Van Maanen (1996) illustrates that the primary instrument of research is the researcher’s use of their own body; moreover, the researcher’s physical presence enables them to link sounds, perceptions, thoughts, images, and words by “sticking” them together (Rouleau et al., 2014). In the same vein, the physical and mental operations involved such as perceiving, walking, verbalising, and thinking become inseparable and cannot be isolated. These psycho-cognitive characteristics translate to empirical materials that are explored at depth when researchers scratch away the surface by asking participants to elaborate, comment, and explain their own perceptions (Rouleau et al., 2014).

Giddens (1984) noted that a vast array of knowledgeability is occluded from view because agents are restricted with what they can say. Practical consciousness becomes critical in research when ordinary aptitude cannot detect, perceive, see, notice, overcome, or even be aware of problems (Rouleau et al., 2014). Discourse alone cannot appreciate the complexity of certain behaviours in spaces; rather, researchers should utilise a “situated discourse” to dive deeper into relationships to space and place (Rouleau et al., 2014). Importantly, Gudjonsson (1983) heeds warnings that a researcher must be aware that memory can be finicky and certain populations such as those with high anxiety and social desirability are more susceptible to suggestibility. Researchers must be conscious of their suggestibility and ensure they are triggering memories through walking rather than creating false episodes (Gudjonsson, 1983).

Enmeshed within commentated walks, memory, and relationships to space and place is sensemaking and coping. The interplay between these concepts are critical for comprehension of the challenges law enforcement officers face when approaching potentially traumatic situations and memories. Next, I will switch gears and dive into interviewing experts, elites, and the powerful with focus on uncovering the potential challenges researching these individuals may uncover. Sensemaking, coping, memory, and the commentated walk literature provides a good jumping off point for understanding how to best move forward with the interview process.

5.19 INTERVIEWING THE POWERFUL AND FEMINIST THEORY OF METHODOLOGY

Terminology like “the powerful” has been more frequently used to refer to elites and experts by embedding them together under one umbrella term, despite their vast differences (Petintseva et al., 2020a). In the context of criminal justice, powerful actors steer definitions of deviant behaviour and the ways in which social control is exercised. Generally, these are people in positions of public legitimacy and authority, who have power over others and have access to material and articulation of power. Expert interviewing describes interviews that aim to elicit specific knowledge by speaking to experts or people who have privileged access to certain information (Petintseva et al., 2020a). There are a few types of “experts” and the first type recognizes that everyone is an expert within a particular field (Harvey, 2011). The second definition suggests an expert is anyone who is seen or construed as an expert in each social reality of research interactions (the researcher constructs a social reality where certain individuals hold power). Illicit drug users have been identified as experts due to their knowledge of prices and purity of substances (Petintseva et al., 2020a).

Most of the literature on expert interviewing tends to prioritise professional knowledge which stems from studies in the sociology of knowledge (Petintseva et al., 2020a). Elite interviewing, on the other hand, focuses on getting accounts of people who have power, authority or status. Elites are usually defined in terms of social position when compared to the researcher’s position or when compared to “average” citizens (Petintseva et al., 2020a). The researcher is usually in the position of power in research, they are the ones who hold knowledge and status (Conti and O’Neil, 2007). But with elite interviewing, the researcher often has less societal powers than the respondent, so when compared to the researcher, the elite has significantly more status (Conti and O’Neil, 2007).

Elite interviews are more critical about the knowledge generated by focusing on power and bias (Conti and O’Neil, 2007). Expert interviews extend the group of experts and thus the group of possible interviewees by moving beyond the concepts of elites and power. Furthermore, although societal power has very real and material effects, notions such as the “powerful”, “experts” and “elites” are relational and socially constructed categories, which are bound to contextual dynamics that a close interview has the potential to reveal (Conti and O’Neil, 2007). Elite interviews specifically try to understand the micro-politics of personal relationships and to relate them to a wider analysis of power (Harvey, 2011). When the powerful are being interviewed, they are likely to find themselves in positions more knowledgeable than the researcher; therefore, creating a power imbalance (Petintseva et al., 2020a).

The powerful usually have extensive or specific valuable knowledge and can be considered as key informants (Conti and O’Neil, 2007). Aside from the specialised knowledge, these participants will mostly be busy and protected from unwanted intrusions. There are challenges regarding access and a focus on good preparation and timing will be critical in

garnering their attention (Conti and O’Neil, 2007). Specific sensitivity is also needed when criminologists are looking into occupational and professional activities, which often do not get scrutinised as much as other “visible” behaviours that take place in public spaces (Petintseva et al., 2020a). This is the case when it comes to the functioning of the criminal justice system and social control in a broader sense (Petintseva et al., 2020b). Interviewing the powerful also presents questions regarding ethics and research integrity. For the most part, ethical concerns have to do with the protection of research participants mainly because researchers are usually in the power position. When we study up, sometimes the participant holds more societal power and influence than the researcher (Petintseva et al., 2020b).

It is the nature of these dilemmas that present themselves when interviewing the powerful in criminology which demand and deserve continuous preparation and awareness (Conti and O’Neil, 2007). Although it is not always possible or desirable to segregate people into categories of powerful and non-powerful, these theoretical constructions will have implications for the practice of interviewing, as well as for the reflexive standing of the researcher (Petintseva et al., 2020b). In this project, I relied on feminist methodology while making decisions before, during, and after the interview process. Many of the difficulties of elite research can be managed in a more transparent way by using a feminist methodology (Conti and O’Neil, 2007).

Feminist researchers use reflections on positionality to develop understanding of the power relations central to the research-participant relationship (Smith, 2006). The researcher and the researched then become situated within wider societal power structures with the idea being that by making clear researcher positionality, the research perspectives and knowledge claims become clearer. Reflexivity is a powerful tool for reevaluating the micro politics within the data collection process (Smith, 2006). Although Conti and O’Neil (2007) were studying global elites involved in the dispute settlement mechanisms of the World Trade Organisation in their study, their project provides well developed articulation regarding why a feminist methodology is so important when we study up. Like the global elites involved in their study, law enforcement professionals are also challenging groups to research due to the unique position they hold in our society, the complicated inner workings of their culture, and the private nature of their work (Moreto, 2016; Sowatey and Tankebe, 2019).

Harding (1987) contends that feminist methodology is not a specific method or technique for gathering data; rather, it is a theory of research. Among feminist researchers, what constitutes a feminist methodology is hotly debated (Conti and O’Neil, 2007; Bloom, 1998; Dankoski, 2000; DeVault, 1996; Harding; 1987; Naples, 2003). However, two central ideologies can be gleaned from the multifaceted feminist literature that apply directly to studying the powerful: critical examination of the micropolitics of research and researcher accountability to knowledge claims (Conti and O’Neil, 2007). Feminist researchers discount ideas of an outside objective observer whose position is not made clear and pivotal to all aspects of the research (Collins, 2000; Haraway, 1988; Haraway, 2004; Harding, 1987; Harding, 1991; Harding and Hintikka, 2003; Hartsock, 1983).

Feminist researchers place themselves within the research and articulate how that influenced or shaped the data collection analysis and research experience overall (Conti and O’Neil, 2007). Researchers must work to understand both the social locations of themselves and interviewees in the research process and the complex subjectivities central to qualitative research. Knowledge becomes partial and “situated” and the researcher becomes answerable for what they learn to see. In a similar vein, feminist researchers describe how data collection is shaped by an interviewees sense of authority and how researchers devise strategies for mitigating their authority (Fitz and Halpin, 1994; Hirsch, 1995; Odendahl and Shaw, 2002). Conti and O’Neil (2007) contend that power differences coagulate in specific social practices and become institutionalized as the space and place in which participants exercise their agency. It is important to recognize that power is not an intrinsic property of an individual, but it flows from diverse relationships between individuals, institutions and organisations and it has a profound impact on those studying power. Some individuals are embedded in social contexts that encourage power to flow through them; but, close attention to the micropolitics of data collection highlights the possibilities of power from both the researcher and the elite participant (Conti and O’Neil, 2007).

In their study on police elites in Ghana, Sowatey and Tankebe (2019) provide a lengthy discussion on the challenges they had procedurally gaining access to police and provide critical reflections on their experiences that mirror feminist methodology. They conducted in-depth interviews with eighty-one senior police officers in Ghana. Their project sought to gain an insight into aspects of democratic governance in a post-colonial society by exploring the views of senior officers on police institutional capacity, police governance, accountability, and orientations to human rights (Sowatey and Tankebe, 2019). The interviews included eleven regional commanders, twenty-four divisional commanders, and forty-six district commanders between March 2016 and March 2017. The interviews each lasted between one and three hours, and all but one was audio-recorded (Sowatey and Tankebe, 2019).

Sowatey and Tankebe (2019) noted that their identities changed throughout the research as they were gradually viewed as outside-insiders of high standard who could be trusted with sensitive information. The authors noted that this was a fine line they had to be careful not to cross as they were under constant scrutiny, and they could be re-assessed and viewed as an intruding outsider at any time. At each level of entry, they encountered resistance from officers until they were perceived as outsiders with credibility, a critical variable is whether a person is perceived as trustworthy (Sowatey and Tankebe, 2019).

Sowatey and Tankebe (2019) stated that doing research with elites and experts required them to have a significant amount of knowledge regarding the organisation itself, the concepts they were studying, and the history of each police department’s public encounters. It is important to note that their participants were hesitant to share information with them until they proved they were intelligent, credible, and trustworthy (Sowatey and Tankebe, 2019). This closely echoes the literature on interviewing powerful members in society and the great challenges associated to

this style of research (Aberbach and Rockman, 2002; Berry, 2002; Conti and O’Neil, 2007; Harvey, 2011; Petintseva et al., 2020a; Petintseva et al., 2020b; Sowatey and Tankebe, 2019).

These critical reflections complicate the data collection and analysis process in a way that accounts for the complicated power dynamics between the researcher and the researched (Berry, 2002; Conti and O’Neil, 2007). When working with participants who hold unique positions of power, examining the impact of the researcher position within the project provides a critical examination of the push and pull often central to complex power dynamics between individuals. Looking at the relationship between the researcher and participants as “studying up” distorts the accountability, agency, and responsibility of the researcher. By assuming a hierarchy of “up” or “down”, the researcher can lose sight of their role in the data collection process and relieves their responsibility to intervene in the power dynamics of the interview (Berry, 2002; Conti and O’Neil, 2007). Understanding research with the powerful involves noticing the contradictions and gaps between a participant’s personal ideas, lived experiences, beliefs, and the institutional space they reside within (Conti and O’Neil, 2007).

Evaluating the micropolitics of the research process is a multi-layered aspect of this project, with reflexivity and positionality seen throughout the project. In moving towards another theory and mode of research, next I will delve into Valverde’s (2006) work in social semiotics. The literature informs my understanding of participant’s artefacts and the accompanying pictures featured in this project. Hidden meanings are revealed and the hidden power within these artefacts are analysed thoroughly using Valverde’s pictorial grammar.

5.20 PICTORIAL ANALYSIS

In pictorial analysis, there is no unique visual metalanguage that teaches a viewer how to look at an image, understand it, and generate meaning (Trifonas, 2020). Pictorial grammar must be articulated to provide images, without text, meaning and relatability. Although visual research is still infrequent and ill-defined, it can be acquired through valid scientific insights such as observing, analysing, and theorising about visual manifestations (Pauwels, 2010). Usefully, Mariana Valverde’s (2006) book *Law and Order: Images, Meanings, Myth* represents a notable contribution to the study of visual research by analysing semiotics and studying the signs and symbols as a significant part of communication.

Valverde’s (2006) template is logical, compelling, and clear. Valverde (2006) helped develop the study of criminal justice, media, cultural, and film studies by pushing researchers to reflect more deeply on representation and its influence. Moreover, she also introduced a novel template which pushed social semiotic methodology into uncharted territory (Valverde, 2006). In short, Valverde’s (2006) opening chapters lay out the conceptual and methodological framework for approaching an analysis of the representations of crime and order/disorder in society. Valverde (2006) provides a three-pronged template for semiotic analysis focusing on content, format, and context. She guides readers through her logic for using this template and she both

critiques and builds on previous work in media and crime. She concludes that analysis must move past the unidimensional content approach towards a more fledged out approach that looks at format and context of representation. Valverde (2006) articulates that while Hall et al. (1978) in their ground-breaking study, *Policing the Crisis*, provide a good analysis of content, they lose precious dividends potentially afforded by also analysing the format and context of an image as it can radically affect the meanings conveyed and consumed. Perhaps one of the most important concepts to glean from these chapters is that each representation forms a specific knowledge, and we are encouraged to see that knowledge and the social actors and institutions who are privy to that knowledge as the solutions to disorder that society faces (Campbell, 2008; Valverde, 2006).

Variables including location, tone, language, illustration, and typographical features are all part of the social semiotic format of a representation (Valverde, 2006). The format can limit and shape the content of an image to a large extent and this relationship is not unidirectional; however, format may dictate what content makes sense on a given medium. Valverde (2006) explains that there are four important dimensions in analysing the format of a representation: (1) choices that individualise the image; (2) choice that differentiate genres from one another; (3) large socio-economic divides; and lastly, (4) formal/technical differences on the medium. Breaking down these images begins with understanding how the image was shot and pointing out the formal markers (Valverde, 2006).

Valverde (2006) explains that semiotic systems are neither independent from each other, nor are they mutually exclusive and signifiers and the signified are two elements of a broader term referred to as a sign (Valverde, 2006). A sign is a unit of meaning and is a recognizable combination of a signifier and a particular signified (Chandler, 2017; Schilbrack, 2002). Signs stand for something to somebody, and it pushes somebody to create a more well-developed sign through interpretation (Schilbrack, 2002).

Valverde's (2006) work is influential in the study of visual research by analysing semiotics and studying the signs and symbols as a significant part of communication and representation. Valverde (2006) provided readers with the analytic tools, garnered from post-structuralist theory, social semiotics, film studies, and post-colonial studies, to look at the contradictions within dominant cultural products while also focusing on the differences among representations. In analysing the artefacts and images from the interviews and commentated walks, Valverde's (2006) approach to social semiotics was used to help understand the unique dimensions of analysing pictures and items.

In the following section, I shift gears to discuss the current literature regarding mental health strategies that have been deployed to reduce the effects of EL. This literature will inform my policy recommendations made later.

5.21 CRITICAL INCIDENT STRESS DEBRIEFING AND COGNITIVE BEHAVIOURAL THERAPY

After determining the ongoing implications of EL and EW, this thesis arrives at a discussion regarding options for those involved in their practice. Schwab (2010) argues that violent histories leave a legacy that leaves its mark transgenerationally. Organisations involved with law enforcement, whether that is conservation, security, police, military, or beyond, have a transgenerational responsibility to develop more constructive relationality and dialogue when it comes to trauma and its effect on people. Cultural translation and humanising others are critical aspects of this acceptance of responsibility. While certain violent traumas remain beyond repair, many of the experience’s officers have should be collaboratively worked through, mourned, and repaired to help officers who have experienced violent legacies to introject (Schwab, 2010).

Operating at the community level, considering primary (victims) and secondary (responders), the CISD intervention is used today to mitigate the impact of a traumatic event, facilitate the recovery process, and reinstitute flexible operation of those affected (Pender and Prichard, 2009). CISD is defined as a structured, micro-group, psychoeducational, meeting involving seven stages designed to prevent the development of a post-traumatic syndrome, as well as serving as an early detection system for individuals who require further mental health follow-ups. The CISD group meeting exercises are facilitated by a team of Critical Incident Stress Management (CISM) providers consisting of mental health practitioners and CISM instructed emergency services response peers. Importantly, CISD acts as the first screening opportunity to identify individuals who might benefit from additional professional care (Pender and Prichard, 2009).

Psychoeducational group work, like the CISD, are intended to follow a protocol structure with each session’s content made specific based on the dynamics of the traumatic event (Pender and Prichard, 2009). There are seven steps CISD protocol that are specialised to each unique critical incident (Robinson, 2004): (1) the impact of the trauma is assessed; (2) immediate issues are identified regarding security and safety; (3) safe space is provided to defuse and allow for the airing out of emotions, thoughts, and experiences associated to the event where reactions are validated; (4) future events and reactions are predicted in the aftermath of the trauma; (5) practitioners conduct a systematic review of the incident and its cognitive, physical, and emotional impact on victims and search for problematic responses or behaviours regarding the trauma; (6) provide victims with closure and ground the client to resources within the community that initiate rebuilding processes; and lastly (7) practitioners debrief again and assist victims of the trauma with the re-entry process.

This seven-step process assists in combating PTSD symptoms that often arise after experience with a traumatic event (Robinson, 2004). Research indicates that PTSD prevention support groups have a better opportunity for success when they utilise interactive, group, and participative methods (Pender and Prichard, 2009). The essential elements of post-traumatic

work suggest that recovery is enhanced when people trust themselves to grasp what happened during the traumatic incident and they trust those around them to do the same (Harris et al., 2002; Hobfoll et al., 2007).

Exploring trauma’s secret spaces referred to as crypts allows for someone to confront trauma; even trauma that has been passed on transgenerationally (Schwab, 2010). Moving from rejection, idealisation, and identification towards integration and acknowledgment of one’s own experiences and identity are crucial steps needed for mourning. These are concepts and ideas that will follow us through this thesis, and it is important to acknowledge the spectral presence this work unveils. For the participants, this research journey may act as the first step of delving into the trauma contained within the collective crypt that looms over law enforcement work. I will now move into discussing the results of the collected data.

6 | RESULTS: THE INTERVIEWS

Twelve interviews were conducted (N= 12), each interview was digitally recorded and manually transcribed. Two genders were represented in this research with 66% of participants being male. Participants in this cohort were relatively close in age with the youngest participant being twenty-three and the oldest being thirty-five years old. The average age of participants was twenty-nine ($\bar{X} = 29.7$). Most of the participants are unmarried (59%), and four of the participants had children (33%). The mean duration of respondent’s employment as a conservation officer was almost five years ($\bar{X} = 4.8$), but there was a large gap in experience. Some conservation officers were employed for as long as ten years and others worked for less than three years.

Like Moreto’s (2016) study regarding the occupational stressors among law enforcement rangers in Uganda, participants in this project reveal that conservation officers are exposed to frequent and various occupational stressors, which have internal and external effects on the officers. In this study, conservation officers felt deeply affected by the amount of stress they undertook daily. In general, most officers claimed they had significant frustrations with training, job control, identity, emotion management, and feelings of isolation. Like policing research and EL, themes were identified: low autonomy, lack of support and isolation, burn out, and cynicism (Huey and Kalyal, 2017; Stenross and Kleinman, 1989).

In analysing the interview data, all interviews contain in-depth and detailed discussions where the study cohort reflected on the emotional aspects of their work. Often, this topic was introduced in the context of discussing the significance of the lack of support from their organisation or outside organisations. Many of the interviewees spoke at length about how emotionally taxing their work was and the factors that mitigated and aggravated the stressful aspects of their EL. As the interviews were intended to be free flowing, when a participant chose to speak on a topic of this nature, I listened, engaged, and asked follow up questions where applicable. The experiences, thoughts, and beliefs captured in the data are reflected here.

6.1 EMOTIONAL LABOUR

All respondents indicated that managing their emotions was a critical aspect of the job. For the conservation officers, patience, professionalism, and a calm demeanour were part of their work; a part that required them to coordinate the self and feelings to make the emotion work seem effortless. When asked if they had to manage their emotions at work, respondents indicated it was a daily, ongoing part of the job.

***Moe** Yeah. So for the children, and if you're just patrolling as a happy go lucky day, smiles, waving. How are you today? Tell me about yourself. Where do you come from? Welcome to Cultus Lake, hope you stay longer.*

***Courtney** Yeah, because you had a lot of people visiting from other places?*

***Moe** Yeah. And then there was the serious side when you're dealing with trauma. So we often dealt with domestic violence and we had to show a lot of empathy towards victims of domestic violence. Which was frustrating, because a lot of the time, that, the same people you dealt with for two nights in a row, or they came, but they came here last weekend, they do the same thing. And that person is still with them, you don't want to show them empathy, because, well, you're...you're doing this to yourself. So I'm not going to feel sorry for you when you keep running back to the same abusive boyfriend. But you had to, you had to show because that was professionalism*

Immediately it became clear that violence is an aspect of their work; a concept that tests a person's ability to perceive the world as instrumentally and emotionally manageable (Cherry and Galea, 2015). The intensity, chaos, and unpredictability of these experiences challenge a person's ability to make sense of a situation, which in turn affects their ability to cope. Conservation officers indicated that they dealt with violence regularly and these experiences challenged their ability to manage their acute stress responses (Cherry and Galea, 2015). Previous literature on park ranger's stressors also suggests that rangers deal regularly with situations that are stressful (internally and externally) and at times even emotionally exhausting (Moreto, 2016), but are required to suppress such emotions to appear professional, tough, and in control (Tracy, 2005). Violence adds a heightened level of stress and unpredictability that make EL harder to conduct (Cherry and Galea, 2015).

Violence is nothing new to the field of law enforcement; the field of work does not have to look far to be reminded of its spectral presence. This legacy of violence has deepened the desire officers have to remain distant and closed off to outsiders as a way of protecting themselves and denying the reality of their work. Violence can ignite a fire in a person's psyche, one that becomes very difficult to extinguish. Conservation officers were required to endure these violent and traumatic experiences and maintain a professional, tough, and in-control demeanour; an exercise that would challenge even the most experienced in EL. Violence is

embedded and woven through the work of law enforcement and it seems to be a catalyst of fear and anxiety for those employed within it.

Another respondent, Jaden with Cultus Lake Park Patrol, felt emotion management was a key aspect of gaining compliance from people they were dealing with, showing how central EL was to their role at work:

Yeah, well, I mean, I think, at least in my opinion, I view that as being part of the job, you need to be flexible in your, the way you carry yourself, right? Some, like I said, some situations require you to be more stern, more assertive, you know? And whatever, like that. And then there's other situations where, and it comes from reading the situation you're walking into, which is why oftentimes, we would sit and observe first to see what we were dealing with, before we would enter a situation because we wanted to go in with a plan, and not just kind of wing it. So we were able to tell from how certain people were acting. Ok, we're gonna have to be a little bit more stern with them, or, you know, they're just having a good time, and, you know, I think they'll be receptive of us, you know, giving a lighter approach sort of thing.

Jaden and Moe both confirmed early in their interviews that in enforcement work like theirs, managing emotions was undeniably crucial for success at work. Like Huey and Kalyal's (2017) work with investigators, the respondents in this cohort also indicated that their work was reliant on their skills in managing the emotions of themselves and others. When I later asked about how often they conducted emotion work⁵, Moe claimed it was a constant aspect of daily work:

Moe *Every day. Every day, every shift, you had to do something that emotion wise, you didn't really want to do. You didn't want to show empathy to people who are putting themselves in vicarious positions. You didn't want to show a super happy emotion all the time, because maybe you're just not in the mood for it. Maybe you just wanted to walk around with a resting bitchface. Just do your job. Yeah, you know? Maybe you didn't want to go into the site, where you have a bunch of drunk people saying and doing silly things and act professional. Because that was also very hard. Because that's not, that's not obviously professional to laugh, or to call them idiots for putting themselves in tough situations. You know? You're ruining our weekend by giving us these tickets. No, you're doing that to yourself. You're being the idiot here in this situation. You're being unreasonable in this situation, because you're drunk. You're unruly. You're uncooperative. We've been here three times already.*

Courtney *Yeah.*

⁵ Respondents each had a different idea of what emotion work entailed. Some respondents felt this aspect of their work was invisible, remaining unseen by the outside world. This mentality had a unique way of alienating officers from the world outside of their work. Furthermore, some officers felt they carried a heavy mental burden resulting from the use of emotional labour and it felt like they were on an “emotional rollercoaster” while at work. Officers all noted that their work had elements of happiness, resentment, excitement, fear, and isolation.

Moe *We're done trying to, to, you know, baby you because that had to happen. We had to say, oh, we're sorry for this. Maybe there's something we can work out. Together, be professional about it. But we didn't want to, we just wanted to say you're an idiot, because you deserve this. This is your ticket now. Goodbye. We'll see each other in 15 minutes, I'm sure. But we couldn't say that. Sometimes we did. But we know we couldn't. And that was... that was tough.*

Conservation officers engage with behavioural, emotional, and cognitive self-regulation work so they can see their world as non-chaotic and manageable (Cherry and Galea, 2015). Coupled with coping challenges is the tendency for violent legacies to persist and sustain within a person throughout time (Schwab, 2010). Violence has a way of challenging our beliefs about the nature of reality (Cherry and Galea, 2015) and when these violent legacies are not confronted or introjected, they become incorporated into our lives where we walk alongside these legacies and keep them alive for others to experience (Schwab, 2010).

Jennifer, another officer from Cultus Lake echoed these same sentiments: *“Oh, easily every day. From the second you step on site. Everyone can see you and where the office is. They know where we are. My professional face would replace my normal face, that's just what we had to do.”*

Conservation officers in this cohort indicated the emotion work that went along with their work was personally taxing because they were required to display “negative emotions” which include emotions that go beyond what classical EL studies examine. Participants indicated there was a large degree of face work that went into their daily encounters with the public (Crawley, 2004). In law enforcement, the display rules set by the organisation sometimes involve showcasing negative emotions (Bhowmick and Mulla, 2016). Conservation officers were required to be stern, polite, and professional with clients *despite* feeling irritated, angry, and disappointed with the public. Moe also indicated that he did not believe the public would respect his authority and request for them to follow the rules, even despite being a professional. This led him to fail at his EL at times, where he decided to express his true emotions of disappointment; even going so far as to say he would be back in 15 minutes indicating he knew he would be back and that he knew they would not comply with his request despite the professional and tough demeanour he put forth.

When it came to discussing how they knew which emotions to display, Moe explained that managers and supervisors set the organisational display rules.

Courtney *So who told you that you had to control your emotions? Did anyone tell you to do this?*

Moe *Our manager, like our client service managers, would convey the message that you have to be professional all the time, despite the things that you experience. Our supervisor, as just a way of conveying that same message, as part of the supervisor job is*

to be professional. Just to say that they said it. I had to do that when I was a supervisor. Guys have to be professional. Even though I knew I wasn't always professional.

Building relationships based on trust and empathy requires a great amount of face work (Crawley, 2004). Conservation officers noticed the need for an empathetic or stern face throughout their work and many officers felt this was beyond the scope of normal conservation duties. Like Huey and Kalyal's (2017) research, conservation officers in this cohort noticed the cardinal requirement of EL and felt these duties were beyond their scope of work but were still a required element as they were working with victims who needed their support. Another patroller from Cultus Lake, Jaden, explained that they were told display rules during the hiring process, and that displaying the correct emotions was an expected aspect of the job:

Jaden I feel like that was kind of like a... I don't recall, like, specifically being told by like the client or anything like that. But

Courtney yeah

Jaden it was kind of like an expectation. I think that was something that was said to us, like in our interview, like, this is like proper employee decorum, like this is how we expect you to act blah, blah, blah, blah, blah. And as somebody who's, uh, who had been working in security for a while at that point that like goes without saying, you know, that wasn't something that really needed to be reiterated to us. It was just kind of like expected, but not really said

In this context, it has been pointed out that although the requirement for EL may not be explained clearly in a defined job description, it is now covertly considered to be a critical aspect of many jobs (Huey and Kalyal, 2017; Mastracci et al., 2006). Manaav mirrored Jaden's sentiments and claimed EL was covertly expected of them:

...I think they just expected us to be verbal judo warriors, capable of taking everything on the chin. We didn't even get de-escalation training, it seemed like we didn't need it with what they told us when we were hired. It's kind of funny now that I think back to my first year, how underprepared I was.

Previous research on occupational stress experienced by park rangers indicated that this work is plagued by mismanaged training and a lack thereof (Warchol and Kapla, 2012). This research indicates that there has historically been a great disparity in the training available for rangers due to a lack of standards in hiring and training (Moreto, 2016; Warchol and Kapla, 2012). This problem seems to transcend borders and country lines when it comes to work in eco enforcement. Cameron, a seasoned Parks Canada ranger, said that their organisation set the display rules, but the display rules they set did not align with the work they ended up having to do:

When I was hired they told me I had to speak kindly to people, be professional at all times, keep my cool, all that stuff. But they told us we should be smiling at guests at the park and remember that we want people to come back. Like, that much was obvious, but I don't think I even had a chance to smile at anyone during my first month there. There were so many people, we were so understaffed, and totally outnumbered. People were fucking around a lot, and we had some forest fires, like, we had some big fires in my first week, I uh, felt like yogi bear trying to smile at people when shit was chaotic everywhere. Felt stupid, I felt stupid.

The acute stress Cameron underwent in his first month is a sentiment that is shared by the other conservation officers in this cohort. Being able to recognize one's own feelings, as well as the feelings of others, while meeting occupational goals is a fine balance to strike (McNaughton-Cassill, 2015). Adding elements to the burden of EL like fear, stress, undertraining, and lack of support creates the perfect storm of self-doubt and lack of authenticity. These elements, coupled with organisational demands to present professional, yet negative emotions ensure law enforcement personnel have a tremendous challenge ahead of them when it comes to avoiding negative mental health outcomes (McNaughton-Cassill, 2015). This leaves a haunting legacy in someone's life, one that can manifest itself immediately or even years after the events took place at their various parks (Schwab, 2010).

Like Daus and Brown (2012) and Huey and Kalyal (2017), respondents found that the effectiveness of their enforcement work depended on their ability to manage their emotions and portray certain emotions regardless of inner feelings. Moreover, the relevant literature suggests that the display of authentic emotions can improve the service quality provided by officers (Ashforth and Humphrey, 1993; Hochschild, 1983); an aspect of EL that respondents seemed to have an inherent understanding of. Respondents surmised that their professional demeanour, involving calmness, assertiveness, and courage, were display rules that their organisation had covertly expected from them. This face work is enacted by employing strategies of depersonalization, humour, detachment, and the development of a rhetoric of coping (Crawley, 2004). Conservation officers in this study employed these strategies when they felt necessary. Law enforcement officers are expected to present warm and pleasant emotions and suppress irritation in their mannerisms, language, and facial expressions (Tracy, 2005). This emotional work is labour intensive, even sharing similarities with physical labour (Mastracci et al., 2006).

6.12 JOB SATISFACTION

Respondents identified several stressors that reduced their job satisfaction including job security concerns, low wages, inadequate training and equipment, limited support from their organisation, political interference, and dangerous working environments. Respondents spoke candidly about their minimal training and the early challenges of dealing with starting a new job. Jaden said:

I don't recall really receiving any, like external or extra training. When I first started, like, there was of course, the, the onboarding training when you start at a new site, like going around being introduced to the different workers there. And, you know, the functions of that site. And, you know, the pretty typical sort of stuff. It wasn't until the following year that we were expected to have a variation or kind of like a, I like to say a watered-down version of bylaw enforcement level one.

Conservation officers referred to various problems that arose resulting from a lack of training and consistency. They highlighted the arduous nature of starting a new job in an enforcement field with no tactical training. Moreover, respondents indicated there was no training regarding how to speak with the public or how to conduct enforcement work with challenging populations. Officers were encouraged to engage in soft enforcement where they use the lowest level of enforcement possible to address a situation and prevent it from recurring (Charles, 1982). Officers spoke of how soft enforcement tactics sometimes did not adequately address situations that were occurring. Lilith said:

I remember standing there, thinking how to proceed as shit was hitting the fan all around me. Was I just supposed to stand there and let him die? The other guy was literally sitting on top of him with a knife ready to stab him, he already got him once and like, what the hell am I supposed to do?! How can I just stand there?! There were hundreds of people screaming and running away, everyone was watching what we were going to do. I still think about that day and how everything played out. I like “team-tackled” the guy off of him with my partner [James]. I feel accomplished because I was involved in probably saving a man's life, but not because of the uniform I was wearing. What I did was technically against the rules. Who cares, I saved his life and I would do it again.

Conservation officers, in the traditional view, are expected to provide wildlife education, share ecological knowledge, and help people have a pleasant experience in a leisure setting (Pendleton, 2000), not fight crime and prevent homicides. The conservation officer role is forever scarred by paradox when it comes to enforcement of rules and laws, especially since there has been a significant crossover of traditional policing duties to conservation work (Ledford et al., 2021). The institutional pressures to ignore crime and enforcement in leisure settings suggests that higher-ranking officials within conservation do not understand the phenomena (Eliason, 2006) and other officers spoke of this disjuncture between reality and what the organisation expected.

“I had no official training, just the guy that was relieving me just kind of gave me a quick rundown of everything. And that was basically it. But it was lucky because it was empty. But still, I was basically just being thrown into this completely new job with no training.”

Moe, Cultus Lake Park Patrol

In a related vein, officers indicated they received no mental health or coping training despite the prevalence of violence, aggression, and trauma in their work. This is shocking to say the least, considering the breadth of experiences these officers endured. There is seemingly no intergenerational responsibility with these organisations, knowing how trauma and violence can stay with a person and remain in a place (Schwab, 2010). Assault, death, and homicide, three elements of life the average person probably does not expect conservation officers to deal with, are dealt with often by conservation officers. Of the twelve interviewed participants, seven of them had dealt with death at work. Witnessing death or suffering is particularly traumatic as it challenges our understanding of life, personal safety, and the nature of reality (Huey and Kalyal, 2017; Schwab, 2010).

Officers at Cultus Lake received no training when it came to hard enforcement, but they felt *required* by the public to conduct this service in case of an emergency. Almost all the officers from Cultus Lake indicated they had to engage in both soft and hard enforcement tactics on a somewhat regular basis as public safety was at risk if they did not. Officers found this to be especially stressful, as they had external pressures from the public and the police to address violent behaviour in the park, but ambiguity from their organisation who insisted they should use soft enforcement tactics. Lilith explained in her interview that in the span of one season as the supervisor, she went from soft enforcement guidelines only, to receiving paid tactical training and the power to carry handcuffs and make arrests. Lilith said she felt unprepared to make an arrest if the time ever came and that time eventually did come. Moe added to these concerns and mentioned the lack of defensive equipment was part of what made the job terrifying at times.

Moe *We had no defensive equipment. No batons, pepper spray, like I said, and and we had to rely on training that some of us would have not all of us, some of us would have like de-escalation and crisis intervention techniques*

Courtney *That wasn't mandated at all?*

Moe *That wasn't mandated. Some of us happened to have it, some of us didn't. So we taught others. And that was our only way to prevent ourselves from being attacked by people. And even so sometimes that didn't work.*

In a related vein, officers mentioned being terrified of encountering wild animals in the dark, especially early on in their employment, and respondents from Cultus Lake Park pointed to training changes made in 2017 as helpful additions. Officers at Cultus Lake reported that they were required later in their careers to get bylaw enforcement training and courses on bear safety but were never allowed to carry any device to protect themselves. However, almost all the officers across the different sites indicated they felt the organisation tried to avoid training employees to save money and this caused problems when conducting enforcement work. Jaden said:

I feel like our employer decided to try and hire as many people as they could that already had the certifications so that they would not have to pay for training. I feel like that's really prevalent in security and enforcement fields is that they are hoping for, for their applicants to get it on their own dime, so they can save money, which is really unfortunate, because a lot of people don't have the money to do so themselves. And then like I said, they get put in positions where they really could benefit from having that training. But they don't. And then they get to, they get into situations where they end up escalating it because they don't know how to de escalate.

Lilith and Elliot added that conservation officers were expected to educate the public about safety in the wilderness which caused problems for them because they never received training or information on how to stay safe during animal encounters. Patrollers felt concerned about their lack of training and this led to feelings of anxiety and cynicism towards the organisation. Like Moreto's (2016) work, the unique working situation of these officers resulted in an environment where personal stress and occupational stress became intertwined and subject to feedback loops. Extensive research has been conducted on police stress and the constant belief that an officer may encounter a dangerous situation often results in higher levels of anxiety, stress, PTSD, and depression (Ledford et al., 2022). This constant anticipation of danger had a unique way of haunting officers in this cohort, even prior to an event occurring.

Officers in this cohort felt constantly under pressure from engaging with dangerous situations with a lack of training and these issues compounded upon one another. Cameron, with Parks Canada, mentioned he did not get the proper training to deal with forest fires and he was terrified when there was a large fire that took place in his first week:

We had no firefighting training, like who the fuck am I at that point? Just some dumb kid who applied to the job and started patrolling the mountains. Those fires gave me so much anxiety that stuck with me for years after they happened. Like, when I was at home, I read about firefighting, out of fear it'd happen again, and damn well sure enough, when it did, some idiot threw something flammable onto their fire and sent a blazing inferno into the sky. People were screaming, hell I screamed.

Beyond lack of training and defensive equipment, participants expressed their concerns regarding job security, given the contractual nature of their job. Like Moreto's (2016) work, officers sometimes work on six-month seasonal contracts, which can be renewed based on evaluation and company needs. They work from May to October and are then left to find other jobs for means of income until the season starts again. Moe said:

If you work in the [enforcement] industry long enough, you know that you can be fired for anything at any point because it's not union, so there's no one to protect you against your... your actions or the actions of the employer that you may think is unfair. But most of us didn't feel like we were just going to lose our jobs at the drop of the hat because

some silly decision, we felt like oh, well, we signed a contract, we're here for the season, we may not come back next year. But at least we're here for the six or so months that we were on.

There was discontent with the process of finding employment during the off season, and respondents believed that some officers were purposefully treated poorly when they went to seek alternative employment for the off season. Jaden said:

We won't [have] work past October, we're not gonna have employment beyond that. So we usually start looking before then, at least I always give our company the benefit of the doubt. And I said, I need something to do after this. I still have to pay for bills and put food on my table sort of thing, right? So it's like, is there a full time position available for me after this, that you can offer? And a lot of times it was no, not right now. And so I had to look externally for jobs at other companies...I eventually did confront somebody. And I said, I feel like you're blocking me from advancing or from, you know, being able to secure better positions for myself. I feel like you guys are controlling me.

Job autonomy and control is noted as an important issue when it comes to emotional work (Zapf, 2002). Scholars of EL suggest literature on stress should be factored in when analysing emotion work. Individuals with high job control may have the possibility to decide whether to follow the organisational display rules (Zapf, 2002). Moe from Cultus Lake explained that due to proximity from the organisation's headquarters, patrollers experienced very few limitations on their job autonomy:

Moe *I had a surprising amount of autonomy. But at the same time, a lot of limitations. If that makes sense. So from a security company point of view, because our company was based in Vancouver, we're in Cultus Lake, which is at least two hours away. If traffic was terrible, our managers would not come out to Cultus Lake unless there was a really good reason. Like, and that was only if they had a meeting with the park board. And then they'd maybe stop in and say hi to us on their way out. Or if, on the rare occasion, they were delivering uniforms, and even though it was always in the morning, they'd be in and out really quickly. And, and get out of Cultus because they have no other reason to be in this part of this part of the world.*

Courtney Yeah.

Moe *So from a management perspective, there was not a lot of micromanagement, our supervisor on site trusted most of us, so we didn't get a lot of micromanagement from her. And the Cultus Lake Park board, who I guess we're technically all our bosses, as well as the gate house manager, and that was the person who managed the campground directly, yeah, so the park board didn't really have too much to say, unless it was an enforcement action. So if we wrote a ticket to someone who happened to have some pull, with the management or the park board, then we would hear about it. They don't always be*

indirectly, I would hear from my supervisor who heard from the manager who heard from that park... park board member, let's not do that. So, it wasn't even like we would get them directly talking to us. It wasn't even until the third season that I met, like a couple of the park board members... we figured out the patrol routes, we figured out the timing, we figured out how we were going to do the enforcement, we figured out the whole three strike rule, like first as a verbal warning, then it's a written warning then it's a ticket, we figured out the discretion behind that. So sometimes we go straight to a ticket, depending on the context. So, it was all us. And that was a lot of a lot of autonomy.

Despite these comments respondents shared stories of the difficulties they faced in maintaining daily control over their positions at work. According to Wharton (1993), emotional exhaustion typically comes from a lack of job autonomy and generally stems from those who work long hours and who have a longer job tenure; however, half of the participants expressed they had some day-to-day job control, they worked regular hours, and they worked at the park for three years, and still experienced emotional exhaustion.

When asked if they felt unsafe while at work, respondents repeatedly pointed to the lack of support from their organisation, the Park Boards, the clients at each park, and a lack of training. Inherent stressors from this line of work like interactions with the public, violent conflicts, and constant belief of being in danger often results in higher stress and anxiety (Ledford et al., 2022). Constantly anticipating violence has a haunting element that can remain with a person and can cause high stress and anxiety (Dyck, 2022). These missing pieces also caused officers to feel like they had no control over their work:

Jaden *We weren't supported in doing our jobs. Like the example of that, that site that I went to evict a seasonal guest from, being challenged verbally by them to a fistfight to, like, settle whatever score they felt like needed to be settled.*

Courtney *Yeah*

Jaden *you know? I mean, it really sucks to say that quote unquote, goes with the job because that kind of shit should not go with any job. You know? Being challenged to a fight, like I can understand that as a cop, because like you're just dealing with belligerent assholes all the time. That should be expected. But I mean, us working at a campsite and trying to keep the guests in line... You should never have to go to work wondering is somebody's going to try and sucker punch me tonight because I'm doing my job? You know? Like that's, that's terrible.*

In their study of US Conservation Officers, Walsh and Donovan (1984) found that over 80% of officers reported that their work was dangerous, that the job was demanding, and that they worked long hours and this is mirrored by the experiences of officers in this study. It also appeared that some officers, like Jaden, applied to the role expecting it to involve more conservation work and less law enforcement duties. Moe and Manaav indicated the problem runs

deeper than just Cultus Lake, and there is a serious problem with a lack of consistency in enforcement for conservation officers and security officers. Moe said:

I haven't. That's, that's the thing is I haven't made sense of it. If there is some sense to make of it, then there would be no problem with it. But there's definitely a problem with that between a hard, a rock and a hard place. You don't quite fall under security because some cities do contract their bylaw services to security. But at the same time, they, they also have their own peace officers. They've got badges, batons, while other ones aren't, aren't at that, at that same level. And some of them have the same powers as a security guard at a mall, which is nothing. Whereas some of them somehow have powers of arrest, and enforcement and collections. They can send shit to collections. How do you make sense of that? Why is it that one city is able to do this, but another city can't?

Manaav spoke about how the inconsistencies between work roles that were advertised as the same:

The inconsistency is what gets me. When I moved from city parks to Parks Canada it was like night and day, even though, like, the work titles and descriptions were exactly the same. Both jobs were called "Park Ranger", but the duties, laws, policies, and requirements were totally different. I thought I was changing agencies to a higher calibre type of job, but I really just, uh, switched from one location to another.

All conservation officers indicated that the emotional dissonance they experienced from their work, followed them home and they were, at times, unable to shake it. Below lies a discussion of the aftereffects of conservation work on their everyday lives.

6.13 EMOTIONAL STRESSORS AND THEIR TOLL

A stressful work environment takes its toll on employee's personal lives (Huey and Kalyal, 2017), and officers experienced work problems spilling into their personal lives. Respondents indicated the constant EL with subsequent lack of support from their organisation eroded away their sense of self and spoiled confidence. Jaden said:

... I felt like, even though we were in uniform, and looked really professional, you know, like, walking into some people's sites, you could hear them talking about you, as you walked in, and you're acting professional, you know, you're being, you know, really good, and all that kind of stuff. And they just treated you like you were a clown, you know, that they could mouth off to you, they felt like they can do anything to you, degrade you, you know? And do it with impunity, because they could, you know? because they never sort of got the smack on the wrist that they needed. sort of thing. Right? So, yeah, it didn't, uh, it does eventually erode at your confidence that you know, you're not as, if you start to feel like you're not as professional as maybe you are projecting, you know? That leads to self doubt.

Jaden felt compelled to display other emotions, like professionalism and confidence, despite experiencing different inner emotions when working with the public (Wharton, 1999). He was enduring a deep level of emotive dissonance, and this mirrors what the literature explains regarding burnout. Jaden felt disrespected as a person and an officer and this attacked his sense of self, which is when Hochschild (1983) suggests EL is most injurious. Occasional disjuncture between felt and displayed emotions is often inconsequential; but, regular engagement with emotive dissonance can be personally taxing and Jaden described it as an element of work that eroded his self-confidence. Chronic test of these markers of self that can be damaging (Erickson and Wharton, 1997), and Jaden was not alone in this experience.

Other officers indicated that political interference would cause them to feel like their job and work was pointless. Manaav, a ranger with considerable experience in the field, indicated that his job autonomy felt threatened when his employers or clients would alter ranger’s decisions. He felt this undermined his authority and even his sense of self at work. These feelings of inauthenticity are associated with alienation, burnout, job dissatisfaction, and cynicism (Schaible and Gecas, 2010), all of which I saw imminent in all participants of this study. EL interferes with a worker’s ability to reconcile their real feelings with what the organisation mandates as ‘false’ displays of emotion (Hochschild, 1983). This dissonance often leads to work and personal maladjustments including poor self-esteem and organisational exit (Tracy, 2005).

“Like, what are we even doing here? They tell us to enforce the rules and policy provisions, and then they make us look like fools by changing enforcement decisions. I have to face the public every day, out in the woods... with no drive-through glass to protect me. I’d love to see them walk for an evening patrol in my shoes when it is busy on the ski-hill. You go endure that shit, then tell me you don’t think about yourself different afterwards.”

Cameron, Parks Canada

Cameron, with Parks Canada, showed symptoms of PTSD and he pointed to a few emotional stressors that made him feel trauma at a deeper level than he had previously. Huey and Kalyal (2017) noted that their participants, despite emotionally distancing themselves from victims, felt deeply affected by situations that were relatable or scenarios where the victim was a child. Numerous participants within this cohort mirrored those feelings and expressed the taxing degree of EL they needed to conduct.

Cameron *When you asked me if I had any problems come up as a result of my work in the parks I originally said no. But, now that I have talked more about this, and other stuff has been said, I think I realise something.*

Courtney *What’s that?*

Cameron *I just remember, after a really bizarre week I had at work, we had a child drown in the [lake in our park]. I was training for a marathon I wanted to do that year. I was running and I blacked out and, uh, and, I, hit the ground while I was running. It was weird.*

Courtney *Why do you think it is connected to the situation that took place at the parks?*

Cameron *I was thinking about it all week really. It kept me up in the night twice, but I, didn't think much of it. Just some screwed up day, another screwed up day to add to the list of screwed up days. But when I came to, that was the first thing on my mind, even though I was all banged up on the ground.*

Cameron's experience indicates that he did not go through the crucial steps of introjection that help support growth and recovery from trauma (Fiddler, 2018). Cameron internalised these unresolved emotions and engaged in incorporation, which allows spectres from the past to speak through the individual and still convey a message (Davis and Blanco, 2013; Fiddler, 2018). Although Cameron is an experienced ranger, he was still susceptible to traumatic instances, and he pointed to a lack of support from his organisation as a reason he never sought mental health support. Derrida (1994) explains that incorporation occurs without the person knowing and a crypt is built around it embed it within a person's psyche. If the crypt is cracked, which seemed to happen with Cameron, the spectre can become partially revealed. In Cameron's case, it manifested itself in some physical symptoms (Anastasiadis, 2012; Derrida, 1994). Being more open about mental health issues fractures the crypt and using mental health programming like CISD, CBT, or psychotherapy, the spectres can be given space to talk.

Similarly, officers reported that problems at work frequently spilled into their personal lives, making the separation from work more challenging. Mixing of the self and work role increases the risks of burnout (Maslach, 1976; Maslach and Pines, 1977; Maslach and Jackson, 1982; Wharton, 1999). Wholehearted deep acting can be draining whereas surface acting is likely to cause cynicism, disengagement, and self-blame (Hochschild, 1983). Jaden at Cultus Lake spoke candidly about how the lack of organisational support and lack of job autonomy has influenced a change in his personality:

Jaden *I feel like sometimes I have a little less patience than I used to.*

Courtney *mhm*

Jaden *Like, it kind of eroded away. Because it's like, we're trained to be really patient with people, be professional, all that sort of thing. And, you know, you, you do your job, or at least you feel like you've done a good job, and you've got nothing to show for it afterwards. So, it's sort of, it's, like I said, eventually, it leads to the why even bother.*

Inauthenticity and emotive dissonance can cause an estrangement between self and the work role (Wharton, 1999) and Jaden experienced a loss of patience that was important to him. Jaden spoke about how his cynicism towards the work-built over-time and followed him home on some occasions:

I wouldn't say that I fretted over things. But I did definitely find myself in some, in some occasions, bringing home that frustration or pent-up anger because I wasn't able to.... I feel like if we had achieved what we felt was a positive result, in those situations, that there wouldn't be that level of resentment, or pent-up frustration and anger, because it would have felt like the situation was resolved... it leaves you to kind of sit there, like, what do you actually want us to do? You know? And we didn't really receive any communication from either our company on what the expectations were, or from our client.

Law enforcement personnel are uniquely positioned workers in society as their work often requires them to display negative emotions (Walsh and Bartikowski, 2013). Irrespective of the display rules, being positive or negative, managing emotions by means of deep acting leads to personal accomplishment whereas surface acting leads to depersonalization and emotional exhaustion (Bhowmick and Mulla, 2016). In this circumstance, Jaden felt the public perceived officers as unimportant and lacking authority; he felt his problems were bolstered by his organisation's lack of support. Authenticity and organisational identification results in higher levels of job satisfaction and greater effort contributions when accomplishing a work task (Bhowmick and Mulla, 2016; Efraty and Wolfe, 1988). Jaden spoke about how he used to identify with his organisation, but after client and manager changes, he found it impossible to relate and personal accomplishment at work was a challenge to achieve. The loss of organisational identification subsequently led to feelings of isolation, burnout, and cynicism.

A senior officer at Cultus Lake, Moe, spoke about how the problems at work and the accompanying stress was not worth it and this eventually made him retire from the position. He indicated the personal accomplishment, a once loved aspect of the job, was no longer prevalent in his work and he could not identify with his organisation. He spoke of the organisational hypocrisy, political interference, and health concerns as huge factors encouraging his retirement:

Like it was one of those jobs that had a lot of potential to be really great. But because of the park management, and they're indecisiveness on how to do enforcement, and who do, who to administer enforcement to and some of the hypocrisy within the park board, I just didn't want to have to deal with the stress anymore. I felt like it wasn't worth it. Plus, the pay was really low, up until even the fourth season. And with the amount of stuff that we had to deal with, it wasn't worth it. Plus, because we were seasonal, our company didn't qualify us for benefits. So, we had no benefits for six months. And you had to help you get a full-time job outside of work, which you also have to wait at least three months before getting benefits, and you have to stay at that job. So, you're kind of in this weird position.

So, I figured it was probably time that I stopped working in Cultus Lake, and stop giving it a try.

Officers at Cultus Lake all spoke of a lack of organisational support as key to their work being stressful. Being unable to identify with the organisation but still engaging with EL on their organisation’s behalf added an additional layer of dissonance to their work. This dissonance led to work and personal maladjustments including poor self-esteem and organisational exit for many officers (Tracy, 2005). Moe described the workload as immense and coupled with physical and verbal abuse by members of the public led to high stress and burnout (Huey and Kalyal, 2017). These problems were subsequently also the reason Jaden and Lilith at Cultus Lake disengaged from their employment at the park. Jaden said:

And then like I said, when the third season was there, I was so dejected. Like I said, I put in like the most minimum effort I could, because I was just, I didn’t care anymore. We were supposed to walk around and do foot patrols and stuff like that and I don’t think I did a single foot patrol that entire year. I just literally said fuck it, and I drove the car. I would do like a 45-minute car patrol around on the site and then I’d sit in the office for 45 minutes and like, put my feet up, because it’s just like, I did not care. I was done. You know? Emotionally, I was done.

It was clear for Jaden that after three years he could no longer accept the emotive dissonance associated with his work; maintaining some semblance of control over his life was obviously a goal for him at that point in his career. Authenticity and organisational identification results in higher levels of job satisfaction and greater effort contributions when carrying out a work task (Bhowmick and Mulla, 2016; Efraty and Wolfe, 1988). At his third year of enforcement, Jaden felt little to no authenticity and found EL to be almost impossible, relegating him to the office and patrol vehicle.

Some rangers also mentioned that they became cynical after working with other law enforcement agencies because they felt a lack of support from them as well:

Courtney *Can you recall a time where you felt emotionally exhausted from your work?*

Franco *There were a lot of times I felt emotionally exhausted.*

Courtney *Was it a regular occurrence for you?*

Franco *No, but whenever we had to deal with the RCMP, we felt totally unsupported. Like if we called them and explained we had a incident or a guy was acting up, they would ask us, can you handle it? Like, they wouldn’t even come if we called 911 because they would claim to be too busy or that their cells were full. I never felt like they supported us or saw us as equals.*

Courtney *So, what would you do in times where the police wouldn’t show up?*

***Franco** We would try to deal with it ourselves, talk the guy down or whatever. But it doesn't always end so smoothly. They know we're not cops, but we still are the face of enforcement, and like, we would cope by de-escalating the situation, it was interesting actually, all the calls they missed out on or refused to come to I used as an opportunity to learn something about myself as a ranger and a person.*

Some of the women in this project discussed being bullied or seen as “weaker” by their co-workers. This caused more emotional stress, and it took a toll on them in their work and personal lives. Most women in the study described a work setting where they were usually one of the only women employed at their park. Lilith described finding her place in the park as “soul crushing” because she was being ruthlessly bullied by other staff at the park at the time. Out of respect for her wishes and after her member reflection, ⁶Lilith opted to omit her story from the paper but asked that I include her comments about how the bullying from her male counterparts began and accelerated. She explained in our interview that when she first started at the lake, before her first day, she had met her supervisor by coincidence. Lilith did not know he would be her supervisor a few days later when she officially started working at the lake. He had asked her on a date, but she had declined. When she went to work a few days later she saw him and that was when the bullying began for her. She described the bullying as being very profound, so much that she went home and cried almost daily for her first season. The bullying was physical, emotional, social, and inherent to her daily life at work. She was visibly shaken while telling me this story and I knew from my own experiences that I could relate to her.

Lilith described having to fit in with what she described as an “old school boys club” that had developed at the lake and that those experiences shaped how she chose to present herself at work. Lilith said that she would deliberately put herself in dangerous situations to attempt to fit in with this group because they were the people she needed to rely on at work. One of the examples she provided was that she would deliberately walk through the pitch-black woods, without a flashlight, to this gated area where others had seen dangerous animals and she did this to seem tough. She described the pressure to fit in as all-encompassing and took an extreme toll on her life. When she later became the supervisor, she explained how all the co-workers who bullied her spread rumours that she had “slept her way” into the position and that she only received the role because their workplace was trying to make women seem critical in their workplace.

Giselle and Kimberley both noted they were bullied and made to feel insignificant at work. Giselle described being “cat called” over their radios at work and that it made her everyday work very challenging. Emotionally, she described she felt like she was on an island with no support. Kimberley described her bullying at work, but also during member reflections opted not have the details shared in this thesis out of concern she would be recognized. The only

⁶ “Member reflections” do not focus on respondents’ validation of research findings. Instead, it is an opportunity for “reflexive elaboration” of the results (Clarke and Braun, 2013).

comments she wanted to include were that she hoped screening for conservation officers in the future would look more deeply into their applicant’s character.

Although this project does not seek to explore the racist attitudes present within the culture of conservation, some of the officers indicated that some of their co-workers maintained racist attitudes. Numerous staff from Cultus Lake indicated their workplace at the park is also home to the Soowahlie First Nation. Officers indicated they worked with individuals who held racist opinions about Indigenous populations in the area.

Lilith *I had a co-worker who would make racist comments about the Indigenous group that resides within Cultus Lake, and, you know, it made me not like him or want to talk to him or work with him. He applied to a bunch of police departments after we worked together too and he tried to use me as a co-worker reference, which I always thought was so odd, and I told the police everything and he got super angry with me when he found out I was part of the reason he was getting denied from the different departments.*

Courtney *That must have been difficult to listen to.*

Lilith *Ya it was and he is actually a cop now too. I think he realized I was the reason he kept getting denied from police departments and he stopped asking for my reference and I, I totally lost faith in the police after I heard about that. I know racism is an issue with police, I definitely know that, we all know that here I think. But just to see it so blatantly happen right in front of me and, and I continued to let police departments know about all of that and he still got in! Its just shockingly embarrassing for that department and police as a whole.*

Conservation officers suggested they felt embarrassed by officers who engaged in these behaviours. Another officer, Giselle, indicated some officers at her park shared racists opinions as well:

One of the worst ones at my work was this guy that always had something stupid to say, you know those people? You know, he would always have something to say about the cultural groups around us, and, again, the forest is multicultural. People come from all over the world to visit us here so he always had a new group to pick on and belittle.

Racist attitudes and beliefs are embedded within the ideological make up of law enforcement and has been since its conception (Dyck, 2022). The role of conservation officer is very similar to police and other law enforcement, as I have explored. It does not seem surprising that some officers within these groups share these racist attitudes. Police in Canada have a long history of violence and racist attitudes aimed at Indigenous groups, and these attitudes still permeate today (Clogg, 2020; Dyck, 2022). Racism within law enforcement has contributed to some of the most heinous police behaviour aimed at assimilation of Indigenous people in Canada’s history. The

violence that was central to these atrocities still permeates in law enforcement today and these hauntings influence the way officers interact with the world around them.

It also segregated officers who did not share the same opinions and officers indicated they felt shame and embarrassment for having those officers employed alongside them. Franco said:

Some of the guys were definitely racist and it disgusted me, and they made it feel like we were fighting the same fight but from completely different stand points, ya know? Like it seemed like we weren't working at the same job, or maybe that's how I just wished it was.

Officers indicated they often *pretended* to get along with some of these racist co-workers because they felt if they didn't, those with racist attitudes may not support them when they needed their help during calls. Some officers in Mt. Seymour and Cultus Lake claimed they were so overworked at times that they felt they had to choose between making complaints to their employers about these attitudes and risk the consequence of having to work even longer days and be alienated by their co-workers for “ratting out” another officer. Conservation officers frequently cited having little support from their superiors and this support extended to every aspect of their work.

Conservation officers indicated that the effect of their work and conducting EL caused them significant stress and anxiety that followed them in their personal lives. Below lies a discussion of the coping methods and experiences officers used to make sense of their work.

6.14 COPING WITH WORK EXPERIENCES

All conservation officers indicated they tried to “make sense” of their work and coped by reaching out to friends and family or finding alternative ways to cope with their experiences. Giselle indicated that she would lean on friends and family to help her cope with work, but she tried to maintain confidentiality for those she had dealt with. Her career aspirations in law enforcement made her feel as if she could not get the help she felt she needed. Giselle said:

I tell [my friends and family] a lot. I just made sure I never gave away any details that could tell them who I was speaking about. We had to follow confidentiality agreements and I could get in trouble for telling people too much. I really wanted to take my career in enforcement further and I worried that speaking out about problems and situations at work would lead me away from that work, you know? It's stupid, I was afraid to get counselling because I was worried police agencies would look at that like I was weak, like, isn't that just stupid? Everyone in enforcement pretends to care about mental health, but ah, they don't. They don't at all... I gave up on a career in enforcement a couple years ago.

Other conservation officers indicated that coping with their work experiences also led them to experience negative feelings. Some of these feelings were complex and officers could not help but relate their experiences to their own lives. Officers generally consider experiencing or witnessing the suffering of young children to be particularly traumatic (Huey and Kalyal, 2017) and numerous officers indicated they were at work during a serious incident that involved a child. Female officers in particular can experience role dissension when it comes to their personal and professional identities (Pierce, 1995). Kimberley said:

I have tried to [talk to my friends and family], but I found they couldn't relate. My husband works as a musician and can't relate to my experiences. Sometimes I feel really alone, it has affected my marriage and my children too, I know it, like, um, A few years ago was a hard time for me, but I still loved my job... Work in the parks has a way of sucking you in, even if it's not good for you. Some experiences are so wholesome while others are heartbreaking, you know? So, I had an experience where I had to deal with a missing boy and he was in the mountains for an entire night alone, in the, uh, in the, freezing cold. [Search and rescue] found him and I was terrified. He was so innocent, it reminded me of my daughter because we go hiking together. Anything can happen in the mountains, and I felt my heart break when I saw him blue in the face and shivering with the [search and rescue team]. So while he was lost in the mountains I didn't go home, I, um, couldn't. I stayed searching with everyone else all night. We were exhausted and I had to work the next day. But nothing mattered as much as that night in the cold.

Trauma like this desensitises officers, the involvement of children in traumatic instances makes it more difficult for workers to display the emotional requirements of the job (Huey and Kalyal, 2017). This is caused primarily by the perceived innocence of the person and a personal sense of failure to protect an innocent life that is easy to identify with. Continuous encounters like these where officers are unable to deploy their usual coping mechanisms of emotional distancing can lead to grave stress and emotional trauma (Huey and Kalyal, 2017). In keeping with a gendered perspective, Kimberly was the only female with children in the participant cohort and Pierce (1995) explains that female officers can find it difficult to emotionally separate their work from their lives particularly when it involves children.

A shared sentiment among many patrollers was that serious injuries to the public on site were emotional stressors they had to make sense of.

Courtney *What was the most stressful part of the job?*

Manaav *Definitely injuries on the mountain. We have to coordinate with [Search and Rescue Teams] to get injured people off the mountain.*

Courtney *I could understand how that may be stressful. What about injuries in particular did you find to be stressful?*

Manaav *Well, time is always of the essence in these situations, we call it the Golden Hour. That’s what we like to call the first hour after a serious injury takes place.*

Courtney *Is that the optimal treatment time?*

Manaav *Yeah, like, people will get worse on the mountain sooner. I had a guy who had bi-lateral femur fractures on the ski-hill. I couldn’t find the pulse in his foot, which is something wilderness trained first responders look for, and he had to lay there while I applied something called a traction splint to his leg, It, like, pulls the broken bones apart so that you can reset it and the patient can be more comfortable... He was screaming at the top of his lungs, I was afraid he might cause an avalanche, seriously... It was just so damn hard to get him off the mountain. He deteriorated fast and he lost consciousness quickly, that makes it harder to keep tabs on someone because now you can’t speak with them, you only have their appearance and stats to go off of... luckily we managed to warm him up. I really thought we were going to lose him... that was a hard night for me.*

Manaav explained in detail how the experiences extracting injured people would make him cynical:

Some people go up into the mountains with no map, no experience, no guide, no training, not even with food or the correct gear. Then they will get lost, and, need our help. Rescues are dangerous... if I could tell the public anything it would be to understand what you’re getting yourselves into when you go into the mountains... some of these rescues have changed me as a person and I have lost my sympathy.

While EL can be gratifying, fun, and even emotionally healthy, it has been linked to a plethora of negative psychological effects like: depression, cynicism, role alienation, burnout, stress, self-alienation, emotional numbness, job tension, and the stripping away of individual experience (Tracy, 2005). Manaav’s cynicism mirrored that of Stenross and Kleinman’s (1989) research with investigators. Manaav found it difficult to conduct EL with victims and he even lost his sense of sympathy. Fusion of the self and work role intensifies the risks of burnout (Maslach, 1976; Maslach and Pines, 1977; Maslach and Jackson, 1982; Wharton, 1999) and Manaav was unable to reconcile his actual emotions during certain situations and this kind of result for law enforcement personnel can be ruinous. Often, burnout manifests as a robotic, unempathetic, and detached person (Albrecht and Zemke, 1985). Situations involving trauma along with an excessive workload leads to high stress and burnout among law enforcement officers (Huey and Kalyal, 2017) and Lilith spoke of numerous serious injuries she had to conduct first aid for, all while conducting crucial face work.

I saw someone cut off their inner calf with an axe while chopping wood, I pulled a drowned man out of the lake, I heard the sounds of burning skin when a drunk man I was dealing with tried to “cauterise” his own wound by sticking his hand in the fire, so I, uh, I

saw his skin melt and I will never forget that. I did first aid on all of those people and I will never forget that either.

The violent legacy these experiences left with Lilith were profound. Dealing with this haunting past while acting in the present and enduring new experiences of violence can be exhausting, especially when the crucial steps of introjection are not made with care (Schwab, 2010). Lilith spoke of the careful balance between empathy and professionalism she needed to conduct during instances of serious injuries and how she felt that some of these experiences would “catch up to her” one day. Showing professionalism and empathy to victims in this manner was Lilith’s way of providing comfort and assurance to victims while also making victims feel that helping them was not just a part of the job. Lilith explained that although helping them was gratifying, it was also exhausting because she was fearful some of the victims she dealt with could pass away under her care. Like Huey and Kalyal’s (2017) research with homicide investigators, this cohort felt a tremendous amount of responsibility and involvement in other people’s lives, and this profoundly affected their ability to manage their emotions.

Maintaining a calm and professional demeanour is clearly an aspect of conservation officer work. Importantly, none of the officers at Cultus Lake indicated that upon hiring they would be expected to address serious injuries. Although, officers from Mt. Seymour and Parks Canada suggested they were told about this aspect of their work. Each of those instances Lilith endured contribute to the haunting of the conservation officer role. Lilith discussed both boundary setting tactics she employs to manage the emotional aspects of her work and the vast effect on her own emotional and mental well-being. This constant slew of emotional work can often lead to negative psychosocial effects (Huey and Kalyal, 2017) which I forward is part of the haunting involved with conservation work.

“I was assaulted at work and it felt like nobody cared. My managers didn’t speak with me, and the client showed no interest in the situation. It was screwed up, and it screwed me up. I felt alone and unsafe every day after that.”

– **Jennifer, Cultus Lake**

Similarly, Raj, an experienced ranger from a park on Vancouver Island, claimed that he did not reach out for emotional support very often, but he had one harrowing experience he shared while surveying a pond area.

Courtney *What kind of things would you tell [your family] about?*

Raj *Just if we ever had something crazy happen. Like one time we found bones and the police were involved.*

Courtney *Tell me about that experience.*

Raj Well, my partner and I were surveying a waterway I will call ["Greenway pond"]. I found a garbage bag and began talking about how much I hated people who litter, with my partner, who was there too... so under the bag there were these white things half buried in the ground. I had no idea what it was until I kicked it, then just, bones, um, that looked like human long bones. I studied biology and zoology in school so, I um, had a general idea about what they looked like. We work way out in the forest, so we were like how did this even get here and who put this here? You know? We called the police and the RCMP came, and we uh, gave them statements, and, it was scary and I was anxious going to [Greenway pond] after that. I told my family about more than that, but that experience, ah, so it really changed me.

For Raj, speaking with his family about the events that unravelled at “Greenway Pond” was his way of actively coping and beginning to make sense of the situation. Coping is an aspect of sensemaking and may take place after sense has been made. There are different styles of coping, namely, active and passive coping strategies (Violanti et al., 2018). Raj, along with many other participants, often seemed to engage in passive coping styles. Avoidance was a common theme across conservation officers, and they claimed this resulted from the perceived lack of support from their organisation. Passive coping does not contribute to reducing trauma or stress (Arnetz et al., 2012). For law enforcement officers in particular, research indicates they often lack active coping styles such as positive reframing and problem solving (Evans et al., 1993; Hart et al., 1995); often, enforcement personnel will rely on passive coping such as alcohol use and avoidance (Amaranto et al., 2003).

Increased PTSD symptoms in law enforcement officers are related to passive and lower-level active styles of coping (Violanti et al., 2018); however, the greatest PTSD risk factor is lack of perceived support (Dougall et al., 2001; Ozer et al., 2003; Robinough et al., 2011). Conservation officers felt a lack of support from their organisation, the public, and other first responder and enforcement agencies which puts them at an elevated risk for PTSD (Violanti et al., 2018).

Finally, some participants spoke passionately about how they wanted the work to be published and the taped interview to be played for the officials who can make changes to the field for their concerns to be heard. Jaden said:

I will say on tape right now I'm giving you my full permission to play that for whoever you want to play that for if it helps you in a positive way, if that helps you, you know, get the attention of the people that matter, people that can make a difference in this field, by all means, share what I said with them. I want them to hear it... They need to know, right? This is not something that needs to be kept private. You know? I don't need my name redacted. You know? I will stand by everything I just said.

Moe at Cultus Lake said these changes need to come from policy and legislative changes based on consistency:

I think I've mentioned all the big things like, like, again, the consistency, you're going to come up with a [law]. Make sure it's enforced. However, the consistent procedure, let's have some regulations and oversight that's consistent across, if not Canada, the province, so that every [enforcement] person who calls themselves a [conservation] officer will have the same type of uniform, same standard of training, same standard of reporting, enforcement actions, shit like that, just like they have with the police. Just like they have with security to a degree, you know?

Work in law enforcement is besieged by voices from its unsettled past; its past built on perpetrated, witnessed, and experienced violence. Some law enforcement experiences were traumatic and left a legacy of fear or uncertainty in officer lives. Some of the themes identified in the interviews included: (1) EL was an everyday aspect of conservation officer work and display rules were covertly or overtly communicated; (2) emotion work included emotionally disturbing situations; (3) emotive dissonance and inauthenticity; (4) burnout and loss of self; (5) political interference and lack of organisational support systems; (6) lack of training led to feelings of fear, apprehension, and put officers in dangerous situations; and (7) redefining work to what officers value made EL easier and increased job satisfaction. These themes were drawn from the interview data and build a story about the conservation officer experience with EL. The compiled data reveals that conservation officers endure many emotional experiences in the workplace and these experiences can leave a lasting impact on officers.

Now that these themes have been explored, the second half of this analysis aims to explore the content of the commentated walks which function to shed light on patrollers daily environment and how it may have influenced patroller ability to conduct EL.

7 | RESULTS: SIX COMMENTATED WALKS

Conservation Officers identified several cases and locations where their emotions greatly influenced their experience at the site. It is important to note that the commentated walks in this project all took place at Cultus Lake, a small community and provincial park in the Fraser Valley region of British Columbia, Canada (Carlson, 1997). Given the timeline for this project, all the walks were completed with people who worked as conservation officers in the area. All the officers candidly shared their experiences, good and bad, within the six hundred and forty acres of park (Ministry of Environment, n.d.).

7.1 STUDY AREA: CULTUS LAKE, BRITISH COLUMBIA, CANADA

Cultus Lake is a small community and provincial park in the Fraser Valley region of British Columbia, Canada (Carlson, 1997). As one of the most popular destination areas in the Lower Mainland, Cultus Lake is characterised by a sizable fresh and warm water lake and a

variety of mountains (Ministry of Environment, n.d.). The park was designated as a provincial park in 1948, and contains six hundred and forty acres of park, conservation areas, trails, and camping spots.

Cultus Lake is an important place for spirit quests of the Stó:lō people⁷. *Stó:lō* is the Halqemeylem word for “river”. As the Stó:lō people consider the land to be an important aspect of culture (Carlson, 1997), I am dedicating importance to recognizing that this research took place on the traditional unceded territory of the Stó:lō Nation. “Cultus” is a Chinook word meaning “bad” or “worthless” and the lake was considered this way according to ancient Stó:lō legend (Ministry of Environment, n.d.).

The land is now controlled, maintained, and monitored by the BC provincial government who, in 1932, created the Cultus Lake Park Board to act as an elected governing body responsible for long-term planning and vision of the park through the annual budget process (Cultus Lake Park, 2019). Bylaws are regulations made by local authority and in this instance that is also the Cultus Lake Park Board. There are several departments providing services in the area: law enforcement, community conservation, monitoring and research, tourism, civil engineering, mechanical engineering, and finance (Cultus Lake Park, 2019). This study focuses solely on the law enforcement departments of which there are also plenty. The following section provides articulation of the commentated walks, including the candid stories from the conservation officers.

7.12 WALKING IN THE WOODS

Immediately upon arriving on site, I noticed the high winds and freezing cold temperatures, and I was thankful I brought an extra jacket. The air was recognizable to me and I was transported back to my time working at Cultus Lake as a conservation officer; the unmistakable smell of campfire, the hustle and bustle of the early camping season, and the loud party music that was characteristic of this campground. I found myself thinking about the calls I attended while I worked there; the countless domestics, drownings, bonfires that caused forest fires, drug overdoses, and beyond. I was excited to begin this journey of learning and exploration; I only later found out it would also be a journey of healing. I reminded myself to maintain an attitude of strangeness to the space, place, and feeling by questioning everything.

Moe, a senior patroller at Cultus Lake, began the walk by taking me on his patrol route which began at the office – a very small office with very limited space. He articulated that the office was where officers debriefed and prepared for patrols, and it was where their shifts would start and end each day. The office served as their meeting spot with police and other emergency services when problems emerged. The office looked small and haphazard (See Figure 1). Moe

⁷ I am dedicated to doing no harm to the site of Cultus Lake and to show respect to the First Peoples of Canada.

advised that sometimes, there were five or six people in the office at one point and the space was small, cramped, and required patrollers to stand in each other’s personal space often.

Then, he proceeded directly to a full hook-up⁸ camping spot which was a short two-minute walk from the office. Moe reported that in 2015, he and his supervisor attended a call at the specific camping spot, F67 (See Figure 2). There was a domestic assault he and his supervisor attended, and he recounted feeling frustrated with the victim as he felt she would go back to her abusive partner, effectively making the work he and his supervisor did pointless:



Figure 1: The Patrol office at Cultus Lake

There was a domestic and it was a guy, a girl, and their baby. And for some reason they had their baby on an air mattress. Something happened and the baby rolled off the air mattress, crying. They got into a fight as a result of it. It was a really dynamic experience. I went there with my supervisor who had a bit of a fumble moment and didn’t know what to say, so I had to step in and talk to the male. The whole time this was happening this guy’s like beakin’ off, he leaves at some point. She’s freaking out, the baby’s crying like crazy, and we’re trying to like calm her down. And there’s just a lot that went on. And so, it was so quick for me especially, and the supervisor as well it was like kinda like over and done with quicker than we expected and so there was a there was a lot to process afterwards it was like one of those “What the fuck just happened moments?” You know? and so there was a lot of stuff to talk about at the end like what could we have done differently should we have done this, we should have done that, you know? And in the end, you’re like I really hope she doesn’t end up staying, she probably did, and you feel bad for her kids because they feel powerless because, uhm, you know, it was all that stress for nothing basically, because in the end she’s still gonna go back to him.



Figure 2: Full Hook-Up

He made it clear that domestic assaults were calls they frequently received and over time he became very cynical towards victims because often he found victims refused to leave the abuser. He portrayed an attitude of frustration with the organisation and Canadian law for being unable to help victims in these cases. This is not a far cry from Stenross and Kleinman’s (1989)

⁸ Full Hook-Up camping spots at Cultus Lake offer electricity and running water for an extra fee.

research examining detective encounters with criminals and victims. Like the investigators, Moe also found it easier to distance himself from perpetrators but found it increasingly challenging to engage with victims. In this instance, Moe was deep acting and expressing his true inner feelings and emotions to the victim; but this was still causing emotive dissonance. Much like the detectives in Stenross and Kleinman’s (1989) article, Moe also preferred dealing with criminals rather than victims; he found it emotionally taxing to speak with victims and found dealing with perpetrators to be the exciting and fun part of work.

Afterwards, Moe walked me down to a site of significance for the entire park, one that signalled fear for conservation officers, a memorial for a camper who was stabbed in 2008 (See Figure 3). Both Jaden and Moe indicated during their interviews that the main source of their daily fears was the lack of defensive equipment, and both patrollers indicated this fear was borne out of the death of Cody Gottschalk. Moe explained that all patrollers he trained were taken to the site where Cody’s story was recounted, heeding warnings of the park’s violent past. Interestingly, many patrollers recounted stories where they faced violence and feared their lives were also in jeopardy.

Cody Gottschalk’s memorial speaks, like a spectre, of the park’s violent history. Haunting raises ghosts that alter the experience of time and in the way we separate the past, present, and future (Frosh, 2012). Cody’s memorial is a constant reminder of violence and loss and how it is an unforgettable aspect of the park’s history. Fiddler (2018) tells us that haunting is not concerned with the validity of spectres; rather, it points to the fleeting nature of the living present. In this case, the past is still alive and at work (Fiddler, 2018). Moe and Jaden felt that the symbol of Cody’s loss was alive and well in the park and in their minds.

Moe then took me on the rest of his patrol route, and he told a story of seeing a man, naked from the waist down and donning a red-turtleneck sweater, walk past him late at night. He explained that while in this situation he was initially taken aback but later found the situation humorous. He explained in detail that he maintained his professionalism during the search for the man (who he was never able to locate) and has since looked back on the situation with fond memories. During the walk with Jaden, he took no time to stop at the office and show me the park’s entrance; rather, he took me straight to Seasonal⁹ camping spot 240 (See Figure 4). He explained in detail how the location holds significant negative connotations for him as this is where he experienced potential violence while on the job. Jaden recounted a story where he was threatened with violence after he evicted



Figure 3: Cody’s Memorial

⁹ “Seasonals” are park visitors who have a 6-month residence at a designated camping spot

someone from their seasonal site and then the organisation over-turned his eviction the next morning, solidifying an ongoing danger for him. He felt significant cynicism, anger, and resentment towards his role after this situation unfolded and he explained this was a catalyst in his retirement:

Like, I don't really feel any, I don't feel any nostalgic memories. Like I thought I was gonna come here, especially with you, and I was just gonna be like, oh remember that time we were here and we did this and we did that. And it's just like, I guess, because you know, what we discussed. After our conversation or whatever like that, having dredged up all the negative emotions, I feel like I'm still in that mindset right now. Like, emotional, those negative emotions and it's like, I'm driving here and it's like, I'm driving up to that site. You know? I'm pretty sure there's different people there now. But it's just like, I still, I feel like almost grouchy. I think it was 240, around the corner here. This is the one where the eviction got overturned. He was threatening to quote unquote, beat my ass. You know? Because I was some young kid trying to tell him he couldn't be a fucking loud mouth prick. You know? Not not in those words, but essentially those messages getting across because I wasn't allowed to do that.

Seasonal 240 is haunted in the eyes of the officers at Cultus Lake. Many of them mentioned during their commentated walks how they attended difficult calls at this spot and how violence was often a factor. For Jaden, the experiences at seasonal 240 were profoundly traumatic and the space was haunted by the violence he experienced there. Jaden recounted his experiences there numerous times during our commentated walk and interview, which seemed to show how the ghosts from this violent past were still living and speaking through him. During the walk, he mentioned how he felt some physical symptoms of anxiety being at the lake and he wanted to leave almost as soon as we got there. Incorporation occurs subconsciously and an internal structure called a crypt is built around it to shield it from view. If a fissure becomes present in the crypt, traumas or haunting from the past may become revealed in text, speech, and it may manifest itself physically (Derrida, 1994; Anastasiadis, 2012) similar to what Jaden felt during the walk.



Figure 4: Seasonal 240

He told me he endured through the walk because he felt so compelled to tell me about his experiences at seasonal 240. The spectral layers of his experience were obvious and the pressure he felt while working at the lake to remain professional and without fear throughout this violence would have been a tremendous exercise in EL. The spectres of violence have incorporated themselves into Jaden's life in a profound way and seemingly had a hand in his eventual retirement from the lake. Later in the walk, Jaden recounted a funny story where he and I conducted a stake out due to a high volume of thefts in the area (See Figure 5). When he

recounted this story, he and I shared laughs and remembering this story seem to signal joy for him:

I remember sitting in the work truck way back there and we had to stare down this long ass road at three in the morning, because there was a bunch of theft that was going on, and like you and I were talking, I swear I passed out in the truck. You know? I was asleep for I think like half an hour and then you drove us back to the office. I woke up when we got back to the office and I was like, Oh my god, I'm so sorry. And you're like, No, it's okay. You were only out for like 20 minutes. You're like I would rather you sleep than like, pass out fully. Remember that?

When the commentated walk was over, I asked Jaden to tell me about how satisfied he was with everything he experienced at Cultus Lake. When asked point blank about how satisfied patrollers were with their employment at Cultus Lake, Jaden explained:

I take satisfaction out of the positive experiences that I had there. i.e., the friendships that I gained, the experience that I gained, the situations I dealt with, that made me a better professional, that made me better equipped to do the job that I'm hoping to do as a career. I'm like, like, you have to take the negatives and vice versa, with the negatives, you got to take the positives. So, you know, I did have a lot of negative experiences there. That obviously has led to some unresolved issues on my end, right, emotionally, very clearly, you know? Stuff that kind of lingers with you and doesn't go away. As we've discussed, I have a lot of resentment and cynicism over the way I was treated, or how I was perceived to be treated. And like I said, we're four years out of that now and this is still how I feel, you know?

Jaden articulated his acknowledgement of a lingering presence in his life; something that does not belong but makes itself known in his life. Spectres that become embedded into one's life can transcend time, space, place, and even generations (Frosh, 2012). Law enforcement has an extensive history of perpetrating, witnessing, and experiencing violence and this looms over the work. How we make sense of our experiences is by mixing the past, with the present, and the future, and violence within the work of law



Figure 5: Jaden's Stake Out

enforcement has sustained through time and space. Law enforcement officers are haunted by these violent experiences, and they act as a constant reminder of the loss they fear and anticipate.

Cody Gottschalk’s memorial acts as the crystallized artefact that symbolizes violence, loss, and grief at the park.

Elliot, a park patrol officer from Cultus Lake, walked me to a secluded beach (See Figure 6) after I asked him if he ever struggled to be happy while at work. He explained to me that he was on patrol alone one evening, and he received a chilling phone call from his family a few hours before his shift ended.

Elliot *I was patrolling down here like I have alone many times in the past. I had just met with another patroller and we were B.S-ing¹⁰ by the main beach. I enjoyed doing this patrol alone, so I told him I’d head down to this spot. When I parked I walked to the lookout and saw a few teenagers sitting at the water singing loudly. It reminded me of what I did when I graduated high school, I came here too and behaved like a hellian. I, uh, received the worst phone call of my life while I was down here and things have never been the same for me since.*

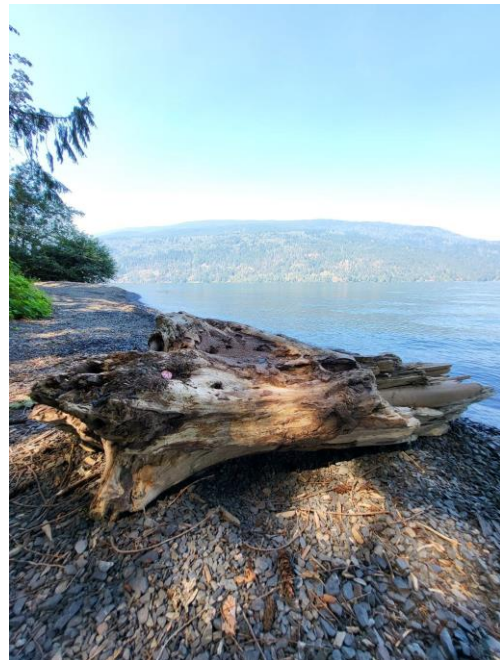


Figure 6: Secluded Beach, Elliot

Courtney *Was this a personal issue that arose?*

Elliot *Well, my dad died.*

Courtney *I am really sad to hear that, Elliot. Who called you?*

I noticed Elliot was visibly tensing and becoming more emotional. I offered Elliot a chance to catch his breath and gave him space.

Elliot *I really want to tell this story, I want to get this out, ahh, It just sucks so much...it’s painful every day, and being here, I feel like I was transported back to that day. I, um, it feels so fucked up being here after everything that has happened. I didn’t even get a chance to see my mom until much later. My sister was distraught, and I couldn’t focus on my work at all that night.*

Courtney *What happened?*

Elliot *My mom and sister called, said my dad had a heart attack and died on our living room floor in front of them. I thought it was so fucked up because I wasn’t even supposed*

¹⁰ “B.S.” stands for “bull-shit”. It is common slang for law enforcement to describe informal debriefing with other officers on instances from the past and the present.

to be here that night. I took an extra shift because everyone was so burnt out from working 12+ hour shifts all summer. So, I have become a cynic to say the least. At least to this place, at least that.

Courtney *I am really sorry to hear that, Elliot. That sounds like a very difficult day for you.*

Elliot *Thanks Courtney, it was. I don't think I fully realised how much this was still affecting me until I physically came here, you know? It's been so long since I came down here.*

Elliot candidly explained that his personal life was making it very difficult to do his work properly for a long time after that evening. Elliot was showing signs of emotional exhaustion, a concept that makes EL almost impossible to engage with (Schaufeli and Enzmann, 1998). That space on the beach became different for Elliot after he received that phone call, and it changed him in a deep and profound way. When we entered the space, the spectres spoke to him in a way I could not hear, and he was deeply shaken by the place and the space on the beach. Haunting raises ghosts that alter how we experience space and time and the haunting nature of this space was obvious in Elliot's reaction. The past was still very much alive for Elliot when we went to the beach. The spectre remained; residing in the space on the beach that most would see as a beautiful spot. For Elliot, the beach was a graveyard of traumatic experiences and emotions; the space changed for me too and I felt the heaviness loom over the both of us.

Another officer, Jennifer, mentioned that EL was very difficult for her to conduct efficiently after she attended a call for a kidnapping. She walked me to the campsite (Number 64) where the young boy was last seen (See Figure 7 and 8).

Jennifer *I remember, a woman called me and stated that she couldn't find her kid on their campsite. My supervisor taught me in my first season that kids hide sometimes and when you call for them, sometimes, they don't answer, so she trained me to look for them under campers, inside tents, and even in their beds. I guess when parents are frantic they forget to look in some obvious places, so, we are meant to be the people that can keep our shit together.*

Courtney *So what ended up happening?*

Jennifer *The kid just disappeared. Seemingly into thin air. Nobody saw him, nobody had a clue where he was. It was scary, I was scared. I, I uh, it was getting late, and I feared we wouldn't be able to find him in daylight. We called the cops, and, we, informed them of the situation after we did a quick sweep, we stationed officers at all the exits and checked vehicles as people left. Never found him, but got yelled at a lot by people leaving the park when we stopped them.*

Courtney *mhm*

Jennifer *So, back to your question, yes, I had trouble keeping professional after that night. The kid was 5 or maybe 6 years old and he just vanished, I, I was afraid I'd find his body in the lake, or something, then I felt guilty about thinking those thoughts and almost felt like I was wishing them into existence.*

Courtney *What made you feel that way?*

Jennifer *I guess I was just, um, expecting and fearing that so hard. I was afraid to patrol the beach for a few days. When I saw children at a campsite, I was really hard on the campers, like the kid's parents, if that makes sense.*

Courtney *Ok, mhm.*

Jennifer *I'll give you an example. A few days after the boy disappeared, I saw a big party of people and they had a huge fire, like a massive one, and they had a kid there, they had their loud music playing, no parenting seemed to be happening, for this kid. When I walked up to them I said, 'you cannot think this is an appropriate sized fire considering your children are running and playing nearby'. They got super pissed about that and the kid's mom was screaming at me about how good of a mom she was, and like, who was I to make these kind of comments. The fire was bad, but, I, I normally never would have made a comment like that, hah, I never would make a comment like that if the past few days had been normal days. I escalated that situation with that comment, and I, I fucked up bad there. I'm embarrassed about that.*



Figure 7: Camping Spot 64

Jennifer was emotionally exhausted from maintaining a tough, professional, and confident persona throughout the missing child investigation. Schaufeli and Enzmann (1998) explain that this emotional exhaustion causes individuals difficulty in conducting EL, and people may feel at the end of their rope. Along with feeling emotionally exhausted, Jennifer was also being haunted by a spectre that had laid claim to the incident. Gordon (1997) tells us that “haunting” involves revealing what is in your blind spot. Haunting raises ghosts that alter the experience of time and in the way we separate the past, present, and future (Frosh, 2012). It became very difficult for Jennifer to separate the past from the present and the future, which are early signs of trauma, stress, and anxiety (Burruss et al., 2018).

This spectre that held its grip over Jennifer is sustained by the spectres of violence that are embedded within law enforcement. Jennifer felt she was unable to grieve and mourn because she was required to maintain a tough and professional persona throughout the investigation. Jennifer feared finding the child’s body discarded somewhere and these feelings were incorporated into her life, and they have remained within her psyche for a very long time. Jennifer attempted to look into the future to help make sense of the senseless violence involved in the kidnapping by anticipating her finding him. Haunting disrupts relationality and makes us feel disjoint and suspended in time (Frosh, 2012; Gordon, 2008). It appears Jennifer was stuck in anticipation; waiting to see the violence she was expecting to see.

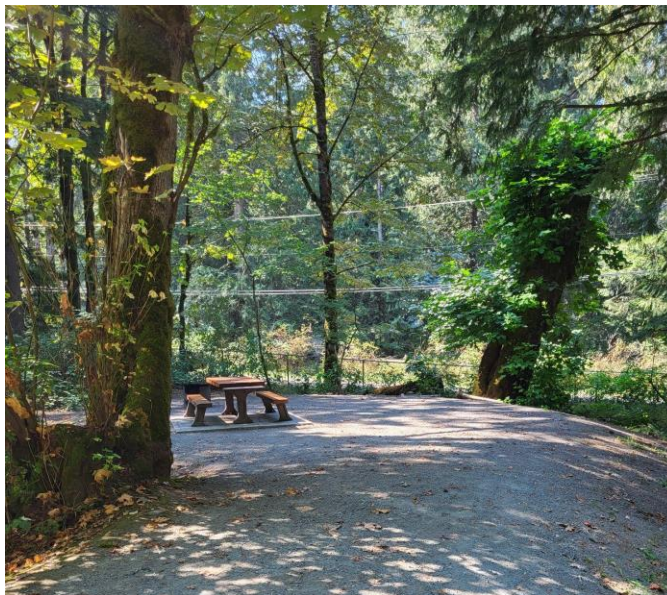


Figure 8: Camping Spot 64

Franco’s commentated walk was different from many of the other walks that I went on. Franco requested that we get a different look at Cultus, one from high up on top of Vedder Mountain (See Figure 9, 10, 11). Being the avid hiker that I am, I was thrilled to participate in this activity and see the area from a new perspective. On the two-and-a-half-hour-long

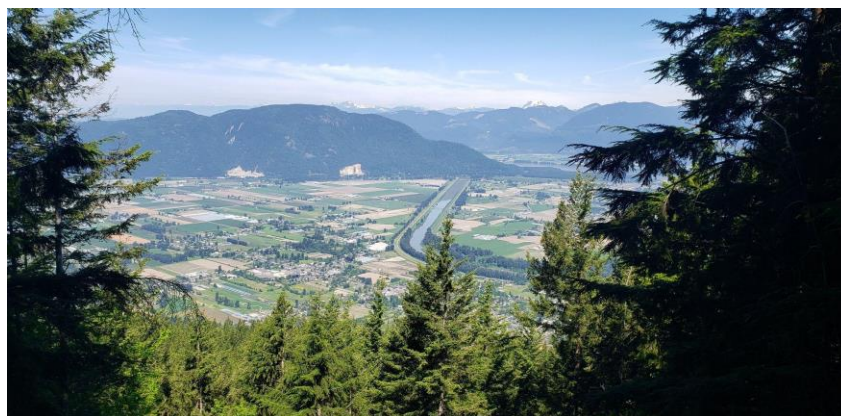


Figure 9: Halfway Point of Vedder Mountain

journey he explained to me how the park had shaped him to be the person that he was. When I asked him why he wanted to go on a hike instead of his patrol route, he said that hiking up Vedder Mountain was a way for him to create new positive memories at Cultus Lake, instead of always reliving the past negative experiences. Hiking was Franco’s way of actively coping with his experiences at Cultus Lake; creating new positive memories that walk alongside his negative memories and acted as a positive reframing tool and problem-solving method (Evans et al., 1993; Hart et al., 1995).

Once we got to the top of the mountain I was floored by the amazing views and the unique experience I shared with Franco on that day. We sat at the mountain top and drank water; I asked him to share some of the experiences that made him feel like he needed to come up here. Franco shared a story about a time where he was attacked by a dog at the campground:

My partner and I were just on patrol and we heard loud music coming from a site, and it was getting late so we wanted to talk to them, quiet time at the campground starts at eleven, so speaking with these people about their noise was a top priority, so we decided to go check it out and we came across a big group of people who were all sitting around the fire and it was pitch dark out. There are no lights in the campground and we often rely on our night vision to help us navigate the area. Uh, so, as we stepped into the, like, site perimeter, a huge dog sprinted towards us and we had split seconds to react. I was pretty new at the time and the person I was patrolling with significantly more experience than me. This dog launched itself up at me and his reaction time was amazing, my partner that was, he shoved me out of the way and the dog ended up landing on him instead. It was a really crazy experience, I always grew up loving dogs and never thought I would grow a fear of them, so the owners ended up wrangling the dog and I helped get the dog off of my partner who was OK and he didn't have any injuries, and, I thought his bravery was so awesome, and



Figure 10: Me on top of Vedder Mountain, image captured by Franco



Figure 11: Climbing to the top of Vedder Mountain

I, I felt safe working with him after that and he showed me that being courageous was definitely an aspect of the job and I learned a lot that day.

Looking at the culture of law enforcement, I can see how the spectres of its unsettled past have a way of weaving themselves into the lives of workers like Franco. Franco took the time to grieve, mourn, and truly *feel* the experiences he had at the lake, and this seemed to support his process of healing. He did not deny his losses, fears, and traumas; rather, he exercised and meditated on what brought him dejection. Franco could have incorporated many of these experiences into his life and let the ghosts of these traumas live through him, but he did not. Franco chose to mourn and integrate these feelings into a healthier space in his psyche; one that made space for new positive memories which he did by hiking up Vedder Mountain. By taking the time to address these traumas head on, Franco was able to avoid many of the negative effects trauma and violence can have on a person. While he did still have trauma from his time at the lake, he seemed to have a healthier outlook on his life moving forward when compared to many of participants in this cohort.

My next commentated walk was with a supervisor from Cultus Lake. Lilith walked me through the campground and showed me all the unique spots and areas where they often found trouble. She walked me down the main street in Sunnyside Campground and told me about an instance where exhaustion from the long hours at work caught up to her:

It was actually in my first season working there, I was not the supervisor at that time but I was very dedicated to my work and I was being a little bit bullied by the supervisor at the time so I really stuck through a lot during that time of my life. I came to work and it was a quiet day shift for me. I was sitting in the vehicle driving and I felt like I was too tired to do the job properly at that time so I got out and walked because I knew that I would be forced to at least keep my eyes open, So I went on a patrol through the full hook up and tenting areas and while I was walking down our main street called “Ash” I actually fell asleep mid step and it caused me to almost fall over. I stumbled and caught myself and then I continued to walk over towards a stop sign that was right at a nearby intersection. I leaned against the stop sign and I just closed my eyes for a minute and felt myself drift off into sleep again. I almost fell to the ground this time so I caught myself the last moment and carried on walking. I kind of laughed at myself being so tired that I fell asleep walking but I didn’t even know that that could happen and yet here we are.

Like Walsh and Donovan’s (1984) study involving US Conservation Officers, the job at Cultus Lake was demanding and officers in this study also worked long hours. EL shares similarities with physical labour in that they both require skilled experience and are subject to divisions of labour and external controls (Mastracci et al., 2006). The work at Cultus Lake proved to be physical, emotional, and mental. This reminded me of a comment Moe made during his interview about the long hours and shift unpredictability:

In terms of timing, it varied very wildly. I did mostly night shifts and evening shifts. Um, but every so often I would find myself doing a morning shift or an afternoon shift, um, and very frequently I would do overtime, um, I stay probably four to five hours overtime, just because it was just so busy.

Lilith and I began talking about feeling accomplished at work and what gave her the drive to keep coming in each day. Lilith then took a sharp right hand turn off of Ash Street and she told me she had a memory she wanted to share.

Lilith *I was training a new staff member at the time and we were on a patrol and we received a complaint about a domestic going on at one of our full hook up sites. We attended the scene together and banged on the door to their RV hoping they would open it and the two of them were screaming and throwing things at each other within the RV and we could hear it. We were struggling considering our choices and that going into the trailer would have been potentially crossing the line. But waiting outside felt like, it felt like a mistake, and it felt like we should have been helping the people inside.*

Courtney *So what happened?*

Lilith *Eventually I managed to calm them both down and it ended really amicably actually and I really did not expect things to go that way. The guy I was training complimented me on how I deescalated the situation and that was a really fulfilling moment and time for me because we made a choice to intervene in the dispute and there was a positive result. I felt a lot of accomplishment at the time, I felt personally fulfilled. Especially with the new trainee watching, it probably sounds a little bit egotistical, but it did feel really good to have my work seen even if it was by somebody who didn't fully understand the job yet. Our managers were never around and our supervisors were disengaged, so having an outsider listen and observe my work and then compliment me on that, made me feel good.*

The conversation on accomplishment and fulfilment carried onto Lilith's commentated walk in the provincial park region. Lilith told me about how she would try to find peace while out on patrol in the little things (See Figure 12). Lilith said:

I would visit this beaver dam every day because this beaver was notorious. The maintenance people would come down and take apart his dam pretty regularly because it would block the flow of water and each time they did it he would come back and rebuild his dam double the size it was previously. It made me laugh because I felt like that was his way of fighting back against the power. It just made me chuckle.

Like Moreto’s (2016) participants, Lilith found fulfilment from working outside and it was critical to maintaining good mental health. The space near the beaver dam served as a safe space for Lilith and others who she claimed would visit the spot daily. During Jennifer’s commentated walk, she also claimed to visit this spot and she also walked me down to the beaver dam. Franco, Lilith, and Jennifer all engaged in active coping methods like positive reframing by the way they chose to engage with the environment. All three of these officers used active coping methods by trying to reframe spaces to fit what they needed them to be (Evans et al., 1993; Hart et al., 1995).

Before leaving my final commentated walk, I took time to capture images of the terrain in the environment. I used to do foot patrols daily through these wilderness areas and it is perplexing to think that I used to walk through the forest in the darkness *intentionally* (See Figure 13 and 14).

The data gathered from the commentated walks mirrored data gathered in the interviews. Patrollers took me to locations where they experienced significant emotions including fulfilment, fear, courage, and professionalism. Respondents were able to recall more details because of physically attending the site and speaking about their experiences. This also provided an opportunity for crypts to be explored. These crypts keep individuals and other people safe from its contents (Fiddler, 2018), but cracking it or breaking it can be seen as a metaphor for

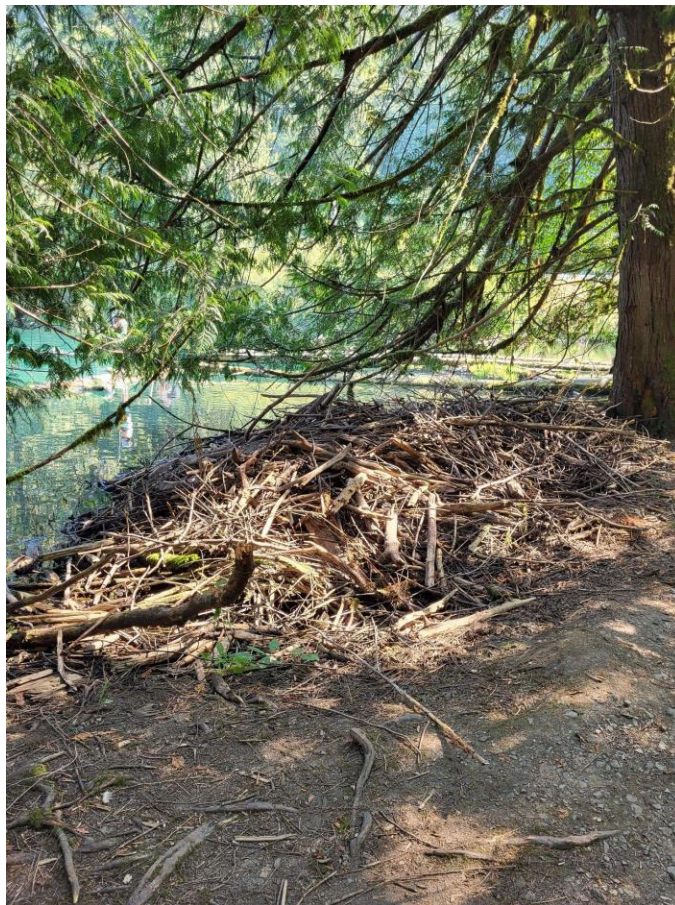


Figure 12: The Notorious Beaver

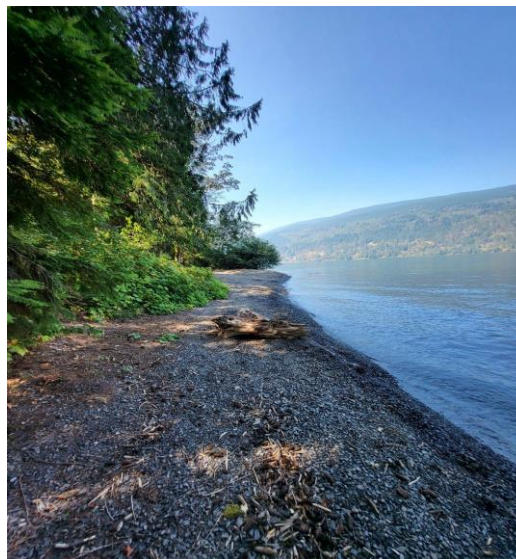


Figure 13: Terrain on the Beach

symptoms of trauma that begin to show. Jennifer, Franco, and Lilith shared empowering stories that seemed to fracture the crypt and the spectres that walked alongside them for many years were exposed. Fiddler (2018) explains that the crypt becomes cracked through analysis and one can begin to move from incorporation to introjection. This crypt keeps the individual and other people safe from its contents (Fiddler, 2018), but cracking it or breaking it can be seen as a metaphor for symptoms of trauma that begin to show. Being more open about mental health issues fractures the crypt and the spectres are given space to talk.

What follows is an analysis of many sentimental items conservation officers shared with me during their interviews.

8 | ARTEFACT ANALYSIS

In pictorial analysis, there is no unique visual metalanguage that teaches a viewer how to look at an image, understand it, and generate meaning (Trifonas, 2020). Pictorial grammar must be articulated to provide images, without text, meaning and relatability. Although visual research is still infrequent and ill-defined, it can be acquired through valid scientific insights such as observing, analysing, and theorising about visual manifestations (Pauwels, 2010). Usefully, Mariana Valverde’s (2006) book *Law and Order: Images, Meanings, Myth* represents a notable contribution to the study of visual research by analysing semiotics and studying the signs and symbols as a significant part of communication. This section uses Valverde’s (2006) approach to break down the social semiotics located in the photographs taken during this project which include patrol boots, an officer’s notebook, a ticket and eviction book, and a photo of a small monocular telescope.



Figure 14: Terrain in the Campground

Jennifer, with Cultus Lake Park Patrol, brought her old patrol hat to our initial interview. She explained she wore it daily while on shift and said it was her saving grace on bright and sunny days. I was confused why her hat said “Park Facility Operator” rather than her job title which is “Park Patrol”, she claimed that she did not know why, this was the hat she was given when she was hired to work for park patrol. When I asked if there was a legal reason behind the name, she was uncertain about that.

I took this photo (Figure 15), on a sunny morning at Cultus Lake, where our interview took place. The hat is in the middle of the photo, with the brim in a prominent position,

showcasing the label on the front of the hat which reads, “Park Facility Operator”. Above the wording, there is a small design of what looks like a mountain skyline. The image is in portrait style and the hat is crisp and clear, even down to the sweat stain on the left side of the brim. Jennifer apologised for the hat being dirty, but I told her the authenticity showcases its charm. The wording, “Park Facility Operator” is a sign to me, the interpreter, of maintenance and parks (Valverde, 2006). A signifier is a mental representation of the visual cue, and in the case of Jennifer’s hat, of the choice of words, the font, and the hat’s colour. The signified could be the relational concept of working, outdoors, and maintenance (Valverde, 2006).



Figure 15: Jennifer’s Hat

I told Jennifer the hat looked like a maintenance hat, and she agreed. She claimed that many park patrollers would wear their own black hats instead because they called for more authority. Elliot, another patroller from Cultus Lake, brought a ticket book from the site. Featured is a photo of a warning ticket he wrote in September of 2018 at 00:20 HRS. I took this photo, on another day at Cultus Lake, where our interview also took place. The ticket is prominent and central in the photo. Figure 16 features a warning for a “Quiet Time Violation”, which Elliot explained as a warning they gave out regularly to people who were being loud past 11pm. Beneath the warning for quiet time, reads a comment made by Elliot which says, “First Spoken to at 2305”.



Figure 16: Elliot’s Ticket Book

The British Columbia logo in the top left of the photo is a sign to me, the interpreter, of power and authority (Valverde, 2006). In the case of Elliot’s ticket book, three signifiers are the scribbled writing, the confidence behind the words, and colour of the page. The signified could be the relational concepts of formality, punishment, and severity (Valverde, 2006). Elliot explained that these tickets could be sent to collections, but management rarely escalated issues to that level. I asked him why and he claimed that if a group was particularly troublesome within the campground, they would simply be banned.

Figures 17 and 18 showcase Lilith’s patrol boots. She told me they were new and had not been broken in yet. I noticed she seemed proud of the new boots, and I asked her about those

feelings. She explained to me that she grew up on a low income and struggled with spending money on herself.

I took these photos at Cultus Lake, where the interview took place. The boots are in the middle of the photo, showcasing the shine on the toe. Within the laces, there is a small green triangle which indicates they are steel toe boots. The image is in portrait style and the boots are crisp and clear, sitting in some grass near their office. The boot height and colour are signs to me, the interpreter, of police, authority, and power (Valverde, 2006). A signifier includes the words “Original Swat” written on the front of the boots. The signified could be the relational concept of authority, power, and strength (Valverde, 2006).



Figure 17: Lilith’s Patrol Boots

The words “Original Swat” are indicative of a desire for authority and strength. I asked Lilith if she felt her boots said anything about her in the eyes of the public. Lilith responded by saying she felt they showcased power:

I think people struggle to take me seriously in this job, because I am a young woman, even my co-workers don’t take me seriously it feels, at times, so, I am hoping, that these new boots, will, show my commitment to the park and my commitment to fitting in.

In the interviews, many conservation officers indicated that the public thought they were police officers while they were on duty. I asked Lilith if she felt these boots looked like boots a police officer would wear. She responded by telling me she thought they definitely looked like a police officer’s boots. The cold professionalism of the boots convinces that any person wearing boots like these is significant and powerful. These boots seem to overtly and covertly demand respect.



Figure 18: Lilith’s Patrol Boots

Moreover, the boots are related to criminal justice, police, and law enforcement (Ross, 2012; Valverde, 2006). There is a strong presence of authority in a stereotypical way through the wearing of these boots. Through the colour of the boots, where the words “Original S.W.A.T.” are written, how tall they are, and their shine signifies the most important symbol of the photograph: control and authority (Ross, 2012; Valverde, 2006).

Figure 19 showcases the side of Franco’s notebook from his first season working as a park patrol officer at Cultus Lake. The photo was taken at Cultus Lake, in the afternoon when Franco and I had our commentated walk. A large blue ink stain is a prominent feature of the photo, with a thick stack of dirty and worn pages¹¹. The pages are blue and brown, worn out with age and time. The worn-out pages indicate experience and tenure.



Figure 19: Franco’s Notebook

Franco also brought a small monocular telescope (Figure 20). He told me his manager gave him the small telescope after Franco told his manager that they needed to be able to see onto boats far out on the water. I asked Franco what he felt the purpose of the telescope was, he responded by saying,

You would be surprised what people do on their boats. I saw a guy drinking and driving his boat through this thing, hah, it is a terrible telescope, I thought this would make you laugh, probably the crappiest telescope they could have purchased. It’s obviously very cheap, haha, in fact you can keep it. It doesn’t work very well anymore, but at one point, I was really excited to receive this thing.

Cultural meanings are all around us and understanding social relations relies on one’s ability to see and understand them (Valverde, 2006). Structural powers shape the ground upon which signs communicate, and in this case, the underlying power relations are both visible and invisible (Valverde, 2006). In analysing the data, I have approached semiotics using Valverde’s template and design to help generate cultural meaning to these images. What follows is a breakdown of the collected data, brief commentary on the limitations of this study, and the project’s contributions.



Figure 20: Franco’s Monocular Telescope

¹¹ I held Franco’s notebook while taking the photo to ensure security and confidentiality was maintained.

9 | DISCUSSION

Management of emotions in service-based organisations has received considerable attention in the past few decades (Holman et al., 2008; Huey and Kalyal, 2017; Rafaeli and Sutton, 1987). This study drew on in-depth interviews and commentated walks with conservation officers to explore aspects of the EL work they perform daily in conducting themselves at work. This study contributes to the understanding of the work of conservation officers, an occupational field that has received little scholarly attention (Saini et al., 2020). Data based on twelve interviews which were followed by six commentated walks with conservation officers yielded seven main themes that when examined together generates a theory that suggests law enforcement is haunted by spectres from the past.

Theme 1: EL was an Everyday Aspect of Conservation Officer Work and Display Rules were Covertly or Overtly Communicated

Every member of this research cohort agreed that there were organizationally established display rules that were overtly and/or covertly required by their organisation. Conservation officers found that sometimes these requirements were expressed upon being hired, but others found it was a clear expectation that was never formally discussed. Some conservation officers indicated their work would have been “impossible to conduct” without the use of EL. Management of emotions and maintaining an empathetic, stern, professional, and/or confident face was a required aspect of their work, especially if they were to succeed and gain compliance from the public. This mirrors other research that has explored the requirement for officers to conduct EL while at work (Huey and Kalyal, 2017; Stenross and Kleinman, 1989).

Officers were required to show empathy when victims needed them to; courage when they faced frightening situations; and professionalism when they dealt with everyone. Officer’s felt tremendously affected by emergency situations involving children and they felt at times EL was almost impossible to conduct. Other officers became so burnt out by their work that EL literally became impossible for them at times. Conservation officers in this cohort indicated they conducted immense face work and used their emotions to influence the emotions of other people daily.

There is no doubt that this cohort was well versed and experienced in using EL while at work in conservation.

Theme 2: Emotion Work Included Emotionally Disturbing Situations

The second distinguishable theme was that all conservation officers in this cohort highlighted certain situations they found emotionally disturbing. Officers who engaged in depersonalization or distancing techniques found it easier to cope with work requirements and organisational expectations, which mirrors Huey and Kalyal’s (2017) research on EL and

investigators. All conservation officers indicated they had profound experiences at work that have endured in their memories.

Conservation officers face abundant psychological risks through exposure to disconcerting and perturbing situations featuring people of all ages and genders, trauma to physical spaces from natural and human caused disasters, and even cruelty to animals (Burruss et al., 2017). It is essential that conservation officers, management, and organisations continuously watch for signs of secondary trauma or emotional distress (Holt and Blevins, 2011; Israel et al., 1989; Jackson and Maslach, 1982; Perez et al., 2010). In the same vein, conservation officer EL can be reimagined as work that results from the haunting of experiences with reference to how ghosts of the past influence one’s propensity of developing PTSD. The role of the conservation officer and the culture of enforcement is haunted by the ghosts of previous experiences and what they anticipate their future to be.

The intensity, chaos, and unpredictability of violent experiences challenged officer’s abilities to conduct EL and manage their acute stress responses. Officers often found themselves anticipating the future involving violence and they often took extra precautions to avoid experiencing violence. Violence has been embedded within the culture of law enforcement since its conception and the culture is held together by a ghostly presence that maintains a firm grip on officer relationality. Conservation officers seemed to anticipate violence regularly and they often relived their violent experiences for long after their initial shock.

Their work role significantly changed, shifting towards law enforcement duties and away from classical park ranger duties. This shift in duties moved them towards a system of law enforcement that their community treated as such and they were subject to the same external pressures to respond to emergency calls, make arrests, and resolve issues as other groups working within law enforcement. This shift in duties ensured officers had frequent emergency calls and sometimes violent ones. Officers noted how challenging EL was during times where they were fearful. Officers also felt trapped in the past when they had significant emotional or violent experiences. The trauma they experienced stayed with them and they associated it to their experiences at work.

Theme 3: Emotive Dissonance and Inauthenticity

The third theme observed was emotive dissonance. Certain situations were emotionally challenging and disturbing for conservation officers to face. Previous literature on park ranger’s stressors suggests that rangers deal regularly with situations that are stressful (internally and externally) and at times even emotionally exhausting (Moreto, 2016), but are required to suppress such emotions to appear professional, tough, and in control (Tracy, 2005). The result can be a form of emotional dissonance that can be harmful for psychological well-being (Wharton, 1993).

This discrepancy between expressive action and internal standards is called emotional dissonance and it can occur with deep acting or surface acting (Schaible and Gecas, 2010). One of the primary consequences of emotional dissonance is inauthenticity and this stems from awareness that the worker is being untrue to themselves and others (Schaible and Gecas, 2010). Conservation officers suggested that they conducted both deep and surface level acting daily. When dealing with victims, officers identified sadness and frustration as predominant feelings. Officers claimed on occasion they were unable to conduct the EL necessary for the role and they lost their temper and patience. Inauthenticity and emotive dissonance can cause an estrangement between self and the work role (Wharton, 1999). Workers may feel compelled to display other emotions despite experiencing certain inner emotions when working with the public and that is evident with this participant sample. Occasional disjuncture between felt and displayed emotions is often inconsequential; but regular engagement with emotive dissonance can be personally taxing.

These feelings of inauthenticity are associated with alienation, burnout, job dissatisfaction, and cynicism (Schaible and Gecas, 2010), all of which were imminent in all participants of this study. EL interferes with a worker's ability to reconcile their real feelings with what the organisation mandates as “false” displays of emotion (Hochschild, 1983). This dissonance often leads to work and personal maladjustments including poor self-esteem and organisational exit (Tracy, 2005). Interestingly, officers indicated they felt the same external pressures from co-workers, their organisation, and society to maintain a tough and professional persona. They claimed that maintaining a calm persona was challenging if they were anticipating a disaster. Officers seem to be stuck in a limbo where they relive past traumas and anticipate future ones while trying to make sense of a situation. During these times, they found EL to be difficult but necessary to gain compliance from those around them. This dissonance made officers feel like they were living double lives; one where their traumatic experiences were recognized as painful and exhausting and another that pushed them to discount or disregard those feelings of fear.

In a related vein, conservation officers use both sensemaking schemes and coping tactics aimed at reducing the prevalence of stress and PTSD in their lives resulting from their EL work (Violanti et al., 2018). Emotional dissonance makes reconciliation even more challenging, and this can lead to a loss of self, which happens to be the third distinguishable theme from this project (Schaible and Gecas, 2010).

Theme 4: Burnout and Loss of Self

Conservation officers indicated pieces of their personality that were important to them changed after their time working as conservation officers. Chiefly, officers spoke about how they lost the patience skill they used to have before working in the role. Perhaps even more detrimentally, officers made comments about how they lost the personal motivation to work as hard in other positions, and conservation officers claimed their work has had a significant impact on who they are as people, even long after they have retired.

Participants were unable to reconcile their actual emotions during certain situations and this kind of result for law enforcement personnel can be ruinous as burnout often manifests as a robotic, unempathetic, and detached person (Albrecht and Zemke, 1985). In addition to this, some conservation officers indicated that the circumstances they faced at work sometimes made it impossible for them to keep a healthy distance from work. In Kimberley's missing child file, she connected the feelings about the missing child to emotions she had about her own children - making it impossible to separate herself from the investigation. This over-identification with her role and organisation led her to feel psychological problems that permeated into her regular life. Depersonalizing and detaching from work over time becomes emotionally tiresome and elevates an employee's risk of burnout (Wharton, 1999) and this was evident in Kimberley's experience.

Moe at Cultus Lake spoke about how friendships were difficult to build during and after his time at Cultus, and he even lost a friendship as a result. This led to “us versus them” feelings for this officer, and others indicated they have held onto their friendships from work because it provides cognitive relief for them to have people around them that understand their experiences.

Some officers indicated that the friendships they made at work is what made it tolerable. Jaden at Cultus Lake indicated that as a person, he felt more energised, excited, and happy to be at work when he had co-workers there who could help relieve the emotional dissonance and blow off steam. Jaden indicated that once those mental health reliefs no longer existed, he felt physically and emotionally exhausted, to the point of disengagement. Schaufeli and Enzmann (1998) explain that this emotional exhaustion causes individuals difficulty in conducting EL, and people may feel at the end of their rope. Identification with the organisation seemed to be based on specific co-workers rather than the organisation itself; and once these co-workers were gone identification was also lost. Strong identification with an organisation happens when a worker's identity as part of the organisation becomes more salient than other identities they may have (Bhowmick and Mulla, 2016). A worker's self-concept is characterised by what the workers believe defines the organisation as a social group.

Their changing role made it difficult for officers to reconcile with what was expected of them and interfered with their self-conception as people and as conservation officers. The large “Smokey the Bear” (See Figure 21) sign at Cultus Lake invokes hopes for a long-lost future that never arrived for many conservation officers. Smokey the Bear is well known symbol in the parks across Canada and the character acts as a friendly, forest loving, park ranger that helps educate the public in forest fire prevention. Smokey the Bear has a spectral presence that is a constant looming reminder of the loss of the traditional role duties that so many conservation officers found to be the most enjoyable and satisfying part of their jobs. Smokey haunts conservation officers and the character is a constant reminder of what could have been, but never materialized.



Figure 21: Smokey the Bear

Workers at Cultus Lake indicated that they found it tremendously difficult to identify with their organisation because their organisation was rarely involved in their day-to-day work activities. Workers felt isolated at their workplace because managers rarely visited, but they claimed that also gave them tremendous independence. Some officers like Moe, Lilith, Cameron, and Jennifer claimed they overcommitted to their work. The culture at their work mirrored that of police cultures which often feature tightly bound groups and an us versus them mentality (Linell and Markova, 1993; Ranson et al., 1980; Violanti et. al., 2018). Overcommitted officers find it very difficult to disengage with work even when they are off duty (Violanti et. al., 2018), and this fusion of the self and work role intensifies the risks of burnout (Maslach, 1976; Maslach and Pines, 1977; Maslach and Jackson, 1982; Wharton, 1999).

Theme 5: Political Interference and Lack of Organisational Support Systems

There was consensus among patrollers that most of their cynicism, self-doubt, and dejection was a result of conducting challenging EL while their organisation sided with perpetrators. Moreto (2016) reported that political interference was a significant external stressor on Ugandan park rangers who experienced losses of authority, legitimacy, and effectiveness. Park patrollers suffered blows to their legitimacy and authority when Cultus Lake Park Board members afforded certain visitor's immunity to the park bylaws or they rescinded fines and tickets patrollers had already delivered. Park patrollers felt they conducted hard emotional work to de-escalate disturbances during their night shifts, and the client or park board would un-do their work in the morning; essentially, making their emotion work meaningless. Park board members were reported to side with visitors of the park during conflicts or disagreements between patrollers and the community, often providing unrealistic solutions in exchange for visitor compliance. Park patrollers surmised that this interference caused significant cynicism

accompanied by limited feelings of job control, which are critical aspects of healthy emotional work (Wharton, 1993).

One of the greatest PTSD risk factors is lack of perceived support (Dougall et al., 2001; Ozer et al., 2003; Robinough et al., 2011) and workers found it difficult to identify with their organisation due to the lack of support. Officers continuously mentioned the lack of pay, lack of recognition, and lack of mental wellness resources that caused them to develop significant stress and led to many officers disengaging from work and retiring. None of the participants felt their organisation provided them with adequate mental health support or training in comparison to the work they were required to conduct. It is important for enforcement organisations to maintain an equitable balance of acknowledgement, recognition, and reward to maintain a high level of mental wellness in a profession as demanding as conservation (Violanti et al., 2018).

Lilith spoke in great depth about the culture her team had developed at Cultus Lake during their time there together. This cohesive culture mirrored that of police cultures which often feature tightly bound groups and an us versus them mentality (Linell and Markova, 1993; Ranson et al., 1980; Violanti et al., 2018). Because of this strong influence of cohesive enforcement culture, Lilith said she became overcommitted to her work, and she noticed many other staff members did as well. Overcommitted officers find it very difficult to disengage with work even when they are off duty (Violanti et al., 2018), and in Lilith’s case, this caused significant stress in her life. Saini et al. (2020) also found that rangers found some dissatisfaction in their work as it is low salaried and contributes to a poor work-life balance. Lilith explained that as the supervisor, she tried regularly to check in with her staff members and their culture at the time was very positive; but she was increasingly frustrated at the lack of support for her staff and their needs.

Cameron laid out an interesting timeline of events worth mentioning. Cameron suggested when he first started in conservation the workplace culture was cohesive and fair, workers loved going to work and, in some cases, overcommitted to work. After some time had passed, workers noticed a disjuncture between their organisation’s expectations and the nature of reality. Cameron spoke about the expectation to enforce criminal laws, make arrests, fight fires, de-escalate incidents, and manage wildlife without receiving training for any of these situations. After some time of working in this environment, he noticed workers beginning to retire early and lose the passion they had for their work. Cameron, as a lead ranger, claimed the lack of organisational support was the ultimate downfall for his workplace. This detailed account from Cameron was instrumental during the theoretical sampling process as it sparked conversation about the timeline of changes. Lilith, Cameron, Moe, Jaden, Manaav, Franco, and Jennifer indicated their workplace did not support them and they all pointed to this causing cynicism and burnout. These concepts intertwine and the lack of a strong identification with their organisation resulted in less job satisfaction and declining personal accomplishment – two concepts that naturally resist burnout (Bhowmick and Mulla, 2016).

Theme 6: Lack of Training Led to Feelings of Fear, Apprehension, and put Officers in Dangerous Situations

Almost all the conservation officers in the study indicated they felt undertrained, and this led to feelings of apprehension and fear while at work. This finding is consistent with Moreto's (2016) work on occupational stress among law enforcement in Uganda. Given the high levels of stress associated with law enforcement (Huey and Kalyal, 2017), it comes as no shock that this research cohort indicated that the lack of training put them in dangerous situations at work which left them with mental health related issues. Cameron, an experienced ranger with Parks Canada, indicated his fear of forest fires was crippling for years after he started which he felt was caused by his lack of training in fire management.

Conservation officers referred to various problems that arose resulting from a lack of training and consistency. They highlighted the arduous nature of starting a new job in an enforcement field with no tactical training. Moreover, respondents indicated there was no training regarding how to speak with the public or how to conduct enforcement work with challenging populations. This finding is not new. Many scholars have indicated findings in their research which speaks of the poor training conservation officers receive (Moreto, 2016; Warchol and Kapla, 2012). In Moreto's (2016) examination of the occupational stress faced by rangers in Uganda he found that ranger's experience internal stressors which are related to the lack of training. In addition, Warchol and Kapla (2012) found that there was great disparity in the training available for rangers due to a lack of standards in hiring and training.

Officers mentioned being terrified of encountering wild animals in the dark, especially early on in their employment. Officers at Cultus Lake reported that they were required later in their careers to get bylaw enforcement training and courses on bear safety. However, almost all the officers across the different sites indicated they felt the organisation tried to avoid training employees to save money and this caused problems when conducting enforcement. This is easily connected to development of emotional dissonance and cognitive stress and anxiety. When officers felt in danger, they condemned their organisations for the lack of support and this collectively grew as the “frame of reference” which enabled them to explain, understand, and comprehend the dangerous situations they faced (Canteril, 1941). Jennifer, Cameron, Lilith, and Moe explained that the dangers they faced regularly made them cynical towards their lack of training which they made sense of by holding their organisation accountable (Ranson et al., 1980). This shared interpretive schema created an “us versus them” mentality that put conservation officers at the centre and the “them” being labelled as the public and their organisation (Linell and Markova, 1993; Ranson et al., 1980).

In addition to inadequate training, conservation officers have been given other law enforcement duties that go beyond the scope of typical park officer duties (Eliason, 2006; Pennaz, 2017; Sherblom et al., 2002). An ever-increasing population coupled with growth in the areas of recreation and technology over the past twenty-five years has led to these significant

organisational changes that we see across wildlife management agencies (Sherblom et al., 2002). In Sherblom et al.'s (2002) study examining changes to the game warden service they found that enforcement of boating regulations, recreational vehicle regulations, and drug laws were some of the additional enforcement duties conservation officers have taken on. Officers indicated they did traffic stops, radar speed detection, they towed vehicles, and they conducted enforcement of boating regulations like checking for licences and life-preservers.

When it comes to the enforcement of drug laws, Moe indicated this was something they did regularly and one of these enforcement instances caused him to lose a friend. Moe indicated that before marijuana was legalised, he came across a campsite where they were smoking marijuana using a glass pipe. Moe was consistent with the expectations from his workplace and asked them to smoke off site. The site was disconcerted by the rule and the friend ended up telling Moe to “never speak with them again.” He claimed at the time, he made sense of this by relating it back to what his job demanded from him, but as time had gone on, he realised the drug enforcement work was a far cry from conservation officer work. This is another reason why sensemaking and coping strategies must be ongoing efforts that recognize trauma is fluid (Canteril, 1941; Linell and Markova, 1993).

While law enforcement activities used to represent a very small aspect of work as a conservation officer, there has been a massive shift in the amount of law enforcement work undertaken daily by conservation over the past couple of decades (Eliason, 2006; Pennaz, 2017). Traditional conservation officer duties like protecting natural resources of the park, patrolling the backcountry, and ensuring visits to the park were enjoyable have had to make way for a breadth of enforcement changes which have now become integral parts of the job (Eliason, 2006; Meadows and Soden, 1988; Soden and Hester, 1989). Soden and Hester (1989) in their study regarding changes to the role of park services indicated that since the United States National Park Service's creation in 1916, conservation officers have had to assume the role of law enforcement, despite organisational and personal characteristics that do not support this role. Some rangers in their study were fine with the additional law enforcement duties, but others, who were typically more tenured rangers, felt the changes were an intrusion on their professional careers. This disconnect led to cynicism and job dissatisfaction and some rangers felt it would leave a negative mark on their career. The authors indicated that “Smokey may have traded his shovel for a gun, but the findings suggest that he is not necessarily happy about it” (Soden and Hester, 1989).

In a similar vein, some conservation officers in this cohort suggested that their lack of training and shifting role responsibilities put them in dangerous situations. Officers in Cultus Lake indicated that their uniforms looked very similar to police, and they felt they were treated differently because of this connection. Officers indicated that the public felt they should have been capable of making arrests and de-escalating violent situations; however, they felt they were never properly trained in this field. Officers indicated these mixed expectations from the public

put them in dangerous situations. This aligns closely with Pennaz’s (2017) work examining the effect of changes to the traditional role of park rangers and the shifting militarization culture.

Moreover, the signs identified in the artefacts made it obvious to see how the public could make this assumption. Lilith’s boots signalled power and authority; they even read S.W.A.T on them, indicating a connection to police and enforcement. The symbols of authority, power, and police sprinkled into conservation officer uniforms made it easy to surmise why the public related the officers to police - even going so far as to mistake them for police. These mixed messages permeated to the officers themselves, who often were unable to make sense of what was expected of them in terms of enforcement. Moe, Jaden, Franco, Jennifer, Cameron, and Manaav all shared stories of times where they saw a co-worker cross the proverbial line from conservation officer to police officer.

Conservation officers claimed they experienced aggressive and violent situations that put them in great danger. Cameron, a Parks Canada Ranger, claimed he had been violently assaulted at work during a domestic assault call he attended in 2011. Furthermore, Giselle endured a violent assault during her time working as a park patroller at Mt. Seymour. Both Jennifer and I were assaulted at separate times while working as Park Patrollers at Cultus Lake. Jennifer and I bonded over our similar experiences, and I felt her anxiety in a meaningful way. This problem is not unique to any park, in fact all the officers interviewed explained they had experienced, witnessed, or attended calls for violence while at work. These issues are highlighted in a statistical analysis conducted by the International Association of Chiefs of Police (IACP, 2000). The IACP (2000) revealed that rangers are the most assaulted federal law enforcement officers in the United States. Further to that, Pennaz’s (2017) research echoed similar sentiments.

Rangers in Pennaz’s (2017) study felt that because their uniforms looked friendly and informative, they were more susceptible to aggressive behaviour from the public. Rangers in this study indicated they felt that their “friendly ranger rick” legacy led the public to perceive them as pushovers. These rangers believed that the public would never behave the way they do if other types of law enforcement were present (Pennaz, 2017). Conservation officers in this study were similar. Rangers who worked outside of Cultus Lake experienced a perceived lack of authority in many cases.

Conservation officers in Cultus Lake had a completely different experience. As they were required to wear stab proof vests and don all black uniforms, even carrying handcuffs when acting as the supervisor, the public often mistook them for police. All officers at Cultus Lake claimed they had been mistaken for the police at some point in their careers, and some even particularly the RCMP. All officers at Cultus Lake also indicated they were not trained or allowed to carry any items to protect themselves with, including guns, knives, and even bear spray. Officers felt that the mixed messaging to the public had a “pseudo-authority” effect on the public that they were often unable to detect. This mistaken identity puts conservation officers in danger regularly.

These blurred lines were a symptom of another daily issue that caused stress and anxiety among officers, lack of enforcement consistency and styles. Conservation officers indicated that there was a disconnect between how they were told to conduct enforcement versus what was required while they were working. Most of the conservation officers indicated that their employers wanted them to take a soft enforcement approach, but situational factors put officers to a moral test. Despite having no training in enforcement tactics, some officers felt they had to decide between what their employers wanted from them and what the public urgently needed from them. Lilith from Cultus Lake described a situation where a member of the public was stabbed with a knife in front of her and she sprung to action, despite her duties being “to observe and report”. Elliot, another officer from Cultus Lake, indicated he attended countless domestic assault calls in RVs and tents within the park. Moreover, James a conservation officer from Mt. Seymour, indicated that he had to make a citizen’s arrest after he witnessed a violent assault on the mountain. Organisational expectations are not in-line with what takes place in these diverse enforcement roles.

Theme 7: Redefining the Work Role and Increased Job Satisfaction

Conservation officers made EL enjoyable when they redefined that work as necessary for protecting the environment. This research cohort found it less cognitively stressful to enforce rules that affected the environment when compared to enforcing laws where people were harming other people. Officers suggested that protecting the environment helped them keep a healthy distance from the emotional stressors usually associated with their EL and EW. This echoes Stenross and Kleinman’s (1989) research on detective experiences conducting EL when working with victims and criminals. Making the task relevant to what some conservation officers valued the most, protecting the environment, made EL enjoyable and easy.

Conservation officers wanted to protect the environment, so they redefined their enforcement work to further protect the environment from damage. Such a positive redefinition allowed officers to consider their encounters with the public as a rewarding and exciting way to move towards their goals of environmental protection (Stenross and Kleinman, 1989). Some conservation officers felt they could “be tougher” on the public for having fire during a fire ban. When it came to enforcing laws that impacted the environment, such as enforcing fire bans and damage to waterways or trees, conservation officers found EL easy and even gratifying to conduct.

Raj spoke in depth of how coping with garbage, pollution, and lack of intergenerational responsibility (White, 2013) in the parks was a point of frustration for him, but it was also a way for him to create distance between him and the role of law enforcement. He found it easier to conduct enforcement work when he reframed it as protecting the environment. This is a unique facet of conservation work that could possibly serve as a collective group coping strategy for decisions made in the woods. Canteril (1941) used the term “frame of reference” to refer to a collective point of view that directs and informs interpretations. Organisations can often have

their own collective thought which enables them to explain, understand, comprehend, predict, and extrapolate. The idea that sense is collectively pooled is critical to understandings of organisations as networks of “intersubjective shared meanings”, mutually engaged paradigms, and habituated patterns and routines of action that ‘fix’ community understanding (Canteril, 1941). Brown et al. (2008) found in their study of organisational sensemaking that a basic shared storyline of sensemaking is appropriated, modified, and embellished by individuals to make peculiar sense of ambiguous actions and outcomes which is why mental wellness and active coping strategies must couple these shared storylines (Violanti et al., 2018).

In a connected vein, when officers described their sensemaking efforts, active coping strategies like positive reframing and problem solving were related to healthier perceptions of situations and outcomes (Evans et al., 1993; Hart et al., 1995; Violanti et al., 2018). For example, Moe described an instance where he and another officer attended a domestic assault call where children were involved. Moe claimed that by positively reframing the situation towards empowering the mother and children who were affected and by actively working to solve their housing challenges rather than dwelling on the child and spousal abuse, he was able to accept and make sense of the situation. Moe was a particularly interesting participant as he consistently indicated situations where his active coping habits helped him find restfulness and peace. His interview was pivotal in the theoretical sampling process as I referenced his coping styles when attempting to dig deeper into other officer’s uses of passive and active coping (Glaser and Strauss, 1967; Harris, 2015).

Lilith and Cameron, two officers who seemed very comfortable engaging with deep acting, felt they had higher levels of job satisfaction than others because they strongly identified with their work mates and they redefined their workplace as the *physical site*, rather than their organisation - whose headquarters were many kilometres away. They chose to perceive their workplace as their co-workers and the public, rather than trying to impress their organisation and this allowed them to put forth greater effort contributions when accomplishing a work task (Bhowmick and Mulla, 2016; Efraty and Wolfe, 1988). Active coping styles are used to alter or manipulate the stressor, and in their case, this was the workplace (Lazarus, 1993). The use of active coping (which involves positive reframing, active acceptance, and planning) reduced the association of PTSD symptoms in these officers (Violanti et al., 2018).

Moreover, increased job satisfaction had some protective benefits against mental health issues and made EL and EW work easier to conduct. The conservation officers indicated that working with the public, being outdoors, and having independence at work helped them cope with the EL and EW they had to conduct daily. This aligns with Moreto’s (2016) work on stress and how rangers in Uganda coped with their daily work. Research on law enforcement and coping strategies indicates that social support, sense of control, and personal characteristics like “being the right person for the job” helped officers cope with the stress from work (Burns et al., 2008; Huey and Kalyal, 2017). Conservation officers in this cohort showcased that certain aspects of their work, like being outside, were critical to maintaining good mental health.

Next, I amalgamate the revealed themes, which were collected inductively using the grounded theory methodology for theory generation. The application of grounded theory refined the analysis consequent to the generation of a cohesive, inclusive grounded theory that explains the phenomena (Creswell and Creswell, 2017). The outcomes of a grounded theory study are communicated as themes that are interconnected and articulated through development of a substantive theory (Chun Tie et al., 2019). This substantive theory is a theoretical explanation of the studied phenomenon, the haunting of law enforcement and its deep rooted connection to the emotional work of law enforcement officers. Consequently, the characteristic of grounded theory is the development of a theory that is reinforced by the generated data. To ensure quality, rigorousness was present throughout all stages of the research process (Chun Tie et al., 2019).

Below, I articulate the connection between EL experienced by conservation officers and how their work has a spectral presence that is baked into the culture officers reside within. I propose that there are spectres that loom largely over the EL practices and emotional experiences of law enforcement officers which have produced a collective trauma that officers have difficulty making sense of.

The Spectres of Law Enforcement

The seven themes identified in this project include: (1) EL was an everyday aspect of conservation officer work and display rules were covertly or overtly communicated; (2) emotion work included emotionally disturbing situations; (3) dissonance and inauthenticity; (4) burnout and loss of self; (5) political interference and lack of organisational support systems; (6) lack of training led to feelings of fear, apprehension, and put officers in dangerous situations; and (7) redefining work to what officers value made EL easier and increased job satisfaction. This data is interesting and is grounded in participant experiences.

Data analysis allowed for the creation of a central theory: the emotional work of law enforcement officers is spectral, and they must deal with the (in)visible traces of trauma and violence these spectres have left within the culture of law enforcement, while also striking a delicate balance between managing their own emotions in their day-to-day interactions and attempting to evoke certain emotions in those with whom they deal. The violent spectres of law enforcement have produced a collective trauma that influence an officer's ability to cope and make sense of their experiences in the field and it is only bolstered further by their culture of subjugation and solitude. The ongoing traumatic work experienced by this cohort deepened their connection to the spectres that have embedded themselves within the culture of law enforcement itself. Emotionally, officers find it very difficult to conduct the facework necessary to engage with the public during traumatic situations. Trauma is central to their haunting.

The system of law enforcement haunts itself through a collective burial ground of violence, secrecy, distrust, and fear, and has been passed on inter and intragenerationally, between law enforcement groups, between individuals within law enforcement groups, and

between law enforcement and society. Transgenerationally, violence has become central to the culture. Perpetrating it, fearing it, or witnessing it are spectral reminders to mistrust and internalise. The spectres of violence are strangers that change the way officers approach life and how they view themselves and the world. The haunting raises ghosts who produce significant traumas and who bring fear and anxiety surrounding violence to the experience in a manner that is (in)visible.

As Derrida (1993) explains, the present and how we make sense of it, is always mixed in with what we know about the past and what we anticipate the future will be. Fissures of prior philosophy can come into view and experiences can be ghostly; we can feel haunted by what no longer exists and by what does not yet exist. These seven themes reveal that the conservation officers studied in this cohort are embedded within the same culture of law enforcement as others who work in the field. What their culture is like, what the duties are, how they should interact with the public, how they should feel about their interactions, and how they should respond to their emotional experiences are spectral experiences that are shared across law enforcement groups.

Participants felt haunted by the emotionally disturbing situations they faced at work. Haunting raises ghosts that alter the experience of time and in the way we separate the past, present, and future (Frosh, 2012). Conservation officers experienced feelings of alienation from the public, their families, and friends because they felt others could not understand or relate to their experiences they had at work. They also felt disrespected, rejected, and disconnected from the police who share similar duties. Officers spoke candidly about how they were never viewed as equals, despite being subject to very similar traumas and experiences in the field. The way law enforcement duties are executed is alienating and the isolating nature of this line of work has a spectral presence that has transcended through time and crossed over from other law enforcement roles. Possibly this is due to the requirement for conservation officers to engage in more law enforcement activities not originally attributed to their line of work.

Driven by the wide net of discretionary privileges, the power of law enforcement is “formless”; it is everywhere and nowhere (Benjamin, 2021). This discretion and authority places law enforcement officers in a position where they must make decisions with little guidance, sometimes under immense pressure. With this cohort, they had immense powers for discretion which opened them up to feelings of self-blame, depression, and anxiety. Officers suggested that using discretion was a central part of their work; without it, their work would be impossible. These discretionary privileges have a spectral presence that produced generalized anxiety about work with this cohort. When officers made decisions that resulted in violence, whether they were on the receiving end or otherwise, they generally held onto those memories in a deep and personal way. The vast reaching powers attributed to discretion are an element of EL that was revealed in this project, and it certainly has a ghostly element to it. Officers are haunted by the decisions they made that resulted in violence and their discretion is real, yet (in)visible. The spectres involved in their decisions to resort to violence lead officers to feel immense self-blame,

guilt, and dissonance despite the supposed “need for it” and cultural and organisational shift towards more violence from conservation officers as a suitable reaction to incidents.

This cohort described the great lengths they went to fit into the culture of law enforcement at their park: putting themselves in dangerous situations, enduring bullying and harassment, and even tolerating sexual harassment and racism. It is profoundly interesting that officers felt they needed to endure racism and sexism at work to fit in with the culture of law enforcement and suggests that when law enforcement groups explain that racism and sexism in the profession has been left in the past, they are speaking from a place of delusion. Denying the real yet absent nature of these spectres has resulted in them being incorporated into the culture of the role itself. These traumas raise spectres from different avenues of life that can affect each person individually while adding to the cultural graveyard of anxieties that has persisted through time within law enforcement.

The emotional work of law enforcement officers is ghostly at every layer and officers must deal with the (in)visible traces of trauma and violence these spectres have left within the culture of law enforcement. In the same moment, officers must also traverse a delicate line between managing their own emotions in their day-to-day interactions while they attempt to evoke certain emotions in those with whom they deal. The EL required by law enforcement officers is tremendous, but there is an additional ghostly layer that targets conservation officers in particular. The slow “police-ification” of their role solidified dissonance in the minds of officers who never wanted to be in law enforcement to begin with. The conservation officer in the traditional sense is a lost future, one that longs for a lost time where conservation officers acted as wardens of the forest. All of this is spectral and deepens the difficulty officers have conducting emotional work. The culture has been darkened by an (in)visible presence that marked its territory with the police and slowly transplanted itself into the role of the conservation officer.

Law enforcement in Canada was built by a system of colonialism, which harbours ghosts that have never been exorcised and remain immensely powerful in today’s world (Dyck, 2022). Decolonisation of the land and decolonisation of law enforcement are processes that must be achieved if this spectral presence is to be exorcised and introjected. Both micro and macro level decolonisation is required for true cultural change. Officers indicated that beyond the macro level indicators of embedded colonialism within their role, there were also ground-level cultural indicators of colonialism. Officers found that they needed to endure racism and sexual harassment at time to “fit in” with the culture at work. Other officers indicated that they had co-workers employed within their respective parks who were openly racist, prejudice, and discriminatory. Law enforcement is entangled and embedded with racialized practices and colonial mindsets (Dyck, 2022). Decolonizing law enforcement sounds like an oxymoron; true decolonisation would result in a system that does not even resemble law enforcement as we know it. How society can begin to address the macro level hauntings that effect all of us would best begin by redirecting authority to Indigenous communities. Indigenous patrols and First

Nations policing are systems that reflect cultural values and voices of those they serve (Dyck, 2022). This system holds much promise when compared to law enforcement as we know it now where the only voices they seemingly listen to are the besieged voices from trauma and violence embedded within the profession.

There is an uncanny association between memory and haunting and conditions like PTSD are avenues the past takes to intrude on the present (Blanco and Peeren, 2013). Participants indicated they experienced mental health woes going into their personal lives resulting from their work. Many participants displayed and indicated that they suffered from ongoing anxiety, PTSD symptoms, and they felt their experiences stayed with them in a profound way. Moreover, many of the mental health challenges they experienced stemmed from the EL labour experiences they engaged with at work and how their organisation treated them afterwards. Changing the culture that is causal to these issues would involve reckoning and formal acknowledgment of the ghosts whose voices mark the unsettled past of law enforcement. Normalising mental health issues in law enforcement fractures the crypt and by use of mental health programming like CISD, CBT, or psychotherapy the spectres are given space to talk.

These findings suggest that the conservation officer role relies on extensive EL. These findings support the value and merit of wellness programs and psychological counselling for conservation officers to help diminish the possibility of secondary trauma symptoms, PTSD, stress, anxiety, and advance healthy and constructive coping strategies (Burruss et al., 2017). Active coping styles used to alter or manipulate the stressor, like positive reframing and problem solving (Evans et al., 1993; Hart et al., 1995), should be encouraged and developed constantly throughout their career and afterwards (Arnetz et al., 2012; Violanti et al., 2018). In analysing the data, I approached the data with an open mind, a critical piece of grounded theory (Mitchell, 2014). What follows is a breakdown of the policy implications and brief commentary on the contributions and limitations of this study.

10| RESEARCH CONTRIBUTIONS, QUALITY, AND POLICY IMPLICATIONS

Tracy's (2010) principles for quality in qualitative work include: (a) worthy topic, (b) rich rigour, (c) sincerity, (d) credibility, (e) resonance, (f) significant contribution, (g) ethics, and (h) meaningful coherence. When it comes to being a worthy topic, conservation officer uses of EL tactics and how this impacts their lives is significant, timely, and relevant in a time when the theoretical spotlight is on law enforcement personnel across the globe. As I have revealed, conservation officers are held to a similar standard by their employers and co-workers as law enforcement groups when it comes to maintaining a tough, professional demeanour at all times. This is an interesting finding as this has never been conceptualised before, nor is it a widely known issue. Audiences of this research may find it compelling and interesting to hear the gravity and extent to which EL work influences the daily lives of conservation officers. It could be theorised that the requirement to conduct more law enforcement activities, and even the

militarization of certain conservation groups, are widely unknown aspects of this line of work, which may serve to highlight the complexity of conservation work.

Rich Rigour

The rigour and high-quality nature of this project has been illustrated throughout this thesis. This project reviewed the theoretical constructs involved in understanding the results of this project in great depth. In the literature review, this thesis reviewed every theoretical concept that arose during data collection and analysis including: the current state of knowledge regarding EL, conservation officers roles and responsibilities and where they intersect with EL, literature on sensemaking and coping, a deep dive into the ontological underpinnings of constructive grounded theoretical analysis, research on quality of qualitative research, detailed descriptions of the nexus between commentated walks and memory, and how interviewing the powerful influences the experience of data collection and participant recruitment. Beyond that, this thesis delved into more abstract ideas like the haunting of EL and unique forms of analysis like pictorial analysis. Rigour relies on well-developed understandings of theoretical constructs (Tracy, 2010) which this thesis showcases.

Resonance and Sincerity

Schutz (1967) explains that some of the best research articles and written works are able to provide direct insight into the lived experiences of people. Creating a piece of work that promotes identification, empathy, and reverberation of the research by readers can be challenging especially to audiences from outside the discipline. Transforming the emotional disposition of people to promote understanding, known as empathetic validity (Dadds, 2008), can be achieved in numerous ways. This project relies on transferability and naturalistic generalisations to bolster its resonance (Stake and Trumbull, 1982; Tracy, 2010). Audiences of this project may feel as though conservation officer experiences conducting EL overlap with their experiences with their own work (Lincoln and Guba, 1985; Tracy, 2000). To create a piece of work that resonates, this thesis presents plenty of direct testimony from conservation officers, rich and thick descriptions were used throughout this piece, and it is written in a way that encourages audiences to challenge their preconceived notions about the nature of work as a conservation officer (Ellis, 1995).

Stake and Trumbull (1982) suggest that when audiences feel they personally understand the experiences of research participants, it can improve a project's resonance. Improving the lives of conservation officers by requiring organisations to offer access to CISD, CBT, and employment training and support would be significant improvements to the practice of conservation work. Naturalistic generalizability means that audiences make sense of the work on their own accord and do not feel as though the work is instructing them what to do or how to feel (Geertz, 1973; Tracy, 2010). Immersing readers in the details of conservation officer experiences has potential to encourage audiences to reflect and recognize instances where they conduct EL in

their lives and how this intersects with other aspects of their lives including their relationships, workplace treatment, and more.

Sincerity is also an aspect of creating good quality qualitative research (Tracy, 2010). Self-reflexivity, transparency, and data auditing is how this project showcases sincerity. As I have personal experience working as a conservation officer, this allows for an added perspective not always found in research. Notes on reflexivity have been made throughout this document with close attention paid to the responsibility I hold for the knowledge claims made (Conti and O’Neil, 2007).

Significant Contribution

This project contributes theoretically, methodologically, and empirically to the literature on EL. First and empirically, this data reveals how conservation officers “make sense” of their emotions and how they come to terms with the nature of their work. As already stated, this is urgent as there has been no understanding of the role this plays in conservation officer conduct. These findings allow for new research insights for future scholars to build upon.

Next, and methodologically, most research in EL is strictly qualitative and sticks to the standard interview (Huey and Kalyal, 2017; Stenross and Kleinman, 1989). This research is unique in that it deployed multiple levels of qualitative analysis through commentated walks, artifact analysis, and conducting interviews that rely on feminist methodologies to address power imbalances (Conti and O’Neil, 2007). Also, researchers do not usually focus on park enforcement roles when it comes to EL even though the law enforcement industry has grown increasingly specialised where unique work responsibilities shape an individual’s working experiences. As a result, there is a need to understand the unique components that influence the experience of trauma and the use of coping strategies employed by conservation officers in these specialised roles.

Furthermore, using expert interviewing tactics such as deploying feminist methodologies is novel when it comes to interviewing conservation officers. One of the most important functions of an expert interview is to try to gain understanding of the theoretical position of the participant; their perceptions, beliefs, and ideologies with an insight into the mind-set of the actors who have played a role in shaping the society in which we live (Petintseva et al., 2020). Furthermore, although societal power has very real and material effects, notions such as the “powerful”, “experts” and “elites” are relational and socially constructed categories, which are bound to contextual dynamics that a close interview has the potential to reveal. Expert interviews specifically try to understand the micro-politics of personal relationships and to relate them to a wider analysis of power (Petintseva et al., 2020).

Meaningful Coherence and Credibility

Research studies that are meaningfully coherent focus on (a) meeting their stated purpose; (b) accomplishing what they say they advocate; and (c) use methods that partner well the paradigms and theories; and (d) makes meaningful connections to the literature with focus on the methods and findings (Tracy, 2010). This study uses key concepts from multiple paradigms, which is a key part of crystallisation (Larrinaga-Gonzalez, 2011). A key concept in creating meaningfully coherent work is ensuring the reviewed literature situates the findings and the findings attend to the main research foci (Tracy, 2010). The literature review discusses all the concepts that emerged during this research and provides extensive details regarding the history, prominent opinions, and where controversies have appeared in the literature. For example, including literature that discusses aspects of sensemaking and coping was integral for audiences to fully understand the ramifications of conducting EL for the daily lives of conservation officers. By intentionally drawing parallels between different research paradigms and ontological opinions about the nature of reality, this work can be crystallised and embedded in the literature aimed at understanding conservation officer experiences with EL and the macro and micro level haunting involved in their experiences (Larrinaga-Gonzalez, 2011).

Finally, I employed member reflections rather than member checks for this work which bolsters this thesis' credibility (Tracy, 2010). Rather than aiming for the accuracy of a single truth, space was provided for additional complexity, reflection, and change. Participants were given space to reflect on their experience and they were allowed to change what they felt was necessary to properly articulate their experiences with EL. This is more meaningfully coherent than member checks for this socially constructed project because that maintains the ontological beliefs this project espouses (Tracy, 2010). Using a constructivist grounded theoretical methodology suggests that the results of this project are co-constructed (Mitchell, 2014) and member checking to ascertain the truth of the findings is inconsistent with the reality and paradigm of this project (Tracy, 2010).

Ethical

Research can only be considered ethical if the benefits and contributions outweigh the risks (Rosenthal, 1994). The primary risk to participants with this research was the risk of mental health issues associated with them recalling their past traumatic instances. In order to monitor for this risk, I took my time conducting the research and took breaks where necessary. As this research was inductive, participants only told me what they felt comfortable revealing, as the interviews were participant focused and designed to maximise the time participants could spend speaking about what they found important and relevant (Petintseva et al., 2020c). I took a gentle approach to interviewing participants by putting the more taxing questions in the middle of the interview and bracketing them with easier, less emotional questions. Moreover, we took time to debrief after the interview and commentated walk to ensure participants felt comfortable with the experience. In the same vein, participants explained that they felt good talking with someone

who they know has had similar experiences in the field and many of them expressed relief afterwards. Some participants suggested they even felt better than before the interview because they felt they could speak candidly about their experiences and how it affected their lives even years after retirement. However, I still took the time to review their options with them when it came to getting social assistance in their community.

For criminological research more broadly, this project is principled and advances knowledge of EL and its nexus with conservation officers, a group that has not been studied in this capacity previously. Moreto (2016) indicated that research aimed at understanding the daily lives of conservation officers was a necessity for progress in the field of conservation criminology. Moreover, conservation criminology is a relatively new field, and the building blocks of this field are still being studied (Gore, 2011). In a similar vein, this project can contribute to the welfare of conservation officers by giving voice to their experiences in the field and making society aware of the daily challenges these officers face.

Acting with integrity and seeking justice for participants were central tenets of this project. This research was carried out with honesty, care, and in a way that met my professional obligations, three important aspects of engaging in ethical research (Middlemist et al., 1977). No deception was present in the interviews, and I used a feminist methodology which made me accountable for my knowledge claims (Conti and O’Neil, 2007). I kept my promises to my participants, remained available afterwards for them to reach out, and maintained confidentiality throughout the process. When it came to seeking justice, I ensured the risks and benefits of the research were distributed across all participants; meaning, I treated all participants equally and honoured their personal needs (Reverby, 2009).

There was a unique imbalance of power within this project. I directly supervised some of the participants many years ago when I was the conservation officer supervisor at Cultus Lake, and this resulted in some power being placed on my end of the interview. I found using a feminist methodology was instrumental in decision making and to help examine the nuances of power across the participant-researcher relationship (Conti and O’Neil, 2007). Certain people from Cultus Lake were never approached to partake in this interview, and that was because I recognized that I still had some authority in their lives. Few participants still use me as a professional reference for applications to police departments and other work roles. In reflection of the power-dynamics of these relationships, it was important I did not speak with these participants as coercion could have been an element (Conti and O’Neil, 2007). I was also concerned these participants would find it difficult to engage truthfully with the research, as they may have felt they needed to manage my impressions of them.

I spoke with the two participants I knew prior to their engagement with the interview to ensure they were comfortable with taking part and they were aware there was no pressure or obligation to participate. I acknowledged that an element of “social coercion” and “friend obligation” may be present for the two participants that knew me. As discussed, I reached out to

many previous co-workers who either declined or showed clear apprehension and anxiety on being involved in the project. Those participant wishes were acknowledged and respected; it is not easy talking about emotions with other people. McConnell-Henry et al. (2009) discuss the challenges associated with interviewing people you know and this work along with Conti and O’Neil’s (2007) guide to feminist elite interviewing were instrumental pieces of literature that aided in decision making.

Most of the participants were unknown to me, and I had to work to earn their respect and trust. For these participants, using a feminist methodology became crucial and I followed the guidelines Conti and O’Neil (2007) and Harvey (2011) put forth regarding gaining trust, presentation of the self, and gauging the tone of the interview. For the Parks Canada conservation officers, I found there to be a unique power imbalance where they wanted to control the interview and even predict the questions I might ask. By the time I came to interviewing these participants, I was already becoming more in tune with my interviewing repertoire which allowed for more flexibility and confidence on my end. I set boundaries and followed Harvey’s (2011) advice to set disciplinary distinctions: I was the researcher studying EL and they were the experts in the field of conservation. I found when I spoke to the Parks Canada staff, I felt it necessary to mention that I was coming to them as a blank slate to their work, but I was bringing a wealth of knowledge in another field that was central to their work, yet outside of what is typically expected of conservation officers. This put me in a spot where they respected my work and it removed some of the walls they had built up around themselves.

I wondered what it was about the Parks Canada staff that set them apart from the others and I began to think about *who* they worked for. Parks Canada staff worked for National Parks rather than the provincial, municipal, and private parks. Possibly, this distinction set them apart from others in their field. All participants were curiously asking about other participants, almost seeking reassurance that others had in fact agreed to participate in this venture. I was careful to protect their identities, especially during times when they referred me to another officers. Harvey (2011) provided a conceptual road map for engaging with elite interviews and it relates closely to feminist methods of interviewing (Conti and O’Neil, 2007). I started the interviews with easier questions that focused on their daily duties, their uniform, and their experiences with co-workers. Slowly, I built towards the more emotionally challenging and personal questions regarding their EL, stress, and anxieties at work. This slow integration helped keep the interview and commentated walk running smoothly and I found I had minimal challenges earning their trust and setting the professional yet friendly tone of the interview.

Although studying the gendered nature of conservation officer work is not the focus of this project, there were some interesting concepts that arose. The four women I interviewed brought a unique perspective to the project not all law enforcement studies can provide. I noticed some of the EL struggles they dealt with were different from their counterparts in the study. Women in this study were more affected by experiences involving children. Scholars of EL suggest this may be due to the experience of motherhood, which I saw with my participant Kimberley. Other

women commented on the bullying at work and how this made their EL harder because they had the added stress of feeling unsupported by their direct co-workers. All participants explained they felt a lack of support from upper management and those above their site supervisor, but the women in this study also felt unsupported from their direct site supervisor. A unique experience that was seemingly only relevant to the women in this study.

Respecting the dignity of my participants was an integral aspect of this project (Reverby, 2009). I respected their autonomy and ensured they felt comfortable exercising their autonomy during the research. Of fundamental importance is the concept of informed consent, which was gathered before, during, and after the data collection process (Koocher, 1977; Middlemist et al., 1976). I explained to participants in detail how they may feel after participating in this project and that feelings of sadness, depression, fear, anxiety, and even feelings of PTSD may arise. Participants were reminded of their right to refuse a question and their power to terminate the interview altogether if they began to show signs of emotional distress. Ensuring these needs were met cultivated an environment of trust, understanding, and empowerment (Reverby, 2009; Koocher, 1977).

To ensure the research results are received and understood, participants were interviewed inductively, and I helped co-construct the results (Mitchell, 2014). A risk to the research community is that these results could be misapplied, however, the following section which discussed policy recommendations, including CISD and CBT, clearly outlines research-backed options organisations can rely on to support their employees who are required to conduct EL. This project seeks to be moral and ethical in the way it is conducted and received, and clearly communicating the goals and desired outcomes helps bolster this narrative (Rosenthal, 1994).

10.1 POLICY RECOMMENDATIONS

This research provides insight into the EL undertaken by conservation officers and will enable park services, park enforcement organisations to craft policies and programs aimed at mitigating and treating the negative effects brought on by continued EL. Policies may include CISD (Pender and Prichard, 2009) and/or Cognitive Behavioural Therapy (CBT) (Litz et al., 2002). Exploring how conservation officers identify and deal with these effects can be expanded to other professionals or groups who may be involved, such as paediatricians, child protection professionals, pathologists, ministry of children and families, and social workers, co-workers, and neighbours (Jason et al., 2016). Importantly, this research promotes conservation officer mental health services and ensures precautions are taken to mitigate the onset of trauma related mental health issues such as suicide, PTSD, chronic insomnia, cardio-vascular disease, and family problems which are prevalent in enforcement personnel (Bhowmick and Mulla, 2016; Violanti et al., 2018).

These solutions are important during a time when law enforcement groups are still widely supported by the public and are often viewed as “necessary components” of society. Law

enforcement abolitionist literature and research aimed at exploring decolonisation of law enforcement are important works that pave the way for a stronger, more cohesive society (Clogg, 2020; Dyck, 2022; Walby, 2022). Law enforcement was built on a system of colonialism and violence; two concepts that are embedded, mixed, and sustained by one another (Dyck, 2022). A cultural shift aimed at exploring a world where law enforcement is not viewed as necessary, such as increasing social programs and decriminalization of non-violent crimes and drugs, illuminates a small light that has been flicking within the field of criminology for a long time. True resolution and reconciliation would require decolonizing law enforcement as a whole and providing ongoing support for individuals, families, and societies who have been collectively traumatized by law enforcement activities (Dyck, 2022). Law enforcement abolitionists encourage a long term approach to finding resolutions which requires careful attention to the immediate aftermath of an incident (Walby, 2022). For now, while law enforcement groups are still active and bolstered by society, reactionary solutions are the way forward. At the very least, our society should hold these law enforcement groups to the highest level of integrity, which includes the requirement for them to provide ongoing mental health support for their employees as their actions influence our entire society.

Many other law enforcement agencies provide training or education regarding managing occupational stress and anxiety (Ombudsman Ontario and André, 2013). Countering the culture that invalidates mental health support is a crucial first step towards addressing these widespread issues. Rather than thinking reactively, counteracting this culture can best begin at hiring and onboard training. It is a normal reaction to experience fear when you have been exposed to a traumatic situation (Ombudsman Ontario and André, 2013), like the experiences of this research cohort. Education is key to strengthening the awareness and comprehension of stress and anxiety, coping methods and mechanisms, and available resources. Middle and upper management personnel in law enforcement organisations must also be trained with how to cultivate an enforcement culture in their workplace that ensures officers are not afraid to ask for help. In addition, to reduce instances of exposure to traumatic situations, the conservation industry should focus on outlining clear duties and expectations for officers. A clear scope of duties and expectations could result in less trauma simply by removing much of the role ambiguity that goes along with highly discretionary work. These are tools for building a more resilient enforcement organisation that can best support all officers (Ombudsman Ontario and André, 2013).

In the aftermath of a 2007 high-profile murder-suicide which involved current and former London Police Service Officers, the Ontario Coroner’s Domestic Violence Death Review Committee stressed the importance of police personnel and their families in receiving education regarding suicide, substance abuse, and health and wellness that is unique to police culture (Ombudsman Ontario and André, 2013). Based on the experiences of this cohort, it is clear these initiatives should be expanded and developed further by organisations offering conservation work as well. Exposure to traumatic situations and experiences cannot be prevented in law

enforcement but training in resiliency early in hiring is strongly endorsed (Ombudsman Ontario and André, 2013).

There are options for organisations who are looking to better support their staff members who may be exposed to trauma. Direct psychological intervention strategies involve short term counselling services (like CISD), crisis intervention and addiction counselling. Individual and group therapy options are well explored in the literature and there is strong evidence to support using the CISD framework and CBT where needed (Dyregrov, 2003; Litz et al., 2002; Mitchell et al., 2003; Mitchell, 2004; Canadian Critical Incident Stress Foundation, 2020). The Canadian Armed Forces have taken their initiatives a step further by conducting a survey of their membership to determine the presence of certain mental health disorders and the problems they create in the lives of their members (Ombudsman Ontario and André, 2013). Ensuring affected members gain access to psychologists who are experts in the complexities of emergency services, the subculture of policing, and vicarious trauma is essential for long term success with mental wellness initiatives (Ombudsman Ontario and André, 2013). I suggest that these concepts are transferred to conservation work, where officers can speak with individuals who are also experts in the subculture of conservation work as well as remote law enforcement.

Normalising post-traumatic reactions should be a primary mental health goal of any organisation working within the field of law enforcement (Ombudsman Ontario and André, 2013). The International Association of Chiefs of Police issued guidelines in 2007 that recommended any officers involved with a shooting should be required to meet with mental health professionals who are experts in law enforcement culture so the affected person can be provided with coping skills. Police mental health literature suggests that law enforcement groups are historically poor at engaging with active coping; a coping style that reduces the long-term effects of stress, trauma, and anxiety (Evans et al., 1993; Hart et al., 1995). A method of bolstering a person's support network and building resiliency for affected members is to involve their partner or spouse in the psychological debriefing process (Ombudsman Ontario and André, 2013). Ensuring officers to meet with a psychologist after a traumatic incident can help remove the stigma and likens it to other health initiatives, like visiting the dentist or optometrist. However, it is important that participation is not mandatory, and officers are able to choose the therapist of their choice, which ensures that officers maintain control of their own lives (Ombudsman Ontario and André, 2013). Organisations offering conservation work should ensure their membership is aware of the experts in their area who can help them work through traumatic experiences in the field.

Peer support programs are an alternative option for personnel who are hesitant to seek formal support (Ombudsman Ontario and André, 2013). Peer support groups can also be used for organisations with widespread cultural issues regarding accessing mental health support. A protective factor against the development of PTSD is a compassionate and supportive work environment. This peer led option fits well with the traditional law enforcement culture which holds that only an officer can understand the experiences of another officer. This cultural

phenomenon is a method officers in this cohort also suggested was an aspect of their reality. Members of this cohort indicated that they felt other people could not understand the uniqueness, unpredictability, and fear that was central to their experiences. The International Association of Chiefs of Police (2011) indicated that effective peer support programs must be prevalent at the highest levels within the organisation. Some activities a trained peer support officer could conduct are post-critical incident support, hospital visits, career issues support, relationship issues support, and even extended support for families of injured or ill members. It is important that mental health experts provide continuous support to these peer support officers and maintain a high degree of confidentiality (Ombudsman Ontario and André, 2013).

Employee Assistance programs (EAP) are another option for organisations in law enforcement who are looking to better support their members. Like the other recommended options, experts suggest EAPs should be delivered by experts in police culture (Ombudsman Ontario and André, 2013). Law enforcement EAPs can be conducted in-house or through external program providers. Maintaining confidentiality can be achieved by ensuring meetings with professionals are structurally and operationally separate from the workplace. Organisations offering enforcement work should prepare a list of experienced, senior counsellors in the community with experience dealing with officers to complement EAPs (Ombudsman Ontario and André, 2013).

In light of the findings, I strongly recommend that organisations offering conservation work provide mental wellness initiatives that are best suited to the culture of their workplace. Providing and engaging in early intervention using the CISD framework has shown to be instrumental with providing support to affected officers; however, it is critical that severely impacted individuals have access to further treatment like CBT that is beyond CISD (Litz et al., 2002). Early intervention is critical to mitigating the long-term consequences of psychological trauma and provides immediate attention and access to all victims, severe or not. I suggest following the nine provisions offered by Dyregrov (2003), Mitchell et al. (2003), Mitchell (2004) and the Canadian Critical Incident Stress Foundation (2020) for successful implementation of this protocol which can be found in Appendix A. The most important aspect of choosing the correct mental wellness initiative involves ensuring the professionals your organisation relies on are culturally competent (Ombudsman Ontario and André, 2013). Officers are more willing to see mental health practitioners and experts who are recommended by peers. Understanding officer terminology and environment is critical for gaining access and trust with officers (Ombudsman Ontario and André, 2013).

This research is not only instrumental for individual projects undertaken by researchers, but it will also lay the foundation for scholars studying EL and its interaction with law enforcement in specialised roles. This is new methodological grounding in every category for studying conservation officers and their interactions with EL. Deep acting, strong identification with organisation, and perceived job control are fundamental to the well-being of conservation officers, and this is critical for the progress of law enforcement in Canada (Chau et al., 2009).

11 | CONCLUSIONS, LIMITATIONS, AND DIRECTIONS FOR FURTHER RESEARCH

Burruss et al. (2018) explain that conservation officer work is forever scarred by paradox, tension, and contradiction because officers must focus alternately on being tough and being approachable; respect but still be suspect of perpetrators; be flexible in an organisation marked by distance from society and regulation; and maintain working solidarity with other officers while still appearing to be independent (Burruss et al., 2018; Foucault, 1995). My research sought to explore the extent to which conservation officer work relies on the officer’s ability to deal with complicated emotions, within themselves and those of individuals they encounter. It appears that conservation officers deploy a multitude of different strategies aimed at coping and making sense of the work they are required to do.

Data analysis allowed for the creation of a central theory: the emotional work of law enforcement officers is spectral, and they must deal with the (in)visible traces of trauma and violence these spectres have left within the culture of law enforcement, while also striking a delicate balance between managing their own emotions in their day-to-day interactions and attempting to evoke certain emotions in those with whom they deal. The violent spectres of law enforcement have produced a collective trauma that influence an officer’s ability to cope and make sense of their experiences in the field and it is only bolstered further by their culture of subjugation and solitude. The ongoing traumatic work experienced by this cohort deepened their connection to the spectres that have embedded themselves within the culture of law enforcement itself. Emotionally, officers find it very difficult to conduct the facework necessary to engage with the public during traumatic situations. Trauma is central to their haunting.

The current study also revealed that conservation officers engaged with deep acting and surface acting regularly, with some long-lasting effects on their personal lives including self-doubt, cynicism, disengagement, depression, anxiety, and PTSD. The current study found that conservation officers in BC felt low levels of organisational identification due to lack of training and pay; burnout, cynicism, and decreased personal accomplishment from high stress and lack of support; and stress and fear after dealing with traumatic situations. The work of conservation officers is *reliant* on how skilled officers can be when engaging with EL.

The detailed application of grounded theory refined my analysis and generated a comprehensive grounded theory that explained the phenomena (Creswell and Creswell, 2017). A substantive theory was communicated as a set of interrelated concepts, connected to one another in a unified whole (Chun Tie et al., 2019). This substantive theory is a theoretical interpretation of the intrinsic connections between conservation officers, other law enforcement, EL, and the haunting qualities associated to these relationships. Consequently, grounded theory is characterized by the development of a theory that is based on the collected data. Rigor must be present throughout the research process to ensure quality (Chun Tie et al., 2019).

The quality of the generated theory is bolstered by: (1) the research skills and expertise brought by the researcher; (2) the methodological closeness to the research question; and (3) the detailed application of the methods (Creswell and Creswell, 2017). Methodological resemblance is underpinned when a researcher’s ontological position is aligned with the research questions and the methodological approach. Data generation and analysis should be rigorous during the research process to ensure a high-quality generated theory (Creswell and Creswell, 2017). Precise procedural attention requires maintenance of an audit trail that indicates procedural logic and data management strategies (Chun Tie et al., 2019). Rigorousness in the completed grounded theory involved keeping a log of rationale regarding decision making and alterations to the direction of the research (Chun Tie et al., 2019).

The methods of this study can exhibit the value of conducting qualitative research to examine sensitive topics that may be difficult to reveal with other methods (Moreto et al., 2015). This study is novel and brings important and contentious issues to the forefront of emotion and EL scholarship. Given the unique role that conservation officer’s play, it is critical that researchers better understand factors that may influence the activities and behaviours of the individuals tasked with dealing with complex emotions of others, ensuring the safety of Canada’s backcountry wilderness, all while maintaining a tough and confident persona and enforcing the law (Moreto et al., 2015; Moreto, 2016). Identifying the driving factors in conservation officer behaviour provides avenues to better understand the feasibility, applicability, and likelihood of success when introducing policy aimed at improving officer mental health (Moreto et al., 2015).

As was mentioned at the start of this thesis, green criminology refers to the study of environmental harm, environmental laws, and environmental regulation by criminologists (White, 2013). The field of conservation criminology is emerging and offers a framework for understanding illicit human behaviour and the cognitions and institutions that affect relations with the environment (Gore, 2011). Further research would benefit from analysing the intersection of EL and green criminology and begin delving into how these concepts influence one another.

This study contributes to the literature on emotions and EL practices in law enforcement, specifically within the scope of conservation officers. This study is not without flaws. Prior research on stress has highlighted the difficulty in examining subjects objectively (Moreto et al., 2015). I am critical and aware that the findings are bound by my own perceptions; however, by triangulating the data via walking commentaries, interviews, and consultation with the literature, reliability and validity can be achieved (Moreto, 2016). Using a grounded theory approach as the method and methodology also legitimises this research (Mey and Mruck, 2011). Furthermore, adhering to Tracy’s (2010) pedagogical tool for cultivating quality qualitative research has also allowed for further articulation of the steps taken to conduct valid and reliable data collection and analysis.

In reflection, there were challenges in gaining access to these participants. Law enforcement agencies are typically closed off to outside intrusions (Sowatey and Tankebe, 2019); however, using a professional introductory format provided some space for the research to take place (Conti and O’Neil, 2007). I used an expert interviewing methodology to help gain trust and show transparency to my research cohort. In addition, there were limits regarding what respondents could tell me about their work resulting from their own confidentiality agreements (Huey and Kalyal, 2017). In a similar vein, a limitation of this research is that it cannot be transplanted to other specialised roles in law enforcement. Future research would greatly benefit from this close-up analysis of other specialised roles as the uniqueness, variety, and difference across specialised law enforcement roles is plentiful (Huey and Kalyal, 2017).

Another unavoidable limitation of this study is COVID-19. Distancing solutions were required to negate the effects of the virus on the longevity of this project. Some participants were unable to attend an in person interview due to government mandates regarding safety and COVID-19. A virtual lens to this project allows for more scrutiny of the data regarding the openness of participants to share their emotions in a virtual world. I provided masks, hand sanitizer, and gloves to participants where necessary and physical distancing was maintained throughout the project.

Decisively, this project relied on the sound techniques and procedures outlined in the grounded theory methodology (Vollstedt and Rezat, 2019). The results of this project were expressed as a theory where the concepts were connected to one another and a framework for making predictions was generated (Turner and Astin, 2021). Using expert interviews, commentated walks, and conducting an artefact analysis was a thorough way to explore the concept of EL and conservation officers. This framework for conducting research in EL techniques was comprehensive, methodical, and systematic and future scholars should consider using this methodology when studying law enforcement and EL. The interviews provided a preliminary opportunity for participants to share and explore broad instances in their careers where EL tactics were used. As the interviews carried on, I was able to identify new concepts that guided my line of questioning for further interviews, and I delved deeper into broad and specific instances of EL in their lives (Vollstedt and Rezat, 2019).

When it came to the commentated walks, participants claimed they were able to identify signs that triggered memory narratives (Raulet-Croset and Borzeix, 2014). The smells, the sounds, and being in the physical space helped them recall and even relive certain experiences where they relied on well-practised EL techniques. Being on the beach at Cultus Lake with Elliot as he recalled the death of his father was both moving, passionate, and expressive. I watched him as he observed his surroundings and explained to me that the atmosphere was grief-stricken and distressing. His demeanour spoke a language his words could not express, and the space was unnerving and haunting (Linnemann, 2015). I felt his loss with great empathy, and this experience developed my own understanding of how space and place can hold the stories of untold traumas (Linnemann, 2015).

In analysing the artefacts, I was surprised to see the power they held over me. The true *métier* and command of Lilith’s patrol boots was obvious, and their authority was effortless, despite the wearer’s apprehensions and emotional hindrances. The BC conservation citation book insisted on its authority and signalled formality, punishment, and severity (Valverde, 2006). Conceptualising the strength these artefacts hold helped me understand the imposter feelings that many of the officers felt. The utility in analysing these personal relics was practical and I conducted this analysis simultaneously with interviews and commentated walks, sufficing an important facet of grounded theory, theoretical sampling (Turner and Astin, 2021).

With all of this in mind, there have been minimal attempts to conduct qualitative research into conservation officer roles (Moreto, 2016). This study provides a nuanced approach to examining conservation officer engagements with EL in British Columbia. This research is critical in understanding the realities conservation officer’s face that could otherwise be overlooked (Moreto, 2016). The separate layers of this project including the commentated walk, the expert interviewing lens, and my constructivist grounded theoretical approach stem from the complexity of human beings and the need for an approach that was not black and white. Conservation officers come from a societal role that is “hidden in plain sight” and this required careful navigation of each step of this project. There is much about enforcement work that can be stressful and isolating (Schaible and Gecas, 2010). Cultural shifts in contemporary enforcement are a less obvious source of stress but it only adds to the conflict, danger, and confrontation that goes together with the job. Understanding how these paradoxes come to light and the consequences herein is a critical step in attempting to mitigate the negative consequences of EL (Schaible and Gecas, 2010).

Moreover, the ghostly layers of the conservation officer experience with emotional work are tremendous and complicated further by their position between policing and traditional conservation officer duties. Conservation officers are uniquely positioned between policing and their traditional role; their transition has been invisible but real. This project revealed that the emotional work of law enforcement officers is spectral, and they must deal with the (in)visible traces of trauma and violence these spectres have left within the culture of law enforcement, while also striking a delicate balance between managing their own emotions in their day-to-day interactions and attempting to evoke certain emotions in those with whom they deal. The violent spectres of law enforcement have produced a collective trauma that influence an officer’s ability to cope and make sense of their experiences in the field and it is only bolstered further by their culture of subjugation and solitude. The ongoing traumatic work experienced by this cohort deepened their connection to the spectres that have embedded themselves within the culture of law enforcement itself. Emotionally, officers found it very difficult to conduct the facework necessary to engage with the public during traumatic situations. Trauma is central to their haunting and has persisted through time.

Due to cultural and landscape differences, the findings cannot be generalizable to other protected areas around the world; however, they may be generalizable to theoretical propositions

(Moreto, 2016; Saini et al., 2020; Yin, 2009). Within this article, Hochschild’s concept of EL was employed to explore the extent to which a conservation officer’s work relies on their ability to deal with complicated emotions, within themselves and those of individuals they encounter. Due to the limited literature exploring the nexus between conservation and EL, a grounded theory approach was selected to accommodate the emerging nature of the concepts. This project was successful in showcasing the EL practises that conservation officers undergo daily and how that has affected their lives beyond their work within the forest.

Empirical and interdisciplinary social science research can produce valuable insights into how humans assess, perceive, and respond to risks posed to the environment (Gore, 2011), and understanding how conservation officers make sense of their role is critical in improving service to the environment and communities. This project contributes to strengthening researcher communication skills, transparency, and persuasiveness when handling expert interviews (Petintseva et al., 2020c); however, as this project is the first of its kind, further studies taking an expert interview stance when studying conservation officer experiences with EL will be required. Moreover, interviewing experts is very nuanced and many of the problems encountered are common across different groups (Berry, 2002). A systematic approach to expert interviews with conservation officers could improve reliability and validity and enhance confidence in data quality (Berry, 2002).

While this study represents a reasonable first step in revealing the connection between conservation work and EL tactics, future studies could profit from a more refined look into specific display rules as well as conservation officer interaction with victims compared to criminals (Stenross and Kleinman, 1989). Further research aimed at exploring the impact personal problems have on an officer’s ability to conduct EL is needed. A thorough understanding of how these different interactions influence an officer’s use of EL tactics is necessary to allow for insights beyond what this study is capable of measuring. Future researchers should also explore how the ever-changing role of conservation officers contributes to the EL tactics they deploy at work. In many countries, the militarization of conservation has created a more dangerous role than initially expected for many conservation officers and understanding how they make sense of these changes could be explored at a deeper level (Ledford et al., 2021).

A Final Note on Reflexivity

Reflecting on this project and the utility of thinking about EL and its connections to conservation officers has been provocative. I went on a few long walks during this research, even going so far as to walk around Cultus Lake and reminisce of the numerous heart wrenching events participants told me about. I brainstormed how to make sense of it all and how to make the *right* people hear their voices and gain wisdom from their experiences, as so many of them had requested.

I started reflecting on some of my own experiences in law enforcement and I visited some old spots where I have distinct memories of instances, good and bad, that have remained with me. While I was on my adventure, I brought along a friend, who used to work with me during those times. We have been best friends since then.

We always “B.S.” about those days and some of the bizarre situations we encountered. I asked him where some of the best calls we attended were and because of the area’s relatively small geographical size, we visited a lot of these sites. We laughed about some silly calls, mourned some of the sad ones, and reflected on how working there had changed us as people. We talked a lot about how we “grew up” in that job and it made us the strong people we are now. We discussed how the feeling of certain locations stuck with us, and all the smells we encountered that have never been forgotten.

Frosh (2012) speaks about the raising of spectres and how their presence alters the experience of being in a time or place in the ways that we separate the past from the present and the future. It occurred to me that these altered experiences in spaces based on unresolved or misunderstood memories sounds like what my research cohort and I experienced. My friend and I have these collections of memories about instances and calls we attended that we think and speak about regularly, trying to make sense of what happened. Calls we attended were complex and sometimes very emotional. They often required a great amount of EL during work and emotion management at home once our patrol boots were untied.

There have been a few calls I attended that have “haunted” me because I have never forgotten them and my experience there has influenced how I attended future calls. I took over custody of a child one time, taking him away from his alcoholic father who was abusing him. The smell, the feeling, and the disgust I felt standing in his father’s trailer has haunted me. I am haunted by the initial phone call report I received, the overwhelming smell of alcohol and cigarettes in his trailer, and his child who told me repeatedly that he was hungry.

As this project propelled forward, I found it more and more difficult to sit down and write every day. Hearing my participants voices, seeing their anguish, and sharing that pain felt insurmountable at times. Visions of my past self came back to me in dreams and in my everyday moments. I went to Cultus Lake an extra five times since my commentated walks, to be in the space and smell the campfires, hear the loud music, and feel the ripples on the lake on my fingertips. Going there felt more like a necessity than a choice. I feel I have relived every experience I had as a conservation officer as well; every moment that broke my spirit and the void those experiences left in my soul. A career in law enforcement is never something I will strive for again. The gendered racism that other female officers struggled with at work was a path I also endured; moments that left me feeling very lonely at times with the added struggle of sensemaking that goes along with complex experiences and emotions. I have even developed what can only be described as a disgust for my past self and my involvement with law enforcement. These new emotions about the role have shown me how dynamic law enforcement

can be, and that the experiences I had will follow me throughout life. How I chose to walk with those experiences is where I can do my part of exorcising the ghosts embedded within the role of law enforcement.

The utility of this project has been unparalleled for me as a scholar and as someone who previously worked in the field of criminal justice. Making connections between conservation officers and EL has increased my understanding of EL and what it means to constantly be presenting an ideal face. Perhaps future scholars studying EL and enforcement officers can utilise a line of questioning like: (1) Do you feel you have been “haunted” by any calls you worked on or observed in the past?; (2) how did you make sense of your traumatic experiences?; (3) does the culture of law enforcement influence the way you behave, feel, or experience emotions at work?; (4) do you feel you could speak to others around you, including family, friends, co-workers, and mental health practitioners about cases that have haunted you? These are preliminary questions I have developed on the theoretical grounding of hauntology proposed by both Gordon (2008) and Davis (2005).

As a final note on this project, Jaden provided an analogy of his experience at Cultus Lake which he called, *moving the goalposts*. His intention with this analogy was to explain how he felt his daily work was impossible. He felt this descriptor encapsulates the conservation officer's experience in a nutshell:

Jaden *Yeah. It's kind of like, have you heard of the expression moving the goalposts?*

Courtney *I've never heard of that.*

Jaden *Okay, I, I might be wrong. But my interpretation of moving the goalpost is like, like in football when you're when you're kicking a field goal, right? So, it's like saying you're at 40 yards or whatever like that. That's a hard kick, to make a 40-yard kick and even for professionals. Moving the goalposts is like, Oh, it's here at 40. Now it's at 60. You know, as soon as like, you're able to make that 40-yard kick. Now 60. As soon as you're able to barely make 60, now it's 80, you know? They just keep moving the bar. So, you know, they just keep having higher and higher expectations, but they don't give you higher and higher recognition for it, you know? In terms of like wage or support, or anything like that! It's like, how much can you squeeze out of these people for, you know, as little as possible returned to them? Which is everything that's wrong with, with, employers and companies nowadays, cause it's like, how much can we get out of them before we like, eventually kick them to the curb? Or at least that's how it feels, from my perspective.*

12 | ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

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there is systemic racism within and throughout educational institutions, research, and academia. I have the responsibility and power to conduct culturally safe and appropriate research that is dedicated to undoing the ongoing colonial processes embedded within research itself.

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Appendix A

In light of the findings, I strongly recommend that organisations offering conservation work provide and engage in early intervention using the CISD framework; however, it is critical that severely impacted individuals have access to further treatment like CBT that is beyond CISD (Litz et al., 2002). Early intervention is critical to mitigating the long-term consequences of psychological trauma and provides immediate attention and access to all victims, severe or not. I suggest following the nine provisions offered by Dyregrov (2003), Mitchell et al. (2003), Mitchell (2004) and the Canadian Critical Incident Stress Foundation (2020) for successful implementation of this protocol:

1. The implementation of CISD policy must be done by CISD and CISM trained professionals who understand how to properly implement protocols

The program’s success has bifurcated and critical requirements for success: (1) the nature of attendance remains voluntary and outside pressures are miniscule, and (2) work-cultural support for the program is positive (Litz et al., 2002). In addition, it is critical that CISD participants stick with the program for longer than a single-session to ensure attendee’s responses to the program can be monitored to ensure they do not need further treatment (Rose et al., 2003). Critically, there has never been a study where harm has resulted to participants if personnel have been properly trained in CISM through mandated coursework and the debriefing providers are adhering to the well published and internationally accepted standards of CISM practice (Mitchell, 2004; Mitchell et al., 2003).

2. Individuals who require further assistance beyond CISD or officers who have suffered very severe trauma should be referred to Cognitive-Behavioral Therapy (CBT) to act as early intervention

Litz, Gray, Bryant, and Adler (2002) suggest that investigations of CBT for recently traumatised individuals have showcased encouraging results in the prevention of chronic PTSD symptoms. Bryant et al. (1998) and Foa et al. (1995) conducted thorough research studies testing the efficacy of CBT in the prevention of chronic PTSD on victims of rape, sexual assault, industrial accidents and motor vehicle accidents. Both studies found that at their 5.5 month follow-up participants had significantly reduced depressive symptoms and large reductions in PTSD symptoms (Bryant et al., 1998; Foa et al., 1995). Severely traumatised individuals are best identified through early intervention using CISD and access to CBT is facilitated through CISD practitioners (Dyregrov, 2003).

It is important to note that under no circumstances can CISD group crisis intervention tools be used to combat issues that require psychotherapy as this is outside the capabilities of this particular program (Mitchell, 2004). The primary focus of the CISD program is to support members of communities of staff members of organisations who have experienced a traumatic

event. CISD is not used for individuals like child abuse victims, victims of elder abuse, dog bite victims, or auto accident victims. These individual's best course of action is another form of crisis intervention or psychotherapy. This is beyond the scope of CISD or CISM and beyond the capabilities of most of these programs (Mitchell, 2004).

3. CISD is intended for use only with emotionally healthy people who are experiencing acute, normal stress reactions to abnormal traumatic events

With CISD intervention, participants are given space to (1) verbalise distress; (2) form appropriate concepts about stress reactions before false understandings of the experience are formed; and (3) return to everyday functioning (Mitchell et al., 2003). The main focus of debriefing is to relieve stress at the early stage. It is not intended to resolve cumulative stress or to manage personal long-standing problems that existed before the critical incident. Some secondary goals of debriefing include: reassurance that they are not “abnormal” because of the reactions and the stress response is controllable and manageable, enhancement of interagency cooperation, and enhancement of group cohesion. This is about a critical incident, not the amalgamation of critical incidents (Mitchell et al., 2003).

4. Debriefings should be initiated between 24 to 72 hours with knowledge that waiting too long to host the first briefing can strip victims access to critical care and monitoring

Yule (2006) found that initiating debriefings 72 hours after the incident is the most beneficial for victims and it reduces the opportunity for harm from therapy. There is some research that suggests 24 hours is too soon to hold a CISD debrief (Arendt and Elklit, 2001) but there is extensive research suggesting that between 24 and 72 hours after the incident is the perfect time allotment for the CISD program to begin (Canadian Critical Incident Stress Foundation, 2020; Dyregrov, 2003; Mitchell, 2006; Yule, 2006). Importantly, meetings should take place more than once and be roughly 1.5 to 3 hours in length (Mitchell et al., 2003).

5. Target populations of CISD program must be homogenous in their severity, duration, and exposure to the trauma

The CISD was specifically developed for its application to homogenous groups after they experienced the same traumatic event where they had similar exposure to the event including the duration on scene (Mitchell, 2004). This means there may be more than one CISD program running at one time in an organisation. For example, police officers securing the scene at a school shooting may attend a different CISD program than the officers who search for the assailant within the walls of the school. This ensures that the trauma severity levels are similar among attendees of the program and individuals who require the next step of treatment (e.g., CBT) can be easily identified by CISD practitioners (Mitchell, 2004).

6. The CISD protocol was not designed to be a stand-alone intervention and its implementation must be part of the whole CISM process with a critical goal of completing all 7 phases of intervention

The CISD protocol was not designed to be a stand-alone intervention, but rather it should be part of the broader CISM intervention (Mitchell, 2004). This means training in crisis preparedness, pre-crisis education, training, follow-up, and referral when necessary should be part of the implementation (Mitchell, 2004).

Moreover, the 7-phases of the process must be completed following the manual of CISD protocol (Mitchell et al., 2003). The phases are as follows: Introduction, fact, thought, reaction, symptom, teaching, and re-entry. During the introduction phase, the group's purpose and process is explained, creating an environment conducive to participant motivation, reduces resistance, explains the guidelines of the debriefing intervention, and gains the participant's cooperation. The fact phase allows attendees to describe the traumatic event from their perspective. The thought phase is where the CISD team asks attendees to state what their predominant thought was once they got off the “auto pilot” mode of working. The reaction phase is where each attendee states the most personally traumatic aspect of the event and describes how they emotionally reacted. The symptom phase is where attendees describe any behavioural, affective, cognitive, or physical reactions they encountered while working at the scene. The teaching phase is where CISD personnel teach attendees about the symptoms of stress and provide a variety of stress survival and management strategies. Lastly, the re-entry phase is where closure is put on discussion and the opportunity to clarify issues, answer questions, and summarise the intervention is given with a focus on ending on a positive note (Mitchell et al., 2003).

7. The debriefing session must be divided into pre, during, and post-debriefing activities with knowledge that the meeting may be lengthy

The CISD team will arrive about 30-45 minutes before the debriefing start time (Mitchell et al., 2003). The CISD team takes time to review any written information like newspaper clippings or incident reports. As program attendees arrive, CISD personnel greet them in an informal and relaxed manner in an attempt to help attendees feel comfortable. Pre-debriefing conversation is diverse and includes casual conversation and questions aimed at reducing tension and developing trust. After about 15 mins, the CISD team will meet privately and discuss new approaches based on any additional information obtained during this time period (Mitchell et al., 2003)

During the session, CISD personnel use questions, discussion and education to verbally debrief attendees (Mitchell et al., 2003). The Mitchell model is a predominant methodology employed by CISD personnel as it is a manually-driven intervention that emphasises education. During this time, participants are given space to express thoughts and feelings about the event and to learn about stress, survival, and management techniques (Mitchell et al., 2003).

Post-debriefing is where additional contact with participants takes place (Mitchell et al., 2003). Food and drinks are typically served to keep participants together longer and this allows team members to have the opportunity to contact every participant on individual and equal bases. This is a critical time where participants who were silent or more distressed during the meeting can be given access to additional services. Importantly, this is also a time for CISD personnel to decompress to avoid any distress associated with the helping role (Mitchell et al., 2003).

8. There must be at least three CISD personnel in attendance who hold the positions of team leader, co-leader, and doorkeeper

CISD personnel arrive early partly to determine the debriefing team’s roles which are either team leader, co-leader, or doorkeeper (Mitchell et al., 2003). The entire team monitors the psychological well-being of attendees and they take note of anyone who may be experiencing more distress than others. The team leader is typically a mental health professional who inspires attendees to discuss the event and reaction to it. The team leader is involved in all aspects of the debrief and they focus on preventing the group from becoming too tense or unmanageable. The co-leader is always a peer from the area or personnel being debriefed. The co-leader is critical during the teaching phase by providing personal experience and they always remain available and open to participants after the debriefing for follow-ups and referrals (Mitchell et al., 2003).

Lastly, the doorkeeper ensures only appropriate individuals enter the debrief room which does not include individuals from the organization who were not involved in the event, spectators, family members, media personnel or others who may have been at the scene. The homogeneity of the group is critical for success and the doorkeeper is integral in this position. The doorkeeper is responsible for encouraging attendees who leave the debrief early to return and complete the meeting. The doorkeeper will offer a follow-up call and additional resources to anyone leaving the room (Mitchell et al., 2003).

9. The meeting room should be private, comfortable, and suitable for the group size

The meeting room should be comfortable, private, and suitable for the group size (Mitchell et al., 2003). When possible, it should have a single entrance to ensure the team has control over who enters and allows the doorkeeper to follow-up with any group members who may leave before the meeting is over. The seating should be circular with CISD personnel spaced equally between attendees (Mitchell et al., 2003).