IDENTITY AND LATER-LIFE WORK BEHAVIORS
AMONG RETIRED POLICE OFFICERS

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IDENTITY AND LATER-LIFE WORK BEHAVIORS
AMONG RETIRED POLICE OFFICERS

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Dissertation

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ABSTRACT

The careful examination of identity and later-life work behaviors among retired police officers is largely absent in the literature. Two-hundred and eleven retired police officers participated in a survey designed to examine the impact of structural and personality identity components regarding participation in bridge employment or employment upon retiring from primary careers in law enforcement. Although the individual and most of the structural identity factors were unrelated to working in retirement, retired officers who held part-time positions while fully employed as police officers were more likely to participate in bridge employment when compared to individuals who did not hold additional part-time employment while fully employed as police officers.

Exploratory analyses indicate that integrity, service orientation, the self perception of occupational stereotypes, and life satisfaction significantly predict career embeddedness. The unique factors of retired police officer subculture as potentially distinct from early career officers are discussed. Opportunities for training and interventions exist to help retired police officers navigate the working transition at this later-life juncture.
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CHAPTER I

STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM

The U.S. population is aging and working longer. Toossi (2009) predicts that adults over the age of 55 will account for 23.9 percent of the population by 2018. Adults in the U.S. are also participating in the work force longer (Rothwell, Sterns, Spokus, & Reaser, 2008; Toossi, 2009). Individuals may find themselves working to support their family or extended family members due to the current economic environment. Individuals working in the public sector may find themselves seeking employment after retiring from their primary occupation. Police officers fall into this category, as many police officers can retire after 20 years of service, and seek employment while collecting a pension and receiving health benefits from their primary agency of service (Violanti, 1992). With individuals living longer, this employment scenario is more likely to occur. However, little is known about police officers that work in retirement.

Although a few studies have noted the work activities of police officers in retirement (e.g. Doucet, 1975), few if any have predicted employment endeavors based on attitudes, personality, police culture, and the working environment police officers faced during their employment with their primary police agency. Combinations of these dimensions can represent various subgroups among police officers, affecting their path and success in retirement. Experience as a police officer may be advantageous for jobs
that are related to law enforcement, but this experience may be viewed negatively in occupational fields outside of law enforcement.

The problem for both police officers and scholars lies in the unknown; the prediction of later-life work behaviors based upon personality and career experiences can help identify patterns and obstacles to employment in retirement. This study hopes to address the questions: What influences retired police officers employment options and subsequent choices? What barriers to employment exist for retired police officers attempting to find employment outside of the law enforcement field?

A collection of individual dimensions and structural factors in one’s life inform a sense of identity (Côté & Levine, 2002). An objective of this research is to determine the extent to which an individual’s police identity can transform into a career identity beyond employment with one’s primary police agency into later-life work behaviors.

Overall, later-life work behaviors for retired police officers have not been thoroughly explored in the literature. Most thorough investigations into working in retirement do not take into account specific career field factors that create divergent subgroups within a given occupation. Police officers and bridge employment has not been fully explored in the literature, and this unique population may experience outcomes that are very different than individuals employed in more typical work environments. Given the age at which police officers are eligible to retire, they have the opportunity to spend more time in retirement than individuals who retire from other industries.

Findings from this study may generalize to other individuals in the public sector or paramilitary organizations. Extending the antecedents of bridge employment to predict
specific employment industries in retirement represents a new approach to understanding and predicting work behaviors after retiring from an organization. Retirement from a primary employer or occupation often does not represent the cessation of work, but rather work activities in a new form. The post-retirement working landscape for police officers is influenced by an individual’s identity shaped by law enforcement career experiences. A person’s identity is comprised of both personality and societal structural factors (Côté & Levine, 2002). These factors in a police context come together in the development and attempted validation of the identity and work behaviors in later-life model.
CHAPTER II
LITERATURE REVIEW

Police officers find themselves working in a very unique occupation within the public sector. Most police officers are eligible for retirement after 20-25 years of service with the financial security of a pension (Violanti, 1992), a benefit quickly being replaced by portable investment-based individual retirement accounts. Specialized training, early opportunities to retire from a primary occupation as a police officer, and a significant level of financial security or predictability in retirement allow for a variety of jobs and career paths after retirement. Retired police officers represent a valuable and highly desired employment population.

As outlined by Sterns and Subich (2005), the decision to retire is related to a variety of individual self dimensions as well as an assessment of one’s current working situation. The assessment of the work setting includes an understanding of future opportunities for growth and development, as well as the relationship between co-workers, supervisors, and family members. At this time, individuals may consider bridge employment as a way to transition from full employment to full retirement.

Working after retiring from one’s primary occupation is often referred to as bridge employment. Specifically, bridge employment is the degree of labor force participation by older workers after they leave their primary occupation and transition to
the eventual complete withdrawal from the labor force (Shultz, 2003). Bridge employment represents one type of work behavior police officers may pursue after mid-career. The questions that remain unexplored in the literature include: What are police officers doing in retirement? Can personality and structural identity dimensions of retired police officers differentially predict bridge employment in specific industries? In order to understand these complex questions one must understand police culture and corresponding career paths, the fulfillment of a self-directed career in retirement, and employment motivation factors in retirement. These elements may intersect creating various outcomes for retired police officers.

Police officers reach retirement with both specific and idiosyncratic training from their employers. These individuals go through a rigorous selection process to ensure mental stability and eliminate individuals with psychopathology from the selection pool (Cochrane, Tett, & Vandecreek, 2003). Police departments generally only require a high school diploma to meet the initial educational qualifications. Assuming that candidates pass the other testing components such as a background investigation, medical exam, interview, completing an application, and psychological assessment, candidates generally proceed to the training academy (Cochrane et al., 2003). Although police academies vary, the majority of training time is spent on the technical or mechanical aspects of the job, such as self-defense or use-of-force tactics, with only a small percentage of time focused on interpersonal communication or problem-solving skills (Chappell, 2008). On-the-job training and police culture contribute to supplementing gaps in formal academy training. These dimensions are more variable than the education found in the academy setting.
More variation in on-the-job training and police culture increase the variation of individual identity characteristics developed as a police officer, differentially impacting outcomes and consequences in retirement.

Côté and Levine (2002) applied the personality and social structure perspective (House, 1977 as cited in Côté & Levine, 2002) to the concept of identity. The authors maintain that individual identity is shaped by one’s personality, the interaction with people or organizations, and social structural factors which inform one’s role in society. Clearly, both personal and structural factors are critical to create an individual’s sense of identity. Social structural factors can be applied to individuals across various roles and represent larger groups (Stryker, 1980). In this case, structural factors link police officers together given the type of employing organization, police agencies.

Simon (2004) discusses identity as a filter influencing the interpretation and interaction with other social entities. The interpretation process assigns meaning to these interactions and creates a sense of identity based on self-aspects. Self aspects are cognitive categories that can organize self-relevant information (Linville, 1985 as cited in Simon, 2004). These categories can become increasingly salient based on social roles and the interaction with others. Self-aspects can be shared or comprehensive and unique. According to Simon, shared aspects (such as thinking of one’s self as a police officer) contribute to a sense of collective identity. These aspects can also imply secondary aspects related to the initial category, like being trustworthy or dependable. However, when self-interpretation is comprised of comprehensive non-shared factors, an individual identity is primed. The degree to which self-aspects are shared or unique is context
specific (Simon, 2004). Broad categories or classification typologies tend to be related to a collective identity, whereas combinations of specific personality aspects are related to an individual sense of identity. When several factors are salient, the group of factors comprises an individual identity (Simon, 2004).

When police officers reach retirement, they have a sense of identity, comprised of individual, personality, relational, structural, and collective elements refined over 20 or more years in law enforcement. Elements of identity that are enduring and constitute relevant aspects for police officers create a police identity. Once police officers retire, their identities may move from police identities to career identities. The career identity may still comprise some of the same components as in the police identity but without being connected to the occupation of a police officer. The extent to which aspects of one’s identity are enduring or malleable influences later-life work behaviors. Thus, understanding how the aspects of identity influence work in retirement may help police officers prepare for an identity transition. A variety of structural factors within the police organization affect the development of identity among police officers as indicated in the subsequent section.

Retirement in a Police Context

Violanti (1992) outlines the retirement of police officers, noting how it is divergent from retirement in other occupations. Violanti maintains, “police work is one of the few occupations where the option to retire is available at mid-career” (p. 27), highlighting that police officers may find themselves with this option at 40-45 years of age. Even though work life has been extended, which may be in the form of bridge
employment (Kim & Feldman, 2000; Rothwell, Sterns, Spokus, & Reaser, 2008), police officers are uniquely positioned to exit their primary occupation during midlife. This early transition facilitates many professional employment opportunities in retirement. Additionally, police officers who have not enjoyed their work or have grown tired of their employment situation can make a change.

Feldman and Beehr (2011) highlight that the decision to retire is multifaceted. The authors maintain that there are three major stages that an individual goes through before he/she decides to retire. The first stage involves forward thinking in an attempt to assess retirement with individual circumstances. For example, being older, having significant financial resources, poor health, and comfort with ambiguity all support retirement (Feldman & Beehr, 2011). Additionally, self and social consistency are also important, as individuals who define themselves through their work role and socialize exclusively with co-workers may be less likely to retire as these core dimensions would not be fulfilled in retirement (Feldman & Beehr, 2011). Conversely, when one’s sense of self and social network are strongly defined irrespective of employment, the retirement process is less disruptive to the individual. The next major stage is comparative or past-focused, as individuals evaluate their fit with the organization retrospectively to determine if it is decreasing with time, and compare what their friends or peers have done to help establish an operating norm in this stage of life. The final stage involves present-focused concerns, such as financial resources in retirement and other motivations for working, such as structured time and a sense of accomplishment. If employment no longer promotes these dimensions in a great way, or the individual is comfortable without
this employment contribution, then they are potentially ready for retirement (Feldman & Beehr, 2011).

Armstrong-Stassen (2008) examined various organizational factors that influence the decision to retire. She examined older individuals employed in their career occupation, those that were fully retired, and individuals who engaged in bridge employment. Across all three groups, recognition and respect had the greatest influence on their decision to continue to work or retire. That is, individuals that felt recognized for accomplishments and respected by others were more likely to remain working either at their primary occupation or work after retiring from their primary occupation in a bridge employment capacity. Older adults who did not feel recognized or respected when working were more likely to fully retire. In a policing context, recognition and respect can be confirmed based on promotion.

Visible recognition of a promotion demonstrates to both the individual and fellow officers that he/she is a valuable member of the organization with the ability to serve in a leadership capacity. Many police officers enjoy the prestige, status, recognition, and the increase sense of job meaningfulness that accompanies a promotion (Violanti, 1992). The absence of a promotion may indicate that career progression in the organization will not occur, and therefore retirement to start a new career path may satisfy the desire for organizational ascension. Retirement may also indicate a growing cynical attitude on the part of the individual (Violanti, 1992). The degree of work centrality as a defining characteristic in one’s life (Harpaz, 1985) may also affect the decision to retire.
Zhao, Thurman, and He (1999), found that years of service and rank negatively predicted job satisfaction among police officers. Years of service in this case may have represented growing cynicism regarding the ability of police officers to affect change given their occupational role. At the same time, years of service may reflect career embeddedness, shaping the type of bridge employment pursued in later-life. Rank was dichotomized into “Officer” and “Sergeant and above”, demonstrating some supervision capacity, rather than different challenges or benefits that accompany various ranks. Additionally, since sergeant is usually the first rank above officer, the degree to which job satisfaction is influenced by rank is not evenly accounted for by each rank, but rather disproportionately influenced by sergeants as they are the most common rank. Clearly, dichotomizing rank lead to a loss of information. Rank may play an important role in providing choice in later-life employment, as each rank may provide distinct management opportunities with varying degrees of application to other occupations in retirement. Densten (2003) has found differences in leadership behaviors when considering ranks separately rather than grouping any officer with supervisor capabilities in the same category. Collapsing across rank does not further this type of investigation.

In the current study, a sample of retired police officers may yield the opposite findings regarding length of service. That is, police officers that were unhappy with their job or role, may have retired as soon as they reached the eligibility requirements, whereas officers that truly enjoyed their work may have remained in service until reaching mandatory retirement. Therefore, police officers with longer years of service may look for jobs with similar attributes as in their current position, and individuals with shorter
tenures may look for more divergent roles upon retiring from their primary police agency of employment. Completing a maximum length of service represents the centrality of being of police officer to an individual’s sense of identity. Additionally, police officers that reached their maximum length of service at retirement may be more likely to fully retire, due to their age, maximum pension amount, and longevity/affinity for their chosen career as a police officer.

H1: Maximum length of service will predict bridge employment, such that officers who achieved their maximum length of service will be less likely to engage in bridge employment when compared to officers that did not reach their maximum length of service.

Violanti (1992) summarizes several turning points that can occur in a police officer’s career that support retirement which are delineated below. According to the author, age can indicate the need to retire, especially if the retiring individual wants to find employment in retirement, assuming that finding new employment will be easier at a younger age. The second turning point can be meeting significant financial obligations (e.g. paying off a loan), and therefore receiving a reduced salary in retirement becomes acceptable. As previously discussed, failing to receive a promotion can encourage retirement, as can the routine that some officers may find in their law enforcement assignments (such as traffic enforcement), which may be more routine than others (such as emergency task forces). Although less common, the experience of traumatic incidents can also serve as the tipping point to retire. From a cultural perspective, it is not uncommon for police officers to take on part-time jobs outside of their primary police
occupation in preparation or transition for retirement at midlife (Violanti, 1992). These part-time jobs may serve as stepping stones to working assignments in retirement. At the same time, some officers appreciate their situation (usually having received a promotion) and benefits and desire to stay employed as long as possible (Violanti, 1992).

Police Officers Working in Retirement

Given the ability to retire during midlife, many police officers may find themselves in the position of working after retiring from their primary occupation as a police officer. Additionally, benefit structures such as healthcare and pension income for life (Violanti, 1992) allow for the exploration of various occupations in retirement and the potential to fulfill personal goals through the self-management of the career. Unlike other populations of adults working in retirement, police officers are often not motivated by health coverage, and less motivated by financial gain than average individuals in retirement. Employing individuals who are committed to the organization for the primary objective of achieving benefits in retirement does not necessarily promote productive work behaviors. Police retirement is uniquely structured to further professional goals as dictated by desired working characteristics, personal growth through a self-managed second career, and interpersonal fulfillment through co-workers and close relationships. Individuals who were drawn to serve and help others can do so in new or similar ways in retirement, based on their own individual motivations.

Bridge employment after retiring from their department may be particularly critical in fulfilling a level of growth and development deemed important by the individual. Bridge employment entails jobs that individuals engage in following
retirement until they disengage from work-life completely (Shultz, 2003). Bridge employment can be labeled as career, where individuals find employment in the same career field as their primary occupation, or labeled as non-career, defined as employment outside the primary career field (Wang, Adams, Beehr, & Shultz, 2009).

Bridge employment could be conceptualized as a method to fulfill a protean or self-managed career. Individuals that seek out development opportunities independent of explicit organizational direction as a way of defining their career create a protean career. The protean career describes an individual who actively molds his/her career path through chosen training programs, educational experiences, and work assignments (Hall 1976; Hall & Mirvis, 1996). Protean careers are created through a diverse collection of experiences, allowing the individual to fit a variety of roles based on self interest and intrinsic motivation. Individuals determine their career path based on personal values, self-direction, and desired experiences. Protean employees are intrinsically motivated to perform work task because of their self-determined and self-motivated interest (Hall & Mirvis, 1996). Protean careers allow for self-exploration, growth, and fulfillment in ways that may have not been possible in a structured and bureaucratic police setting.

De Vos and Soens (2008) found the protean career attitude to be a significant predictor of career success (desirable work outcomes across time), mediated by career insight. Pursuing a protean career path in retirement makes individuals self-reliant and adaptable, characteristics that will become more fundamental to successfully navigating retirement as “guaranteed” pensions, economic forecasting, and job prospects for family
members (such as children and grandchildren) may be less certain for individuals retiring now.

Individuals in general that are entering the workforce expect a career path similar to that of the protean variety, as they assume they will work for multiple employers throughout their working lives, and that they must seek out a diverse array of working experiences and learning opportunities in order to be competitive in today’s job market. An ideal protean career involves work at multiple organizations (Hall & Mirvis, 1996), which may be difficult for police officers to accomplish while keeping their retirement benefits and pension intact. Therefore, police officers may use time in retirement to explore career options that were not possible during their career employment as a police officer. Once again, these opportunities may be in similar or divergent occupations, based on a variety of preferences and educational or training demographics that were apparent during their career employment as police officers. Employers from a variety of industries would be interested in understanding the relevant bridge employment opportunities that various groups of officers gravitate towards, in order to recruit and attract these individuals with applicable skills sets and positive dispositional characteristics (such as integrity, concern for others, and reliability) which are requirements of being a police officer. In a sense, these individuals are already significantly screened for a variety of personality characteristics that are desirable in most jobs regardless of their specific field.

According to Segers, Inceoglu, Vloeberghs, Bartram, & Henderickx (2008) having a higher level of education or having a university degree accounted for variance in the protean career. Achieving a certain level of education may be the first step in creating
a protean career, as it may form the foundation to learn and acquire new skills. Most
department agencies only require a high school diploma to meet educational qualifications.
However, once hired, police officers may supplement their education by receiving
specialized training, positively contributing to their education. Receiving a college
education before or during one’s career as a police officer may affect potential job
opportunities available in retirement. Wang and Shultz (2010) maintain that years of
education are positively correlated with the likelihood of engaging in non-career bridge
employment. Theoretically, educational specialization that is too stringent may hinder the
transition to a divergent career field. Yet overall, it appears that more education is
associated with more employment options in retirement.

The protean career is important for police officers in retirement because it
represents a degree of forethought and planning for working in later-life. A protean career
is about anticipating career changes and planning accordingly to ensure a variety of job-
related skills in order to be successful at chosen and varied work assignments. The
bureaucratic and hierarchical structure of a police agency may not allow for many
experiences as an independent person working in business with the ability to move
through organizations to gain experiences and ascend a career ladder. If police officers
want to retire and received a pension and benefits in retirement, they must remain
employed with a police agency. Retirement is an opportunity to experience new career
opportunities. The extent to which these opportunities are the product of planning or
happenstance is most important. Work planning after retirement may represent an
openness to shift from a police identity to a broader career identity later in life.
Burke and Mikkelsen (2006) outline the concept of career plateau among police officers, identifying the importance of receiving a promotion after 15 or more years of service. The authors compared officers that had received a promotion after 15 or more years of service, and those who failed to earn of promotion during this timeframe, representing officers that had plateaued. Although plateaued officers were more likely to report working fewer hours and having fewer cognitive demands than nonplateaued officers, they were also more likely to be more cynical and have reduced role clarity. Plateaued officers also reported less job satisfaction, less work meaning, and a reduced possibility of experiencing learning and development within the organization and their current role. In this case, career plateau approximates dissatisfaction and a lack of fulfillment with the law enforcement career. Individuals that experience career plateau may not feel as though they have promotional or professional growth opportunities, reducing their embeddedness in their career.

Feldman (2007) discusses the concept of career embeddedness. He states that career embeddedness occurs when individuals have extensive links between others in the occupation, their career fits other dimensions of their lives, they perceive that significant sacrifices would occur upon leaving their career, and there are significant barriers to entry into alternate careers. Police officers may experience career embeddedness due to their personal identification with their chosen field and co-workers, or rigid benefit structure requiring officers to work for the same, or a restricted group of police agencies in order to receive pension and benefits in retirement. Additionally, career embeddedness can change with tenure as McElroy, Morrow, and Wardlow (1999), found that younger
officers, less than 30 years old, were less committed to their organization and their career than officers over 30. Career embeddedness can impact the type of occupational roles an individual would consider in retirement. Career embeddedness demonstrates the extent to which police officers’ identity is impacted by their occupation, a structural and collective component of their identity. Police officers that are more firmly embedded in their occupation would be less likely to retire early and seek out bridge employment opportunities that are not related to law enforcement.

H2: Additional part-time employment while fully employed as a police officer will predict bridge employment, such that individuals that worked part-time while employed as a police officer will be more likely to participate in bridge employment.

H3: Career embeddedness will predict bridge employment, such that individuals with higher levels of career embeddedness will be less likely to participate in divergent field bridge employment.

If retired police officers engage in non-career bridge employment, it is likely they will need to develop some level of proficiency or expertise in a new domain. Police officers may arrive at retirement with a range of educational backgrounds and preparedness for employment in fields that are not related to law enforcement. As previously stated, police departments generally only require a high school diploma to meet the minimum educational qualifications. At the same time, the demographics of individuals in law enforcement are changing, as more individuals are entering the police
force with college degrees, if not further advanced degrees (Paoline, Myers, & Worden, 2000).

There are a variety of advantages and challenges that come with hiring retired police officers in to jobs that are divergent from their primary career. Some non-career bridge employment may be temporary, allowing organizations to grow and trim their workforce based on seasonal demand or changing economic conditions. Both employees and employers may experience a reduced level of affiliation given the flexible nature of their employment (Belous, 1990). Employers have the benefit of reduced costs for the worker and the ability to trim down the labor force if that need should arise (Belous, 1990). At the same time, a decrease in affiliation can signal a decrease in organizational commitment with a weak organizational identification (Belous, 1990). Individuals in non-career bridge employment may be less likely to become embedded in the organization. For some, the ability to pursue bridge employment in a part-time capacity may be viewed positively, allowing for increased free time to pursue other interests or spend time with their family (Sterns & Subich, 2005).

As police officers approach retirement, their priorities may shift from acquiring knowledge needed for their work role, to spending quality time with friends and family members. Shifting from knowledge to relational goals is consistent with Carstensen’s et al. (1999, 2000) application of socioemotional selectivity theory. Carstensen, Isaacowitz, and Charles (1999) outline socioemotional selectivity theory, which maintains that when time is perceived as unlimited, individuals focus on knowledge related goals in the present. Conversely, when one perceives time as finite, individuals focus on emotional
goals. In the case of older adults, they perceive time as limited due to their age. The perception of time as limited furthers emotional goals directed toward positive affect, often expressed through spending time with close friends and family members. Older adults may be drawn to working options that facilitate emotional goals, such as flexible schedules or part-time work.

Most temporary employees are more likely to engage in career bridge employment, hired part-time to the same or similar role in which they worked during their career (Belous, 1990). Individuals engaging in this type of bridge employment also experience generativity, or the ability to pass their knowledge and skills on to the next generation, a reason often cited as why individuals work in retirement (Mor-Barak, 1995).

Even though specific job skills may be lacking for individuals that wish to engage in non-career bridge employment, retired police officers possess an employment track-record that can be documented and verified. A proven track-record can provide a distinct advantage over younger workers who do not have a lengthy work history to document their strengths or weaknesses as employees (Belous, 1990).

Small organizations appear to be better suited to provide job opportunities for non-career bridge employment (Doeringer & Terkla, 1990). These organizations do not have standardized selection systems or strict work environments that may not complement the skills of a retired police officer. An emphasis on personal connections and a lack of standardized employment testing fit with retired officers’ approaches to finding employment in retirement. Police officers that have been retired for many years
may have an increasing need to supplement their pension income with additional sources of funds. Older adults with a desire to make more money are more likely to engage in career bridge employment rather than non-career employment (von Bonsdorff, Shultz, Leskinen, & Tansky, 2009).

The reasons that individuals pursue non-career bridge employment reflect the organizational advantages and challenges inherent with hiring older individuals in this category. Gobeski and Beehr (2009) looked at predictors of career bridge employment versus non-career bridge employment. Career attachment, job satisfaction, and intrinsic motivation related to one’s primary occupation were associated with individuals finding career bridge employment, compared to non-career employment. Furthermore, individuals who experienced strain at work were more likely to find bridge employment in a field divergent from their primary career. Due to the nature of the work, policing is considered a high stress occupation (Gershon, Lin, & Li, 2002). Stress and strain are common experiences among police officers, and the degree to which these factors are experienced can affect their bridge employment decisions. Bridge employment to a field outside of policing may serve as a coping mechanism or signal a highly stressful law enforcement career. At the same time, Wang and Shultz (2010) report that bridge employment only in the same career field has a positive impact on mental health.

Economic conditions and job market landscape can affect the pursuit of bridge employment. Von Bonsdorff et al. (2009) found that when older workers perceive many opportunities within the job market, they are more likely to pursue non-career bridge employment. The familial bond between fellow police officers tends to create a
supportive group of co-workers within this specialized occupation. Employees who experienced positive social interactions while at work may want to continue those experiences in a bridge capacity, where individuals that disliked their occupation or co-workers may seek out alternative career avenues.

H4: *Education outside of criminal justice and related fields will predict bridge employment, such that individuals with education outside of criminal justice and related fields will be more likely to experience divergent field bridge employment.*

The structural factors influencing the participation in bridge employment are depicted on the following page in Figure 1.
Figure 1. Structural identity factors impacting later-life work behaviors.

The desire to delay retirement, fully retire, or engage in bridge employment can have various effects on individual health outcomes and corresponding overall life satisfaction. Kim and Feldman (2000) have found that the participation in bridge employment is strongly related to life satisfaction. Their sample consisted of retired university professors, working either within or outside of the university from which they retired. Additionally, Zhan, Wang, Lie, and Shultz (2009) found that individuals who engaged in bridge employment reported better physical health than individuals who fully
retired, and individuals pursuing career bridge employment indicated better mental health. Career bridge employment may not support mental health in the same manner as indicated by Zhan and colleagues, given that policing is a high-stress occupation (Gershon, Lin, & Li, 2002). As noted by Zhan et al., stress from career change appears to be paramount, potentially detracting from the positive effects of working. However, transitioning from a highly stressful career domain, to a less stressful occupation (even if it is new), may negate the stress of changing career fields. As previously discussed, Gobeski and Beehr (2009) maintain that individuals who experienced strain at work were more likely to find bridge employment in a field divergent from their primary career. The health and stress impact of career vs. non-career bridge employment appears to be less clearly understood for high stress occupations such as those in law enforcement. When attitudinal and personality factors are combined with career outcomes, the varying impact of bridge employment for police officers can be more fully elucidated.

Armstrong-Stassen (2008) found that, based on a 3-item self-assessment of overall health, there was no health difference between individuals who fully retired and those who engaged in bridge employment. The investigation by Zhan et al. (2009) appears to be more comprehensive and specific than the information collected by Armstrong-Stassen, but the occurrence of divergent results may indicate the field specific effects of working in retirement. Retired police officers may work in domains such as construction, where the risk of physical injury in retirement may be greater than the risk other retired officers’ face. Many officers retain their health benefits through their respective police agency in retirement. Therefore, types of work in retirement can affect
their former police agency, regarding the cost for health insurance and medical treatment. If certain industries are unusually risky or lead to significant dissatisfaction in retirement, police agencies may incur cost. Developing programs to educate officers regarding their employment options in retirement may help alleviate physical injury or life dissatisfaction. Mitigating these potential negative outcomes can positively affect both police agencies and the individual retiree. Understanding the health and satisfaction outcomes of various career fields may help to uncover significant employment side effects for this group of individuals.

H5: **Bridge employment will predict life satisfaction, such that individuals who engage in bridge employment will have higher levels of life satisfaction.**

Police officers arrive at retirement with a life-time of professional experiences that fundamentally shape and define their decision process and later-life work behaviors. Individual characteristics, police cultures, and socialization experiences represent critical identity factors affecting choices upon the conclusion of their primary career. A policing career can elicit a variety of attitudes, reinforced by police culture and interactions with fellow officers and supervisors.

**Individual Identity Dimensions in Policing**

Police officers are charged with several roles in order to carry out the assigned duties of their job. Pugh (1986) maintains that police officers need to: enforce the law, maintain social order, and serve the public. While these three dimensions require a variety of knowledge, skills, and abilities to be executed effectively, enforcing the law and maintaining social order involve officers exercising control over citizens, whereas
serving the public involves helping behaviors through service. When exercising control, characteristics such as aggression or cynicism may be salient or even adaptive when carrying-out these duties. The fair enforcement of laws requires morality and integrity. These personal characteristics inform identity, which may be collective when associated with policing or individualistic dependent upon the context for self-interpretation. Retired police officers may gravitate towards these dimensions in the context of being law enforcement professionals, or they may view these aspects as central to their individual identity, irrespective of the specific occupation. Thus, these dimensions may inform a career identity influencing later-work behaviors in retirement.

The occupation of a police officer exposes individuals to a variety of situations that influence their personal and professional development that ultimately impacts their choices when facing retirement. Paoline (2004) examined the extent to which police culture is homogeneous or heterogeneous consisting of various subculture groupings. The author examined the dimensions of outlook towards citizens “we-versus-they” approach (p. 208), attitude towards supervisors, support of procedural guidelines, the role of police officers (e.g. crime-fighting vs. service [oriented]), and law attitudes towards law enforcement tactics (such as aggressiveness vs. selective enforcement). Using cluster analysis, the author found the existence of 7 different police officer groups. However, some clusters were more divergent than others, and some factors were more prominent in demonstrating distinction. Since the application of cultural variation in the context of this study will be applied to work choices and outcomes in retirement, some dimensions such as policing tactics, are specific to the job of a police officer while actively employed. The
fact that distinct police cultures exist is more critical than the specific cultural clusters that were identified by Paoline (2004). As the author points out, “…it is not as important to note the number of subcultures as much as noting the possible existence of subcultures” (Paoline, 2004, p. 229). The existence of cultural variation within police organizations is a reflection of variance in relevant individual dimensions. Cultural variation among police officers represents identity variation among relevant dimensions. Applying police cultural differences to the world of retired police officers changes the focus of the dimensions as some police cultural dimensions may be relevant and enduring, whereas other dimensions may be irrelevant and temporary, only applicable while officers are on-the-job.

Herbert (1998) conducted an ethnographic examination of the Los Angeles Police Department as a way to examine both formal and informal cultural dimensions. Given the degree of autonomy and on-the-job training officers receive, both formal and informal dimensions of culture are important to understand the various dimensions or facets within this specialized environment. Herbert describes the policing environment through indicating the degree to which cultural facets are salient or normative among various departments, ranks, specialized units, and even individuals. Police work involves many aspects, and officers can gravitate towards assignments that best suit their personality and their approach to their job. Additionally, the working environment can encourage dimensions such as cynicism, aggression, and suspicion as police officers frequently encounter individuals that are dishonest and noncompliant.
Worden (1995) provides an overview of police culture, including a discussion of various typologies used to categorize and then label police officers based on a variety of attitude and value dimensions. Some cultural classification systems use concrete concepts such as the selectivity of enforcing laws or level of aggressiveness (see Brown, 1981), whereas other concepts are more ambiguous, such as the morality of coercion as integrated versus conflicted (see Muir, 1977). All of the typologies discussed by Worden highlighted characteristics that are dichotomized in the attribute into level or side, which can lead to the loss of information when individuals are forced into categories based on quantitative measures that may not reflect the same level of agreement. The characteristics examined in the cultural typologies reflect the existence of various subcultures within policing environments. The same construction or utilization of these typologies may be less important in a post-retirement employment context, as the circumstances of the occupation will be different, and demand different connections of attitudes and values outside of a primary policing role. Continuous and concrete individual variables can serve as developed antecedents impacting decision outcomes and consequences in retirement. Specific personality aspects such as aggression or cynicism modified over a career may directly impact working options in retirement.

There are several attitudinal and value dimensions which are reflective of different police officers, potentially useful in determining the desired type of employment in retirement. The traits of cynicism and aggression are pervasive throughout law enforcement to various degrees. The cynical nature of police officers may be incorporated into the socialization process as new recruits enter the field of policing.
Cynicism encompasses aspects of resentment, hate, and hostility directed at departmental regulations, the broader legal system, police managers or supervisors, and the population or citizens' officers serve (Regoli et al., 1990). Cynicism appears to be an attitude that permeates throughout police work life, which may also include work-family spillover. The development of such an attitude seems to be integrated, to varying degrees, in an approach to problem-solving and life-issues.

In the world of policing, attitudinal dimensions such as cynicism and aggression displayed in a working environment can both be enhanced by the same set of occupational problems. Griffin and Bernard (2003) discuss the angry aggression theory applied to police officers. The authors state that due to the chronic state of arousal police officers experience in their professional lives, they perceive a wider range of events as threatening when compared to individuals that do not experience this enduring state of sympathetic nervous system activity. They maintain that this situation is enhanced for police officers, given their irresolvable stress and potential social exclusion from individuals outside the law enforcement community. It seems that lacking control over occupational stress may support the development of pessimism, encouraging a pervasive cynical outlook.

Throughout the course of their police duties, police officers will need to be aggressive in order to control dangerous situations or unruly individuals. A police officer cannot be afraid to use force when it is required to restore order. However, the level of aggression displayed by police officers can vary, as some officers actively look for situations to display aggression and exert their authority, whereas others are more
reactive when it comes to displays of aggression. Brown (1981) describes aggression in a policing context. He notes that police officers who display high levels of aggression actively pursue the enforcement of laws and control of crime. He maintains that aggressiveness involves both taking initiative and justifying frequent use of force, proportionate to the situation. Potentially, verbal aggression and hostility become tools of exerting authority, regardless of the arrest outcome of interactions with offenders. In a sense, aggressive police officers communicate with the public they serve through fear. Police officers that behave in less aggressive ways often have more justification for their actions (Brown, 1981). They may also be more impartial and even-tempered when mediating disputes (Brown, 1981). Helping citizens over intimidation appears to be emphasized with less aggressive officers. Low aggression combined with a high degree of selectivity of enforcement can produce officers that are apathetic and attempt to avoid discretionary police work (Brown, 1981).

Aggression in police officers may represent enduring characteristics that permit individuals to find employment in retirement, or excel in certain industries. Pervasive aggression or cynicism may be functional in police or security settings. The application of aggression or cynicism in the private sector may not be as well-received as in the world of law enforcement. Smith, Pope, Sanders, Allred, and O’Keeffe (1988) maintain that cynical hostility contributes to increased stress at work and reduced job satisfaction. According to the authors, cynical hostility contributes to stress when interacting with coworkers or supervisors, including being suspect of their motives or intentions. It appears that it is difficult for individuals high on cynical hostility to have positive
interactions with working peers. Some degree of hostility, cynicism, and aggression is tolerated within police culture, which is rarely transferable to other industries.

H6: Aggression will predict bridge employment, such that individuals with higher levels of aggression will be less likely to participate in divergent field bridge employment.

H7: Cynicism will predict bridge employment, such that individuals with higher levels of cynicism will be less likely to participate in bridge employment.

Police culture can promote negative personality dimensions such as aggression and cynicism, but it can also encourage positive personality attributes towards service and integrity. Pugh (1986) outlines the qualities of a “good,” or exemplar police officer. The author states that community service is of chief importance as an officer demonstrates concern for the welfare of the citizens he/she serves, proactively looking to prevent crime and dangerous situations for the benefit of the community as a whole. Pugh’s additional quality is respect for the rights of citizens. Fulfilling this quality involves integrity and morality. Ortmeier (2006) maintains that integrity is one of the most essential qualities for a police officer. The author states that integrity helps build a foundation of trust with the public. Trust allows the public to understand that an officer’s actions are fair and warranted. To some extent, this quality requires control of aggression and cynicism in the face of poor treatment. Serving the community and being a “good” police officer involve the personal attributes of compassion and a sense of civic duty, recognizing that the role of a police officer involves more than simply enforcing laws.
Aspects of the role of a police officer that do not involve control can involve an orientation towards service. Wrobleski & Hess (2006) list the primary roles of police agencies. According to the authors, police agencies should “1. Enforce laws. 2. Preserve the peace. 3. Prevent Crimes. 4. Protect civil rights and civil liberties. (and) 5. Provide services.” (p. 119). Directives 1-4 relate to police officers controlling situations whereas objective 5 relates to police officers serving the community. Brooks, Piquero, & Cronin (1993) examined the attitudes of police officers concerning their role as a public servant in the community. The authors found that service-orientation and crime-control orientation were negatively related, representing opposing anchors of a spectrum. Officers who are oriented towards service tended to have a more positive view of the community, whereas officers oriented towards crime control were more likely to endorse using force and failing to report police officers that committed infractions. Serving the community or responding to noncriminal incidents is one role that police officers perform. If community service becomes central to an officer’s identity at retirement, there are career paths accessible to retired police officers where this role is of primary focus.

Integrity is useful in both police and non law enforcement employment settings. Ones, Viswesvaran, & Schmidt (1993) found in their meta-analysis that integrity tests are predictive of job performance and negatively associated with counterproductive work behaviors. Assuming that the integrity tests have content validity, integrity is a desirable quality among employees to promote job performance and reduce the presence of counterproductive work behaviors.
Police subcultures can promote an individual identity where integrity and community service are relevant. As illustrated above, these qualities develop in officers that may have lower levels of negative aggression and cynicism. These attributes are distinctive and offer real added value in understanding later-life work behaviors, representing individual identity components that cover the control-service continuum found among police officers.

H8: **Integrity will predict bridge employment, such that individuals with higher levels of integrity will be more likely to participate in bridge employment.**

H9: **Service orientation will predict bridge employment, such that individuals more oriented towards service will be more likely to participate in divergent field bridge employment.**

When examining individual dimensions such as aggression, cynicism, integrity, and service orientation, it is important to understand how these facets specifically affect police officers. Targeted measurement scales examining the characteristics in question are warranted. The scales used to measure cynicism and service orientation are specially designed for use with police populations, examining dimensions of personality in a more specific and comprehensive manner. Being cynical or having a service orientation is expressed differently for police officers than for the general public. Buss & Perry’s (1992) Aggression Questionnaire is a valid and widely used instrument examining aggression (Tremblay & Ewart, 2005). Additionally, the measures of aggression and cynicism help to inform personality aspects that may promote the desire for police officers to exercise control.
Police culture can be experienced differently at various ranks through the organization, impacting one’s sense of identity. A promotion can expose an officer to a managerial culture, advanced training, or the consideration of larger political forces outside of the police agency. Reuss-Ianni (1983) extensively outlines the cultures of “street cop” and “managerial cop” that extend throughout police organizations. These cultures have different ways in which they manage standard operating procedures and general approaches to policing. Reuss-Ianni and Ianni (1983) maintain that street cops have a focus on the social network of police officers, as peers provide reference points and advice for how to carry out their duties. On-the-job training and minimal interference from supervisors are valued. Managerial cops focus on the efficient operation of the police organization, which may lead to administrative roles within the police organization or even business assignments after retirement. Street cops are accountable to one another, whereas managerial cops serve the social or political objectives found within the hierarchy. Interestingly, most of the time managerial cops started out as street cops; for many managerial cops, maintaining that street cop connection is critical to ensure support and respect from street cops (Reuss-Ianni & Ianni, 1983).

Managerial cops take a larger perspective than simply maintaining amicable relationships between fellow officers, regardless of the appropriateness of their actions. The level of rank achieved at retirement should imply membership in either culture respectively, with individuals with more senior rank would be more closely affiliated with the managerial cop culture. The dichotomy between street and managerial cops
appears to represent a larger tension between police officers and management that can exist within departments, which may be adversarial in nature.

The distinction between managerial and street cops has important implications in the post-retirement employment arena. Police officers in general rely heavily on interpersonal connections to accomplish objectives. At times police officers need to manipulate and leverage their acquaintances and friends, in order to achieve successful working outcomes. This focus on interpersonal connections is not lost in retirement, but instead may become more central. It is through such connections that street and managerial cops alike find employment offers in retirement. Additionally, the managerial cop culture may adjust expectations for quality of living and expenditures in retirement, increasing the need to find a high paying, managerial role in retirement to compliment pension income and maintain a similar standard of living. The ability and desire to serve in a management role in retirement represents a differentiating factor in bridge employment options for police officers that have achieved several promotions in rank compared to officers that were not promoted and remained “street cops” for their entire careers.

Street cops can hold separate beliefs and intentions than the formal objectives of the police organization they serve (Reuss-Ianni, 1983). Therefore, it is the role of managerial cops or supervisors to help maintain this alignment among the officers they command. Supervisors can illuminate new perspectives, focus, or inspiration to successfully carry-out the mission or objectives of the agency. To some extent, supervisors can affect pervasive attitudes or reduce the prevalence of biases among their
subordinates. Police officers have significant autonomy, but supervisors can provide
direction and a broader framework to influence autonomous thought and action. Police
officers readily admit the directives from the police administration often fail to consider
local environmental variation in their stated commands (Reuss-Ianni, 1983). Managers
apply relevant meaning, understanding a larger plan, extending their occupational skills
set beyond traditional policing functions. Police officers that serve in supervisory or
management capacities learn valuable skills that become incorporated in to their sense of
identity and are relevant in a variety of management roles.

H10: Rank will predict bridge employment in a management role, such that

higher levels of rank will be positively associated with employment in a
management occupation.

The individual factors influencing the participation in bridge employment are depicted on
the following page in Figure 2.
Perception of Occupational Stereotypes in Later-Career Employment

Often police officers are valued for their skill and expertise when working in fields related to law enforcement or security. However, when retired officers seek employment in fields outside the field of law enforcement, they may not be valued for their attitudes and values required to be a police officer (J. Supnick, personal communication, June 21, 2012). Specifically, retired police officers may face negative stereotypes about police officers from the general public. Police officers may be portrayed as routinely using excessive force or engaging in racial profiling (Rosenbaum,
Schuck, Costello, Hawkins, & Ring, 2005). When examining attitudes toward police officers, compared to Caucasians, African-Americans tend to view police officers as more corrupt, cruel, and less intelligent (Jacob, 1971 as cited in Brown & Benedict, 2002). Stereotypes can be especially disparaging given negative past encounters that are used as the basis to form occupation-wide attitudes. Younger individuals tend to view police officers more negatively then older adults (Brown & Benedict, 2002). Younger managers serving in positions to hire older workers may have a more negative view of police officers, and not see or appreciate their application in fields outside of law enforcement.

Confidence in the police can vary based on political ideology, race, age, and by personal experiences with police officers (Kappeler & Gaines, 2012). Although retired police officers no longer perform their official duties as public servants, salient previous experiences or lack of confidence in the police in general could negatively impact interactions with individuals outside of a law enforcement environment. Previous personal interactions do not occur in a vacuum, but rather occur in a larger context, which includes the reason for the interaction and the subsequent outcome (Kappeler & Gaines, 2012). Since police officers have the potential to interact with citizens within a population, every person can form an opinion or attitude towards law enforcement. Although many individuals do hold a positive view of the police, this viewpoint is not evenly distributed across the population (Kappeler & Gaines, 2012). Individuals with a stronger collective identity towards their former role as a police officer may be more
likely to perceive occupational stereotypes as barriers to employment in divergent career fields.

H11: The perception of occupational stereotypes will predict bridge employment, such that individuals who perceive occupational stereotypes will be less likely to engage in divergent field bridge employment.

As indicated in Figures 1 and 2, there are a variety of structural, attitudinal, individual, and interpersonal identity components that impact later-life work behaviors among police officers. The total impact of these dimensions can be seen in Figure 3, the identity and work behaviors in later-life model. This model also represents the impact of current influences in retirement, such as the perception of occupational stereotypes which impacts the employment landscape for these individuals. As previously indicated, it is also hypothesized that participating in bridge employment will positively affect quality of life in retirement. The model represents a comprehensive picture of identity components that influence later-life work behaviors among a law enforcement population. Validating this model furthers the understanding of the influence of identity in this decision process, which can inform individual and institutional practices as they relate to this population at this critical stage.
Figure 3. Identity and work behaviors in later-life.
Table 1. Summary of hypotheses.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Hypothesis</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Hypothesis 1</td>
<td>Maximum length of service will predict bridge employment, such that officers who achieved their maximum length of service will be less likely to engage in bridge employment when compared to officers that did not reach their maximum length of service.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hypothesis 2</td>
<td>Additional part-time employment while fully employed as a police officer will predict bridge employment, such that individuals that worked part-time while employed as a police officer will be more likely to participate in bridge employment.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hypothesis 3</td>
<td>Career embeddedness will predict bridge employment, such that individuals with higher levels of career embeddedness will be less likely to participate in divergent field bridge employment.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hypothesis 4</td>
<td>Education outside of criminal justice and related fields will predict bridge employment, such that individuals with education outside of criminal justice and related fields will be more likely to experience divergent field bridge employment.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hypothesis 5</td>
<td>Bridge employment will predict life satisfaction, such that individuals who engage in bridge employment will have higher levels of life satisfaction.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hypothesis 6</td>
<td>Aggression will predict bridge employment, such that individuals with higher levels of aggression will be less likely to participate in divergent field bridge employment.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hypothesis 7</td>
<td>Cynicism will predict bridge employment, such that individuals with higher levels of cynicism will be less likely to participate in bridge employment.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hypothesis 8</td>
<td>Integrity will predict bridge employment, such that individuals with higher levels of integrity will be more likely to participate in bridge employment.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hypothesis 9</td>
<td>Service orientation will predict bridge employment, such that individuals more oriented towards service will be more likely to participate in divergent field bridge employment.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hypothesis 10</td>
<td>Rank will predict bridge employment in a management role, such that higher levels of rank will be positively associated with employment in a management occupation.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hypothesis 11</td>
<td>The perception of occupational stereotypes will predict bridge employment, such that individuals who perceive occupational stereotypes will be less likely to engage in divergent field bridge employment.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
CHAPTER III

METHOD

Participants

Two-hundred and twenty four participants began the survey. These participants received an e-mailed invitation to complete the survey distributed from the listservs of retired police officer associations in New York State. The sample included individuals from small towns, cities, sheriff deputies from the greater Rochester, NY region and state troopers throughout the state. As an incentive to participate, participants were entered into a drawing with the chance to win one of three $50.00 Visa gift cards. Twelve participants did not answer a single question, and 1 participant only answered one question. These participants were dropped from the analyses, leaving a total sample of 211 participants. The majority of the respondents were male (96%) and Caucasian (95%). The average age of the respondents was 62.8 years ($SD= 9.84$, with a range of 38-90 years), having retired 13.6 years ago ($SD= 9.59$, with a range of .5-39 years), after serving an average of 25.9 years ($SD= 6.00$, with a range of 7-50 years). Eighty-four percent worked for a large police department, serving a population greater than 100,000. Most, 86% participated in some form of bridge employment after reaching retirement, with 14% not working in retirement. Of those who participated in bridge employment, 65% participated in non-career bridge employment, while 53% participated in career
bridge employment. Individuals could indicate their participation in both career and non-career bridge employment in retirement.

*Table 2. Demographics.*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Variable</th>
<th>Percentage(SD)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Age (in years)</td>
<td>62.8(9.84)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gender (Male, Female)</td>
<td>96%, 4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ethnicity (White, Non-White)</td>
<td>95%, 5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Education</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GED/High School</td>
<td>5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Some College</td>
<td>29%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Associates Degree</td>
<td>29%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bachelor’s Degree</td>
<td>24%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Master’s Degree and Above</td>
<td>13%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Years of Service</td>
<td>25.9 (6.00)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Years Since Retirement</td>
<td>13.6(9.59)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reached Mandatory Retirement Age (Yes, No)</td>
<td>13%, 87%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Department Size</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Small (Serving pop. &lt; 25,000)</td>
<td>4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Medium (Serving pop. 25,000-100,000)</td>
<td>12%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Large (Serving pop. &gt; 100,000)</td>
<td>84%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rank at Retirement</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Officer/Deputy/Trooper</td>
<td>32%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Investigator</td>
<td>17%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sergeant/Corporal</td>
<td>25%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lieutenant</td>
<td>9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Captain</td>
<td>6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Major/Commander</td>
<td>6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Deputy Chief/Undersheriff/Colonel</td>
<td>3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chief/Sheriff/Superintendent</td>
<td>2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Working in Retirement (Bridge Employment)</td>
<td>86%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Career Bridge</td>
<td>53%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Non-Career Bridge</td>
<td>65%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Note: Percentages are rounded to the nearest whole number.*

**Procedure**

Participants completed an electronic survey (see Appendix A). This survey took most respondents approximately 15 minutes to complete. Before starting the survey, participants agreed to an informed consent statement, introducing the survey, purpose, raffle drawing, and voluntary participation. Upon completing the survey, participants
were given the opportunity to enter their name and contact information if they wished to participate in the raffle drawing.

Measures

Participants responded to the following self-report measures and demographic questions as via an online survey (see Appendix A). All scales described below use a 5-point Likert-type scale format ranging from (1) to (5) unless otherwise specified.

*Personal and Work Demographics.* A variety of personal and work related demographics were measured in the survey instrument. Personal demographic factors included: age, ethnicity, education (both highest achieved and education in criminal justice or related fields). Individuals who indicated education in criminology were coded as criminal justice related. Professional demographics included: years of service (including reaching the maximum length of service allowed), years since retirement, specialized unit training (yes/no and indication of unit) and highest rank achieved.

*Working in Retirement.* Working in retirement was assessed by asking if the participant has worked since retirement and has a desire to work in retirement. Participants were also asked the number of jobs they held in retirement, and if their post-retirement employment is in an occupation related to law enforcement, or if it is in a divergent industry (food service (bar and restaurant), education, construction, insurance, automobile sales, real estate, business, management, or other). Participants that responded indicating they have been employed since retiring were coded as participating in bridge employment. Individuals who indicated that they have worked in the law enforcement/security field were coded as participating in career bridge employment,
whereas individuals indicating other fields were coded as participating in non-career bridge employment. Individuals who indicated they had worked in law enforcement training, federal investigations, and as private investigators were coded as participating in career bridge employment.

*Career embeddedness* was measured using the 9-items fit and sacrifice dimensions of the occupational embeddedness scale from Ng and Feldman (2009), adapted in this study to reference police officers. Sample items include “I feel like I am a good match for police work” and “The benefits associated with working as a police officer are outstanding,” representing the fit and sacrifice dimensions respectively. The Cronbach alpha for this scale was .85.

*Aggression* was measured using 20-items from Buss and Perry’s (1992) aggression dimensions of verbal aggression, anger, and hostility, with a Cronbach alpha of .90. Sample items for each dimension include: “When people annoy me, I may tell them what I think of them,” “I sometimes feel like a powder keg ready to explode,” and “At times I feel I have gotten a raw deal out of life.”

*Cynicism* was measured using the 16-item police cynicism scale from Regoli, Crank, and Rivera (1990). This scale is divided into subscales representing cynicism towards various components within a police organization. These categories include cynicism towards: decision makers, rules, the legal system, and respect by citizens with a total Cronbach alpha of .89. Sample items include: “The people in charge never seem to respect the officers who do the real work” and “Many citizens have a bad attitude toward police officers.”
Life satisfaction was measured by Diener, Emmons, Larsen, and Griffin’s (1985) satisfaction with life scale. This scale contains items that address summary judgments regarding satisfaction such as “In most ways my life is close to my ideal” and “I am satisfied with my life.” This scale has 5 items with a Cronbach alpha of .87.

Integrity was assessed using the 9-item Integrity/Honesty/Authenticity scale from the International Personality Item Pool (IPIP) website (http://ipip.ori.org/ipip/). The IPIP is a public domain set of personality measures which has become widely used since its inception (Goldberg et al., 2006). This scale includes items such as “I keep my promises” and “I believe that honesty is the basis for trust.” This scale had a Cronbach alpha of .80.

Service orientation was assessed using Brooks, Piquero, and Cronin’s (1993) service orientation, which contains 7 items. Sample items for this scale include: “Police officers should assist sick or injured persons” and “Policing should be seen as a service organization.” The Cronbach alpha for this scale was .82.

Perception of occupational stereotypes was assessed using a 5-item self-perception of occupational stereotypes scale developed for this study. This scale included items such as “I feel my skills are only appreciated within law enforcement,” and “Because I was a police officer, people I meet assume I am not highly intelligent.” This scale was reliable, with a Cronbach alpha of .84.

Analytic Strategy

Hypotheses 1, 2, and 4 were tested using a chi square test of independence. Specifically, the relationship between the dimensions of maximum length of service, additional part-time employment and bridge employment were tested, and the
relationship between education outside of criminal justice and non-career bridge employment was also examined. Hypotheses 3, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, and 11 were tested using logistic binary regression. Specifically, the dimensions of career embeddedness, aggression, cynicism, integrity, service orientation, rank, and the perception of occupational stereotypes were used to predict whether or not individuals engage in non-career bridge employment, or employment in a field divergent from the law enforcement/security field. Rank was also used to predict non-career bridge employment in the management field. The dimensions of cynicism and integrity were used to predict engagement in bridge employment. Linear regression was utilized to determine the relationship of bridge employment to life satisfaction (Hypothesis 5). The testing of hypotheses that related to bridge employment in general included the entire study sample, whereas the testing of hypotheses that related to a category of bridge employment (career or non-career) only included participants who indicated that they were employed in retirement.

Based upon group discussions with retired police officers regarding the activities of retired police officers, many retired officers appear to gravitate to the following industries for work in retirement: law enforcement/security, construction, management, education, food service (bar and restaurant work), and sales (real estate, automotive, and insurance). As previously indicated, police officers tend to place premium emphasis on personal connections, which represents the primary medium through which employment is found for these individuals in a post-retirement context. Additionally, retired officers working in the industries described may do so in an entrepreneurial fashion, or be self-
employed in the aforementioned industries as a consultant or private contractor. For example, individuals may open a restaurant or work independently as a real estate agent or general contractor. With the exception of management, the various industries of non-career bridge employment were examined relating to research questions but not formal hypotheses.
CHAPTER IV

RESULTS

The correlations, means, and standard deviations of the independent and dependent variables are reported in Table 2 on the next page. Two-hundred and twenty-four participants began the survey. Twelve participants were removed who did not answer a single question, and 1 participant was removed who only answered one question, leaving a final sample of 211. Given the low percentage of missing data per scales (ranged from 0-6%), missing data analyses were not conducted. All of the variables were screened for outliers and examined for skewness and kurtosis. Out of 2 response outliers identified, neither were deemed substantial enough to be removed.
Table 3. Means, standard deviations, and correlations.

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Note: Means, standard deviations, and correlations are for focal (i.e., hypothesis) variables only
* p < .05, ** p < .01, *** p < .001.
Table 4. Means, standard deviations, and correlations for individuals participating in bridge employment.

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Note: Means, standard deviations, and correlations are for focal (i.e., hypothesis) variables only.
* p < .05, ** p < .01, *** p < .001.
Hypothesis 1 stated that retired officers who achieved their maximum length of service will be less likely to engage in bridge employment when compared to officers that did not reach their maximum length of service. The relationship between maximum length of service and bridge employment was not significant, $X^2 (1, N = 210) = 2.12, p = .146$. Individuals who reached their maximum length of service were not less likely to participate in bridge employment when compared to individuals that did not maximize their length of service as police officers. Thus, Hypothesis 1 was not supported.

Hypothesis 2 stated that individuals that worked part-time while employed as a police officer will be more likely to participate in bridge employment. The relationship between additional part-time employment and bridge employment was significant, $X^2 (1, N = 209) = 11.82, p < .001$. Individuals who held part-time positions while fully employed as police officers were more likely to participate in bridge employment when compared to individuals who did not hold additional part-time employment. Thus, Hypothesis 2 was supported.

Hypothesis 4 stated that individuals with education outside of criminal justice and related fields will be more likely to experience divergent field bridge employment. The relationship between education outside of criminal justice and non-career bridge employment was not significant, $X^2 (1, N = 182) = .06, p = .806$. Individuals who received education outside of criminal justice or related fields were not more likely to participate in non-career bridge employment when compared to individuals who received education in criminal justice or closely related fields. Thus, Hypothesis 4 was not supported.
Hypothesis 3 predicted that individuals with higher levels of career embeddedness will be less likely to participate in divergent field bridge employment. Logistic regression was used to analyze this relationship. Individuals with higher levels of career embeddedness were not less likely to participate in non-career bridge employment, as the relationship between these variables was nonsignificant, \( b = -.303, \text{ Wald } X^2 (1, N = 177) = 1.02, p = .312 \). Therefore, Hypothesis 3 was not supported.

Hypothesis 6 maintained that individuals with higher levels of aggression will be less likely to participate in divergent field bridge employment. Logistic regression was used to analyze this relationship. Individuals with higher levels of aggression were not less likely to participate in divergent field bridge employment, as the relationship between these variables was nonsignificant, \( b = .163, \text{ Wald } X^2 (1, N = 175) = .335, p = .563 \). Therefore, Hypothesis 6 was not supported.

Hypothesis 7 stated that individuals with higher levels of cynicism will be less likely to participate in bridge employment. Logistic regression was used to analyze this relationship. Individuals with higher levels of cynicism were not less likely to participate in bridge employment, as the relationship between these variables was nonsignificant, \( b = -.241, \text{ Wald } X^2 (1, N = 205) = .659, p = .417 \). Therefore, Hypothesis 7 was not supported.

Hypothesis 8 indicated that individuals with higher levels of integrity will be more likely to participate in bridge employment. Logistic regression was used to analyze this relationship. Individuals with higher levels of integrity were not more likely to participate in bridge employment, as the relationship between these variables was
nonsignificant, \( b = .518, \text{Wald } \chi^2 (1, N = 201) = 1.453, p = .228 \). Therefore, Hypothesis 8 was not supported.

Hypothesis 9 stated that individuals with more of an orientation towards service will be more likely to participate in divergent field bridge employment. Logistic regression was used to analyze this relationship. Individuals with higher levels of service orientation were not more likely to participate in non-career bridge employment, as the relationship between these variables was nonsignificant, \( b = -.076, \text{Wald } \chi^2 (1, N = 174) = .109, p = .741 \). Therefore, Hypothesis 9 was not supported.

Hypothesis 10 stated that individuals with higher levels of rank will be positively associated with employment in a management occupation. Logistic regression was used to analyze this relationship. For the purposes of this analysis, officers who operated in a supervisory capacity were transformed into four levels. These levels were officer/investigator, sergeant/corporal, lieutenant, and captain and above. Individuals with higher levels of rank were not more likely to participate in non-career bridge employment in the management field, as the model for relationship between ranks and management was nonsignificant \( \chi^2 (3, N = 181) = .832, p = .842 \). Therefore, Hypothesis 10 was not supported.

Hypothesis 11 indicated that individuals who perceive occupational stereotypes will be less likely to engage in divergent field bridge employment. Logistic regression was used to analyze this relationship. Individuals with a greater perception of occupational stereotypes were not less likely to participate in non-career bridge
employment, as the relationship between these variables was nonsignificant, \( b = -.258 \), \( Wald X^2 (1, N = 174) = 1.55, p = .213 \). Therefore, Hypothesis 11 was not supported.

Lastly, Hypothesis 5 indicated that individuals who engage in bridge employment will have higher levels of life satisfaction. Linear regression was used to analyze this relationship. Individuals who participated in bridge employment did not report greater life satisfaction, as the relationship between these variables was nonsignificant, \( b = .215 \), \( t(198) = 1.43, p = .154 \). Therefore, Hypothesis 5 was not supported.

Exploratory Analyses

Given the lack of support for the hypothesized model, exploratory correlational analyses were conducted to identify the relationships between the focal variables. As indicated by hypothesis 2, additional part-time employment while fully employed as a police officer was predictive of participation in bridge employment. Thus, there is also a significant correlation between these variables of \( r(207) = .24, p < .001 \). However, when additional part-time employment is compared with career and non-career bridge employment participation separately among those participating in bridge employment, only the correlation between non-career bridge employment and additional part-time employment approaches significance \( r(179) = .15, p = .05 \). It appears that additional part-time employment may be slightly more indicative of non-career bridge employment opportunities in retirement. To investigate this question further, the relationship between part-time employment and non-career bridge employment was examined by occupational field.
Out of the 9 specific occupational fields identified as domains for bridge employment (including career bridge employment), all are significantly correlated with the corresponding field within part-time additional employment as a law enforcement officer, with correlations ranging from .18-.66. However, the individuals who worked part-time in law enforcement/security and participated in career bridge employment only represented approximately 37% of the total number of individuals that worked part-time while fully employed as a police officer. More individuals (about 63%) worked in non-career part-time employment and participated in non-career bridge employment. Therefore, when part-time employment is considered across the entire sample, it is not significantly correlated with career bridge employment.

Hypothesis 3 states that individuals with higher levels of career embeddedness will be less likely to participate in divergent field bridge employment. Although this was not supported, a significant relationship was found between career embeddedness and career bridge employment $r(203) = .14, p < .05$ across the entire sample. This relationship represents the corresponding connection with career bridge employment, potentially indicating the degree of career fit as outlined by Feldman (2007). However, when individuals who did not participate in bridge employment are removed from the analysis, this relationship is nonsignificant.

When examining the relationship between career embeddedness and the other individual identity factors, a clear pattern emerges. Individuals who scored higher on the measure of career embeddedness tended to be less aggressive, cynical, and less likely to perceive occupational stereotypes. Conversely, these individuals self-identified as having
more integrity/authenticity, oriented towards service, achieved a higher rank, and reported greater life satisfaction. To some extent, these individuals may represent officers that are role models to their peers.

While there are several exploratory findings and relationships that relate to or extend the findings of the focal hypotheses, other correlational analyses potentially inform broader conclusions describing identity components among retired police officers. Individuals who achieved a higher rank were more likely to have education outside of criminal justice or related fields $r(207) = .26, p < .001$. This relationship may reflect a difference between the “street cop” and “managerial cop” as discussed by Reuss-Ianni (1983). Working as a managerial cop may require a broader knowledge base and skill set than a street cop. Education in a divergent field may represent a greater awareness of social, emotional, or political influences that affect the law enforcement profession. Conversely, individuals that achieved a higher rank may have sought out educational experiences (such as a degree in public administration) to complement their new managerial role.

The relationship between the perception of occupational stereotypes and aggression is the strongest correlation among the focal variables $r(198) = .62, p < .001$. There are several potential explanations for this relationship. Individuals that are more aggressive may have more difficulty finding non-career bridge employment, and attribute this difficulty to the existence of occupational stereotypes. Conversely, individuals that are more aggressive may embody some of the negative stereotypes associated with police
officers, thus making it more difficult to obtain work outside of the law enforcement field.

The relationship between rank and the identity variables is very similar to the relationship between life satisfaction and the identity variables. Both rank and life satisfaction are positively associated with career embeddedness and service orientation and negatively associated with cynicism. However, life satisfaction is negatively associated with aggression and positively associated with integrity, yet rank is unrelated to either dimension. It appears that individuals that are less aggressive and identify as operating with more integrity in their life have more satisfaction. In order to achieve a leadership position within a police agency, individuals need to balance the control and service dimensions as previously discussed. This may require more variability on the dimensions of aggression and integrity. Cynicism is negatively related to life satisfaction which could be conceived as frustration with the lack of control of current circumstances.

Across the entire sample, non-career bridge employment is positively associated with years since retirement $r(208) = .21, p < .01$. When individuals who did not participate in bridge employment are removed from this analysis, the relationship is nonsignificant. Individuals that have been retired longer may be more likely to work in a non-career capacity. Therefore, developing a diverse working skill set through part-time employment may be more critical for individuals who retire as soon as they are eligible, as they will spend more years in retirement and may desire to participate in bridge employment. Additionally, years since retirement is also negatively associated with the perception of occupational stereotypes $r(198) = .15, p < .05$. More time away from the
primary career may increase the likelihood of participating in non-career bridge employment, but not career bridge employment. In addition to time spent in retirement, learning to manage or control aggression and cynicism could help reduce the perceptions of occupational stereotypes and create a path to successful non-career bridge employment.

Given the significant correlations between career embeddedness and many of the individual identity variables such as aggression, cynicism, integrity, service orientation, rank and the additional outcome variables of occupational stereotypes and life satisfaction, regression analyses were conducted to determine if a set of these variables would predict career embeddedness. Although all of these variables do predict career embeddedness in separate regressions and in the same regression model, aggression, cynicism and rank do not add significant prediction above and beyond integrity, service orientation, occupational stereotypes, and life satisfaction. As shown in Table 4, integrity, service orientation, occupational stereotypes, and life satisfaction significantly predict levels of career embeddedness, accounting for 27.7% (26.2% adjusted) of variance in career embeddedness.
Table 5. Regression analyses predicting career embeddedness.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Model</th>
<th>IV</th>
<th>Beta</th>
<th>F</th>
<th>$R^2$</th>
<th>$\Delta R^2$</th>
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<td>Model 1</td>
<td>Integrity</td>
<td>.268***</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Service Orientation</td>
<td>.184**</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Perception of Occ. Stereotypes</td>
<td>-.140*</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Life Satisfaction</td>
<td>.164*</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>18.54***</td>
<td>.277</td>
<td>--</td>
</tr>
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<td>Model 2</td>
<td>Integrity</td>
<td>.310***</td>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Service Orientation</td>
<td>.147*</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Perception of Occ. Stereotypes</td>
<td>-.150</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Life Satisfaction</td>
<td>.128*</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Aggression</td>
<td>.090</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Cynicism</td>
<td>-.109</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>12.90***</td>
<td>.287</td>
<td>.011</td>
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<td>Model 3</td>
<td>Integrity</td>
<td>.306***</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Service Orientation</td>
<td>.139*</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Perception of Occ. Stereotypes</td>
<td>-.165*</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Life Satisfaction</td>
<td>.128*</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Aggression</td>
<td>.090</td>
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<td>Cynicism</td>
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<td>Rank (4 levels)</td>
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<td>11.35***</td>
<td>.294</td>
<td>.006</td>
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</table>

Note: * $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$, *** $p < .001$. 
CHAPTER V
DISCUSSION

Although most of the formal hypotheses were not supported, this study represents the beginning of the exploration into identity and bridge employment among retired police officers. The population of retired police officers may be more homogeneous than originally expected. Initially this study highlights the importance of part-time employment facilitating a variety of non-career bridge opportunities in retirement. In accordance with the concept of the self-managed or protean career (Hall & Mirvis, 1996), individuals can seek out developmental experiences that occur independently from their organization as a way to chart their own unique career path. In the case of police officers, career experiences divergent from typical law enforcement responsibilities represent a way to individualize their career experiences while still remaining in a structured and bureaucratic police environment. Divergent experiences help produce a diversified skill set that creates employment opportunities in retirement. Individuals that take on additional employment responsibilities outside of their primary career may be intrinsically motivated to pursue vocations of personal interest.

The first set of variables that were examined related to the structural identity factors as illustrated in Figure 1. The first hypothesis stated that individuals that reached their maximum length of service would be less likely to participate in bridge
employment. Only about 13% of the sample reached this milestone. The mandatory retirement age (often between 62-65 years of age) may be too young to significantly influence the work activities of retired police officers. The average age of the respondents was 62.8 years, and most, 86% participated in bridge employment. Remaining fully employed as a police officer until the mandatory retirement age may allow more time for police officers to find part-time employment which may lead to bridge employment in retirement. Only about 30% of the participants indicated holding a degree outside of criminal justice or closely related fields. Basic and initial education may be too distal to inform bridge employment opportunities in retirement.

Although individuals with lower levels of career embeddedness were not less likely to engage in non-career bridge employment, retired officers that indicated higher levels of career embeddedness were more likely to engage in career bridge employment across the entire sample. In the overall sample, more individuals participated in non-career bridge employment than career bridge employment. More opportunities may exist for retired officers in divergent fields upon retirement, especially as they spend more time retired from their police agency. The potentially physically demanding and stressful environment of law enforcement may become more challenging for older retired individuals.

It was noteworthy that participation in bridge employment was not predictive of life satisfaction, especially since this is inconsistent with previous findings regarding this relationship (e.g., Kim & Feldman, 2000). However, the majority of the participants did participate in bridge employment. Perhaps there was not enough variance among the
small number of individuals who never participated in bridge employment to detect this difference. Additionally, in a sample of police officers, Hart (1999) found when comparing work satisfaction with non-work satisfaction factors (in domains such as family, significant other relationship, and leisure activities), non-work factors were more critical in contributing to life satisfaction than work satisfaction factors. Therefore, factors that are unrelated to working in retirement may consist of variables that have a greater impact on life satisfaction. With this conclusion in mind, it is not surprising that the personality aspects of aggression, cynicism, integrity, and service orientation that were unrelated to bridge employment would be significantly related to life satisfaction.

Although researchers such as Paoline (2004) support the existence of multiple police subculture groupings, many dispute the existence of multiple police subcultures. For example, Zhao and Hassell (2005) did not find support for Wilson’s (1968 as cited in Zhao & Hassell, 2005) 3 types of police culture based on the political management systems of police agencies. When comparing individual values among police officers, Zhao, He, and Lovrich (1998) found largely consistent responses when comparing self-reported values from 30 years prior to their sample date. The authors also maintain that they found relatively consistent value ratings across education levels, gender, and years of service in their current sample. This similarity may suggest a unifying and enduring police culture rather than subcultures. If police culture is more similar than divergent across individual officers, personality or individual factors may also be similar across police officers. Similarity among these personality components may not permit differential prediction of types of bridge employment.
Combining the fields of law enforcement and security to comprise career bridge employment may have obscured identity differences that exist between police officers that pursue employment in either domain in retirement. The ability to modify individual identity components may be more critical in a security role rather than in the continuation of work within law enforcement. Targeted distinction between types of career bridge employment may be useful as the law enforcement/security category represented the largest single post-retirement employment field among the sample. In some non-career bridge employment fields such as construction, higher levels of aggression or cynicism may not hinder employment, whereas in fields requiring more interpersonal interaction, such as sales, these characteristics may be more damaging. Of individuals that participated in non-career bridge employment, 27% classified their employment within the field of education and 16% indicated their employment in the construction field. Both fields represent the 2 highest single categories of non-career bridge employment beyond the “other” category.

The sample in this study could largely be a reflection of generational similarities of police officers, which were more homogeneous in the past than in the present. Given the increasing diversity found in police organizations today in terms of ethnicity, gender, and education (Paoline, 2004), potential subculture differences and their impact on work pursued in retirement may become more salient in the coming years. A multiple cross-sectional approach to studying different generations of police officers as they retire from police agencies may be helpful in fully understanding police cultural issues in retirement.
Regardless of the existence of multiple police subculture typologies, these cultures and corresponding individual differences may not be predictive of bridge employment.

The subcultures of street cop and managerial cop as outlined by Reuss-Ianni (1983) may be difficult to apply to managerial non-career bridge employment in this sample. Only 12% of those participating in bridge employment indicated their participation in non-career managerial bridge employment. Targeted sampling of retired police officers in management positions may help uncover if ranking officers are disproportionately in management positions after retiring from their police agency.

Regarding the perception of occupational stereotypes, it was assumed that the perception of occupational stereotypes would negatively affect participation in non-career bridge employment. Although individuals may perceive these stereotypes, they may not be detrimental enough to negatively impact their employability. The distinction between the perception of occupational stereotypes in general versus occupational stereotypes held by individuals making hiring decisions may be useful in determining the effect of such stereotypes on employment opportunities.

The importance of additional part-time employment while fully employed as a police officer draws attention to the fact that the self-directed career is life-long. Since most police officers work in some capacity in retirement (86%), police officers need to contemplate their career retirement options in advance. Additional part-time employment allows police officers to develop new skills and try new work activities with the stability and security of full-time employment. Bridge employment may be the natural extension of the protean career, but part-time employment may represent this career style in action.
Maintaining a broad or diversified skill base during officers working lives creates more options for employment in retirement.

As suggested by the relationship between career embeddedness and career bridge employment, there exists a portion of the police population that may wish to be singularly defined as law enforcement officers and do not wish to engage in non-career bridge employment in retirement. This relationship demonstrates the segment of the retired police officers that develop a police identity that is more difficult to adapt to a more general career identity. Flexibility, adaptability, and comfort in lacking total control provide key elements to create employment options for retired police officers. At the same time, having a strong police identity and not wanting to experience other types of employment opportunities should not be viewed as an inferior career direction. The protean career is predicated on self-understanding. Individuals that know and enjoy their singular identification within the police career should support this career path. Yet employment options in retirement may be more limited for individuals that do not embrace a broader career perspective.

As indicated by the exploratory analyses, integrity, service orientation, occupational stereotypes, and life satisfaction significantly predict career embeddedness. Integrity and service orientation are central components of success in a law enforcement career. It appears that individuals that value and identify with their policing career were less likely to view their former profession as an impediment to employment in other domains in retirement. Additionally, individuals who reported a positive fit and
appreciation with their career were presumably more satisfied with their chosen occupation and thus more satisfied with their life overall.

Duffy and Sedlacek (2010) examined career calling as it relates to the experience of first-year college students. The authors found a significant but weak correlation between career calling and life satisfaction. The authors assessed career calling through a 2 question measure regarding the application of a calling to their desired profession. The respondents therefore individually interpreted the meaning behind a professional calling. It seems plausible that the relationship between career calling and life satisfaction may be mediated by variables such as career embeddedness. Individuals who experience a career calling may be more likely to work in a service capacity or helping profession. Assuming that initial inclinations toward a career calling are confirmed, the association among related variables may increase overtime.

Burke (1989) examined career stages as they relate to career satisfaction levels among police officers. The author indicates that career satisfaction levels do not vary in a linear fashion over the course of the career but appear to operate in a curvilinear relationship. That is, police officers indicated the lowest job satisfaction rating during their midcareer stage (6-15 years) than any other career period. Police officers participating in career bridge employment may hold rising job satisfaction levels in retirement compared to police officers who have not retired.
Limitations

Like all research studies, this study does have limitations. First, the data was collected using self-report measures, introducing the potential for common method bias among these self-report measures. Information collected regarding working demographics, career embeddedness, and police cynicism were collected in retrospect. The information that participants reported regarding these dimensions may be different from their impressions when they were actively working in their primary careers as police officers. Asking officers to recall feelings of career embeddedness and cynicism while actively employed as police officers may introduce a retrospective bias. Aggression and cynicism may be more relevant during current policing issues rather than in retrospect.

Participants were identified primarily through retired police officer associations. There are many retired police officers that do not participate or affiliate with these associations. These individuals were not included in the sample for this study. Individuals who choose to associate with retired police associations may hold some positive feelings towards their former career. The added camaraderie connected with the participation in retired police associations may further augment the former manifestation of negative feelings towards the policing career, reducing the salience of police cynicism or necessity of aggression as an interaction tool in retirement.

Individuals who no longer choose to affiliate with law enforcement may be reluctant to join these associations. Additionally, these associations were located in New York State, with a significant portion of the sample from Western New York. The results
described in this study may have limited generalization to the experiences of police officers in New York State or the police agencies represented in this sample as opposed to the experiences of officers that served with police agencies throughout the U.S. Most of the participants retired from large police agencies. The study survey was in electronic form only. Retired police officers that do not use e-mail or internet browsing were not included in this study.

The sample is not diverse in terms of ethnicity or gender. The findings from this study may be applicable only to the experience of Caucasian males. Approximately 95% of respondents indicated at least some exposure to college coursework, with many participants indicating completion of an associate’s, bachelor’s, or further advanced degrees. The findings from this study may be limited to attributes of this specific sample. Given that the sample for this study was retired police officers, the demographics of the sample may reflect the selection or hiring initiatives of prior decades.

Finally, the majority of the results in this study are correlational and exploratory. One cannot be certain of sequence or directionality of correlational relationships. Additionally, the exploratory results were not hypothesized in advance, potentially contributing to illusory results or analyses.

Future Directions

Overall, it appears that the factors that contribute to an individual police identity may be largely unrelated to participation in bridge employment. What might be related to participation in bridge employment? Building off the significant hypothesis found relating to the importance of additional part-time employment while fully employed as a
police officer, it seems that the development and refinement of specific knowledge, skills, and abilities (KSAs) may predict both career and non-career employment. The decision to maintain additional part-time employment involves the development of new skills or the application of skills currently used within the police organization in a slightly new manner or with a different agency. Rather than bridge employment simply being a platform to acquire new KSAs, a function indicated by Wang, Adams, Beehr, and Shultz (2009), it may represent a platform to demonstrate and apply KSAs that were acquired previously. In a sense, retired police officers may display talents and aptitudes that were dormant during their primary career. Bridge employment may be the opportunity to demonstrate utility in divergent or similar ways.

Gobeski and Beehr (2009) maintained that individuals’ with career job-related skills were more likely to pursue career bridge employment than non-career bridge employment or full retirement. Therefore, formally developing skills that promote work in either career or non-career categories should promote bridge employment. Identifying and fostering KSAs that are congruent with one’s desired post-retirement employment objectives may be a valuable exercise before police officers retire in a self-directed fashion. At the same time, identifying KSAs that are needed in the workforce or growing occupations that could be learned by police officers may help organizations acquire this talent.

The findings from this study have potential application in many related occupational fields, where retirement can occur at midlife, or when many opportunities exist for additional part-time employment in conjunction with a primary career.
Individuals in the military or fire service may represent applicable domains for future research or application.

Within the law enforcement domain, a research study with a longitudinal design may help illuminate the relationship between the development of identity and later-life work behaviors. The impact of individual and structural identity factors could be examined as they become influential. Additionally, any concerns regarding memory or retrospective questions would be eliminated, as participants could be surveyed both before and after retirement.

An ultimate goal of this line of critical research would be the development of interventions to ensure employment opportunities for police officers in retirement. By partnering with police agencies and law enforcement groups, interventions based on research findings could be created to help officers navigate the transition to retirement. Additionally, programs designed for current police officers could help ensure that these individuals are developing or maintaining the appropriate knowledge, skills, and abilities needed to be successful in non-career vocations in retirement. Interventions could also consist of collaboration with organizations to recruit and retain retired police officers. Organizations that participate in active service to the community may represent attractive employment options for retired police officers. Additionally, organizations that desire to hire retired police officers may want to highlight the positive attributes of this population, and the reasons why they believe retired officers would fit their organization to reduce the perception of any occupational stereotypes. Police agencies may support post-retirement non-career employment as a way to reduce or manage benefit plans that may
evolve in the future, requiring more active contributions on the part of the retired police officers.

As indicated by the responses and variability around the perception of occupational stereotypes, some police officers perceive or experience occupational stereotypes whereas some police officers do not perceive these stereotypes. This issue is largely unexamined in the literature. A significant contribution of this study is the creation and development of the reliable measure, the Self-Perception of Occupational Stereotypes Scale. This scale may be used in future research to better understand this occurrence and how it effects the potential employment options available for retired police officers.

Overall, police officers arrive at retirement earlier than their non-law enforcement peers. Therefore, they may lack adequate role models to emulate when making the retirement transition. As previously indicated, furthering career development beyond career employment can benefit the original law enforcement agency. As indicated by Reuss-Ianni (1983), the social network focus of street cops is a primary source of information and counsel. However, when entering non-career employment opportunities in retirement, retired police officers may feel isolated and unsure of the appropriate steps to navigating employment in a divergent career domain. Emphasizing that the transition to retirement is really a life-long journey as part of the self-managed career can help the realization of personal and professional aspirations in retirement.
Conclusion

Since many police officers have the ability to retire from their primary career at midlife, retired police officers are well-positioned to explore various employment opportunities in retirement. This study attempted to address the impact of identity on later-life work behaviors. For police officers, their identity can be shaped through both structural/occupational experiences as well as individual personality dimensions. Although the individual identity dimensions are correlated with life satisfaction, most of the identity dimensions are unrelated to the participation in bridge employment. However, retired officers who held part-time positions while fully employed as police officers were more likely to participate in bridge employment when compared to individuals who did not hold additional part-time employment while fully employed as police officers. This part-time employment may help facilitate employment for police officers in retirement. Future research should further examine identity as it develops during the career of police officers and the transition to bridge employment for these individuals.
REFERENCES


APPENDICES
APPENDIX A

LATER-LIFE WORK BEHAVIORS QUESTIONNAIRE

Age (in years):

Gender
- Male
- Female

Ethnicity
- White (Caucasian)
- African American
- Hispanic
- Asian/Pacific Islander
- Native American
- Decline to Report

Education: Select Highest Achieved
- GED
- High School Diploma
- Some College
- Associates Degree
- Bachelor’s Degree
- Master’s Degree and Above

If you completed schooling beyond high school, do you hold (a) degree(s) in (a) field(s) other than criminal justice?

- Yes (Please specify the degree[s] and field[s].)
- No

Years of service as a law enforcement officer at retirement:

Years since retirement from your police agency:

Did you reach the mandatory retirement age at your agency?
- Yes
- No
Rank at retirement:
- Officer/Deputy/Trooper
- Investigator
- Sergeant
- Lieutenant
- Captain
- Inspector
- Major/Commander
- Deputy Chief/Undersheriff/Colonel
- Chief/Sheriff/Superintendent

What was the size of your department? (Sizing consistent with Cochrane, Tett, & Vandecreek, 2003).
- Small (Serving a population under 25,000 people)
- Medium (Serving a population between 25,000 and 100,000 people)
- Large (Serving a population greater than 100,000 people)

Were you a member of a specialized unit as a police officer?
- Yes (Please Specify)
- No

Since retiring from your police agency, have you been employed?
- Yes
- No

Do you want to be currently employed?
- Yes
- No

How many jobs have you held since retirement?
- 0
- 1
- 2
- 3
- 4
- 5 or more

While employed as a police officer, I worked at another job on a part-time basis.
- Yes
- No
If so, what occupational field(s) would categorized your part-time employment?: (Mark all the apply)
- Law Enforcement/ Security
- Food Service (Bar and Restaurant)
- Education
- Construction
- Insurance
- Automobile Sales
- Real Estate
- Business
- Management
- Other (Please Specify)
- Not Applicable

Since retiring from my police agency, my work is:
- Part-time
- Full-time
- Not Applicable

Since retiring from my police agency, I have been paid for the work I do:
- Yes
- No
- Not Applicable

What is your current career field of employment?: (Mark all the apply)
- Law Enforcement/ Security
- Food Service (Bar and Restaurant)
- Education
- Construction
- Insurance
- Automobile Sales
- Real Estate
- Business
- Management
- Other (Please Specify)
- Not Applicable

If employed since retiring from your police agency, are you working in a field that is related to your police work?
- Yes
- No
- Not Applicable
If employed since retiring from your police agency, did you plan on working in retirement?
- Yes
- No
- Not Applicable

If employed since retiring from your police agency, did you plan on being employed in your current industry or field in retirement?
- Yes
- No
- Not Applicable

I planned to work in the following career fields before retiring from my police agency.
(Mark all that apply)
- Law Enforcement/ Security
- Food Service (Bar and Restaurant)
- Education
- Construction
- Insurance
- Automobile Sales
- Real Estate
- Business
- Management
- Other (Please Specify)
- Not applicable

Career/ Occupational Embeddedness Scale (adapted from Ng & Feldman, 2009)
[without links dimension, and modified for police work]

Think back to your time as a police officer. Please answer all questions based on your experience before you retired as a police officer using the following scale to indicate the extent to which you agree with the following items.

1 = Strongly Disagree
2 = Disagree
3 = Neither Agree nor Disagree
4 = Agree
5 = Strongly Agree

1. Police work utilizes my skills and talents well.
2. I feel like I am a good match for police work.

3. I fit with police culture.

4. I feel good about my professional growth and development as a police officer.

5. My values are compatible with the values held by other police officers.

6. The benefits associated with working as a police officer are outstanding.

7. My promotional opportunities are excellent as a police officer.

8. I am well compensated for my level of performance as a police officer.

9. I feel that people in law enforcement respect me a lot.

**Police Cynicism** (Regoli, Crank, Rivera, 1990)

Think back to your time as a police officer. Please answer all questions based on your experience before you retired as a police officer using the following scale to indicate the extent to which you agree with the following items.

1 = Strongly Disagree  
2 = Disagree  
3 = Neither Agree nor Disagree  
4 = Agree  
5 = Strongly Agree

**Decision Makers**

1. The major problem at the police department is that the officials who are in charge don’t really understand what the average officer has to face each day.

2. The people in charge never seem to respect the officers who do the real work.

3. The people in charge are mostly looking out for themselves and don’t really care about what happens to the rest of us.

4. Promotions are based on whom you know, rather than on what you know.
Rules

5. The rules that we’re supposed to follow never seem to be very clear.

6. The instructions I’m given on how to do my work are often vague and contradictory.

7. The rules and regulations are not clear enough that I know what I can and cannot do on the job.

8. Many of the laws we are supposed to enforce don’t seem to make very much sense.

Legal system

9. New changes and reforms are weakening the traditional authority of the police officer.

10. The courts have given offenders so many rights that it is practically impossible to maintain law and order.

11. The police should have the right to listen to and record telephone conversations if they believe that they need to do so.

12. When a person is arrested, he should be held in jail until his case comes to trial if the police and prosecutor believe this is necessary.

Respect (Citizens)

13. Many citizens have a bad attitude toward police officers.

14. In the past few years, the respect shown officers by citizens has decreased.

15. Citizens in recent years seem to have more defiant attitudes than ever before.

16. When testifying in court, the police officer is often treated as a criminal when asked to take the witness stand.

Aggression (Buss and Perry, 1992) [without physical aggression subscale]

Please indicate the accuracy of each of the following items as they relate to you.

1 = Very Inaccurate
2 = Moderately Inaccurate
3 = Neither Accurate Nor Inaccurate

85
4 = Moderately Accurate
5 = Very Accurate

Verbal Aggression

1. I tell my friends openly when I disagree with them.
2. I often find myself disagreeing with people.
3. When people annoy me, I may tell them what I think of them.
4. I can't help getting into arguments when people disagree with me.
5. My friends say that I'm somewhat argumentative.

Anger

1. I flare up quickly but get over it quickly.
2. When frustrated, I let my irritation show.
3. I sometimes feel like a powder keg ready to explode.
4. I am an even-tempered person.*
5. Some of my friends think I'm a hothead.
6. Sometimes I fly off the handle for no good reason.
7. I have trouble controlling my temper.

Hostility

1. I am sometimes eaten up with jealousy.
2. At times I feel I have gotten a raw deal out of life.
3. Other people always seem to get the breaks.
4. I wonder why sometimes I feel so bitter about things.
5. I know that "friends" talk about me behind my back.

6. I am suspicious of overly friendly strangers.

7. I sometimes feel that people are laughing at me behind my back.

8. When people are especially nice, I wonder what they want.

**Integrity** from the International Personality Item Pool (IPIP)

Please indicate the extent to which you agree with the following statements.

1 = Strongly Disagree  
2 = Disagree  
3 = Neither Agree nor Disagree  
4 = Agree  
5 = Strongly Agree

1. I am trusted to keep secrets.

2. I keep my promises.

3. I believe that honesty is the basis for trust.

4. I can be trusted to keep my promises.

5. I am true to my own values.

6. I lie to get myself out of trouble.*

7. I am hard to understand.*

8. I feel like an imposter.*

9. I like to exaggerate my troubles.*

**Service Orientation Scale** (Brooks, Piquero, & Cronin, 1993)

Please indicate the extent to which you agree with the following statements.
1 = Strongly Disagree
2 = Disagree
3 = Neither Agree nor Disagree
4 = Agree
5 = Strongly Agree

1. Police officers should not have to handle calls that involve social or personal problems where no crime is involved. *

2. Police should help settle family disputes.

3. Police should handle public nuisance problems.

4. Police officers should assist sick or injured persons.

5. Police officers should assist citizens who are locked out of their cars.

6. Policing should be seen as a service organization.

7. If police officers act in a service capacity, this detracts from their ability to fight crime.*

Self-Perception of Occupational Stereotypes Scale

Please indicate the extent to which you agree with the following statements.

1 = Strongly Disagree
2 = Disagree
3 = Neither Agree nor Disagree
4 = Agree
5 = Strongly Agree

1. I feel my skills are only appreciated within law enforcement.

2. Outside the field of law enforcement, others view me as overly judgmental.

3. Because I was a police officer, people I meet assume I am not highly intelligent.

4. Because I was a police officer, people I meet assume I can be too aggressive.
5. Because I was a police officer, people I meet assume I don’t have business sense.

**Satisfaction with Life Scale** (Diener, Emmons, Larsen, & Griffin, 1985) [originally a 7-point scale]

Please indicate the extent to which you agree with the following items.

1 = Strongly Disagree  
2 = Disagree  
3 = Neither Agree nor Disagree  
4 = Agree  
5 = Strongly Agree

1. In most ways my life is close to my ideal.  
2. The conditions of my life are excellent.  
3. I am satisfied with my life.  
4. So far I have gotten the important things I want in life.  
5. If I could live my life over, I would change almost nothing.

* = Reverse Scored
APPENDIX B

INSTITUTIONAL REVIEW BOARD APPROVAL

Office of Research Administration
Akron, OH 44325-3102

NOTICE OF APPROVAL

February 22, 2013

Stephen Hill
Psychology Department
The University of Akron
Akron, Ohio 44325-4301

From: Sharon McWhorter, IRB Administrator


Thank you for submitting your Exemption Request for the referenced study. Your request was approved on February 22, 2013. The protocol represents minimal risk to subjects and matches the following federal category for exemption:

☐ Exemption 1 – Research conducted in established or commonly accepted educational settings, involving normal educational practices.

☒ Exemption 2 – Research involving the use of educational tests, survey procedures, interview procedures, or observation of public behavior.

☐ Exemption 3 – Research involving the use of educational tests, survey procedures, interview procedures, or observation of public behavior not exempt under category 2, but subjects are elected or appointed public officials or candidates for public office.

☐ Exemption 4 – Research involving the collection or study of existing data, documents, records, pathological specimens, or diagnostic specimens.

☐ Exemption 5 – Research and demonstration projects conducted by or subject to the approval of department or agency heads, and which are designed to study, evaluate, or otherwise examine public programs or benefits.

☐ Exemption 6 – Taste and food quality evaluation and consumer acceptance studies.

Annual continuation applications are not required for exempt projects. If you make changes to the study’s design or procedures that increase the risk to subjects or include activities that do not fall within the approved exemption category, please contact me to discuss whether or not a new application must be submitted. Any such changes or modifications must be reviewed and approved by the IRB prior to implementation.

Please retain this letter for your files. This office will hold your exemption application for a period of three years from the approval date. If you wish to continue this protocol beyond this period, you will need to submit another Exemption Request. If the research is being conducted for a master’s thesis or doctoral dissertation, the student must file a copy of this letter with the thesis or dissertation.

☑ Approved consent form/s enclosed

Cc: Andrea Snell - Advisor
    Valérie Céleman - IRB Chair