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Why Do the Police Reject Counseling? An Examination of Necessary Changes to Police Subculture.

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INTRODUCTION

Stress is not a meaningful term for health professionals because it is such a highly subjective phenomenon that defies a clear definition (American Institute of Stress – AIS, 2022:1). Most health researchers agree that stress is critical to human health and aging (Cohen, Janicki-Deverts, and Miller, 2007; Renzaho, Houng, Oldroyd, Nicholson, D'Esposito, and Oldenburg, 2014). Also, stressful events can act as precursors to many psychiatric conditions. Besides, stress may be defined as the non-objective response of the body to any demand for change (Selye, 1936), and it is an organism's total response to environmental demands or pressure (Dictionary by Farlex, 2020). It may also be described as a physical, mental, or emotional factor that causes bodily or mental tension (Shiel, 2016). While not everyone can agree on the definition of stress, all research, both experimental and clinical, agrees that the sense of having little or no control of a situation is always distressful; hence, this is the meaning applied to (police) stress. Stresses can be external, from the environmental, psychological, or social situation, or internal, from illness or a medical procedure (Shiel, 2016).

Studies have provided a lot of evidence that police work in some cases can expose officers to traumatic and dangerous situations that can cause stress and stress-related illnesses (Rineer, 2018; Redman, 2018; Staff, 2019; Subosic, Krstic, and Luknat, 2018). Researchers have found many health problems related to stress, and it seems to worsen or increase the risk of conditions like obesity, heart disease, Alzheimer's disease, diabetes, depression, gastrointestinal problems, and asthma (Griffin, 2020; Winner, 2008). These researches and others have shown that police officers experience high amounts of stress and stress-related situations compared with other occupations, including, but not limited to, social services, emergency services, and social control services. Besides, literature shows that police officers are known to be resistant to seeking help (medical, psychological, counseling, etc.) when they experience stress and/or any psychological problems (Sadulski, 2018; Johnson, 2016; Chan, 1996). This is a behavior that can have and has been having unintended negative consequences in officers' performances, socially and professionally.

There is a general belief that police subculture places a stigma on officers who seek and receive help for stress-related illnesses (Subosic, Krstic, and Luknar, 2018). There is serious concern within police organizations and the general public about stress-related illnesses among law enforcement officers and the fear of stigmatization from getting the help and support necessary (Stuart, 2017). Although there is much research in police occupational stress, there are very few studies concerned with changing the culture. The consequences of the "subcultural" belief are monumental. It contributes to the inefficiency and ineffectiveness of individual officers and the organization. From reviewing the numerous literatures on police stress, from the subcultural belief and stigmatization to the process through which officers resist getting help (Rinner, 2018; Redman, 2018; Saduiski, 2018; Johnson, 2016; Chan, 1996), it is evident that our mistake is that we know what needs to be done but we keep researching the question instead of doing something about the clear answers we have arrived at. This study investigates the causes of stress in policing, the result of not getting help, the stigma from the eyes of fellow officers and management, and recommendations on how to change the subculture (Stuart, 2017; Saduiski, 2018).

PROBLEM STATEMENT

Although police mental health and physical fitness standards within and across municipalities, states, and countries are not standardized, officers in the two states studied are ethically and legally mandated to maintain good physical and mental health (Texas Police Academy, 2022; Otu, 2015). The stressors faced, ranging from unpredictable threats to life to inconsistent shift work, result in both emotional and physical challenges for the majority of officers during their careers. Police administrators and employers/government are legally required to verify and observe officers to be sure that they are emotionally, mentally, and physically stable and capable of performing their duties, but many don't (Otu, 2015). Hence, any unusual behavior by a police officer, either on or off duty, will draw attention and is supposed to be analyzed by the management/employer.

During the hiring process, every police officer will undergo fit-for-duty psychological examination and interviewing; anyone failing these tests may not be hired or could lose their job or be suspended if already in service. The unintended consequences of these requirements are that very many officers resist seeking help with stress-related illnesses (physical, mental, emotional, and/or family problems). Also, occupational subculture plays a role in the stigmatization of officers when they seek and accept treatment for stress-related illnesses. This subcultural belief shapes individual officers' reactions to stress:

> "In police culture, a major obstacle that impedes the maintenance of psychological health is the stigma attached to asking for help. Law enforcement culture values strength, self-reliance, controlled emotions, and competency in handling personal problems. These values discourage help-seeking behavior, and there is a sense of having lost control by asking someone else to help fix the problem. If these values are held too rigidly, an officer can feel weak, embarrassed, and like a failure for seeking help from others. One study found that stigma and help-seeking attitudes were inversely related. In other words, a person facing a higher level of stigma for seeking help was less likely to have a help-seeking attitude. This generates concern for officers who unconditionally conform to the traditional values of law enforcement culture. They will be more likely to avoid seeking help, even when distressed, and potentially pay the price of detrimental health effects."
>
> (Allen, Jones, Douglas, and Clark, 2014: 2)

The police role requires officers to show a high degree of self-control and a cool demeanor. Law enforcement officers being emotional is typically culturally unacceptable. They will resist or even deny seeking professional help because they do not want to be labeled as weak, and they may be ostracized. They may also refuse help because they fear that having a history of psychological problems in their personnel file may come back to haunt them, and they may be shunned by other officers and be looked down upon by administration. Finally, professional counselors who work with police officers find their cases to be very different from other professionals. Officers who cannot bear the burden of suffering in silence and wish to get help will start by making a call from a hidden phone number, and then he/she will conduct a lengthy interview with the counselor, asking about their experience with police officers, their ability to keep confidential information secret, and, finally, if the counselor has any relationship with the police department (Allen et al., 2014; Sadulski, 2018).

CAUSES AND CONSEQUENCES OF POLICE STRESS

The very nature of the police role entails becoming deeply involved in the lives of those who have committed a crime or been the victim of a crime. At either end of this spectrum, the parties involved are likely to be suffering in some way. Hence, officers' constant exposure to people suffering with distress, pain, and sadness can be stressful for them. Many officers experience physical danger nearly daily, on or off duty. Prolonged and regular threats to officers' safety or health can weigh heavily on their minds and cause a great deal of stress (Van Hasselt, Margres, Geller, and Rodriguez, 2020; Vincent, Van Hasselt, Kristin, Klimley, Steve, and Rodriguez, 2020).

It is known that police officers are society's first line of defense, and such responsibility can be very stressful. They may seem strong and stable to outsiders, but since they are human, the responsibility of protecting the lives, constitutional rights, and property of all citizens may put too much strain on individual officers, thereby causing stress and stress-related illnesses (Obst and Sheehan, 2001).

While on duty, most officers develop the ability to, and make the effort, not to be angry at suspects and not to show emotion; these can have negative effects on the human body. Always trying to be in control of emotions even when provoked, and the effort to repress and restrain natural emotional response, can be very stressful in the long run. Also, there can be many serious, unsolved cases that can haunt an officer for a long time. Feelings of disappointment for uncompleted or unsolved crimes can cause stress-related illnesses in an officer. Many inconclusive/open cases, especially emotional crimes, can have a negative impact on officers' mental and physical health (Otu, 2015; Brown and Campbell, 1994).

Police officers do shift work and changes from one shift to another (morning to afternoon or night) can be stressful for the body. Also, moving from desk/paperwork to fighting a violent criminal can be a source of stress. Law enforcement officers form a unique population (like other first responders), and they experience job-related stress and stress-related illnesses. In addition to the above job-related stressors, other factors, including, but not limited to, long work hours, high rates of on-the-job injuries, and being the frequent focus of public attention and criticism, are among those that contribute to very serious stress-related illnesses experienced by police officers (Violanti, 2012; Vincent et al 2020).

The consequences of untreated police stress and stress-related illnesses include, but are not limited to, absenteeism, and physical and mental illnesses. Literature shows that the most tangible police-related data shows higher than expected mortality rates for stress-related illnesses, including cancer, coronary diseases, and suicide (Violanti, 2004; Vincent et al., 2020). In addition to numerous stress-related illnesses, there are many consequences of untreated work stress problems that officers have to suffer. Terry (1981: 67) listed the problems as follows:

> "Listed among these are divorce rates, marital discord, disruption of family life, child-rearing problems, sexual promiscuity, infidelity, jealousy, loss of non-police friends, alcoholism, suicide, police malpractice, 'John Wayne Syndrome,' overachievement, callousness, explosiveness, high rates of performance anxieties, social anomie, polarization, and increasing citizen complaints and suits."

According to Brown and Campbell's (1994) study that surveyed officers, stressors originate within their work, specifically, concerning their supervisors. Officers surveyed agreed that the most stressful call is the one that invites an officer to meet a supervisor in the department. Officers from Nigeria, United Kingdom and the United States listed poor and insensitive supervision, unreasonable workloads, shift work, personal safety, and the volume of paperwork as the most significant sources of stress at work (Brown, Wormald, and Campbell, 1994).

ETHICAL ISSUES FOR COUNSELORS INVOLVED IN POLICE SERVICES

If you work as a counselor, ethical dilemmas are inevitable. This study involves ethical issues because counseling requires adequate consideration to a number of issues outside the traditional scope of treating a patient of which professional ethics is most certainly one, (Sherman, 2018). An important part of engaging in the process of counseling is understanding professional ethics.

Ethical issues facing counselors working in police settings involve representations of the effectiveness of counseling programs, representations of the counselor's competency, confidentiality, and responsibility to police organizations, (McCutcheon, 2021). For example, counselors may be asked to provide services which they find of doubtful effectiveness. Furthermore, a counselor may be asked to assist in a program of police personnel hiring which involves a different area of expertise than many clinicians are accustomed to practicing and familiarity with such issues as equal opportunity guidelines.

Lack of competence in these areas can have serious financial, legal, and social consequences. Many of these issues can be resolved through adequate forethought and planning of the counselor's contract with the police agency, and constant reviews of the counselor's work relationship. It is common knowledge to clinicians that police officers and counselors are exposed to a broad range of moral risks in the field. Furthermore, this study reveals that counselors should always point out the limitations of counseling knowledge and generalizations to the agency, (Moses and Javanbakht, 2022), In this study these areas of concern are explored and suggestions to help resolve these issues are offered to police administrators.

METHOD

The methodology of this study was tailored to gain as much detailed and multilayered information as possible about the subcultural influences on police officers' behavior of refusal to seek and/or accept treatment for work stress-related injuries. This study followed Kopinak's definition of method triangulation as entailing "gathering information pertaining to the same phenomenon through more than one method, primarily in order to determine if there is a convergence and hence, increased validity in research findings" (Kopinak, 1999: 171). Qualitative methods were employed, as these are the most appropriate for gathering exploratory data. The data collection technique used, triangulation, is a combination of different methods used to explore research hypotheses.

This study was conducted in two different countries, namely the United States (Texas police officers) and Nigeria (Akwa Ibom State, Uyo police officers). Both countries are members of the common law family, and developed their legal traditions based on that of England. Generally, the two countries have different policing methods, decentralized and centralized, respectively; this study is designed to bring to light the fact that no policing system is better than another, but that each system is influenced by, and fits, the culture of the society (Otu, 2015). It is important to note that one of the researchers who conducted this study had lived in both countries for more than a combined fifty years of his life, and their knowledge of the subcultures and police systems of the countries was reinforced by previous studies. Several issues were of importance in the use of triangulation in this study, including the sampling of research materials and thorough analysis of information. Triangulation enhances validity because it involves the understanding that social phenomena are numerous, and it is therefore beneficial to this study because it allows us to manipulate more than one phenomenon (Mason, 2010).

LITERATURE REVIEW

Police service has long been recognized as a stressful occupation. Previous literature has studied levels of police stress, the negative effects of untreated stress, and sources of police stress (Violanti, 2012; Vincent et al., 2020). According to the large number of literatures in the area of police stress, it is undeniable that this stress originates from many sources with different definitions, but in the final analyses, stress in policing is either occupational or organizational (Nedha, 2015; Stuart, 2017; Otu, 2015). Occupational stress has been defined as physical or psychological disorder associated with an occupational environment and manifested in symptoms such as extreme anxiety, tension, cramps, headaches, or digestion problems (Terry, 1981). Occupational stress encountered by employees on the job can stem from such problems as time-consuming schedules, disagreeable working environments, tiredness, job dangers, and more. Job danger can be found in a job that exposes a person to risks that could cause harm, damage, or injury. Every dangerous job has the potential to cause stress (Subosic, Di Krstic, and Sit Luknarl, 2018; Violanti, 2012). In policing, this may include protecting bloody crime scenes, carrying a dead child, officer/citizen shooting, multiple deaths, and vehicle accidents. Job danger occurs in policing regularly and includes stressor events that have high potential to stress out any individual. It must be noted that some researchers consider organizational stressors as just as dangerous as occupational job dangers, although a shoot-out between officers and management is very rare (Terry, 1981).

Organizational stress resides in the characteristics of police departments that are structured in a way that inhibits autonomy, elbow room, flexibility, and participation in decisions that affect the workers (Otu, 2015). It is broadly defined as encompassing certain characteristics of the organization and members' behavior that may create stress for the employees, including bureaucratic processes, a perceived lack of cooperation from leaders and the society, and a lack of opportunity to grow in the organization (Violanti, 2012). Also considered organization stressors are inconsistent discipline methods, poor/wrong management style, and a lack of management support when needed (Otu, 2015). How organizations' policies and procedures are written for officers to follow are considered potential organizational stress factors. Also, the relationship between the police and the media, an excessive workload, desk work, and the nature/structure of the department can create a stressful work environment. Finally, favoritism and discrimination are important organizational stressors that affect the physical and psychological well-being of employees. Any workplace that is not set up to allow employees to achieve personal satisfaction and goals enables dissatisfaction to set in and productivity decreases. Discrimination in the workplace has long been recognized as a major source of work-related stress. Many studies agree that law enforcement stress is caused more by organizational factors than occupational ones (Subosic, Krstic, and Luknar, 2018; Violanti, 2012).

It is important to study police subculture and its relationship with officers' refusal to receive treatment for stress-related illnesses. In brief, law enforcement culture is a subculture; because it exists within a larger societal culture, it develops along with the development of policing itself. Law enforcement subculture has its standards, values, beliefs, attitudes, customs, terminology, symbols, and rituals. These all relate to the organizations achieving their goals, and their behavior and support are aligned with their subcultural beliefs. These subcultural attitudes and beliefs determine the roles of the organizations' members. There are ways that these subcultural attitudes can influence the forming and changing of organization members' attitudes (Subosic et al, 2018; Violanti, 2012.

The first way is police members providing and maintaining attitudes that support group performance. The second is the fact that hiring qualifications are aligned with the subcultural beliefs, and the third is that the subcultural beliefs emphasize the value and authenticity of communicators and communication among organization members. Given the death of stress-related illness research within police populations, including the subcultural belief that seeking treatment for job-related stress shows weakness, this study is necessary to fill that gap. Hence, it seeks to investigate the available literature on police culture/subcultural influences on the rejection of treatment for stress-related illnesses by law enforcement officers. Knowing why/how subculture influences officers' decisions to not seek treatment can help determine how intervention can be applied at all levels of police organization.

DATA ANALYSIS

The data consist of personal observations, and notes taken from analyses of manuscripts, books, numerous academic articles, and microfilms. According to Kellehear (1993), the three general forms of analysis in qualitative research are (a) semiotic, discourse, and reflective analysis, (b) thematic and narrative analysis, and (c) content analysis. The data analysis of this research is done both inductively and deductively (Fook, Ryan, and Hawkins, 2000; Kellehear, 1993).

The inductive aspects of the analysis are comprised of a thematic analysis, which involves analyzing the information/data for the differences between two cultures – the main communities' cultures and the police subcultures – with an emphasis on their attitudes/beliefs about seeking and accepting treatment for stress-related illnesses. The deductive analysis used is comprised of a content analysis, in which patterns in the information/data are compared with universally known community and police subcultural behavior. The deductive analysis was interesting in linking this study with those conducted by Otu (2012 and 2016), namely "Balanced Policing Models in the Republic of Nigeria" and "Police and Societal Culture" respectively, which academically uplifts the integrity of the study. While

analyzing all data, there were many themes that completely fit the categories (values, desire, and culture) of the police study of Otu and his framework. Also, Otu (2016) concluded that "We should not deny the clear fact that we cannot police a community that we do not know well: i.e. we cannot police a community if we do not speak the local language well or know the culture" (p. 251). Finally, the deductive analysis was used as one part of the broader inductive analysis in order to develop a more complete, complex, and clear picture of how culture influences policing. The repetitive process of collecting, coding, and analyzing the triangulated data, generated by the analyses of books and manuscripts, observations, talks, and informal interviews, yielded major findings. These findings center around the changing societal culture and policing styles, and the influence and effect of local culture on policing.

    As previously noted, one of the researchers who conducted this study had lived in both countries for more than a combined fifty years of their life, and their knowledge of the cultures and police systems of both countries was reinforced by other previous studies, namely Otu (2012), "Balanced Policing Models in the Republic of Nigeria," and Otu (2016), "Police and Societal Culture." To straightforwardly interpret the findings, we will first provide a short definition of the variables.

TOWARD A DEFINITION OF CULTURE

Police culture is an occupational subculture in which new recruits become socialized through an occupational socialization process. Culture is defined as shared ways of seeing, thinking, and doing things (Thompson, Stradling, Murphy, and O'Neill, 1996), and this is broadly applicable to police organizational culture. Police culture has several main characteristics that can be seen among officers, including a celebration of masculine traits (p. 1). Police subculture is one of several demanded characteristics that shape decision-making by the police. It refers to several aspects of policing, including, but not limited to, an "us versus them" attitude, a "code of silence", and a "machoism" attitude (Thompson, Stradling, Murphy, and O'Neill. 1996).

    Besides, there are two main divisions in terms of how the concept of culture is used practically. The first school of thought sees culture as a quality of policing, something policing has, which cannot be changed. The second school of thought sees culture as what the police is, which includes the values and ideologies of the officers who make up the police organization (Dubord and Griffiths, 2019). Hence, it cannot be changed by management alone, and to alter it, it has to be carefully shaped and molded through negotiations, skilled top management, and rank and file (Nedha, 2015). For the purpose of this study, the second school of thought is what will be dealt with, since changing police culture is the main aim. At this point, it is important for this study to refer to police culture as a subculture. Although culture and subculture have many similarities, there is a clear difference between the two. Culture refers to the way of life of people in a particular society, which includes values, norms, mores, taboos, ideas, etc., while subculture is defined as the ways of life that exist within the main culture (Nedha, 2015). Culture is shared by all members of a society, while subculture is shared by unique/specific groups of people (Subosic and Luknarl, 2018). In a single society, there can be many different subcultures based on ethnic groups, religious groups, occupational groups, etc. Hence, police behavior is a subculture behavior. Police organizational culture is a set of informal, cultural norms that are unique to the occupation of law enforcement.

    This study deals with the police subculture behavior of shaming and stigmatizing officers who accept treatment for stress-related illnesses, and the general impact of police subculture on police reform. The resistance of police subculture has been considered a serious obstacle to officers' stress-related illness treatment:

> "Police officers are able to show greater strength than most others in dangerous situations. They are an elite group who are courageous enough to run towards danger to protect others. Yet despite their bravery, their minds and bodies absorb the hits from

> encountering a steady diet of critical incidents and other insidious stress events. Many officers will be heavily affected by the years of law enforcement stressors. Eventually, these officers will contend with personal, emotional or physical fires. Although police officers will always remain an elite group, they are not invincible. Even model cops need career-long proactive maintenance work to maintain psychological health."
>
> (Allen et al., 2014: 1)

Shaming and stigmatizing officers who accept treatment for occupational stress-related illnesses are serious concerns for police officers, citizens, and some police administrators in the US and around the world. This study reviews Martin, Lang, and Olafsdottir's (2008) factors associated with shaming/stigmatizing within the police department from a framework integrating normative influences on stigma (FINIS). It reveals that it is common knowledge to criminologists how this framework connects to the stigma experienced by officers who accept treatment for stress-related illnesses, whether this is at the micro, macro or meso level. At the micro level, this framework is concerned with three major sets of factors – the social characteristics of the officer who is stigmatized, the characteristics of the illness, and the social-psychological context of the individuals involved. According to Martin, Lang, and Olafsdottir, (2008), there are two factors that shape stigmatizing responses at the macro level: public opinion (media) and the police subculture, and historical context within the police department.

At the meso level, which is the last category within the FINIS levels, there is the personal connection to a stigmatized individual (police to police), and the treatment system available for people living with a stigmatized condition. The use of this framework complements our understanding of pathways through which stigma and labeling impact our police officers' performances (brutality) in the field and provides ideas about points of intervention and reform.

To reform policing, including changing attitudes of stigmatizing fellow officers who seek help for stress-related illnesses, police subculture must create an intersection between the field of policing and the various dimensions of police organizational expectations. One of the effective mechanisms for addressing these issues is top-down systemic reform of the subculture of police organization itself, including, but not limited to, holding supervisor training, having supervisor–subordinate meetings, creating incentives for accepting treatment, and supporting police families as a way to reduce stress (Sadulski, 2018).

CULTURE AND POLICING: USA VS. NIGERIA

The influence of local culture on policing style is marked by proactive strategies, such as zero-tolerance, problem-oriented policing, hot spot patrol, and anti-gang intervention (Weisburd & Braga, 2006). These strategies suggest that there is a strong relationship between policing style and local societal culture. According to Otu and Houston (2005), the ethnically legitimate definition of criminal behavior is the consequence of "ethnic differential opportunity," which states that crime is what your ethnic group says it is. Hence, if culture defines crime, then crime control must also be defined by culture. The relationships between ethnicity and criminality may be getting stronger rather than weaker (Landau, 1998). Local societal culture dictates why police do what they do. Wilson (1973), put forth that when police want to develop a culturally competent initiative, it is necessary for them to first consult with the community members to ensure that the model fits the culture of the people.

United States Culture. The United States culture was originally based largely on that of the English, which centers on values of freedom, individualism, equality, and a utilitarian approach to life (Bellah, Madisen, Sullivan, Swidler, and Tipton, 1985). Today, however, the United States is a multicultural and diverse society, and is comprised of many different ethnic and racial groups. It is considered to be primarily western, with cultural influences from Africa, Native America, Latin America, and Polynesia. What is now called American culture was started 1000 years ago with the migration of Paleo-Indian from Asia, as well as from Oceania, and Europe, into what is now referred to as the Continental United States (Thompson and Hickey, 2005). United States culture includes both conservative and liberal elements,

scientific and religious competitiveness, political structures, risk taking and free expression, materialism and moral elements. Due to its geographical scale and demographic diversity, its culture has a variety of expressions. Because of the flexibility of culture in the United States and its symbolic nature, American culture is categorized as a mythic identity and/or American exceptionalism which refers to the special character of the United States as a uniquely free nation based on democratic ideals and personal liberty. Sometimes this special character is inferred from the nature of American political institutions founded in the 1776-89 period, the declaration of independence (1776), revolution (1776-83), constitution (1787) etc. (McDonald, 2010).

The United States has sometimes been considered a melting pot, and many researchers have suggested that United States culture tends towards diversity, pluralism, and the image of a salad bowl (Adams and Strother-Adams, 2001). The United States can be divided into semi-distinct cultural regions: New England, the Mid-Atlantic, the South, the Midwest, and the West. There are strong cultural differences between the southern states—"the Bible belt"—and the north eastern states—"Protestant and Catholicism"—and the Southern Slaves society (Hine, Hine & Harrold, 2006). In fact, the cultural, economic, and social differences between the southern and northern states was strong and severe enough to start the American Civil War (Hine et al., 2006)

According to Fischer (1989) the United States initially consisted of four distinct regional cultures. Those in New England mostly originated from East Anglia in England, the Southern English Cavaliers settled in the Chesapeake Bay region, the Irish, English, and German Quakers settled in the Delaware valley, and the Scotch-Irish, English, and Scottish settled in the Appalachia (Fisher, 1989).

In colonial America, policing styles followed the British system, in which the watch, constable, and sheriff, were the primary law enforcement officers. In major, larger cities, like New York, Philadelphia, and Boston, constables enforced the law, though only when requested upon by the citizens (Monkkonen, 1981). In Britain, however, police were highly centralized while the style incorporated by the United States was highly decentralized.

Nigerian Culture. Nigeria is the largest country in West Africa and is the 8th most populated country in the world. There are many ethnic groups in Nigeria, including but not limited to the Annang, Ibibio, Efik, Igbo, Yoruba, Hausa, Fulani, and Kanuri. The Yorubas are located in the south western part of Nigeria; they believe in honoring ancestors, and the gods, of which, like the Greeks, they have over four hundred. The South-South States are home to the Ibibios and the Annangs, who have a rich cultural background and are mostly farmers, traders, and educators. The Igbos live in the southeastern region and are known for their industriousness. They are neighbors to the Ibibios, Annang, Ogoni, Igala, Bini, Warri, Tiv, Ijaw, and Yako. The Hausa and Fulanis reside in the northern part of Nigeria and tend to spread beyond the boundary of Nigeria to other parts of West Africa. The Hausa and Fulanis constitute the largest ethnic group in West Africa and have such similar cultures that they are considered to have one.

Although the official language of Nigeria is English, each ethnic group has its own language, and though there are many different religions, Christianity and Islam are the two main ones. For many decades, the Nigerian police were part of the regimes of European Colonial rule, but it wasn't until after the city of Lagos was annexed and colonized by English people, that a formal system of policing began. The Lagos Constabulary was formed to prevent and control crime in the communities, and a paramilitary police force was formed to control the colonial territory. The interest of the colonial police was to protect the colonial administrator and European traders. The post-colonial period began in October 1960, after Nigeria gained independence and formed a centralized police force. This study reveals and analyzes the influence of different tribal cultures on policing, as Nigeria harbors many tribes (Otu, 2013).

Culture and the Police: Many factors affect human behavior. This research is based on scientific investigation using both qualitative and quantitative literature to look for consistent styles of behavior by individual police officers and police departments, and for cultural explanation of those behaviors. The results reveal that policing behaviors and styles differ between communities and eras and cultures, which

make policing a very complex occupation (Hennessy, 1998). Police officers have the power to arrest and detain citizens who are suspected of a crime. Katz (2003) states that police behavior based on cultural knowledge at the entry level in the criminal justice system is much more significant than what happens at the next level, namely court. Community culture is seen as being able to influence, complement and in some situations substitute for formal institutions of law enforcement.

Figure 2: Community Culture and Styles of Policing

	City of Brownsville – Texas, USA	City of Uyo, Akwa Ibom State, Nigeria
1.	Create your own values moral relativism – based values on feelings.	1. Moral values based on religion
2.	Objective Knowledge.	2. Knowledge driven by subjective wants and group thinking
3.	Logical, Scientific thinking.	3. Accept spiritual and mystical investigation
4.	Other gods are unacceptable.	4. Culture encourages spiritual growth.
5.	Measures right and wrong by absolute standard.	5. Measures right and wrong by agreed upon standard.
6.	Facts, observation and logic are important.	6. Facts may be colored by the authorities/leaders.
	STYLE OF POLICING: BROWNSVILLE, TEXAS. UNITED STATE OF AMERICA.	**STYLE OF POLICING: UYO, AKWA IBOM STATE, NIGERIA**
	Legalistic Style: ---Interprets all situations in terms of the law.	Crime Fighter: ---Believes in enforcing criminal laws.

Individual police officers have the possibility of creating positive public relations if they demonstrate cultural sensitivity and respect toward members of an ethnic community (Shusta, Levine, Wong, and Harris, 2005). Katz puts forth that when police understand cultures the possibility to deescalate potentially violent situations increases. Regarding a situation with the Samoan community in the San Francisco Bay area in which barbecues and parties can sometimes include a fair amount of drinking, and occasionally end in fights (Shusta et al., 2005),

The results of this study support previous findings that in both Nigeria and the United States, the greater the differences in culture, ethnicity, and worldview between police officers and suspects, the greater the chances were for a negative police-citizen confrontation to occur (Black, 1971; Smith and Visher, 1981; Sherman, 1980; Bayley & Mendelsohn, 1969). There are other factors related to culture, such as wealth and behavior of the residents, which influence police behavior. The dramatic increases in crime rate in both countries over the last forty years were met with culturally approved policing methods. For a time there was fear of crime all over the United States, which was followed by a "getting tough on crime" movement, and the culturally approved method was to introduce the "war on drugs." In Nigeria, fraud and money laundering was a major problem and criminal justice introduced (419), a status that was meant to eradicate fraud (Otu, 2013).

In the United States some cultural minorities obey, and act in accordance with, their cultural norms, which may turn out to be a violation of the overarching societal laws (Hasisi, 2008). For example, in the state of Utah, the police do not arrest and prosecute citizens for marrying more than one wife,

because the cultural norms of the Mormon communities permit such behavior. In Nigeria, the law does not permit the killing of any human being; some minority cultures, however, permit killing homosexuals, and the police accept this. It is important to note that in both Nigeria and the United States, the culture of the people reflect the values and norms of the community, and therefore affect police behavior and good policing. For example, blood revenge and celebratory shooting, respectively, is tolerated by police in both countries (Hasisi, 2008).

Communities with great wealth tend to create their own culture and informal social control system, calling for generally less police interaction. This informal control mechanism is similar in both countries and allows residents to settle disputes without getting the police involved. Additionally, despite the differences in culture between police and residents, the police tend to trust the ability of wealthier people to resolve their problems (Lum, 2007). The cultural forces of a wealthier community tend to positively determine and influence the police behavior pattern, whereas in poorer communities, the residents are often considered to be worthless and police tend to use a heavy hand. This is often why white police officers use greater force on racial and/or religious minorities, (Black, 1976) indicating a lack of understanding of the culture and an overall frustration with those communities. According to Lum (2007), poor communities in the United States tend to use violence to enforce the "no snitching" rule, ensuring that no individual serves as a witness to crimes against themselves or others and thereby rendering the police powerless. Variances in the behavior of officers within different communities have the potential to contribute negatively to social cultures. Police powers are an important tool in crime fighting, and these findings support the hypothesis that culture influences policing style, and that societal culture can either increase or reduce police powers.

THEORETICAL PERSPECTIVE: STIGMA, LABELING, AND STRESS

The aim here is to examine the impact of the labeling of police officers seeking treatment for stress-related illnesses by fellow officers and police executives. It is well known that stress treatment of a law enforcement officer is stigmatized by fellow officers in the department. According to Golfman (1963), stigma is an attribute that is deeply discredited, which reduces the bearer from a whole and usual person to a tainted, discounted one associated with policing. It is connected to very many negative stereotypical traits, including weakness, incompetence, and dangerousness. Interestingly, while all stigmatized police officers experience isolation and loneliness, each department, region, and culture expresses and addresses it differently (Link and Phelan, 2001).

Stigma can be interpreted both by the public, the attitudes of people with stress-related illnesses, and the individual, the internalization of stigma by the officer suffering the stress. The consequences of both types of stigma include lowered self-esteem, discrimination, loss of status, and increased related illness. Stigma is constructed from the contextually specific culture that guides social behavior; hence, what is stigmatizing in one culture may not be so in others.

Labeling theory is an important concept for explaining the effect of stigma associated with the lowering of self-esteem and the discrimination of people with stress-related illnesses. The theory has its framework in the symbolic interactionists perspective within the social system. The basic meaning of symbolic interactionism is that the meanings of social objects (individual and/or action) are socially formed. Labeling is defined as a special kind of relationship between an attribute and a stereotype; a discrediting attribute that spoils a person's normal identity leads to social rejection, devaluation, and discrimination (Guffman 1963). Whether the life experiences of those with stress or stress-related illnesses are designed by the attachment of a label or by individual internalized feelings, the effects of the problem, and how to manage it, seek treatment for it, and how successful the police culture has been at stigmatizing officers seeking treatment have been major issues.

Stress can be defined as the degree to which you feel overwhelmed or unable to cope. Police stress refers to the negative pressure related to law enforcement work. Police officers are affected by their

daily exposure to human indecency and dealing with a suspicious and sometimes hateful public takes its toll on them; also, shift changes, long periods of boredom, and even the ever-present danger associated with daily police duties can cause serious job stress (Goolkasian, 1986).

Generally, not only do stigma, labeling, and/or stress have an adverse, pervading effect on officers' lives, but it also complicates the execution of treatment. In the two departments used in this study, after the diagnosis and start of the treatment, the patients' (officers') exposure of their condition to their colleagues, supervisors, or management was a real threat to maintaining the therapy. In some cases, patients withdrew from treatment to hide their condition (Heyland, 1940–1993; Lee, Ahn, Kim, Park, Kim, Kim, Kim, Shin, Cho, Jo, Park, Kim, and Chung, 2021).

Steps for Change

There are many reasons why law enforcement subculture continues to exist despite its disadvantages and harms on officers' lives. Law enforcement officers would agree that they are all human, and if the organization wants to achieve its goals at a higher level, the wellness of officers is most important. Police administrators are mostly licensed police officers and most of them started in the occupation as patrol officers, being subjected to the law enforcement subculture for years.

Changing the subculture of policing must start at the top. Law enforcement administrators must show examples of embracing treatment for stress-related illnesses and change their own subcultural beliefs and attitudes regarding the treatment of stress. The issue of changing policies must be implemented department-wide, which is important to allow acceptable access to treatment. Administrators, subordinates, and rank and file law enforcement officials must change their beliefs and attitudes about the fear of being stigmatized and labeled if and after seeking assistance for stress-related illnesses. It should be required that officers get help after being involved in stress-causing situations, whether it be family issues or occupation-related stress. The general nature of law enforcement officers in having to be tough, no nonsense, superhuman, and self-healed should change. Officers are human; hence, they suffer like other humans and should receive treatment for stress-related illnesses. It is necessary to change the subcultural attitude of dealing with stress on one's own to having an open mind and seeking help when needed.

RESULTS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

This study reveals that officers may refuse treatment for stress-related illnesses because of the following reasons: stigma, labeling, stereotyping, and a lack of psychological and moral support from police leadership. Stigma of police-to-police stress-related illness treatment is a strong belief of police subculture (Stuart, 2017). Internally stigmatizing police subculture, where officers stigmatize each other because of stress-related illnesses, has been known as a factor that influences reactions to stress (Stuart, 2017).

According to Cohen and McCormick (2019), "Officers will avoid seeking professional help because they expect to be ostracized to the point of taking their weapons away, or to be passed over for career advancement. They may also fear having a history of psychological problems being made part of their permanent record, being shunned by their fellow officers and distrusted by those in command" (Wester, Arndt, Sedlvy, and Arndt, 2010; Tuckey, Winwood, and Dollard, 2012). Police subculture helps to clearly define and explain what is desirable for and characteristic of the members of the police organization.

Subculture refers to "Certain systems of values, attitudes and beliefs in relation to the profession itself, clients, relations within the profession, as well as to other community groups and social phenomena that have an impact on the profession" (Kesetovic, 2001: 115). The values that are part of police subculture represent an important source of motivation and guide employees to act toward achieving the organization's goals (Subosic, 2018). Cultural beliefs and attitudes are important elements

of organizational subculture because the organization as a social group has an important role in forming and changing attitudes, not only because it represents the members, but also because it sanctions those who do not manifest those views (Subosic, 2018). Hence, changing the police subculture is part of the answer to the acceptance of stress-related treatments by police officers. Preventing stress-related illnesses from occurring and averting officers from refusing to receive treatment for stress-related illnesses when they occur should be processed through the following stages:

1. Anticipatory prevention: These programs start during the recruiting/selection process before participation in academy training and should focus on averting problems or psychological disorders from developing and changing the culture by setting new belief systems. Typically, behavioral health surveys should be administered to all applicants and this would serve as an excellent instrument to measure the mindsets of the applicants toward stress-related illnesses and treatment. The program should be designed to increase the knowledge, awareness, and resilience of the recruits. While not all survey's recipients will be hired into policing, the lesser at-risk candidates will move into the academy.

2. Formal prevention: This occurs while in the academy. Typically, behavioral health training would serve as an excellent example where all academy trainees receive academic training programs designed to increase their knowledge, awareness, resilience, and beliefs about subcultural issues as they affect the acceptance of police occupational stress-related illnesses. The training should involve the ability of officers to recognize fellow workers who show early signs of physical and/or psychological symptoms of stress-related illnesses. Trainees should be taught about police occupational stress-causing activities like accidental deaths, serious auto accident deaths, shooting deaths in the line of duty, and other traumatic incidents. Academy training should involve being our brothers' keeper.

3. Management prevention: Police refusal to accept treatment for stress-related illnesses should involve the organization itself. This stage focuses mostly on persons with already-known stress-related illnesses and comprises of:
    a. emergency prevention and controlling/stabilizing individuals from further deterioration;
    b. giving individuals as much assistance as possible to overcome all odds and get back to normal, which may involve hospitalization, counseling, therapy, and more to prevent relapse;
    c. implementing interventions designed to promote re-entry into the organization by changing the police subculture.

Law enforcement leaders should establish and promote an organizational subculture amenable to providing psychological support to those officers who suffer from stress-related illnesses. Police supervisors should hold regular supervisor–subordinate meetings where accepting help with stress is discussed and an open discussion of any stress problems officers may be experiencing is encouraged (Van Hasselt et al., 2020).

As stated above, clinicians and police academy trainers should incorporate benefits of psychological treatment components in the police training curricula. It is important for clinicians to utilize positive, strength-based, resilience-oriented language when marketing psychological services to officers (Wester et al., 2010; White et al., 2015). Clinical practitioners should learn the appropriate ways to deal with police officers who seek help for stress-related illnesses, and their families may be included in the treatment. In the final analyses, subcultural change is necessary in conjunction with supervisor training, supervisor–subordinate meetings, matching officers' strengths with appropriate assignments, getting family involved in treatment, and creating incentive/market treatment for officers.

DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

Policing is inherently one of the most stressful occupations. Stressors themselves are not solely the cause of the illnesses; instead, it is the lack of coping mechanisms. Although some police officers are more resilient compared with the general population, they are humans, and as such they need treatment for any stress-related illnesses in order to perform well in the line of duty. They are not immune to the emotional and mental repercussions of exposure to traumatic incidents. Police officers may avoid seeking psychological treatment because certain stigma remains about such therapy in the police subculture. Presently, administrators and entire departments readily accept the subcultural beliefs as unchangeable aspects of the job of policing. A change in the subculture is necessary, and for this to occur, it must start from the top. Management must change policies and show acceptance to officers seeking and accepting treatment for stress-related illnesses. Administrators must promote a department subculture that accepts the complete good health of officers. It is necessary that, in academy training, new recruits are taught about acceptance of the fact that officers can be tough and yet also humans with tenderness, mercy, and compassion for citizens and themselves.

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