12-2019

Engagement in Children's Advocacy Centers' Multidisciplinary Teams: Law Enforcement's Perspective

Ivy R. Buchan

ENGAGEMENT IN CHILDREN'S ADVOCACY CENTERS'

MULTIDISCIPLINARY TEAMS: LAW ENFORCEMENT'S PERSPECTIVE

A Dissertation

Submitted to the School of Graduate Studies and Research

in Partial Fulfillment of the

Requirements for the Degree

Doctor of Philosophy

Ivy R. Buchan

Indiana University of Pennsylvania

December 2019

ii

Indiana University of Pennsylvania
School of Graduate Studies and Research
Department of Sociology

We hereby approve the dissertation of

Ivy R. Buchan

Candidate for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

_____   _____
                                             J. Beth Mabry, Ph.D.
                                             Professor of Sociology, Chair

_____   _____
                                             Kathryn Bonach, Ph.D.
                                             Professor of Sociology

_____   _____
                                             Melissa Swauger, Ph.D.
                                             Associate Professor of Sociology

ACCEPTED

_____   _____
Randy L. Martin, Ph.D.
Dean
School of Graduate Studies and Research

Title: Engagement in Children's Advocacy Centers' Multidisciplinary Teams: Law Enforcement's Perspective

Author: Ivy R. Buchan

Dissertation Chair: Dr. J. Beth Mabry

Dissertation Committee Members: Dr. Kathryn Bonach
                                                          Dr. Melissa Swauger

This study explores factors that facilitate or hinder the engagement of law enforcement officers in multidisciplinary teams (MDTs) at the core of Children's Advocacy Centers (CACs). CACs are a collaborative approach to child sexual abuse. MDTs bring together major disciplines responding to child abuse including: law enforcement; children and youth services (CYS); the district attorney's (DA's) office; and medical, therapeutic, and victim services. The MDT collaborates in a joint investigation that avoids the need for children to repeat their abuse story multiple times to different adults, possibly retraumatizing them. As the criminal investigator on the MDT, the law enforcement representative's engagement is vital for the success of the MDT process. Engagement means attending forensic interviews of the child victims and MDT case review meetings and sharing information and communication with other MDT members.

The literature indicates that law enforcement officers may face some unique obstacles to CAC MDT engagement. Through the lenses of Miller's (1958) Subcultural Theory and Schein's (1998) theory of organizational culture, distinctions emerge between the traditional paramilitary structure and culture of law enforcement in contrast with the cultures of the other disciplines represented on the MDT. In Bronstein's (2003) Model of Interdisciplinary Team Collaboration, team members co-create goals, understand each other's roles, agree on joint processes, and are flexible. Police officers may encounter barriers to MDT engagement related to lack of institutional support from law enforcement for their MDT role, gendered role assumptions about CAC MDT assignment of officers, a lack of sufficient training regarding child abuse, and limited

resources for their MDT participation. Previous research does not address barriers to CAC MDT engagement for law enforcement and how to address them.

Fifteen police officers, in jurisdictions served by one of the 32 CACs in Pennsylvania, participated in in-depth individual interviews about their experiences and perceptions with CAC MDTs, following a semi-structured guide. I also sought support from CACs leaders in identifying potential law enforcement participants and background information on their CAC. This study, though small, produced seven key themes and the findings are encouraging: (1) officers want to participate and want the MDT to succeed, and they view men and women as equally well equipped for this work, although women are disproportionately assigned to CACs; (2) CACs and DAs' offices can reduce law enforcement barriers to MDT engagement through education, example, building rapport, and providing resources; and (3) state regulations and policies matter because they can provide basic standards of practice for law enforcement participation with CACs. The key implication is that officer engagement on CAC MDTs is not a law enforcement issue, but all CAC MDT members can play a role in engaging officers and other members in the team's success in serving children and families.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

TABLE OF CONTENTS

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

What facilitates or inhibits law enforcement engagement in the multidisciplinary teams (MDT) at the core of children's advocacy centers (CACs), which are organizations that coordinate child sexual abuse investigations with social services, health providers, law enforcement, and criminal prosecutors? CACs serve as the "gold standard" national, child-centered model for conducting child sexual abuse investigations in order to minimize further trauma of interviews and examinations to victims. Child sexual abuse is a crime that affects children regardless of age, race/ethnicity, gender, socio-economic status, and family background. This problem has far reaching consequences, not just for the child victim, but for the family of the victim and perpetrator, local community, and society as a whole (Fine, Marlar, Rioth, & Mullen, 2016).

CACs are a collaborative way for communities to address child sexual abuse, and they require an MDT component to succeed. Benefits of an MDT approach to child sexual abuse investigations include reducing the number of times children are interviewed, thereby minimizing risk of re-traumatizing them; gathering evidence by trained forensic interviewers; responding quickly and efficiently to child abuse reports; and accessing victim support such as medical, mental health, and advocacy services. A large body of research highlights the importance of law enforcement engagement in the MDT in order to facilitate an effective and balanced approach to child abuse investigations. Law enforcement reciprocally benefits from MDT participation by the collection of evidence that contributes to building a stronger case for prosecution, the ability to concentrate on the criminal investigation without the added roles of performing victim services duties, receiving CAC training on child protection during an

investigation, and gaining a deeper understanding of how family dynamics are implicated in child sexual abuse situations (Fine et al., 2016). For members of the MDT, engagement means to attending forensic interviews and court hearings, participating in case and peer reviews, data-sharing, coordination of investigative steps, and ongoing, open communication with other MDT members (Hatch & Cunliffe, 2006; National Children's Alliance, 2012; O'Neill & McCarthy, 2014). For the purposes of this study, MDT engagement may also include attending CAC sponsored trainings and events. Existing research emphasizes that law enforcement officers' have special needs and obstacles related to their engagement in the MDT collaboration (Malmin, 2013; Pielmus, 2013; Senna & Siegel, 2001).

Law enforcement officers' occupational objectives in child abuse cases typically are perpetrator-focused around arresting and gathering evidence against perpetrators. Additionally, law enforcement officers tend to operate in a culture of secrecy that is closed off to civilians (Pielmus, 2013). Their established traditions and quasi-military organization reinforce the value of toughness, not empathy (Pielmus, 2013; Senna & Siegel, 2001). Typically, officers lack training and experience with child abuse, CACs, and MDTs (Fine et al., 2016; Newman, Dannefelser, & Pendleton, 2005), and their leaders often quash contemporary and innovative approaches to police work (Malmin, 2013). For CACs to be most effective for the children who are victims of sexual abuse, the full engagement of law enforcement on CAC MDTs is crucial. Police are the criminal investigators on the MDT, and they are tasked with building a case of information and evidence to hand over to the DA's office. Therefore, gaining a better understanding of what facilitates law enforcement engagement in MDTs would be a valuable contribution to inform policy and practice.

Child Sexual Abuse

Child sexual abuse is not only a violation of a child's physical being, but also their trust and sense of security. In 2017, approximately 674,000 children were victims of child abuse or neglect in the United States (*U.S. DHHS*, 2017) and over 334,626 children received services by a children's advocacy center (CAC) (*NCA National Statistics*, 2017). During the year 2018 in Pennsylvania, there were 46,617 reports of child abuse or 16.4 reports per 1,000 children. This statistic is an increase from 40,590 reports in 2015. Sixty-six of the 67 counties in the state documented an increase of reports over 2014, and 44 counties had rates equal to or above the average for the state. Substantiated cases, meaning evidence of a crime or crimes was found, equaled 10.4% of all reported cases; 47% involved sexual abuse (*Pennsylvania DHS*, 2019).

Children's Advocacy Centers

As understanding of child development and the effects of child abuse on victims grew over the last thirty years, so did the number of child-focused options for child abuse investigations. The children's advocacy center (CAC) model is now one such option and is designed to minimize trauma to child victims and increase the thoroughness of child abuse investigations (Fine et al., 2016). In 1985, the CAC model was developed in Huntsville, Alabama (Newman & Dannenfelser, 2005), and was widely adopted by experts in the field and supported by a large body of research commissioned by the National Children's Alliance (NCA). The NCA is the governing and accrediting body of CACs and provides guidance and resources to all accredited CACs in the United States. The mission of CACs is to provide a "comprehensive, culturally competent MDT response to allegations of child abuse in a dedicated, child-friendly setting" ("What Is a CAC," n.d.). More specifically, a CAC is "a child-focused facility-based program in which representatives from core disciplines- law enforcement, child

protection, prosecution, mental health, medical, and victim advocacy- collaborate to investigate child abuse reports, conduct forensic interviews, determine and provide evidence-based interventions, and assess cases for prosecution" (Fine et al., 2016, p. 7). In order to achieve and maintain accreditation the CAC must adhere to ten standards established by the NCA, including:

1. Multidisciplinary Team (MDT)- a group of representatives from each of the primary agencies that respond to child abuse allegations

2. Cultural Competency and Diversity- a commitment to provide culturally sensitive services for all clients until the conclusion of the case

3. Forensic Interviews- a legally sound and neutral approach developed to avoid multiple interviews of the alleged victim

4. Victim Support and Advocacy- support services for victims and their non-offending caregivers

5. Medical Evaluations- specialized medical examinations to collect evidence, offer treatment, and dispel myths of child sexual abuse physical effects

6. Mental Health- evidence-based trauma-focused therapy

7. Case Review- a monthly meeting, facilitated by the CAC, for all MDT representatives to provide updates and discuss approaches to open cases

8. Case Tracking- the CAC's system for following the progress of all open cases and the outcomes of all investigations

9. Organizational Capacity- the legal entity responsible for governance of all business and operations

10. Child-Focused Settings- an environment designed to be comfortable, safe, and diverse for all alleged victims (Fine et al., 2016).

The standards are adaptable enough to fit a variety of communities and their needs, and flexible enough for a CAC to meet the basic requirements and progress to what NCA deems as engaging best practices (Fine et al., 2016).

Over 800 accredited CACs are established in rural, suburban, and urban settings in the United States (Healing, Justice, & Trust, 2018) and in 25 countries (Multidisciplinary Team, n.d.). Today, four out of every five children in the United States live in an area with access to a CAC (Fine et al., 2016; Newman et al., 2005). The NCA (2017) reported that a total of 334,626 children under the age of 18 received services from the 800 CACs across the country in 2017 (Healing, Justice, & Trust, 2018). In Pennsylvania, 13,617 children received services (NCA Statistics, 2015) from the 32 accredited CACs throughout 2018 ("Pennsylvania Chapters," 2016).

CACs offer numerous benefits beyond supporting the victim. According to Newman et al. (2005), some advantages for communities and agencies to establishing a CAC include more resources, equipment, child-friendly environment, connections to other MDT members, substantiating whether evidence of abuse exists, and access to trained forensic interviewers. Traditional investigations, in the absence of CAC processes, typically require each discipline to conduct their own investigation of an alleged incident of child abuse, costing 36% more than CAC investigations and unquantifiable additional distress for the child victim and family.

Coordinated CAC investigations save the community an average of $1,000 per child abuse case compared to communities without a CAC (Formby, Shadoin, Shao, Magnuson, & Overman, 2006) and reduces risk of re-traumatizing child victims and families. The savings is attributed to bringing the team together for one forensic interview, participating together, discussing in real time. Interviews and communications are streamlined, increasing productivity, and time spent coordinating separate interviews, investigations, and meetings to update the other

disciplines are obsolete. Also, the CAC model is associated with increased rates of effective prosecutions of offenders. The coordination of efforts and resources result in more thorough investigations, usually a record of any disclosures, and children and families who are more prepared to participate in the court process (Cross, 2003; Jones, Walsh, Simone, & Kolko, 2007).

In Pennsylvania, there are no state regulations for CACs; they are self-governing. Most Pennsylvanian CACs are independent nonprofit organizations, although some operate under the umbrella of a district attorney's (DA) office, hospital, or other medical organization. Twenty-seven CACs function in Pennsylvania serving varying numbers of residents in urban, suburban, and rural areas, and 21 of the state's 69 counties are served by an accredited CAC or a satellite CAC ("Pennsylvania Chapters," 2016). In 2013 and over the next four years, Pennsylvania began to expand the scope of mandated reporters and the reporting process through new legislation (Keep Kids Safe, n.d.). During this same time period, the 2016 Annual Child Protective Services Report, Governor Tom Wolf enumerated the addition of 24 laws that would change how Pennsylvania responds to child abuse, specifically the "reporting, investigation, assessment, prosecution, and judicial handling of child abuse and neglect cases" (*Pennsylvania DHS*, 2016, p.2) but no reference to CACs and state support (*Pennsylvania DHS*, 2016, p.2). Details about the laws and implementation were not included in the report. For a comprehensive summary of the legislative acts visit www.keepkidssafe.pa.gov (Keep Kids Safe, n.d.). In the most recent Annual Child Protective Services Report, by the Pennsylvania Department of Human Services (2019), there is no reference to CACs, only three mentions of MDTs related to joint investigations (*Pennsylvania DHS*, 2019).

Children's Advocacy Center Process

An investigation of alleged child sexual abuse in communities without a CAC is unrecognizable when compared to a CAC MDT investigation. A community member or mandated child abuse reporter submits a claim of alleged child abuse to law enforcement or to CYS. The agency receiving the report is supposed to notify the other entity. CYS completes an assessment of the situation within 24 hours to determine whether, or not, the child is in any immediate risk of physical harm. If the alleged perpetrator lives in the same home as the children, CYS need to confirm the alleged perpetrator will leave the premises and not have contact with the child until the investigation is complete.

If a CAC is in place in a community and if the allegations include a claim of sexual abuse, extreme physical abuse, or witness to violence, the case is referred to a CAC to carry out the MDT approach. Once a CAC is brought into the process, the CAC schedules a forensic interview at the CAC with a trained interviewer in a child-friendly space. In a separate, unobtrusive observation area, through a one-way mirror and/or live via video and audio recording the interview, may be representatives from the MDT: the DA's office, law enforcement from the jurisdiction where the abuse allegedly occurred, and CYS. Some CACs include a victim's advocate and/or medical professional in the interview stage and, if not, they meet with the child and non-offending caregiver after the interview. Therefore, at least the DA, law enforcement, and CYS observe the interview while the forensic interviewer speaks with the child. At an appropriate time, the interviewer takes a break from interviewing the child victim and returns to the observing MDT members to ask if they have any questions or need clarification on the child's statements. Then, the interviewer incorporates the feedback from the team into the rest of the interview.

By following the forensic interview process, the MDT members can participate in the interview without being face-to-face with the child. This approach means the child only interacts with one specially trained interviewer for one interview instead of being subjected to multiple interviews by representatives of each of the investigating disciplines. In many CACs the child does not meet the observing MDT members or may have the option to meet the members. After the interview, the non-offending caregiver meets the MDT members and they explain the next steps and CAC resources. Most CACs, and all the CACs in Pennsylvania document the interview by videotape and supply a copy to law enforcement to secure as evidence. Some CACs also produce a report about the outcome of the interview, participants, and the aftercare plan for the child and their caregivers.

As one of the standards for accreditation, the CAC tracks the case from the interview to prosecution or other conclusion of the case. Case tracking and the collection of updates often takes place during the MDT case review process, another standard for accreditation. Regardless of MDT member engagement in case review, the CAC attempts to collect details about the progression of all cases on a regular basis. This data serves as the only comprehensive record for each allegation of child abuse for the CAC service area. If the case goes to trial, the forensic interviewer may be subpoenaed to testify about the CAC's mission and services and observations during the interview. If needed, the CAC may continue to coordinate additional services such as a medical exam, therapy, or non-offending caregiver classes. Despite this involvement, the CAC does not provide case management for the family or discuss details of any pending investigation. The CAC serves as the liaison to relevant services in the community ("Multidisciplinary," n.d.; The Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention, 2015).

When a CAC and MDT are not present in a community, representatives from each major discipline question the child at their home and/or the representative's workplace, in other words, the child is questioned at the police station, hospital, DA, or CYS. A child may have to tell their story five or six times just during the investigative process (Fine et al., 2016; Newman et al. (2005). Each party then conducts their own investigation with the child and their family left to advocacy for themselves and go through the investigative, and possibly, the prosecutorial process alone.

Children's Advocacy Centers' Multidisciplinary Teams

An MDT is the first standard required by National Children's Alliance (NCA), the accrediting body of children's advocacy centers (CACs). The standard dictates which disciplines should be a part of the team: law enforcement, legal prosecution, child protective services, medical care, victim advocacy, and a CAC. Other stakeholders in the community, such as judges, policymakers, health care providers, victim advocates, and non-offending caregivers may also encourage CAC members to adhere to protocols since a CAC is a community wide approach (Fine et al., 2016). For the purposes of this study, engagement means "decision to apply his discretionary effort to the goals of the enterprise, to accept those goals as his own and wholeheartedly commit to achieving them" (Schweyer, 2010, p.1), and for members of the MDT, engagement translates to attending forensic interviews and court hearings, participating in case and peer reviews, data-sharing, coordination of investigative steps, ongoing, open communication with other MDT members (Hatch & Cunliffe, 2006; National Children's Alliance, 2012; O'Neill & McCarthy, 2014), and attending CAC sponsored trainings and events.

The CAC model is universal in the sense that it can be adopted and applied in any locale yet customized to fit the needs of the specific jurisdiction in which it operates. Theoretically, this

approach means a CAC needs to combine and adapt to the local law enforcement, child protective services, DA's office, medical community, therapeutic community, victim services, the state, and the local community. In order to start a CAC a person or group of local champions for the model need to educate the local stakeholders on the importance of the model, secure their support, create local protocols, find funding, and create a legal entity or connect with an established organization and create a partnership agreement. This process can take years and it may take several more years before the CAC can attempt accreditation (Fine et al., 2016; Newman et al., 2005).

The process of combining these entities is far from seamless or ever complete. The concept of an MDT can appear straightforward on paper, but it can disintegrate through the process of application (Fine et al., 2016; Newman et al., 2005). According to the MDT model, the team should come together for the sake of the CAC mission. However, each team member views the information through the filter of their own discipline, with different objectives related to child abuse cases: law enforcement focuses on upholding the law, child protective services focuses on the safety of the child, the DA's office focuses on the prosecution of those who commit a criminal offense, medical providers focus on the physical health of the child victim; and victim advocacy focuses on the victim's and family's emotional well-being (Fine et al., 2016; Newman et al., 2005).

Collaboration is "an effective interpersonal process that facilitates the achievement of goals that cannot be reached when individual professions act on their own" (Bronstein, 2003, p. 299). Coordinating the collaboration of the MDT, and more importantly, maintaining purposeful collaboration, is a challenging and continuous task for all members of CAC MDTs (Fine et al., 2016). Newman and Dannenfelser (2005) identified the challenge of creating and maintaining a

high functioning MDT as one possible deterrent to communities considering the creation of a CAC to handle their child abuse investigations. In the process of forming a CAC MDT and to adhere to NCA accreditation standards, MDT agencies are asked to sign an interagency agreement as their commitment to follow the established protocols for child abuse investigations in that service area. However, these agreements are not legally binding, and each MDT discipline has the choice to join in the agreement and to discontinue their cooperation at any time. It is very important that all disciplines agree to utilize the CAC model to avoid duplicated interviews of the child victims and overlapping efforts to investigate the alleged abuse (Fine et al., 2016; Newman et al., 2005). Pennsylvania is a Commonwealth and, therefore, these agreements are addressed on a county level, requiring each CAC to educate their local MDT representatives on the benefits of a CAC and to secure their participation (Fine et al., 2016).

Law enforcement should be involved in child abuse investigations due to their investigative skills and training (Pelton, 1998), which can be a complement to the other MDT members' expertise. However, when Pelton (1998) studied the effects of law enforcement handling child abuse allegations alone as compared to a joint effort with child protection services, the results did not support a silo approach. Children involved in the law enforcement only investigations experienced more re-victimization, and children in their service area were 8% more likely to fall victim to maltreatment than children in areas where child protective services participated in child abuse investigation (Pelton, 1998). Pelton (1998) highlights that child protective and victim advocacy services offer invaluable skills to the investigation, especially in assessing family dynamics and connecting family to services which could reduce future victimization. Involving child protection and advocacy services creates an opportunity for team members to review each other's decisions and address gaps in a timely manner. Overall, this

collaboration is more productive and cost effective, and to avoids duplicating efforts (Pelton, 1998).

Several studies find that MDT members recognize the benefits of a collaborative approach. A survey of 681 CACs with 12,685 responses from MDT members reported that 98% of respondents agree that the CAC model fosters collaboration and they believe that clients benefit from the collaboration of the MDT disciplines. The same survey revealed that 95% of the non-offending caregivers of child victims agreed that CACs provided them with resources to support their children (Healing, Justice, & Trust, 2018).

In order to identify strengths of the CAC model, Newman et al. (2005) asked law enforcement and child protective service workers in 20 states why they use CACs. The top five reasons from respondents were that CACs offer a child-friendly environment, resources for therapy and medical examinations, trained forensic interviews, formal procedures for a child abuse investigation, and access to equipment. Some respondents explained they used the CAC because a written protocol required their involvement. Respondents also indicated that staff availability, equipment, collaboration, and communication were areas in need of improvement. The researchers did not analyze the perspectives of law enforcement separately from child protective service workers nor did they examine levels of MDT engagement among members of these two entities (Newman et al., 2005).

Researcher Positionality

When presented with the task of deciding on my dissertation research topic, I focused on topics with which I have both experience and deep interest. I narrowed down my options by focusing on the opportunity to provide understanding and/or solutions to challenges I observed.

Police engagement in CAC MDTs was one such issue I witnessed and had an invested interest in offering more information to the related literature.

My professional and volunteer experiences provided an introduction and first-hand knowledge that informed this study. The following statement will explain my involvement with children's advocacy centers (CAC) and observations of the dire need for information to encourage police to engage in CAC MDTs.

In my teens, I discovered a passion for helping others and understanding the culture and factors impacting an organization's mission. In 2000, when I started college, I accepted a job as a Children's Advocate at a local domestic violence shelter in York, Pennsylvania. I enjoyed working with the children and their parents, leading support groups, coordinating victims' services, and advocating for the victims and families in the criminal justice system. Even though this work was satisfying, I drifted towards projects that included fundraising, development, and organizing the domestic violence task force. While facilitating the task force, I became fascinated with the dynamics of the multidisciplinary teams like that one. Members included representatives from local law enforcement, media/newspaper, the hospital, child protective services, and the local area housing authority, among others. I graduated from college in 2004 with a Bachelor's degree in Criminal Justice and in 2005 I left the domestic violence shelter to pursue a more advanced career opportunity that allowed me to work in the same field and develop my expertise. In 2009, I graduated with my Master's degree in Administration of Justice with a specialization in Leadership. This advanced degree expanded my knowledge base related to organizational and cultural behavior and the unique profession of law enforcement.

One year later, in 2010, I secured a position at the York County (Pennsylvania) Children's Advocacy Center and the opportunity to work with children again, do fundraising,

and collaborate on an MDT. I immediately completed the training to become a forensic interviewer and an extended forensic interviewer. Extended forensic interviewing is a process of essentially one interview over the span of multiple session. This approach is used when a single interview is insufficient to build rapport or gather all the information the child is willing to share, possibly when the child has certain diagnosed conditions and needs more time to feel comfortable with the interviewing process. Over the next four years I conducted hundreds of interviews with children from age two to 18 as well as adults with special needs and/or circumstances. The interviews addressed child sexual abuse, severe neglect or physical abuse, or a child witness to violence. I was, and occasionally still am, subpoenaed to testify in court about the mission of the CAC, forensic interview best practices, and my observations during a forensic interview. With my education, relevant work experience, and after several orders to testify, the court deemed me an expert witness. This designation means the court can elect to skip reviewing my credentials and quickly ask for my expert opinion about a case. To maintain my status as a forensic interviewer I participated in quarterly national, quarterly regional, and monthly state peer reviews. I also attended several conferences and trainings about child development, MDTs, forensic interview best practices, and investigative tactics targeting law enforcement.

In addition to my work as a forensic interviewer, I assisted the York County CAC with fundraising, facilitated MDT case reviews, planned trainings and conferences, and led the CAC (re)accreditation process. I also began working part-time for the Adams County Children's Advocacy Center in Gettysburg, Pennsylvania, as a backup forensic interviewer, as well as managing their fundraising and development efforts. Between the two CACs I participated in the (re)accreditation process on three occasions. Each (re)accreditation takes several months to prepare the application and get ready for the on-site evaluation.

During my time with CACs, a common topic of discussion among CAC staff and MDT members was the absence of law enforcement representatives at MDT meetings and their lack of engagement in the team process. Forensic interviews were often delayed due to waiting for the appropriate officer to arrive, even though the interview was scheduled with the agreement of all the MDT members assigned to that particular case. If an officer could not attend at the last minute, a substitute law enforcement officer attended in order for the CAC to meet the requisite standards for accreditation. Ideally, the substitute would have been from the same jurisdiction, but many times the substitute was an officer from another department in the CAC service area or a detective from the DA's office who received an order to attend. The use of a substitute law enforcement officer sometimes was necessary to meet the accreditation requirements and could be disruptive to the MDT process. The forensic interview is the first time the team members meet and discuss the allegation(s) and investigative approach to a new case. Even if the team members already know each other, each case brings a new mix of factors that need the recommitment of the team members to follow the MDT process. There is no such thing as a standard case, so every allegation brought new challenges. The presence of a substitute law enforcement representative at the forensic interview, someone who may not be trained in or familiar with CACs and the MDT process and who likely would not end up handling the case, could be disruptive to the non-offending caregivers in attendance at the interview process. Besides waiting sometimes an hour or more for a substitute officer to arrive for the forensic interview, the absence of the MDT's designated law enforcement representative meant that child victims' non-offending caregivers are denied the chance to meet the officer who ultimately would handle the investigation. This adds stress to an already an extremely personal and emotional situation for the caregivers. The absent MDT-assigned officer also misses the

15

opportunity to meet the family and alleged victim in person and to observe the forensic interview first-hand. The designated MDT officer cannot offer his or her input and questions in real time, therefore negating the purpose of gathering the MDT for one interview to participate as one unit. It was rare to witness a substitute officer ask questions or take the lead in discussions with the MDT or family, not in the same way that the trained and assigned MDT officer would handle the meeting. Although this behavior on the part of a substitute officer may be well intended so as not to interfere or disturb the process, this passivity presented as disinterest, a lack of concern about and engagement in the case. Watching the child victim disclose right down the hall and collecting evidence on the spot are strong investigative motivators for members of law enforcement; it supplies them with a sense a purpose in the CAC's victim-focused approach. An officer reviewing a video of the forensic interview at a later time cannot capture or experience the feeling in the room among the other MST members and non-offending family who are present, cannot pick up on their nonverbal communication during the interview, does not , build rapport with fellow MDT members and families during interactions between interview steps, and misses discussing portions of the case with real time feedback.

During monthly CAC MDT case review meetings, if officers attended, their focus was on asking other team members to share their information about the family members or other parties involved in a particular child abuse investigation. Officers were hesitant to disclose their information and often complained about the timing of the meeting. Many officers who did attend did so on their days off because of their commitment to their cases and the joint process. Only a few officers were allowed to attend these meetings as a part of their scheduled shifts. On a few occasions State Police officers attended because they were paid overtime to cover the meetings.

The most common questions I observed law enforcement officers posing during MDT case reviews were for clarification from medical professionals about lack of evidence and to the DA's office about lack of charges. Many times these questions came across with an accusatory tone, without a desire for education about the other members' professional requirements in the investigations. At times, I would feel uncomfortable. Peer review participants often discussed experiencing similar situations with their law enforcement officers and, unless a skilled facilitator addressed the tension as it arose, we witnessed how could it manifest and erode the foundation of the MDT. Those discussions highlighted to me the state and national need to better engage law enforcement in the MDTs and identifying how to address this challenge.

While I worked at CACs, I helped organize numerous conferences and trainings, some of which were specifically targeted to law enforcement. We heard from multiple officers each year who wanted to attend but could not get permission from their superiors to change their shift, use limited department funds, or secure patrol coverage while they took advantage of the educational opportunity.

The few officers I witnessed fully engaging in the MDT process were those in leadership roles, such as supervisors, detectives, chiefs, and officers promoted beyond patrol. However, most of the officers investigating child abuse allegations were patrol officers, usually with relatively less patrol experience than other officers in their departments. Officers often vocalized that the child abuse cases were not a coveted assignment and actually cases that officers dreaded. Most of the police departments I worked with were in rural areas and cases were assigned according to who was available next or as an informal punishment. Through my CAC experience at conferences and peer reviews, I encountered some police officers who were assigned to handle child abuse cases, the majority of whom were women and from urban areas.

Perhaps the most disappointing types of encounters with law enforcement were when officers, who almost always worked on the street/patrol level, would lament about their lack of resources. They shared their desire to attend interviews, MDT case review, and trainings but they could not get permission and/or their department did not have the funds to pay overtime. On countless occasions officers posed questions to the interviewers in private about the other disciplines. I observed a strong desire to understand and be viewed as more than a "dumb enforcer" called upon when the team needed the offender arrested. They wanted to help get justice for the most vulnerable of their citizens, but they were not clear how they fit into the CAC process.

I, along with other CAC staff, asked the state and national CAC organizations for help with law enforcement officer engagement in the MDT process. We were offered advice for the MDT as a whole and told to explain to officers that the MDT process is best for the child and it is always a good idea to work together. We were not offered, and they did not seem to have, advice specific to law enforcement. Police culture, with main characteristics differing from all the other MDT members, was not taken into account. Basic obstacles cropped up repeatedly, such as a lack of training about CACs, MDT protocols, forensic interviewing, child development, victim grooming by perpetrators, and victim-centered services.

These obstacles to law enforcement engagement on MDTs continually put the CAC in the delicate position of wanting to encourage the officers to participate but having to demand their engagement due to the risk of violating the standards accreditation. With no direction about how to keep this balance, the CAC staff expressed hopelessness related to law enforcement engagement.

My experience and observations motivated me to research the challenge to CACs of engaging law enforcement officers in the MDT process. I hope that my findings will contribute to the literature and offer much needed guidance to engage law enforcement. Therefore, my specific research question for this study is "What facilitates or inhibits law enforcement engagement in CACs' MDTs in Pennsylvania?"

CHAPTER TWO

REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

An abundance of research exists on the various topics of child sexual abuse, children's advocacy centers (CACs), multidisciplinary teams (MDTs), law enforcement, law enforcement culture, organizational structure and culture, and collaboration, respectively. There is little research, however, that addresses these topics together and how they influence one another. Specifically, the literature lacks an analysis of what factors encourage law enforcement's engagement in CAC MDTs. Research does exist, however, related to collaborative relationships and projects integrating police and community agency services, which I reviewed to inform this study. To begin to understand what might facilitate or inhibit police engagement in CAC MDTs, this review of the literature provides a brief history of American law enforcement, examines other collaborative relationships police maintain and why, and describes what is known about characteristics of effective collaborations between law enforcement and other community organizations. Finally, as a guiding framework for this study, I consider three social theories that address the factors identified in the literature that may play a role in law enforcement (dis)engagement on CAC MDTs.

Studies exist that distinguish between the terms *law enforcement* and *police*. For the purpose of this paper, exploration of the literature, and in pursuit of answering the research question, I use the terms *law enforcement* and *police* interchangeably. I consider both law enforcement and police to be people employed as officers of the law, regardless of jurisdiction, agency, or rank.

History of Policing

Early English society provided the seeds that grew into the United States' police organizations as we know them today (Senna & Siegel, 2001). That seed started as neighbors helping fellow neighbors within limits of their own village to resolve problems that arose. Later, in the thirteenth century, a more formal approach developed into what was called the watch system executed by watchmen and organized by churches or constables (Marsh, 2004; Senna & Siegel, 2001). Throughout the night, these men protected England's more populated areas from fires, robberies, and other troublesome issues (Senna & Siegel, 2001). The justice of the peace was also born during this same time period and began the differentiation between the role of police and the judiciary (Marsh, 2004; Senna & Siegel, 2001).

Five hundred years later, crime rates were high in England, and private police agents called thief takes (Senna & Siegel, 2001) were available for hire to address criminal acts legally or corruptly, and violently if needed (Marsh, 2004; Senna & Siegel, 2001). At this time in history, police culture was years away from establishing formal police departments and fundamental regulations outlining the appropriate response to crime. By the nineteenth century the state police were summoned to abolish thief takers in London. The Metropolitan Police Act of 1829 created the first organized police agency in London and was a turning point in police history. England's Home Secretary, Sir Robert Peel, was the weight behind the Act. The officers became known as *bobbies*, derived from the nickname of their creator (Senna & Siegel, 2001). Peel modeled the force after the military, including uniform requirements. The mindset that safety, security, and retribution were for hire by private citizens bled into the era of the bobbies and challenged their unified approach. The bobbies, however, proved to be a worthwhile experiment overtime (Marsh, 2004; Senna & Siegel, 2001).

The history of law enforcement in Colonial America followed a similar pattern to that of England. Marshals and sheriffs were the main agents reacting to criminal acts and complaints, instead of patrolling to deter crime. The officers were also tasked with monitoring elections, tax collecting, and other legal duties, which were more rewarding financially, leaving less time to enforce the law. Subsequently, civilians needed to protect themselves and their community. As industrial production and immigration increased, individuals led spontaneous acts of crime control but were not able to contain the crime and violence.

In the middle of the seventeenth century, early versions of modern-day police departments took shape in major cities around the United States taking over the many responsibilities of watchmen, sheriffs, and constables (Marsh, 2004; Senna & Siegel, 2001). According to Senna and Siegel (2001) early police were still aggressive, violent, and unorganized. There was no universal list of designated responsibilities that fell to the police; different cities made different requests of their officers. By the beginning of the twentieth century, jobs in law enforcement paid a very high salary and became coveted employment, especially for immigrant groups and when compared to labor-intensive factory work. However, officers were poorly trained, under supervised, and ill-equipped, usually patrolling on foot and lacking resources to deal with the obstinate and violent public. Their main objective was to maintain order, often attempting to calm labor disputes, resulting in the public viewing the police as an obstacle, closely tied to military forces, and un-relatable to the working classes.

Approximately 50 years later, the police departments were making positive strides towards modern policing with some new technology, transportation advances, and professional additives such as uniforms and review boards. The field of law enforcement remained stagnant

for many years after police attempts to unionize were rejected by a riotous public and the onset

of the Great Depression (Marsh, 2004; Senna & Siegel, 2001).

By the 1950's, police agencies were viewed as "incorruptible, tough, highly trained, rule

oriented department organized along militaristic lines" (Senna & Siegel, 2001, p. 115).

Moreover, the Civil Rights Movement, Vietnam War, and drug addiction threw police into

dealing with societal issues. The field of policing did not have a precedent for this type of

interaction, and they were not equipped for those types of challenges. At first, police faced those

challenges with a defensive and crime control mindset (Justice and Security Strategies, 2004;

Senna & Siegel, 2001). Attention to their agencies significantly increased with the creation of

several professional law enforcement organizations (Senna & Siegel, 2001). Policing was a

dangerous occupation, and with the number of police barracks growing, a feeling of solidarity

began to grow within the profession (Marsh, 2004). The mid-twentieth century was riddled with

Supreme Court rulings regulating procedures and capping police authority.

The 1970s produced a wealth of research about law enforcement, a college-level

education requirement for many law enforcement occupations, and technological advancements

to report and record crime. With the influx of new information came the ability to strategize

ways to improve law enforcement's role in society. Learning from the two previous decades

officers started to receive training in social skills to help them navigate interpersonal

relationships and job-related stress (Marsh, 2004; Senna and Siegel, 2001). Meanwhile,

minorities and women received job offers in the field on a notable level and community policing

evolved through the next decade as the traditional definition of policing expanded (Senna &

Siegel, 2001). Also, police unions were formalizing after decades of push back from the political

sector. Unionizing created a unified voice and representation to negotiate pay and expectations

and added legitimacy to discussions of officers' rights and law enforcement policies (Levine, 1988; Recent History, 2019). Police unions increased demands while federal financial support decreased, creating unrest about the future of law enforcement (Levine, 1998; Marsh, 2004; Senna & Siegel).

The 1990s were marked by a bigger push for community policing and restorative justice programs, including more contact and problem solving with the public. This focus was encouraged by a new wave of research and theories of criminal behavior and the desire of police professions to put that information into practice. In addition, the media's focus on crime and delinquency, incarceration rates, and drug abuse invited more attention from the average citizen and therefore philosophical debates about the role of police ensued. The field of law enforcement was not making decisions in a siloed manner as in previous generations, so more interactive solutions were implemented with the community. In addition, federal funding streams became available for this community-policing movement such as the Violent Crime Control and Law Enforcement Act of 1994 which supported the hiring of 100,000 new officers, new technology, and community-based programs (Justice and Security Strategies, 2004; Lee, 2018; Recent History, 2019). This is the first time the field of law enforcement began discussing the quality of their services as well (Kiely & Peek, 2002).

The 2000's brought even more attention and scrutiny of officer behavior. The advancement and fast-pace of the media and recent negative encounters between police and civilians, mostly minorities, created a sensitive environment around the role, training, and accountability of police (Lee, 2018; Recent History, 2019). Bayley (1998) conceded that, even though the profession still has room to mature, the last thirty years demonstrated positive advances. Law enforcement is more formalized now then ever before and segmented by

jurisdiction, including at the federal, state, county, and local level (Bayley, 1998; Marsh, 2004; Senna & Siegel, 2001). Many branches of law enforcement exist today to address specific crimes, requiring more training and responsibilities for officers. Specialized agencies include the Drug Enforcement Agency, Federal Bureau of Investigation, U.S. Marshals, and Alcohol, Tobacco, and Firearms, among others (Senna & Siegel, 2001).

According to Malmin (2013), due to advancement of the law enforcement profession, a serious vetting process is now in place and only about 2% of applicants complete the hiring process. The interview process includes testing for physical fitness, education criteria, and psychological examinations. The completion rate is so low because the demanding requirements exclude those who cannot physically, cognitively, and/or emotionally handle the responsibilities of law enforcement. Approximately two years of on-the-job training follows hiring and the expectations of the role increase over time (Malmin, 2013; Pielmus, 2013).

Police Culture

As the law enforcement profession evolved and its focus narrowed, the culture of the law enforcement officers became more defined and unified. The end of the last century saw the birth of the strong sense of occupational bonding for law enforcement (Marsh, 2004), and the rich and dramatic history of policing inspired a multitude of research studies on the topic of law enforcement. A portion of that literature focuses on police culture. Manning (1989) defined culture as "accepted practices, rules and principles of conduct that are situationally applied and generalized rationales and beliefs" (p. 360), and I apply this definition to the following exploration of police culture and its subcultures. Similarly, Herbert (1998), referencing Swidler (1986) and Gamson (1992), posited that culture is a collaboration of frames, artifacts, experiences, and ceremonies that significantly influence an individual's beliefs and behaviors

25

and can be drawn on at different levels at various times based on the situation. More specifically, police subculture has been described as a "sense of mission; the desire for action and excitement…" (Waddington, 1999, p. 287) and as a "quasi-military culture with an immense apparatus of procedures" paraphrasing Smith and Gray (1983) (Kiely & Peek, 2002, p. 169).

Formal regulations and laws have not been able to explain or control police culture; the socializing of officers provides informal guidelines for their conduct (Cain, 1973; Herbert, 1998; Reiner, 1992; Westley, 1970). Herbert (1998) concentrated on informal norms of culture and interpreted the term *normative order* to explicate policing culture, defined as a core value surrounded by set rules and systems. He went on to define six pieces that make up the normal order of policing including law, bureaucratic control, adventure/machismo, safety, confidence, and morality. Herbert (1998) built his conceptualization of normative order from Parsons (1932, 1951) who argued the magnitude of internalized values and their significant role in shaping a person's behaviors will develop cohesion when those values are shared across a social group (Herbert, 1998; Parsons, 1937, 1951).

We/They Mentality

Police have an occupational subculture unique to other professions. They are expected to be masculine and physically tough to enforce the law, yet approachable and sensitive enough to interact smoothly with the general public and victims of crime (Waddington, 1999). Simmons (2014) argues that police do not operate as individuals but as part of an influential organizational culture and restrictive. Overtime, a culture of policing began to develop along with the mentality of "we/they," (Herbert, 1998, p.343) intense masculinity, secrecy, and skepticism (Herbert, 1998; Loyens & Maesschalck, 2014; Reiner, 1992; Waddington, 1999). Waddington (1999) states that

a universal description of law enforcement is a mix of "common subscription to mission, macho, 'us/them', and cynicism".

Officers tend to view themselves as separate from civilians or others who do not work in law enforcement. Openness and transparency with outsiders are uncommon compared to other less militaristic professions (Kiely & Peek, 2002). One reason officers may see themselves as separate is the level of impending danger they may face during any given day at work. (Van Maanen, 1975). Police must be a cohesive group in order to work as a team and protect each other (Herbert, 1998; Van Maanen, 1975). Individuals find meaning in being part of a group by identifying similarities and differences and comparing the conclusion of that comparison to other groups, the *I* to *we* identity. The pull of transitioning from *I* to *we* conflicts with historical law enforcement culture, categorized as a strong and closed culture (Turner, 1987), but supports the movement of contemporary law enforcement towards community engagement.

Shared Values

Law enforcement is the only form of government that bestows this much authority on citizens (Malmin, 2013). As stated by Senna and Siegel (2001), people who pursue a career in law enforcement find themselves as criminal justice gatekeeps for the general public. Police receive permission to behave in ways that civilians are not granted. This occupation bestows power and authority on police to submit a person to the criminal justice system with a great deal of discretion to do so (Marsh, 2004; Senna & Siegel, 2001; Waddington, 1999). Reiner (1992) summarized these group dynamics and explained that in order to understand cop culture you must analyze how officers view their social world and their role in that world. This shared perspective reinforces the bonding of officers and the need for a cohesive organizational culture.

As Reiner (1992) noted, police often are viewed as having a *canteen culture*, a term coined by Fielding (1994) in reference to the militaristic subculture of law enforcement (Fielding, 1994; Waddington, 1999). *Canteen culture* refers to the shared values and preconceptions that can develop from a group while working together in certain settings (Fielding, 1994). Specifically, the defining features of the police agency are akin to military agency (Van Maanen, 1975). Waddington (1999) used the notion of canteen culture to explore police subculture, particularly the conversations that take place between officers. Much of law enforcement officers' discussions among themselves are about their dangerous encounters and their tough and unwavering reactions to such encounters (Herbert, 1998; Reiner, 1992; Skolnick, 1966; Westley, 1970). Police use storytelling and banter as a way of making sense of their dangerous and intense jobs (Herbert, 1998; Waddington, 1999).

Certain occupational sub-cultures seem to be more prone to distancing themselves from other groups due to their function in society. Malmin (2013) categorizes occupational groups such as the military, firefighters, law enforcement, and emergency first responders into what he coined as the *warrior culture*. These occupations all involve exposure to high levels of stress and traumatic events leading to the development of characteristics specific to a warrior's pathology. Their occupational cultures teach them to recover from difficult situations and quell their feelings, allowing the officers to continue to encounter stressful and traumatic situations. Malmin (2013) explained that the warrior culture becomes more prominent the closer individuals in an occupation are to street level tasks compared to leadership positions. Thus, we would expect a subculture among law enforcement officers working directly with the public. Ironically, officers are taught to avoid pain and maintain a professional distance from citizens with whom they interact as part of their duties (Malmin, 2013). Law enforcement submerges themselves in the

warrior culture, similar to soldiers in the field, which can create distance between people who are not part of the police culture.

Much like other professionals, the occupational culture of police, here a warrior culture, is infused into every part of a cadet's training and career progression (Malmin, 2013). Hogg (2001) explained that the need to assimilate within the police culture arises from a desire to belong and dismisses the notion it comes from fear or pressure. Malmin (2013) explained that "warriors" perceive they do not have a choice to behave another way or use another method of thinking, and that their culture does not encourage "holistic thinking, wellness, introspection, accountability, trust, or vulnerability" (p.748). The warrior culture reproduces itself as officers train the next generation of officers. Systemic changes would be required at every level of command in order to remedy the warrior culture, according to Malmin (2013). The detached nature of officers' approach to their work, as part of the *warrior culture*, suggests that law enforcement culture does not naturally align with the collaborative, interdependent culture of CAC MDTs, which collectively emphasizes trust and open communication among members and a focus on the victim and their wellness. This assessment speaks to traditional, formal training and does not account for individual officer behavior and belief systems.

Police Subcultures

Identifying and defining internal values of police culture allows for countless interpretations, and other factors likely also influence policing. For example, politics and demands from leadership also have an impact on the culture and work of police (Chan, 1997; Schein, 1985; Skolnick, 2008; Wilson, 1968). Herbert (1998) argued that research on police subcultures is incomplete for two main reasons: The discord between formal and informal structure and control is not as polarized as other researchers claim, and there is more than one

subculture of police, such as "management cops" and "street cops" (Chan, 1997, p.66; Manning, 1989; Waddington, 1999), as defined in the two cultures approach by Reuss-Ianni (1993). Manning (1989) advanced this thought process and asserted that police are divided into three levels: "command, middle management, and lower echelons" (Chan, 1997, p.66).

In Pennsylvania, both local and state police handle child abuse investigations, depending on the jurisdiction, but their hiring criteria, cadet training, funding, and resources vary. All these possible subcultures complicate the analysis of police participation in MDTs and further justifies the need for research on the meaningful ways that CACs can engage law enforcement in MDTs.

Socialization and Training for Law Enforcement

The vetting and hiring process for law enforcement officers is stringent and cadets still experience an initiation process. Police have what Peilmus (2013) calls *strong culture* perpetuated by the acceptance of its members and consensus of the meaning of the culture (Pielmus, 2013). Socialization of new members of law enforcement during cadet training emphasize elements of police culture such as strength, tradition, secrecy, loyalty, honor, symbols, ceremonies, and rituals (Pielmus, 2013; Reiner, 1992). Pielmus (2013) explained that, like the military, law enforcement culture is closed and selective. Police operate within a strict hierarchy, closely follow commands, and sustain behavior control mechanisms (Pielmus, 2013).

On a micro level, many researchers apply Bourdieu's concept of habitus to explain police work (Bourdieu, 1990). Bourdieu (1990) defined habitus as identity and how we locate ourselves in relation to others, but the concept limits what we perceive exists, guiding us to make decisions aligned to our own habitus even if it differs from the environment (Bourdieu, 1990; Chan, 1997; Herbert, 1998; Manning, 1989). Each individual pulls from their own tool kit, as termed by Swidler (1986) to make sense of the situation.

The notion of habitus and individualized reactions, nonetheless, conflicts with Van Maanen's (1975) findings in his study on police socialization, specifically patrol officers' attitudes toward their organization, which are concentrated on motivation, commitment, and need satisfaction (Van Maanen, 1975). For his research, Van Maanen (1975) defines organizational socialization as when a member of an organization learns the behaviors and attitudes necessary to fulfill a membership within an organization. He concluded that police recruits move through the socialization process and arrive at the "in the same boat" mentality and, therefore, the "don't make waves" viewpoint (Van Maanen, 1975, p.220).

Veteran officers groom the new recruits who then follow in their footsteps. Independent and innovative thinking is deterred; instead, recruits are taught to follow established procedure (Van Maanen, 1975). If this is the expectation and process of socialization, the impact of an officer's habitus will be overshadowed by the police culture. Hughes and Morgan (2010) also deduced that officers face conflicting expectations in their occupation; they are expected to follow orders from their superiors yet think independently when patrolling or carrying out their daily tasks. The perception of mixed messages presented to the officer is echoed in the research. This may create a challenge for the MDT as they attempt to engage the law enforcement at both organizational and individual levels.

CAC staff and other MDT members are responsible for educating members absent and/or unengaged on the importance of following protocols. This puts the CAC in a unique position of trying to provide services but needing the buy-in and on-going engagement of the aforementioned disciplines to be able to provide their services to the community. Conversely, Lashley (2005) argues that individual team members should take responsibility for their own

participation in the multidisciplinary team through attendance and preparedness and seeking training.

Police officers are taught to associate pain and sympathy with weakness (Malmin, 2013). Pickens (2010) found most of the law enforcement officers he surveyed felt ill-prepared and untrained to cope with severe situations such as violent situations with criminals, victimized children, drug users, among others. This pressure and stress on the officers are so powerful that they could become cynical and disillusioned (Pickens, 2010). Law enforcement officers are trained to label the people they encounter as either victims or offenders, but these officers are also public health advocates expected to intervene and interact with individuals who may fit both categories or may not fit in either of the categories (Wood, 2015). Their training and organizational culture does not seem to prepare them to conduct tasks related to social work or collaborate with social services agencies, especially if they are already challenged by their work.

Farrell and Pfeffer (2014) conducted a study in 12 U.S. counties of local police and sheriffs and their identification of investigation practices of human trafficking including child and adult victims. The cases police identified as human trafficking were different from the situations victim service providers identified. Farrell and Pfeffer (2014) attributed part of this difficulty to the fact that police exercised routine investigation methods and established norms, which historically are unsuccessful with cases involving sexual abuse and grooming. Also, police struggled interviewing the victims and clarifying specific criminal acts needed to press charges. Farrell and Pfeffer (2014) also cited poor, if any, communication and sharing of information that occurred during investigations (Farrel & Pfeffer, 2014).

Patrol officers received zero to minimum training on human trafficking, unlike detectives who received a fair amount by comparison. Limited funding for training and no policies to

establish training standards and protocols were cited by the superiors as the main barriers to better preparing the officers for these cases, in addition to the local definition of the crime evolving and still adapting to modern society. Farrell and Pfeffer (2014) stated their review of the literature demonstrates that local police and sheriffs were in serious need of training necessary to investigate human trafficking and that with training officers improve the quality of their work. Farrell and Pfeffer (2014) also determined police culture and their assumptions about a crime creates barriers to their understanding the wide spectrum of the issue. More specifically, police tend to zero in on cases with the most vulnerable victims. Officer's lack of understanding of human trafficking, similar to child abuse, puts them at a disadvantage to identify and investigate cases and to comprehend the significance of their role. Lack of training and knowledge of this issue results in ineffective investigations, revictimization of the victim, and improper evidence collection. Uniquely, this study identified a lack of guidance and education from prosecutors as a barrier to a useful investigation (Farrell & Pfeffer, 2014).

Law enforcement superiors explained they would direct more resources for training and handling of human trafficking if the community declared these cases to be a larger concern. Police interviewed admitted frustration with the lack of resources, and the expectation to be proactive, as law enforcement is traditionally reactive (Farrell & Pfeffer, 2014). Also, officers were frustrated with their inability to fully address this societal issue and offer closure to the victims. These findings are similar to the research conclusions by Watson et al. (2012) about supervised consumption sites, explained later in this chapter, which bring law enforcement and community organizations together as an MDT (Farrell & Pfeffer, 2014).

Newman and Dannenfelser (2005) found strong support for increasing training for law enforcement officers and children and youth workers involved in CACs, which were the main

disciplines focused on in this study. They recommend trainings that establish common goals between the law enforcement and child protection workers, such as safety of the child victim and prevention of the perpetrator reoffending (Newman & Dannenfelser, 2005). In addition, Newman and Dannenfelser (2005) argued that training and cross-training of team members, supported by their independent disciplines, can lead to resolutions of other obstacles faced by MDT members. Generally, law enforcement work is reactionary in nature, and the officers are only involved with a case through a limited part of the criminal justice process, including the arrest or interviewing witnesses. Team training may help officers feel actively part of a solution to a problem, and to understand how the impact of their work influences the entire process. Officers can learn about other disciplines and the CAC's role in supporting the victim through the investigative and healing process (Newman & Dannenfelser, 2005).

Training members of an MDT, especially together, is imperative for the integration of the unique goals of each agency. Each discipline has different resources, funding, and leadership. Training can allow for more understanding of fellow team members and their goals and build trust to collaboratively address joint challenges such as issues unique to rural areas (Beran, 2005; Pence & Wilson, 1998). Existing research analyzed by Newman et al. (2005) and Beran (2005) state the evidence supports the benefits of trainings but argues for the need for more empirical evidence about how to educate and what to cover in trainings for MDTs. Most of the research available is qualitative and descriptive. Trainings have the potential to increase the understanding of the importance of the MDT and increase knowledge of how child safety and medical processes addressed by other disciplines merged into legal processes (Bannon et al., 2001; Beran, 2005).

Offering meaningful and thorough orientation and training to MDT members is another engagement method to explore. CACs are tasked with providing law enforcement with the education on child abuse and the MDT process model that they want them to maintain during their involvement with the collaboration. Even if the CAC has the resources and is able to create a curriculum relevant to police, an officer's participation may still rely on the schedule flexibility that he or she has been granted by the department and the level of their superior's support.

Individual Officers

Much of police work is autonomous even though officers are trained according to their organizations' norms and value. According to a study by Marin, Parker, Stepler, and Mercer (2017) the majority of police say they are always or often proud of being an officer. Six out of 10 said they are both a protector and an enforcer, yet 84% expressed concern about their safety. Responses to this question ranged significantly depending on rank with administration reporting much high satisfaction. Results were similar when categorized by age or race. Male and female officers also had similar feelings about their job but reported different experiences on the job, in particular violent situations (Marin et al., 2017).

According to Belur (2009), an officer's interpretation of their feelings about their job, and the limits within which they function are influential determinants of their behavior. In Belur's (2009) survey, officer respondents defined their role as one of public servants and they felt a sense of righteousness in their role due to the combination of how they view themselves, what others expect, and the expectations society applies to officers (Belur, 2009). The survey concluded that officers were proud of the social work portion of their role and did not support the notion that an officer could not enforce the law and be a public servant at the same time (Belur, 2009).

The role that police promote to the community, of being public servants, did not conflict with the values of the law enforcement culture, according to a study by Kiely and Peek (2002). However, the lack of direction and vision by management was still cited as an on-going challenge for the profession. The researchers concluded that adherence to established standards was not strongly connected to the quality of the service officers provided. Furthermore, police culture of following rules and regulations was inching towards a culture more accepting of individual officers' opinions and motivations instead of traditional methods of police work (Kiely & Peek, 2002; Simmons, 2014). This drift in the direction of openness to individual officers' views may support the engagement of officers in MDTs (Simmons, 2014). One study even revealed that 57% of police said they would encourage a fellow officer to do what was morally right even if it meant breaking a departmental rule. Responses were similar regardless of demographics of officers (Marin, et al).

Urban Versus Rural Police Cultures

The composition of the community and the population density are other factors that may influence police culture. According to Carson's (2013) study of rural police in the northwest of the United States, rural police culture (RPC) is so distinct from urban police culture that specialized training and resources should be developed for RPC. Carson (2013) argued that law enforcement theory and curricula used today was based on the history of urban police and does not recognize the historic relevance of rural police. Moreover, Carson (2013) stated that rural police only receive attention in the literature related to community policing.

Reaves (2000) estimated 52.9% of police departments in the United States employ fewer than 10 officers. Pennsylvania leads the country in the number of police departments even though 83% of local departments have less than ten police officers and do not provide

comprehensive law enforcement services (Police Services, 2019). The Center for Rural

Pennsylvania calculated that 48 of the 67 counties in Pennsylvania, or 72%, are considered rural

based on population density (see Appendix A for the Pennsylvania map of rural and urban

counties) (Rural Urban Definitions, n.d.). Also, 45% of all law enforcement have the role of

patrolling officer, out in the community and responding to incidents as they arise (Marin et al.,

2017).

The sheer number of rural areas in the United States, Pennsylvania in particular, supports

the suggestion that rural police may have a subculture within law enforcement culture.

Differences in values and the method of addressing criminal behavior further strengthens the

argument. Rural police differ from urban police in numerous ways. With smaller departments

and smaller budgets, these officers tend to have less access to training and equipment, less

specialization because they handle a wider range of incidents, and less variety in their work

culture (Carson, 2013).

The benefit of a rural setting tends to be a lower crime rate, leaving more time for

prevention and less interference by bureaucratic systems (Winfree & Taylor, 2004). In rural

areas, police leadership may still go on patrol instead of serving as supervisors who operate out

of an office (Winfree & Taylor, 2004). Rural areas also allow for more informal enforcement due

to police having a strong rapport with long-time residents who tend to be more committed to the

community compared with a more transient city population (Carson, 2013).

In Pennsylvania, some rural municipalities cannot afford to maintain a police department,

and do not benefit from relationships between rural residents and police. Rather, the

Pennsylvania State Police are responsible for covering that jurisdiction when needed to address a

crime or safety concern. They lack opportunities to build rapport with the residents and they are

tethered to the state level bureaucratic system of police. This scenario adds yet another dynamic to consider in this study of law enforcement engagement in CAC MDTs in Pennsylvania. Rural areas seem to face more barriers to engagement in MDTs that are out of their personal control compared to urban police departments (Marin et al.).

Law Enforcement and Multidisciplinary Teams

Multidisciplinary teams' stakeholders can diminish the challenges of engaging police in a productive way by examining their unique culture and examples of successful collaborations that include police. Law enforcement agencies are essential components of MDTs in children's advocacy centers. Purposeful collaboration is necessary to blend the needs, objectives, and professional skills of each discipline represented on the MDT. Collaboration is a process that accelerates the achievement of MDT goals that cannot be reached by individuals working alone in their own silos (Bronstein, 2003). The level of an MDT member's adherence to the MDT protocols and support of the CAC mission impacts the handling and outcomes of child abuse investigations.

When CACs began to emerge in communities, law enforcement's contributions to the MDT were not viewed the same as today. Over time, the role of CACs slowly shifted from the original focus, a therapeutic advocacy role to treat the victim, to the criminal justice-oriented role it is today. The criminal justice focus was defined as more attention to the science of forensic interviewing and child development and how this is blended into criminal investigations (National Children's Alliance, 2017). Rather than concentrate only on services around the victims and helping them process the impact of abuse, the CAC model expanded and now emphasizes contact among the MDT, the child victim, and his or her family at the point of the allegation. This refocusing means a more holistic, yet investigatory, approach to addressing

abuse of children. The CAC model evolved over the last 30 years, but law enforcement has only been involved with CAC MDTs, as we know them today, over the last 15 years, the time since CACs aligned more closely with the criminal justice system (National Children's Alliance, 2017).

The law enforcement field acknowledges the need for multidisciplinary systems that utilize the expertise of the criminal justice system, community support services, and treatment and medical services to address societal issues. This collaborative approach routinely faces difficulty blending specialties and maintaining the level of engagement needed for joint services (Chandler et al., 2009; Healy, 1999; Rajaee et al., 2013). Despite all the benefits, there are numerous obstacles to establish and sustain a cohesive and effective MDT including varying philosophies of each agency, funding resources available to each agency, conditions of service, training, and the structure and values of the agencies (Patterson, 2004). Identifying and executing what will support officers in their engagement in MDTs is not an obvious answer. Different financial and management structures, contradictory priorities, varying intake procedures, and territorial struggles create obstacles for all MDT members (Beatrice, 1990). MDT collaboration is a complex and evolving process. Some of the challenges for police to engage are similar, if not, intertwined with challenge for the CAC and/or other disciplines. At the core of this approach is interdependence (Bronstein, 2013). The solutions to engagement cannot be siloed even though there may be special considerations for different levels of available resources as with urban versus rural areas.

Police as Team Members

According to Lashley (2005) CAC MDT members need to take ownership of their roles, participate consistently, be prepared for meetings, follow-up on their identified responsibilities,

and seek on-going training for the overall success of the MDT. Team members need to trust and respect each other and their roles (Lashley, 2005). Trust is imperative but difficult for an organization to engineer. This ability to trust can be a challenge with law enforcement's insular culture. They view information as power and exposing their cases to any outsider can be viewed as a loss of power (Joyal, 2012). Officers are conditioned to follow orders based on a paramilitary hierarchy with clear roles and objectives (O'Neill & McCarthy, 2014).

O'Neill and McCarthy (2014) asserted that police are cautious about partnerships; community agencies collaborate on the creation of processes and procedures while police are focused on action. Therefore, the stakeholders need to make an effort to create joint goals and systems. Collaboration will be more successful if the members work towards the same goals, approved by the MDT, and understand the impact of achieving those goals (Beatrice, 1990; Johnson, 2011; Sheppard & Zangrillo, 1996).

Law Enforcement and MDT Case Review

Case review is one activity that accentuates the distinct perspectives and occupational goals between MDT members. The standards for CAC accreditation name case review as one of the ten standards. Consequently, the CAC must organize their own interpretation of these meetings on a monthly basis to maintain accreditation. The standards explain that all MDT partner agencies should participate in these meetings by having at least one representative in attendance and be prepared to share updates on his or her portion of open investigations. The CAC is tasked with creating and facilitating a case review process unique to their MDT and community. The standards do not specify further instructions related to facilitation, information-sharing techniques, methods to evaluate engagement, or how to address unengaged members. Conversely, the standards clearly state the case review process only works if all agencies give

input and share information, and one discipline should not dominate discussions (Fine et al., 2016).

MDT meetings can also foster conflict due to different levels of initial training and expected recognition, feelings of deserved superiority and loss of autonomy, distrust of other members, and a lack of understanding of their roles and the importance of the MDT (Beran, 2005; Lardner, 1992). Two practices law enforcement may find particularly challenging about case reviews are following the leadership of the CAC and the expectation of the open communication. Both items conflict with tradition police culture of being accountable to the law enforcement profession and being cautious about information sharing (Malmin, 2013; Pielmus, 2013; Waddington, 1999). After the forensic interview, case review is the only scheduled time MDT members interact with each other, limiting the opportunities to build trust with other members, which is crucial for law enforcement engagement (Beran, 2005; Lardner, 1992).

Police Leadership and MDTs

The nature of law enforcement allows for a great deal of discretion and varying levels of commitment to policies and procedures as police work is fairly autonomous (Johnson, 2010). Johnson (2010) concluded that officers' attitudes and the influences of their occupational environments have an impact on the officers' work behavior. Furthermore, Johnson (2010) found that if an individual officer deems a particular job responsibility as a priority and/or if the officer perceives their supervisor deems the same responsibility as a priority, the officer is more likely to treat that responsibility as a priority compared to a scenario in which it was not. Officers need to be educated on why certain tasks should be deemed a priority in order for them to act on said priorities, such as attending MDT meetings or sharing specific information. However, Johnson (2010) contended that offering informal rewards to police is a way to encourage more adherences

41

to organizational goals and procedures. Rewards can include support for their investigations, accommodating schedule, varying work assignments, etc.

Leaders can support officers understanding of what constitutes a priority and why. Johnson and Cox (2004) identified organization culture as the largest barrier to change. They highlight the importance of the leadership role and how leaders must enforce policies that encourage positive behavior. Lashley (2005) described sixteen indicators of a healthy MDT; the fourteenth, supervisor support, she identified as imperative to achieve an effective MDT. The supervisor of each discipline needs to convey the importance of MDT meetings, commitment, and communication and convey the value to the subordinates (Lashley, 2005).

In a five-year longitudinal qualitative study Kiely and Peek (2002) interviewed officers about police culture and their perceptions of the meaning of the quality of service. They found the new officers perceived the canteen culture as the most powerful influence on the attitudes and the socialization that occurs as a result of spending significant amounts of time with senior officers. The "blame culture" also impacted perceptions, even stifling officers' drive to take risks or show initiative for fear of failing and being blamed (Kiely & Peek, 2002, p. 180). Young officers' perceptions of senior officers' support were split, but the majority explained that senior officers did not communicate the philosophy of police force or cultural values related to quality of service. Additionally, Smith and Gray (1982) and Kiely and Peek (2002) found that police culture's formal and bureaucratic approach to decision-making hinders its effectiveness of the process and interfered with communication between the ranks as well.

Community Policing and Partnerships

In the mid-1980s, society started to see collaborative efforts between police and social services organizations. This evaluation came after decades of social movements such as Civil

Rights and anti-war, and the position police found themselves in to deal with community-based issues (O'Neill & McCarthy, 2014). Today, community policing is the primary focus of police in the United States (Simmons, 2014). The U.S. Department of Justice defines community policing as instituting the practice of being proactive with addressing issues in the community (*Problem Solving,* 2017). Simmons (2014) supported a concentration on quality of service to all and identified community policing as the dominant model of law enforcement through which police and communities combine their respective efforts to prevent crime. Rajaee et al. (2013) offered community policing is a method of prevention and this type of policing solicits positive responses by citizens. Importantly, more women officers are involved with community partnerships because it is considered "soft" policing (O'Neill & McCarthy, 2014, p.150).

A large body of research demonstrates that police agree that partnering with community organizations is a positive and progressive course (O'Neill & McCarthy, 2014). One third of police spoke to a community group or school or attended a community-based event within the last month. Leaders were twice as likely to carry out this task, however (Marin et al., 2017). Similar data and/or discussion was not uncovered from previous eras.

O'Neill and McCarthy (2014) found that police are in favor of community partnerships that focus on prevention due to the benefits of long-term solutions and the reduction in expenses for law enforcement agencies. In other words, police will use partnerships when they understand how the collaboration supports their goals in the criminal justice system (O'Neill & McCarthy, 2014). Beletsky et al. (2011) concluded that by fulfilling a need identified by the officers and acknowledging their unique type of work, the officers increased receptivity.

An example of police working with community partners, in a way that supports their law enforcement efforts, is the fusion center model. A fusion center is a practice of multiple

disciplines pooling resources to accomplish joint goals. The initiative began in 2001 and, in this case, the collaboration exists to address a community safety as one response to the 9/11 terrorists' attacks (Joyal, 2012). Government entities, police, civilian staff, and community agencies come together to discuss public security and threats and to determine solutions on a local level. Fusion centers provide a physical location and facilitate the team approach, similar to a CAC.

As with other MDT approaches, the members need to navigate personality characteristics, build trust, and clarify the expectations of exchanging information (Joyal, 2012). In areas utilizing fusion centers, about 45% of respondents agreed the number and quality of relationships between government agencies improved since 2001. According to this study, communication and cooperation is key. More specifically, Joyal (2012) identified "trust, reciprocity, and genuineness" (p. 366) as the characteristics most commonly associated with a successful collaborative environment. A balance of power is essential with integrated services. Dynamics can change quickly, disrupting the building of trust so team members must possess a desire to participate. Simply attending meetings is not sufficient to operate a successful collaboration. For collaboration to occur, the group needs to coordinate staff time, interagency protocols, procedures, and responsibilities; each can be difficult to sustain (Joyal, 2012).

The Law Enforcement Advocate (LEA) Program is another example of a successful partnership between police and a community-based organization. The LEA Program is a partnership with the Denver Police Department Juvenile and Family Justice Treatment Accountability for Safe Communities (TASC), which serves juveniles and children in the criminal justice system dealing with substance abuse, and in some cases mental health disorders.

A quantitative assessment of the LEA Program concluded it is having a positive effect on the clients and their communities, and it is reaching the identified goals. The second portion of the assessment determined, using self-reporting surveys, that 82% of team members perceived the interagency system had a positive impact on the officers. Moreover, the involvement improved job satisfaction, skills as an officer, and morale, and the officers believed they had a positive impact on the clients and the community. According to this survey, 33% of law enforcement respondents were dissatisfied with their lack of ability to stop clients from repeating illegal behaviors. Thirty-six percent of law enforcement were also dissatisfied with the lack of the recognition of the importance of the LEA program and its efforts by other officers and overall police administration. An analysis of this program identifies a few main challenges: a lack of coordination between agencies and negative assumptions of systems, specifically by law enforcement; and the overlap or gaps in services. The LEA organizers also decided to implement a top-down bottom-up model so that frontline workers would feel empowered to make programmatic decisions (Rajaee et al., 2013).

Supervised consumption sites (SCSs) also use a collaborative model similar to MDTs. SCSs function as an MDT with law enforcement and other community organizations to offer restoration services rather than addressing the criminal behavior with punishments. Specifically, SCSs' are facilities where drug users can legally consume drugs under the supervision of trained staff, and they focus on the reduction of drug use, disease, and overdoses while offering support services to those who are in active addiction (Watson et al., 2012).

A qualitative study of police and community organizers' perceptions of SCSs, conducted by Watson et al. 2012, uncovered challenges of involving police in a collaboration. Participants appreciated having police involved due to their expertise with criminal behavior, however,

Watson et al.'s (2012) research of similar programs concluded police practices can create some challenges to access those services, yet the support of the police is essential to the success of this type of community-based approach.

This version of an MDT approach needs the support of law enforcement as well. SCSs intertwine with the criminal justice system and social services, and there must be agreement about how to handle this societal issue which also meets the criteria for criminal behavior. The researchers reported that there is evidence that some criminal justice personnel and police were publicly credited with helping to establish SCSs. Other reports claim there is also a portion of police who support SCSs privately in addition to their frustrations with the lack of options they have in the criminal justice system to deal with those who use illegal drugs (Watson et al., 2012). Police participants did support treatment for drug users, but police added they favored treatment even if force of the criminal justice system was necessary.

Watson et al. (2012) concluded drug treatment programs are not successful consistently and names law enforcement as one of the challenges to implementing these programs. Ultimately, Watson et al. (2012) found police did not support this harm reduction which was approved to address drug abuse. Study participants did debate the benefits of the SCS model but without referencing evidence-based resources. Watson et al. (2012) noted that officers trusted peer testimony or personal experience more than the empirical data offered by the researchers. Results from this study and others point to the need to educate officers about community programs when they are designated stakeholders and the public health challenge addressed by the program (Watson et al., 2012). Police organizations are more likely to change their approaches and/or norms if the community helps to clarify what they expect from law enforcement (Chan, 1997).

O'Neill and McCarthy (2014) found that, in some instances, officers pursued a community partnership when they understood the connection as practical and observed that practicality in practice. The researchers recommended that community partners identify those individuals with influence in the policing group, essentially someone officers would trust, and recruit them to be ambassadors for the partnership. In addition, O'Neill and McCarthy (2014) noted police experience more of a benefit from partnerships when they trust those who they work with directly from the community organization. Police come from a pragmatic culture, so when they see how the other agency operates using a recognizable method, they feel more comfortable and more open to trusting the partnership (O'Neill & McCarthy, 2014). If the trust is built and maintained, team members will recognize the welcoming of members and pass on the acceptance to future members (Munich, 2000).

Theory

Maintaining an effective multidisciplinary team (MDT) and a balance of power among members is one of the main challenges children's advocacy centers (CAC) face. A strong MDT is not only a required standard of the model, it is also essential for producing a quality service to clients (Walsh, Jones, & Cross, 2003). One theory cannot address the complexity of an MDT and the engagement of law enforcement. Conversely, there are many theories that help to illuminate the underlying influences of a positive collaborative process with law enforcement.

Organizational Culture

The complexity of police organizational culture helps to explain how engaging on an MDT presents obstacles unique to law enforcement. "Culture, like role, lies at the intersection of several social sciences and reflects some of the biases of each—specifically, those of anthropology, sociology, social psychology, and organizational behavior" (Schein, 1990, p. 109).

47

Police officers are human beings capable of independent thought, but they are also part of an entity bigger than themselves and operating in multiple contexts including their professional organization, with its own culture, that shapes officers' experiences, values, beliefs, and practices.

Schein (1990) explained a group of people create a culture when they have a common history and find stability. He further clarified that there are strong cultures as well, which have a long-shared history or shared a critical intense experience, highlighting military service as an example (Schein, 1990). Police culture boasts a long history, and their quasi-military training prepares them for extreme situations in the field, which supports viewing their culture as distinct from the other MDT disciplines. Specifically, Schein (1990) described three levels of culture: observable artifacts, values, and basic underlying assumptions. Artifacts may include dress code, titles used to address one another, archives, smell and feeling of a particular space, emotional intensity, and physical layout, among others. Underlying assumptions evolve overtime as persons participate in intense experiences together, as officers do every day, build a history, and problem solve as a team. Members of the culture question these assumptions less and less, and they become part of the culture's identity (Schein, 1990). According to Schein (1990), subcultures are possible within a larger system through consistency and integration of a varied set of values. These variations of the main underpinnings of the culture manifest in independent subcultures that may even conflict with other subcultures. He recommends deducing the meaning for the individuals; by doing so, one can influence change within the culture (Schein, 1990).

Based on Schein's (1990) three levels of culture, police are not only in a culture; their culture also reinforces that they are exclusive, secretive, and loyal to one another. This supports Herbert's (1998) observations that officers possess a "we/they" outlook on society; a person is

either part of the culture or separate from the culture. An in-group versus out-group mentality illuminates the deep challenges an organization faces (Northouse, 2013), such as when a CAC forms an MDT and strives for openness and collaboration with some members who come from a police culture.

Interdisciplinary Collaboration

The culture of policing has influence over the individual officers and whether or not they engage in an MDT. By understanding cultural pulls on an officer, this knowledge can help elucidate the handicap law enforcement hold as they move into a multidisciplinary situation.

The Model for Interdisciplinary Collaboration, created by Bronstein (2003), establishes components and influences on the collaboration. Bronstein (2003) developed this model based on her experience and research on the demands placed on social workers to function within multiple interdisciplinary teams. After reviewing the social work practice literature and the theoretical literature, she asserts there are five components of interdisciplinary collaboration including *Interdependence*, *Newly created professional activities*, *Flexibility*, *Collective ownership of goals*, and *Reflection on process*. Bronstein (2003) did not limit the model only to the social work field but clarified that "interprofessional processes among one or more professionals from different disciplines engaged in work-related activities should represent five core components" (p. 299).

Interdependence is the behavior and mindset of relying on the interactions with other professionals and depending on each other to accomplish goals. Each professional needs to have clear awareness of their role within their profession and within the collaboration. This interdependence evolves out of spending formal and informal time together, respect for the other collaborators, and using a variety of communication methods such as email, phone, and written

text (Bronstein, 2003). As the literature review illustrated, role clarification and communication are extremely important to police, especially in teams when they are asked to be victim-focused rather than offender-focused.

Newly created professional activities are defined as collaborative acts, structures, or programs that have the potential for more success compared to collaborators addressed separately. Collaborators recognize the strength in pooling expertise and are open to making foundational changes in service implementation in order to accommodate the joint goals (Bronstein, 2003). The CAC model is an example of an activity where participants need to agree to construct the organization together and form a balanced MDT.

Flexibility is the purposeful and productive blurring of roles and compromising. This type of adaptability facilitates creativity when facing challenges (Bronstein, 2003). As stated above, blending police culture into an MDT can be difficult, but this is an exercise in problem solving and dedication to the process.

Collective ownership of goals is the shared responsibility throughout the practice of reaching goals and design and development of services. The team should take ownership of the shared vision, mission, and strategies, including the belief in client-centered care and joint celebrations of achievements. Soliciting support for the spectrum of collaborative aspects increases buy-in for the entire joint venture (Bronstein, 2003). Case review and forensic interviews provide routine opportunities to emphasize shared goals for officers.

Reflection on process is team members' continuous attention to the effort of working together, keeping this effort at the forefront of their minds. The collaborators need to think and talk about the team and resolve to continue to look for ways to improve the process and

50

incorporate feedback (Bronstein, 2003). CACs can demonstrate this component by tracking

participation and asking for feedback to incorporate in the MDT process.

Bronstein identifies four influences on collaboration including Professional Role,

Structural Characteristics, Personal Characteristics, and a History of Collaboration.

Professional Role is the value and ethics of the role, respect for colleagues and loyalty to

the profession, and a perspective that balances the other team members. A prerequisite for

realizing this influencer is understanding socialization and how to relate to others outside of

one's own profession, understanding one's own role expectations, and the history of the role.

Structural Characteristics is defined by the level at which the agency's culture supports

the collaborative process. That support can be in the form of time and space to carry out joint

efforts, manageable caseloads, administrative support, and professional autonomy allowing for

judgment.

Personal Characteristics refers to how the team members view each other personally,

including beyond their professional role. This item also highlights the collaborators approach to

respect, understanding, trust, and informal positive communication.

History of collaboration is the experience the team member had with earlier experiences

of collaborations. For example, if a member had a negative interaction through another

collaboration, he might feel more cautious about the vulnerability of his professional

independence and prefer silo efforts.

Subcultural Theory

Despite the challenges posed by police culture in multidisciplinary teams, the literature

does not suggest officers are disinterested in addressing these societal issues, and some

collaboration examples even demonstrate their support of a team approach. The literature points

to norms in their culture that present barriers to a social services model, because officers interpret the qualities and expectations of a CAC MDT in a different way than the other professions. This observation aligns with the work of Miller (1958), who developed Subcultural Theory. Miller's (1958) study of lower class culture and gang delinquency led him to the conclude that gang members from the lower class value the same qualities of the middle class but have dissimilar definitions, if not the complete opposite. Miller (1958) explained that the best way to understand the motivation behind a person's behavior in a subculture is to "understand the nature of cultural forces impinging on the acting individual as they are perceived by the actor himself" (p. 5), rather than from the perspective of a different class. Gang members may be judged as criminal who do not fit into the rest of society and lack values. According to Miller (1958), gang members have a long history of traditions, organization, norms, and behavioral rules for their members. To the gang members, this situation is normal, and the values of the middle class are not relatable. As an example, gang members value success, however their definition of success will not be the same as the middle class such as attending college. The gang members' goals and the way they choose to achieve them are connected to unhealthy and criminal behavior. Miller (1958) also found that the members of the subculture were very aware of their minority status, very protective of each other, and defensive against outsiders. As individuals shaped by their subculture, their values are no less important to them than of other classes.

        According to the literature, law enforcement agrees with CACs in that child abuse is horrific and needs to stop, but police subculture differs in how to achieve that outcome. The MDT views their job as offering support to the victim and the police see their job as locking up the perpetrator (Miller, 1958). For example, both police and other MDT disciplines value information in order to reach their goals. Law enforcement, based on the norms in their culture,

value the ownership and secrecy of information, while the other MDT members value the sharing of information. Police do not challenge the importance of information, but their culture socializes them to view information that best serves their work. Subcultural Theory supports the need for CACs to initiate facilitators and decrease barriers for police to engage in MDTs, instead of waiting for police to change their culture to fit the MDT model. Education of their role on the MDT, creating more opportunities to build trust, and practice effective communication methods will strengthen the ties between police, CAC, and other MDT members.

Law enforcement officer experience factors that encourage and hinder their engagement in CAC MDTs. Influences from police culture and subcultures are in contrast to influencers of positive team engagement. Therefore, law enforcement find themselves under the unique pressures of two schools of thought. This study will focus on gaining a better understanding of officers' perspectives about their engagement and these influencers. This increased understanding of the relationship illustrated in Figure 3 can provide support to police and help guide CACs and other MDT members to engage law enforcement.

CHAPTER THREE

METHODS

This study attempted to answer the research question of what facilitates or inhibits law enforcement engagement in children's advocacy center (CAC) multidisciplinary teams (MDTs). To answer this question I used a qualitative approach. The majority of the literature informing this study and other research related to CACs, collaboration, and organizational culture and engagement utilized a qualitative method, specifically Newman and Dannenfelser (2005), Belur (2009), and Schein (1990). This chapter illuminates the methods I used to answer my research question, including the design, sample strategy, participant demographics, data collection, and limitations.

Research Paradigm

I used an interpretive/constructivist paradigm in this qualitative study of factors that encourage or discourage law enforcement officers' participation in CAC MDTs. This view states reality is socially constructed through understandings and meanings, which evolve for a person socially and experimentally. Multiple realities exist, and each may change in the context of a different time period or environment because a person cannot separate from reality or what he or she knows. The way a person understands the world, others, and one's self is based on how he or she interprets experiences. Therefore, there is no objective truth. This paradigm also accepts and acknowledges the researcher's background and experience as part of the subjective reality of the study (Creswell, 2014; Patton, 2002). My work experience at CACs and general life experience are part of the process of collecting and interpreting data. Research using interpretive/constructivism usually does not begin with an overt hypothesis or theory. Instead, the researcher and participants construct a reality together using dialogue (Creswell, 2014; Patton, 2002). After collecting data through individual interviews and coding and grouping data

by meanings and categories, I used inductive reasoning to identify patterns (Patton, 2002) of factors that help or hinder officer's engagement in CAC MDTs.

Qualitative research is the best option for this topic because my main objective was to understand perceptions among law enforcement CAC MDT members of what facilitates or inhibits their engagement. The aim was to develop interpretations, not document facts or certainties (Warren, 2002). I used semi-structured individual interviews as this approach allows the researcher to take into account the participants' meanings of their experiences (Patton, 2002). The complex and private characteristics of organizational culture (Schein, 1990), and police culture in particular (Warren, 2002), called for a qualitative approach in which participants could relate their lived experience to me (Patton, 2002). In her study on police perceptions of their culture, Belur (2009) used a qualitative approach using a semi-structured, open-ended interview. This approach enabled Belur (2009) to attempt to make sense of officers' perceptions and how they blend into the broader historical and social context. I used a similar approach to this study.

In this qualitative study, the individual was the unit of analysis. Some criticisms of qualitative research and interviewing are the subjectivity and the closeness of the researcher to the participant (Belur, 2009; Patton, 2002; Warren, 2002). Other criticisms include respondents saying what they perceive to be socially acceptable or desirable answers for the researcher, confabulation, demand characteristics, sample bias, and telescoping (Belur, 2009; Patton, 2002; Warren, 2002). Following Belur (2009), I tried to avoid these drawbacks as well. Receiving desirable answers from law enforcement was not a main concern since the majority of the research in the literature review categorizes police as viewing themselves as authority figures and para-military individuals. There is little support that respondents would feel a strong need to satisfy the interviewer because I am a civilian and not a member of law enforcement. However, I

55

was aware to note any signs of respondents giving the answers they think I wanted and I was aware to avoid giving signals for particular answers, also known as displaying demand characteristics. Also, I remained observant for any detection of confabulation, meaning the misrepresentation of memories, or telescoping, meaning the confusion of the time period of particular memories. These issues were not of high concern as all the respondents were functioning adults gainfully employed on a full-time basis (Patton, 2002; Warren, 2002).

Credibility, consistency, and reducing bias were the primary concern due to the qualitative nature of this research study. Credibility is defined as providing results that are believable, trustworthy, well-developed, and comprehensive (Patton, 2002). I addressed credibility by gathering information from multiple interviewees, incorporating multiple theories, and referencing various peer-reviewed sources. Consistency is defined as the sampling and data collection approach that will produce reliable results (Patton, 2002). I addressed consistency by using the same sampling strategy throughout the research process, following the semi-structured interview guide for all interviews, and applying Bryman's (2005) coding stages to all transcripts (see Appendix B). As the researcher, I recognized the importance of remaining neutral and I applied great effort to reduce bias. My extensive training as a forensic interviewer proved helpful as interviewers must remain as neutral and objective as possible, including their verbal and non-verbal communications. Also, I was cognizant of other research challenges such as transferability or replicability. The purpose of this study was exploratory and was not created for the sole purpose of replication. I gathered perceptions from human subjects, which may not match in another study depending on countless variables. Other researchers may use the sampling strategy and data collection process as templates, but the interviews may render different answers and, thus, different conclusions (Patton, 2002; Warren, 2002). By acquiring a better understanding of

law enforcement officers' experiences of CAC MDTs with credible and reliable data, I can explore possible facilitators and obstacles to officer engagement.

Sampling

I applied to the Indiana University of Pennsylvania (IUP) Institutional Review Board (IRB) for approval to conduct my research on human subjects after completing my literature review, successfully defending my research proposal, and completing the IRB training required by the Collaborative Institutional Training Initiative Program. I received IRB approval for my research study application and one amendment to the original application.

After receiving IRB approval, I contacted the National Children's Advocacy Center and the Chiefs of Police Association of Pennsylvania, explained my research, and requested their endorsement of my study (see Appendix C). I received letters of support from both organizations and shared these endorsements when reaching out to potential participants, both CAC directors and law enforcement officers, as a way to ease some concerns they may have about participating in this research.

The sample strategy started with contacting CACs that are accredited members of the National Children's Advocacy Center, associate members, or a satellite under supervision of an accredited CAC in Pennsylvania and requesting their participation. The accreditation process ensured similar standards and training of MDTs (Fine et al., 2016). I called the executive director or the designated leader of each CAC to request his or her support of this study; I explained the purpose of the study, asked for their assistance in identifying MDT law enforcement representatives to interview as study participants, and requested permission to conduct interviews at their center. I chose this approach after examining similar studies and the difficulty of identifying appropriate police across the state and securing their participation. The CAC

directors' familiarity with the communities and law enforcement combined with their initiating

the request for participation of officers offered efficiency and lent legitimacy to this research.

Immediately following the call or a message to the CAC director, I sent an email

summarizing the information and request, and I attached a sample Site Support and Approval

Letter (see Appendix D) and requested they provide such a letter for IRB. If I did not receive a

response from the CAC executive director after one week I called again and re-sent the email. I

tried to contact them two more times over the next two months and one more time six months

later. Upon IUP IRB approval of the study, I asked CAC directors, who provided a Site Approval

Letter, for contact information for law enforcement from the CAC service area. These identified

officers could have been members of the MDT or other officers that the CAC directors thought I

should invite to participate in this study. I tried to coordinate interviews around times that law

enforcement members of MDTs were meeting at their CAC for an MDT meeting or case review

to minimize inconvenience but that was not effective. Most officers explained that it would be

too difficult to attend case review and another hour-long meeting before or after due to their busy

schedules. They said it would be easier to meet on another day when they had more flexibility. I

asked each participating officer if she or he would recommend others whom I might contact for

an interview about their perspectives on the CAC MDT experience; this only occurred once, and

the officer referred to me did not meet the criteria for this study. An additional participant

recruitment strategy I employed was to post an IRB approved request (see Appendix E) for law

enforcement officer participants on LinkedIn, the professional networking site, to take advantage

of the extensive network of law enforcement members I built from years of working in the CAC

field. This social media strategy yielded approximately 20 inquires but only one officer qualified

and was already identified by their local CAC director. Two officers self-identified after learning

about this study through fellow students at IUP. More than 50 interviews were schedule, sometimes scheduling with the same officer 2-3 times. Most of these appointments did not come to fruition due to officers, most of whom were patrol officers, being directed to a police incident.

This study attempted to get a sample of law enforcement officers that represented a cross-section of rural and urban areas, spectrum of experience with child abuse cases, service areas with varied levels of the accreditation, and different regions of the state. Participating police officers had to have at least one year of experience in law enforcement. This experience criteria was in place so that the participating officers had enough experience inside police culture, and potentially with the child abuse investigation process within the criminal justice system, to have formed impressions of the culture and be able to respond to questions about what might facilitate or obstruct law enforcement engagement in a CAC MDT. Participating officers were not required to have experience with the MDT, but they had to be working as an officer in the service area of a CAC approved for this study. Law enforcement officers who were not currently or regularly engaged with a CAC could have offered helpful insights about why they are not participating in a CAC MDT and what factors would facilitate their involvement. All participants had at least eight years of police experience but their experience with CACs ranged from zero to more than 20 years.

The sampling strategy was modeled after Newman et al.'s (2005) qualitative study of 290 law enforcement and child protective services members from whom they gathered perceptions of CAC investigations, including, but not limited to, the quality of forensic interviews. Only one of the 28 CACs was from the eastern region of the United States, and most respondents worked in a state where CAC participation was state mandated. Moreover, the responses from law enforcement and child protective service workers were combined, so there are no conclusions

59

specific to law enforcement and their culture. However, the data collection approach by Newman

et al. (2005) was useful since this study also sampled law enforcement in CAC service areas.

Newman et al. (2005) sent letters to the CAC executive directors asking them to identify MDT

members for the study and for demographic and organizational information. My sampling

strategy differed in that it did not task the executive directors to selecting specific MDT members

to participate in the study. I asked for their suggestions of any law enforcement officers in their

service area whom I could invite to participate in this study and to share with law enforcement

the information about the study as openly as they were willing.

Participant Demographics

Participant demographics are listed separately to maintain confidentiality as most officers

in this study are the only officer to hold their position in their county, the only women, and/or the

only officer handling child abuse investigations, and therefore making participants easily

identifiable.

Law Enforcement

I contacted, or my contact information was shared with, more than 50 law enforcement

officers based on recommendations by CAC executive directors/leaders. Twenty-two officers

agreed to participate. I prioritized the interviews based on gaining a diverse list of officers and

experiences. Fifteen interviews were completed due to scheduling challenges of the other

officers. On two occasions I interviewed an officer, but the local CACs did not respond to

requests to participate.

Table 1

Law Enforcement Participants' Demographic Characteristics

		n
Current Rank of Officer	Detective	9
	Chief Detective	1
	County Detective	1
	Lieutenant	2
	Master Trooper	1
	Sergeant	1
	Detective Sergeant	1
Counties Represented by Officers		22
Officers with PSP Experience		3
Officers Serving on a CAC Board and/or Leadership Committee		4
Sex of Officer	Male	8
	Female	7
Officer Experience	Years Working in Law Enforcement	8- 30+ years
	Years Working with Child Abuse Investigations	0- 30+ years

Children's Advocacy Centers

I contacted all 32 of the CACs in Pennsylvania that were accredited or a satellite of an accredited CAC. I requested to speak to the CAC executive director/leader for 15 minutes to gather background information about their specific organization and their perceptions of police engagement. I spoke to one CAC leader from a county in which the officer interviews could not be completed due to scheduling challenges for the patrol officers.

Once a CAC director/leader agreed to serve as a site for this study, I followed the same process of informed consent as with the officer participants, fully explained in the next section. I asked each CAC director/leader the same questions about their CAC including the years of operations, accreditation status, service area and culture, number and type of law enforcement

departments working in that service area, list of programs, average number of forensic interviews per year, CAC structure, and population density. I also asked one open-ended question about the perspective of law enforcement engagement in their CAC (see Appendix F for Interview Questions for CAC Leadership). Eleven CAC directors/leaders participated in this study. In three instances the CAC executive directors deferred my background interview to another staff leader at the CAC, such as a program coordinator or forensic interviewer. Those three CAC directors explained that this other staff would have more input about the CAC background and police engagement. Approximately half of the CAC participants said their forensic interviewer would be able to address the question of engagement more thoroughly. The CAC background information allowed me to explore any patterns or themes that arose with particular types of CAC or MDT environments, such as rural versus urban communities (Oliver, 2007; Watson et al. 2012).

All the CAC participants were extremely enthusiastic about their CAC so they spend the majority of the time sharing service accomplishments. Since these interviews were only 15 minutes, there was little time to discuss law enforcement engagement after covering the breadth of services. Speaking with CAC directors/leaders helped to illuminate the diversity across CACs, the communities they serve, and the landscape in which law enforcement works to engage with CAC MDTs. Most CAC directors/leaders were excited to share details of their programs, highlight their skilled staff, and the overarching need to increase community awareness of the prevalence of child abuse.

The CAC directors/leaders all conveyed their desire to engage law enforcement and were empathetic to law enforcement's challenges. They expressed understanding of the challenges that

officers face in their job and in participating in the CAC MDT, such as lack of time, absence of

child abuse education, and scarce resources.

Two of the directors I interviewed were themselves retired law enforcement officers, both

former Pennsylvania State Police (PSP). They were able to share their unique perspectives on

what law enforcement engagement looks like, based on their time working in that field, mostly

before CACs were available. Both directors shared their support of the MDT process, negative

experiences handling child abuse allegations through the former method of children being

interviewed several times by different disciplines, the need for more training and resources, and

the belief that most individual officers are supportive of CACs.

Table 2

Children's Advocacy Center's Characteristics

		N
CAC Participants		11
Current Titles of CAC Executive Directors/Leaderships	Executive Director	8
	Program Director	1
	Forensic Interviewer	2
CAC Leadership With LE Experience		2
Years of Operation		3-29
Counties Represented		23
Organizational Structure	501(c)(3)	9
	A program of a medical institution	3
	A program of another entity	3
Average Number of Forensic Interviews Per Year		60-884
Population Density	Rural	6
	Urban	9
Law Enforcement Departments in Service Area (including PSP and County Detectives)		6-120

I interviewed 15 officers representing 12 of the 32 CACs and several of these CACs covered more than one county in their service area. In total, 24 of the 67 counties or 35% of Pennsylvania was represented in this study.

Data Collection

Before beginning each interview, I presented the officer with an Informed Consent form (see Appendix G), as approved by IRB, and verbally explained the basic information. Once an officer consented and signed the document, I began the interview. I conducted semi-structured interviews with 15 police officers with different demographics and a range of experiences.

I prepared two lists of questions, including a list for officers with CAC experience and one list for officers without that experience. For the interviews, I asked approximately 14 open-

ended questions and seven open-ended questions to officers with experience and those without experience, respectively. I followed up these questions with additional probes and prompts if needed to focus the interview. I did not ask some questions if an officer addressed it through responses to other questions (Oliver, 2007; Watson et al. 2012). When I began to hear similar information repeated in interviews, I determined I reached "saturation" (Patton, 2002). Interviewing officers in this semi-structured format allowed for patterns and themes to emerge from their responses, narrowing the focus of possible facilitators or obstacles to law enforcement engaging in CAC MDTs (Patton, 2002).

The semi-structured interview guide provided a basic template for consistency across interviews and kept the interview focused. Asking open-ended questions gave the participants the freedom to answer the questions as they interpreted them and shared information at their comfort level. This interview technique also gave me an opportunity to have a conversation with the participant rather than closed-ended questions which block explanations of context (Patton, 2002).

The interviews were conducted in-person when possible, if the officer was located within three hours of Harrisburg, Pennsylvania. Only one officer was located more than three hours outside of Harrisburg. I conducted nine of the 15 officer interviews in person at their CAC or their police station, based on their preference. Some officers' commutes from their station to the CAC were approximately an hour so we met at their department for their convenience. All the interviews were held in a space with confidentiality in mind. If an in-person interview was not possible, I made exhaustive attempts to schedule an interview using video conferencing via Skype or Zoom platforms, based on the preference and access of the participant. None of the video conferencing attempts were completed due to a lack of officers' access to the internet or

proper equipment and/or time to install needed applications. As a last resort, I interviewed some

officers over the phone. This option was not ideal. Even though the officers said this method was

easier, I was not able to observe the nonverbal communication of the participant. I audio

recorded the interviews with a digital recorder. After the conclusion of the interviews I assigned

a pseudonym to each participant to ensure confidentiality. Then, I transcribed the interviews by

listening to them and dictating them using Nuance Dragon software, a speech to text program.

Transcribing the interviews myself in this way allowed me an additional opportunity to

familiarize myself with the data, to make further notes, and to do some initial or open coding in

preparation for later data analysis. I created a codebook detailing sources and information from

each respondent. I used the four stages of coding by Alan Bryman, which included reading all

the text, marking the text, coding the text, and then connecting the text to theory (Bryman, 2005).

Table 3

Initial Codes

Label	Title
CACR	Children's Advocacy Center's Role
CAI	Child Abuse Investigators
COMM	Community
COMU	Communication
CR	Case Review
CS	County Structure
CT	Case Tracking
CUL	Culture
DAS	District Attorney's Support
DISE	Disengagement
ED	Education
ENG	Engagement
GEN	Gender
JUR	Jurisdiction
IO	Individual Officer
LEC	Law Enforcement Culture
LOC	Local law enforcement
LUN	Lunch
PAT	Patrol
PSP	Pennsylvania State Police
R/U	Rural/Urban
RES	Resources
S/L	Supervision and Leadership
SCH	Scheduling
SOC	Social Interaction
SUBC	Subculture
TR	Training

Table 4

Secondary Codes

Label	Pattern	Themes
IOE	Individual Officers Seek and Create Opportunities to Engage	- Officers' perceptions of law enforcement culture - Engagement starts with awareness - Comparison to the old way of investigating
TR/RES/ED	Training Supports Engagement	- Opportunities and resources are dependent on funding - Shortage of law enforcement and specialized officers - MDT members can educate their peers - Advanced child abuse training encourage engagement - Specialization in child abuse increases engagement - Case review as a teaching opportunity - Parenthood as training
DLDS	Different Law Enforcement Subcultures Experience Different Barriers to Engagement	- Rural areas create barriers to engagement - PSP access to resources - PSP gap-filling offers fragmented support
LEAD	Leadership Impacts Engagement	- Role modeling engagement - Support form the DA's office is critical to engagement - Leader disengagement creates barriers for individual officers
LEG	Gender Influences Officer Exposure to the MDT model	- Women directed to investigate child abuse - Gender inequality and role assumptions in law enforcement - Modern men in society
CACrole	CAC's Role in Facilitating Engagement	- CAC's role within the MDT model - Building trust - Role clarification and boundaries
CR/ED	Case Review is an Engagement Tool	- Case review interpretations - Meeting as a team is valuable - Case review offers opportunities to communicate - Lunch as an engagement tool

CHAPTER FOUR

FINDINGS

Introduction

Children's Advocacy Centers (CACs) are the national model to support child abuse

investigations with a victim-focused approach. This model employs a multidisciplinary team

(MDT) to conduct joint investigations and MDTs include the CAC, law enforcement, child and

youth services (CYS), district attorney's (DA) office, medical, therapeutic, and victim services.

Law enforcement, being one of the key members of this team, need to be engaged in all areas of

the MDT. However, police culture is unique to the other team members' cultures and some

characteristics of their culture even conflict with the MDT approach. Understanding what

encourages or hinders engagement can support CACs in maintaining thorough investigations.

The purpose of this qualitative study was to examine what facilitates or inhibits law

enforcement engagement in CAC MDTs. In this chapter, I share the findings about law

enforcement's perspective of working in a jurisdiction that has a CAC and utilizes the MDT

model for child abuse cases. This chapter includes findings from my interviews with 15 officers

from across Pennsylvania about their perspectives.

Findings

The following is a discussion of the main findings from my analysis of data derived from

interviews with law enforcement participants. More specifically, I describe the seven patterns I

identified that reflect factors encouraging or hindering law enforcement engagement in MDTs

among members in Pennsylvania:

1. Individual Officers Seek and Create Opportunities to Engage

2. Training Supports Engagement

3. Different Law Enforcement Subcultures Experience Different Barriers to Engagement

4. Leadership Impacts Engagement

5. Gender Influences Officer Exposure to the MDT Model

6. CAC's Role In Facilitating Engagement

7. Case Review is an Engagement Tool

Pattern 1: Individual Officers Seek and Create Opportunities to Engage

The first pattern is that *individual officers seek and create opportunities to engage* in the MDT. Historically police have a culture that does not align and in some ways conflicts with the collaborative, open CAC MDT model. Contemporary police culture is making strides to adopt MDTs and other collaborative practices into their investigative processes. According to my findings, individual officers attempt to participate in the CAC model sometimes even before their departments formally adopt the model or training resources are available to complement their efforts to engage.

Officers perceptions of law enforcement culture. The police officers I interviewed reflected on being part of an occupational culture that is consistent with the literature on law enforcement's unique professional culture, and how it contrasts with norms among their CAC MDT counterparts. Officers shared their insights about working in the law enforcement field. They explained that their profession is different from the other professions that make up the MDT. As one officer said,

> Child abuse is only a small portion of police work. Officers get pulled, they have a traffic
>
> accident, burglary, child abuse, then run to a murder scene. The other MDT folks do the
>
> same thing all the time. We have to be trained in all crimes, have to be ready for

anything. It's rare an officer handles one type of crime and never gets called out to cover

anything else.

Several officers stated that it is difficult to impossible to explain what it is like to be an

officer to someone who never worked in this field. When I asked the participants 'what, if

anything, is unique to law enforcement culture compared to the cultures of other MDT

members,' four officers responded strongly that they are not that different. One officer answered:

Nothing. I don't know if there's something different. We all want the same thing. We're

still just people. We can still laugh, we have bad days, we're not all out to bust you

speedin'. Yeah, we got a badge. We're always in survival mode, but we're human just

like you. I get pissed when people tip toe around me. I'm all in [regarding the MDT].

Participants reported positive engagement with CACs, overall, but that it is limited by

barriers outside the control of individual officers. Based on these findings, law enforcement

engagement is disproportionately reliant on individual officers to circumvent barriers in order to

become part of the "we" of the MDT. Generally, law enforcement officers stated their support in

the CAC and MDT model, however some traditional norms of law enforcement culture still

adhere to a "we/they" (Herbert,1998) approach.

The argument that the CAC MDT is part of the "they," an outgroup to law enforcement's

ingroup, conflicts with the necessary pieces for engagement according to Bronstein's (2003)

Model of Interdisciplinary Collaboration. Specifically, Bronstein (2003) names five components

to interdisciplinary team collaboration. *Interdependence* is the mindset of relying on the

interactions with other professionals and depending on each other to accomplish goals. *Newly*

created professional activities are collaborative acts that are potentially more successful due to

the group approach. *Flexibility* is purposely blurring and blending roles. *Collective ownership of*

goals is the shared responsibilities. *Reflection on the process* is the ongoing maintenance of the collaboration. The "we" (Herbert, 1998) concept is the foundation of all five of these components (Bronstein, 2003).

Bronstein (2003) asserts that there are four influences on team collaboration.

1. *Professional role* is valuing the role, respecting colleagues, and being loyal to the profession. In this study, all of the officers were proud of their role and work in investigating child abuse and serving the wellbeing of children, though several expressed that police culture does not identify their work with child abuse as a core part of their profession (Bronstein, 2003).

2. *Structural characteristics* reflect the level at which the agency's culture supports the collaboration (Bronstein, 2003). Officer engagement is more likely if their culture allows them the time and space to carry out joint efforts, according to Bronstein (2003). Currently, this influence varies by county and/or department.

3. *Personal characteristics* are the team members' perspectives of each other (Bronstein, 2003). This influence requires opportunities and the desire to create a "we" (Herbert, 1998). Many officers noted the importance of attending MDT meetings, joint training, or sharing a meal to develop relationships and rapport.

4. *History of collaboration* is the experience team members have with collaboration (Bronstein, 2003). The CAC model is approximately 40 years old, but most counties in Pennsylvania have had a CAC and/or MDT for only 10 years or less. That history is short relative to the history of law enforcement culture.

Indeed, child abuse cases as a focus of attention is relatively new in police work. As one officer expressed,

Child abuse investigations aren't given the attention and money that's given to other

crimes, not discussed at roll call. It's left on its own. That's just a cultural thing.

Everybody knows it's important to work the cases, but it's just not part of what we think

of when we're talking about being a police officer, unless you're the guy with a stack of

kid cases.

Most of the officers, when describing their culture, without prompting, explained how

they were different than other team members' disciplines. Yet, when discussing the participants'

personal experiences as a police officer they expressed support of the MDT and a desire to fulfill

an important role and blend into the victim-focused approach. As officers in this study explained,

child abuse cases are different from any other investigations, requiring a specialized approach

and much more time and resources. Both the police culture and child abuse investigators'

subculture value quality investigations, but they define the success of investigations differently.

This finding is consistent with Miller's (1958) Subcultural Theory in that a subculture is

part of the larger culture and embraces their norms and values while fostering their own unique

goals and processes. Child abuse investigators, even though their law enforcement, operate as a

subculture since these cases are so distinctive from all other crimes they may encounter. Child

abuse cases might end at the investigation stage or in a plea bargain, depending on a child's

ability to testify and their emotional capacity to handle further legal proceedings. While police

culture focuses on solving crimes and locking up criminals, the subculture of child abuse

investigators incorporates the wellness of the victim in the resolution of the case. This distinction

in the successful disposition of a case, also encouraged in the way officers quantify cases, arrests,

and actions taken for the purpose of public safety. The traditional quantification of police work

has inferences for funding and resources at a local, state, and national levels. This evaluation

method exacerbates the attention given to other crimes and devalues the team-oriented approach to child abuse.

Engagement starts with awareness. My research suggests that as individual officers learn about the CAC model and begin to see the MDT as part of their "we" (Herbert, 1998) then greater engagement is possible. One officer admitted he never wanted to work on child abuse cases, but after learning about how children experience trauma, especially during a traditional police interview, he said,

> If anyone was going to be a skeptic, it would have been me. I was set in my ways. Thought I could do the best interviews, ask the questions I want. I didn't know all the child development stages. I see how much better it is, the kids tell their story and it's better evidence. Now I'm finding a passion for it.

All the officers I interviewed were overwhelmingly supportive of the CAC model. Only one officer shared any negative feedback about the jurisdiction's CAC, but the comments were specific to interactions with two staff members. When I asked officers specifically about their perspectives of the MDT approach, they shared that is was about collaboration, not a case; about openness to learning and understanding others members' responsibilities, and not about maintaining control any attitude or sense of entitlement.

Comparison to the old way of investigating. Approximately half of the officers I interviewed had law enforcement careers that started before CACs were established in their areas. All these officers agreed that the CAC model is much better for children. One officer explained,

> I would have to bring a kid into the station, into the cold concrete interrogation room with his parent, me in my uniform. Some kids liked it, for some it was terrible. Then, I'd get a

74

call and because I was usually the only one on shift, we were really small then, I'd have to go. Have to interrupt the kid, ask them to come back. And you didn't know how and what services to offer them; you'd just tell them to get counseling… I can tell you, back before we had that [CAC], I experienced getting really beat up by defense attorneys. I'm not specially trained in social work, child psychology, or child development… I would say that successful prosecution has come up a lot so for me. It's been a much, much better system, a lot more integrity, more success prosecuting the cases; it's better for the children.

Additionally, all the police officers I interviewed agreed that officers who started their careers after CACs were established in their jurisdictions did not have any hesitation about working within an MDT model. Two officers responded that those officers do not know anything different so there was no opportunity to develop different practices.

Pattern 2: Training Supports Engagement

The second pattern among the findings is that *training supports engagement.* All officers stressed the value of training about child abuse and the need for more of it regardless of the level of training they already received. Throughout the interviews with officers the lack of training opportunities was connected to a lack of funding, resources, understanding by superiors, and assumptions about whose role it is to provide training for MDT participation and good investigative practices for child abuse cases.

Most officers in this study stated that support of the MDT model is inevitable once police are educated about child abuse, trauma, and victim-focused services. Education about victim-centered programs and the development of the MDT approach provides an officer with an understanding of the importance of law enforcement's role in the process. This understanding

accentuates the *professional role* of an officer in the process which encourages engagement (Bronstein, 2003).

All the officers' responses aligned around the need for more training and resources across the state and in all kinds of law enforcement agencies. Most officers, including both local and Pennsylvania State Police, said they received no training about child abuse in the police academy. Two other officers offered that their training in the academy about child abuse was very basic and did not help them once they were on patrol.

Opportunities and resources are dependent on funding. All officers expressed the importance of on-going training throughout a law enforcement career. Six of the officers explained that their superiors give them the freedom and funding to attend trainings to improve their skills and keep informed of new trends and research. Three officers mentioned their local DA's office disseminates information about relevant trainings and even offers to pay a portion, or even all, of the costs. On the other end of the spectrum, six officers conveyed a strong desire to go to trainings about child abuse investigations but, in their agencies, the cost and time commitment exceeded the resources. The cost of training is compounded by travel costs, as explained by all the officers working in rural counties and the officers serving in areas where their CAC does not regularly offer child abuse trainings. When asked about funding to attend training, one officer responded by saying,

> We have zero money. We have to buy our own pens and there's no heat in our offices. I can't ask to go [to training].

Shortage of law enforcement and specialized officers. There also is a lack of back up or coverage for law enforcement officers serving on CAC MDTs. Most of the officers I spoke with are the sole child abuse investigators for their jurisdictions. Any time these officers take

away from their work or have other departmental duties means their cases are stagnant. A few of those officers explained they have at least one other officer whom they could send to observe a forensic interview and secure a recording of the interview, but no one else who has the experience to perform a full investigation. All but one officer voiced concerns over burnout and the stress of being the sole law enforcement officer for these child abuse cases.

Law enforcement coverage and scheduling was highlighted as a huge barrier to law enforcement engagement with CAC MDTs. Participants tied a lack of time and resources, especially in rural areas, to the low rate of mentoring of new officers into the CAC MDT process. Officers explained that typically this type of job shadowing happens when a CAC MDT-assigned officer is paired with a patrol officer whose job it is to be out on patrol. I was told there is usually a minimum required number of patrol officers who must be out in the community and available to respond to incidents at all times. The number of officers and amount of their time vary depending on the size of the department. Three officers specifically recommended, at minimum, an orientation of a back-up officer for the CAC MDT-assigned officer. One participant described what that might involve: "…attend an interview or case review at least once, just for the experience, even if it is on your personal time" (since no overtime was available in these jurisdictions).

MDT members can educate their peers. All the officers in this study elucidated that they try to educate other officers on topics such as minimal facts, child abuse, forensic interviews, the CAC model, and the MDT approach. Male officers, officers from urban areas, and officers with higher ranks described their departments, and officers individually, as being more open to cross training compared to the female officers, rural officers, and those earlier in their careers. Several officers stated that they make a conscious effort to offer learning

77

opportunities to newer officers and officers who expressed an interest in child abuse

investigations. The main opportunities mentioned were allowing the officer to shadow a forensic

interview, and invite them to a MDT case review meetings, and walk the officer through the

steps of an investigation. These participants admitted that the MDT officer who offers such

training needs be in a position of authority in order to legitimize the need for training in this area

and possibly to adjust the accompanying officers' schedules.

Advanced child abuse training encourages engagement. Seven of the officers with

whom I spoke had the opportunity to attend and complete forensic interviewing training. Two of

the officers' trainings were funded through their police departments, one was covered through a

grant to the CAC, and the others were supported by their local DA's office. Only four of these

officers ever conducted an interview, but all gained understanding of the value of the process.

These officers added they do not have a desire to do forensic interviews or a child-friendly room

at their station if a situation arose to interview a child victim.

Participants who received forensic interviewing and/or MDT training in one of the

national curricula were more adept in their understanding of child development and the impact of

trauma. These officers were quicker to note the holistic benefits of the child-focused services and

the MDT as motives for their engagement. They explained that once they had that "eye-opening

experience" it would not make sense to handle investigations any other way. Even though most

of these trained officers still faced multiple barriers, they were better equipped to advocate for

the MDT approach. I also observed this response when an officer was trained by their superior,

colleague, or fellow MDT members.

Two of the officers in the study experienced forensic interviewing and/or MDT training

through one of the national programs along with their whole MDT, with at least one

representative from each major discipline attending the training together. The two main reasons these officers cited for attending training together with their MDT were the social opportunities and understanding each other's roles better. One officer shared:

> Forensic interviewing training was an eye-opening experience. Before that I pushed back on questions the interviewer would and wouldn't ask. Id' leave frustrated because I couldn't investigate properly, the way I wanted. The process moved slower. I went to the [MDT] training with my team and I shut up. Didn't want to waste the money by not learning anything. Then I actually learned about how kids remembered stuff. I learned how it can be worse on them if you push or use the same interview style, like you would on a suspect…Our team talked about what this means for our interviews and we came back more committed…I know who they are now. We talked about our kids, our lives.

Second, all participants in this study agreed that there is no substitute for on-the-job training. All but one officer stated that having a fellow officer shadow them and/or having opportunities to explain to another officer the CAC MDT processes and procedures are the best ways to help officers learn. Moreover, they explained that when it comes to child abuse these cases are drastically different than any other type of investigation because of the county protocols and the CAC model.

Specialization in child abuse increases engagement. Five officers recommended the state should mandate specialized child abuse investigation units, referenced the success of specialized units established by the DA's offices that policy on a county level. Collectively, they explained specialization would increase efficiency, the opportunity for team building, and be more child-friendly. In areas where any officer, but usually local patrol, handles child abuse cases without thorough training and experience, one officer admitted,

Sometimes a little bit of training is worse than none. Officers who dabble [in child abuse

cases] are just doing a disservice to the case and everyone involved, then other people

have to fix it. They're taking on more than they're trained for.

Without staffing, funding, and directives from the state, the decision to create specialized units

falls to each DA's office to mandate a child-centered, multidisciplinary approach, such as CACs

offer, and reallocate resources to this service.

Case review as a teaching opportunity. The same officers who expressed appreciation

of the case review process, other than the case tracking by the CAC, also listed case review as a

training resource. These officers shared that one of the reasons they attend case review is to learn

how other officers handle cases and how other MDT members view a case through the filter of

their discipline. Since most of the officers I spoke with work in a jurisdiction in which case

review is reserved for the higher-ranking officers and/or supervisors who specialize in child

abuse, patrol officers typically do not have access to this type of training. Participants explained

some case reviews include a training component on a regular basis.

Parenthood as training. Most officers mentioned that having their own children gave

them a foundation from which to work with child victims. More officers in this study admitted to

receiving little to no training at the academy or on-the-job training in preparation for child abuse

investigation. When I asked how they learned to investigate these cases. Several officers

explained they relied on their parenting skills and instinct at first, and then over time learned the

lingo and procedures. When asked what, if any, training he received for child abuse

investigations, one officer stated,

No formal training. I'm a parent. I think I'm a good dad. I know how to relate to my kids.

I know the stuff they're into. I just treat them [children at the CAC] like my own.

Pattern 3: Different Law Enforcement Subcultures Experience Different Barriers to Engagement

A third pattern identified in the findings is that *different law enforcement subcultures experience different barriers to engagement*. Specifically, two main subcultures of rural departments and Pennsylvania State Police (PSP) emerged in the findings. The subculture of officers from rural areas reflected fewer material resources yet a stronger connection to the local community, and the PSP subculture seemed to have more resources and less connection to the local community. Both subcultures have their own strengths and still face barriers to engagement.

According to Schein (1990), a group or organization creates a culture when they develop a common history and find stability; observable artifacts, values, and underlying assumptions make up the three levels of culture. Miller's (1958) Subcultural Theory summarized a subculture as having their own long history of traditions (relatively speaking), norms, and the values like the broader culture but with different definitions of achievement in those areas. Miller (1958) studied the subculture of gang members against middle class culture and found both groups set goals and valued success but achieved these goals and defined success in different ways. Both rural officers and PSP troopers used specific language and had special/additional protocols. The value on crime prevention and detection remain the same as in broader police culture. Yet, these law enforcement officers working in rural areas and the PSP each have their own traditions and values, and a different definition of success, than found in the main police culture. In this study, officers demonstrated loyalty to their subculture and expressed challenges to engagement also specific to their subculture.

Rural areas create barriers to engagement. The differences between law enforcement in rural versus urban areas was repeatedly cited as one of the main factors influencing law enforcement engagement in MDTs. In general, every participant noted that police departments in rural areas have fewer resources which creates direct barriers to participating fully in the MDT model. Many officers with whom I spoke worked in a CAC service area that had law enforcement jurisdictions with only part-time officers for select shifts during the day or did not have a department at all. However, officers from rural jurisdictions referenced a sense of community more than urban officers. These officers explained that they have to work together and be able to rely on each other. As one officer stated, "We only have just the basics. It's all on us [the local community]."

Many of the participants currently working in or with experience in a rural area indicated that they had to travel a significant distance to the CAC and/or related resources, which creates barriers to engagement. Some officers I interviewed travel an hour each way to their local CAC. The veteran officers referenced the time when there were only a few CACs in the state and how they would have to pack up the MDT members and the family and drive hours to reach a CAC. All of these officers admitted this was not a child-friendly approach and were happy to have a more local CAC.

The officers explained that in Pennsylvania if a municipality does not have the resources to maintain a law enforcement entity, even part-time, then PSP investigates crimes committed in that area. However, PSP does not provide continuous patrol as a deterrent or preventative measure in such municipalities, only reactionary investigations of reported crimes.

Participants in this study observed the lack of predictability in who would be handling child abuse cases and how that made it challenging for PSP troopers to build relationships with

MDT members. Considering the value that most officers placed on having opportunities to interact and build trust and rapport with their fellow MDT members, this lack of consistency hinders the engagement of PSP troopers and rural officers in the MDT model.

PSP access to resources. A few officers interviewed were either currently troopers with the PSP, retired from PSP before moving to their current law enforcement position, or had worked for PSP for several years at some point during their careers. PSP troopers have different responsibilities depending on the area of Pennsylvania they serve. In all of the rural areas, and more than half of the urban areas, participants explained that PSP either serve as the investigator for all child abuse cases in a particular jurisdiction, as supplemental law enforcement for emergencies in areas that cannot support a police department or have only part-time coverage, and as back-up if a local officer cannot conduct the child investigation due to lack of time and resources. Therefore, all the participants work in a CAC service area where the PSP has some presence to a significant presence in child abuse investigations.

According to participants, individual PSP troopers chose to engage in the MDT, however, the PSP's current structure creates challenges for *interdependence, newly created professional activities, flexibility, collective ownership of goals,* and *reflection on process* (Bronstein, 2003). Generally, PSP are not engrained in the local community on a basis that is consistent enough to allow for the opportunity to connect personally and professionally with other MDT members in order to secure a collaboration.

Invoking Schein (1990) again, the PSP have their own artifacts in their language, policies, and academy, among other practices unique to their organization. They value their position and authority at the state level and their role in the unique service they provide Pennsylvania residents, including stepping into providing criminal justice support when

municipalities do not have other options. PSP are also part of the overall police culture and strive to prevent crime and enforce laws. Yet, using the lens of Miller's (1958) Subcultural Theory, PSP is a subculture because their history, norms, and values are somewhat different from the overall law enforcement culture.

Training, funding, and governance of PSP take place at the state level. PSP has different policies, procedures, and expectations than local law enforcement. Most notably, they are assigned to barracks that serve a region, not a community, and many troopers serve certain areas periodically only as a backup to local law enforcement. Troopers interviewed for this study expressed loyalty to PSP more than to a community, regardless of their vocalized support for the overall CAC model. These officers admitted their state level positions distance them from local level culture and needs.

Participants said that PSP has funding and resources to meet the needs of engagement more easily than many local departments. However, all officers explained that individual PSP officers face the barrier of reporting to the state level and not the local MDT. The consensus among participants was that PSP offered more advanced training at their academy; had more resources, including funding and human resources; and maintained a more structured organization compared to local police departments, generally speaking. The differences noted in this comparison were not extended to law enforcement units operating under a DA's office. According to participants, these specialized units and county detectives were perceived as having resources comparable to the PSP when it comes to child abuse investigations.

Most participants expressed appreciation for PSP support in their area, but only one officer, a PSP trooper, explicitly said that PSP was a part of their area's CAC MDT. Also, only one officer shared very negative experiences with PSP; in this case the officer perceived a lack of

interest in the MDT approach by their PSP representatives and the need for greater knowledge of child abuse investigations by the PSP representative. This officer pointed to PSP training and organizational culture as perpetuating this behavior in the two counties in which she worked with PSP. All but one of the local officers expressed a desire to have access to the same resources as PSP, and all participants with PSP backgrounds volunteered that they have resource advantages over local jurisdictions. One PSP officer said,

> We're very fortunate with all our resources. Unfortunately, the smaller rural departments
> just don't have these.

PSP gap-filling offers fragmented support. All participants, except one, described the PSP as not being a part of the local community in the same way as local police are in their communities. They explained that the PSP representative will attend a forensic interview and complete an investigation but does not interact with the MDT. The one PSP trooper who expressed feeling part of the MDT admitted she also felt tied to the local community and culture.

One PSP officer explained why, as a function of their role, PSP troopers are not more connected to their local communities:

> We have a different mindset. We're used to being in command, we're domineering, very
> structured, paramilitary, regimented. I'm not saying we don't get emotional, but we're
> there to get the job done… We're not supposed to get too distracted by [local] issues. We
> represent the state and we're in place to cover gaps for local departments and advanced
> scenarios locals can't handle.

Another PSP trooper stated that she offers, on a regular basis, to take cases from local police who do not have as much in the way of resources and training to investigate a child abuse allegation. She explained that she would rather take on the extra work because her agency (the

85

PSP) has the resources to make these cases a priority, often unlike local officers who have unpredictable schedules and multiple priority cases.

Some counties represented by CACs are partially or fully reliant on the PSP for law enforcement service. Law enforcement participants explained that a number of communities in Pennsylvania have underfunded and understaffed police departments. Even if individual officers ascribe to the CAC model, the threat of a local police station downsizing or closing creates uncertainty within an entire MDT and presents an on-going challenge to law enforcement engagement with it. According to the findings of this study, PSP representation on MDTs is helpful only when it is consistently engaged participation, meaning that the same troopers attend, the responding troopers are trained to investigate child abuse, and they engage with the CAC; the same characteristics sought in a local law enforcement engagement with MDTs.

Pattern 4: Leadership Impacts Engagement

The fourth pattern in these findings is that *leadership impacts engagement*. Law enforcement is a paramilitary entity that encompasses structure and order. Those characteristics lend themselves to a strong emphasis on hierarchical leadership and respect for positions of authority. The officers I interviewed described their experiences with leadership inside and outside their agency as they related to their work on child abuse investigations; in sum, it matters.

Role modeling engagement. The importance of the role modeling was also highlighted in Pattern 2, Training Supports Engagement, regarding officers' desires for more opportunities to model engagement with the MDT to other officers. Moreover, participants stressed that officers with authority have more and/or can create more opportunities to interact with other officers and model collaboration behaviors. One officer, a sergeant, explained that he always tells his officers

during training to work with the MDT, no exceptions, because that is procedure. This same participant admitted he never had an issue with a subordinate not adhering to the process because,

> We role model it from the top down. We're clear about what's acceptable. My supervisor modeled if for me and I never questioned him. Then, over time I realized the model worked.

Support from the DA's office is critical to engagement. Bronstein's (2003) Model of Interdisciplinary Team Collaboration identifies four influences on collaboration including *professional role, structural characteristics, personal characteristics*, and *history of collaboration*. The DA's office is part of the *professional role* influence as they are an arm of law enforcement and understand the socialization and expectations, how to relate to others outside of the profession, and the history of the role. Being tied to police culture, but not entirely engrained in it, also allows the DA's office to role model the behavior of engagement for police. The DA's office is just enough of the "we" (Herbert, 1998) to be an influencer through the *professional role*.

The level of engagement from the DA's office arose as a theme around the topic of leadership, funding, training, and the CAC's role. The DA's depth of support varied among the jurisdictions but aligned directly with the officers' perspectives of police engagement in their area. Officers who reported, based on their collective responses, satisfactory or high levels of police engagement also reported satisfactory or high support from the DA's office, respectively. The officers' perceptions of the local DA's office commitment level to the CAC model was explicitly tied to law enforcement's engagement with the MDT.

Some participants gave examples of their DA's office strong support, including presence at the MDT meetings, initiation of or contribution to the MDT protocols, mandating training, and words of appreciation and encouragement. One officer stated,

> [The DA's office] offers as much overtime as we need. We rarely use it; I've never used it. But we know it's there if we need it, that shows how important it is.

Authority to enforce protocols. The DA's office is the highest-ranking law enforcement entity in each county in Pennsylvania. With that authority comes a responsibility to set an example for all other levels and facets of law enforcement. Most officers reported that their local DA's office was very supportive of the CAC and the MDT approach. All officers agreed the DA's office's support is necessary for the engagement of law enforcement and the overall success of the model in their jurisdiction. Locations lacking the endorsement of the DA's office equally recorded low engagement from law enforcement.

The DA's office also has the authority to enforce protocols. The officers who reported more lukewarm DA's office support for the CAC model had fewer striking examples of outward support for their own MDT engagement. Some officers stated their chiefs will follow the protocols and related procedures when directed by the DA's office, which allows the officers to attend case review and other MDT meetings. One officer shared an example of the challenge they face with their DA's office:

> We have protocols that say patrol has to work with a DIC (detective in charge) on a child abuse case and a detective has to get a forensic interview and then request approval before he charges the guy. There's a couple departments with stubborn leaders and they just call an ADA who says yes and doesn't check that the kid got the forensic interview. Other detectives, even my detectives, bitch that they get away with it, not because they

have extra work, they're pissed the kids don't get the CAC help… I have to bring this up

again at case review. The model only works with the whole team!

The DA's office has the ability to normalize the MDT approach and offer resource to

support investigative efforts through their establishment and enforcement of county protocols on

child abuse investigations and prosecutions. Within the hierarchal para-military structure of law

enforcement leadership sets the culture, clear expectations, and process structure. The DA's

office has the power to designate the CAC as a part of the "we," using Herbert's (1998)

terminology.

The office of the DA carries even more strength in the *structural characteristics* category

which is defined by the level at which the agency's culture supports the collaboration process. As

the top law enforcement office in each county, the DA's office has the opportunity and ability to

endorse the CAC and enforce engagement in the MDT process. My findings suggest that

individual officers want to be engaged with their CAC MDT, however the organizational and

cultural barriers can be overwhelming for individual officers to challenge. Supportive behaviors

by the DA's office can reduce or remove barriers by prioritizing funding for training or staffing,

scheduling that makes CAC MDT participation more of a priority than it is in most police

organizations, according to the officers in this study, and fostering cross-communication among

MDT entities, all of which may cultivate officer engagement.

Leader disengagement creates barriers for individual officers. All officers I

interviewed reported working under at least one supervisor in their careers who was adverse to

the collaboration required of the CAC model. In some instances, these officers were instructed

not to participate in key aspects of the MDT, such as attending case review meetings and sharing

information about their investigation with MDT members. One officer, when taking on a new role as a child abuse investigator, described her supervisor's actions as follows:

[He] didn't get it, didn't want to support the position at all and actually forbade me to speak to the officer who just retired [from this position]. He was hoping I'd screw up and the CAC would leave him alone.

When I followed up by asking how she learned how to handle these cases she explained,

CYS looked like they knew what they were doin', so I asked them to teach me. The forensic interviewers helped me a lot, too. Still haven't had any formal training.

Only one officer shared that she encountered both several challenges with unsupportive supervisors and staff at the DA's office, but she attributed these to a lack of their understanding of the MDT's goal. Only two officers declared that their current supervisors are supportive of their participation in the CAC model, and two others said their supervisors continuously question why they need to be involved with CAC meetings, like case review.

The remaining officers said their supervisors, as one officer put it, "leaves me alone." These officers attributed this attitude to the longevity of their careers, supervisors' lack of understanding of the CAC and MDT model, reliance on them to handle the cases, and general distain for, and hands-off approach toward, child abuse and sexual assault cases. Two officers admitted that, on occasion, they would circumvent commands from their superiors to disregard or circumvent CAC model requirements for their participation, explaining that they knew their MDT engagement was best for the child victims.

Pattern 5: Gender Influences Exposure to the MDT Model

The fourth pattern found in these findings is that *gender influences exposure to the MDT model*. Gender appeared as a key theme in how officers were assigned child abuse cases. The

participants in this study reported that, in their agencies, always when a female officer was available, she was assigned to CAC MDT. Although today there are more women in law enforcement than in years prior, law enforcement still remains a heavily male-dominated profession, as supported by all participants. Notably, all officers, including the women, used male pronouns when providing an example or referencing officers generically.

Police culture is a masculine culture. When gender identity does not align with this characteristic of policing it can cause conflict. According to a study by Faircloth (2016), gender role conflict can impact job performance, job satisfaction, and self-image. In this study, males were more willing than females to change departments in the hopes of increasing job performance, satisfaction, and self-image provided they could keep their rank (Faircloth, 2016).

Acker (1992) argues law enforcement is a gendered organization and, therefore, subscribes to a masculine substructure. Gender is not simply a characteristic; it is identified only after the expression of beliefs, norms, symbols, and behavior. Organizations express this through gendering systems. According to Acker, gender is learned and reinforced through a culture, and organizations have "ideal" workers who "naturally" align with their culture. Historically, policing has been a very physically demanding occupation and society has looked to men over women for physical ability and strength (Acker, 1992). As the field of policing evolves and includes community policing and more intellectually challenging opportunities, not only physical challenges, the notion of the ideal worker is evolving, too.

Women directed to investigate child abuse. All the female officers I interviewed, except one, were either the first female officer in their department or unit and/or the highest-ranking female officer in their department. Despite their current rank, all the female participants

91

referenced being pushed towards handling child abuse cases and some were ordered to be the main investigator for such cases because they were women. As described by one participant,

> One day I was told I was going to handle all the child abuse, juvenile, and sexual assault cases. I asked why and was told 'because you're a girl.' End of conversation.

Gender inequality and role assumptions in law enforcement. The perception of gender bias within law enforcement was highly prevalent among these officers. Only one participant, a woman, said the women in her department are treated equally to the men in her department. The other women in this sample noted that female officers in their departments continue to be treated differently by their supervisors and male counterparts. Two of the women in the sample even gave examples of female officers directed to handle child abuse cases, regardless of their lack of skills and interest working with child victims. These female officers eventually had to be transferred to new units due to the poor quality of their investigations. One female officer shared negative interactions she had with CAC staff on multiple occasions, but she gave the reasoning that she was the first female officer they had to work with.

Only two of the 15 participants, one man and one woman, believed that children are more comfortable dealing with an officer who is a woman rather than a man. All other participants said the gender of the officer did not matter; with the proper training and disposition any officer can work with children and families. All officers stressed the importance of finding the right person for the job instead of traditional assignments based on gender.

> She was good in the other department. We started get more and more child abuse cases, this was in the 90's, and she was moved over to handle them. She didn't have the knack for it, wasn't nurturing at all. She didn't have kids, didn't want them. Why the hell should she be dealing with these cases when there are several guys asking for these cases. It was

better hours so that's why she didn't complain, and why they wanted it. They [bosses] ended up having to move her back because she was so bad at it. Then I got them because I was the only other female, even though I said I didn't want them either. I had kids and I got interested in these cases, so it worked out for me.

Modern men in society. Several officers referenced men, generally, as being different today than they were in the prior generations, and better equipped to handle cases of child abuse. They explained that men in society are simply different now, and younger officers demonstrate that change in the way they deal with crimes against children and families. One female officer, with more than 20 years of experience in law enforcement, observed that her fellow male officers are more hands-on in their marriages and involved with their own children, and consequently they take child abuse and sex crimes more seriously than did male officers in the past. She explained,

Men are just different now. They talk about doing dishes, going to their kids' baseball games, changing diapers. You never heard that 20 years ago. They're good, involved dads, so yes, they can be good at these cases.

Several officers echoed this observation and offered this as support for why female officers are not necessarily better at working with children. They explained male officers can draw on their personal experiences with family just like female officers can, and contemporary officers have been raised in a time when abuse of children and women receives more attention in society and by law enforcement.

Standpoint Theory also supports observations made during this study. This theory emphasizes a person's assumptions and/or knowledge is influenced by where this person stands. Based on participants' responses, male police officers who did not have an understanding of or

93

experience with the MDT model seemed to make assumptions about the role of female officers and police at the CAC (Appelrouth & Edles, 2010). Men who had the standpoint of working with an MDT did not make similar assumptions and agreed that either men or women, with the appropriate training and demeanor, could provide quality child abuse investigations.

Pattern 6: CAC's Role in Facilitating Engagement

The sixth pattern uncovered within these findings was the discussion around the *CAC's role in facilitating engagement*. Perceptions of the CAC's role was by far the most polarized of views discussed in the interviews. The differing perceptions among the officer participants speak to the varied interpretations of the model in each service area.

CAC's role within the MDT model. Officers' opinions and expectations of the CAC's role related to the execution of the MDT process varied between two extremes: the CAC supporting the MDT members in their individual professional roles and the CAC facilitating the MDT model and managing the engagement of all disciplines. Half of the responding officers expressed their belief that the CAC's role is to support the MDT members in doing their jobs and reaching their goals. The other half of the participants shared that the CAC's role is to coordinate and oversee the MDT process. These opinions came to light as they discussed who should be responsible for organizing and paying for trainings, who should run case review and other MDT-related meetings, who is responsible for eliciting engagement from all the members, the level of authority the CACs have to dictate process and procedures, among others. For example, if the officers saw the CAC's role as limited to supporting law enforcement in their efforts to carry out a thorough investigation and CYS in securing the safety of the child, the officers questioned how CACs also can be the entity that enforces the county protocols and the handling of child abuse cases.

Several officers referenced the importance of the CAC remaining neutral throughout a child abuse case and believed that the CAC therefore should not have a role in addressing the level of engagement of certain MDT members. All the participants who leaned toward the CAC having a support role in the MDT process designated the DA's office as the MDT member with the appropriate authority to role model proper engagement and meet with disengaged team members. In contrast, officers who viewed the CAC's role as facilitating everything related to the MDT process believed the CAC also is responsible for engaging all MDT members, providing training, and overseeing how the MDT incorporates other aspects of the county protocols, procedures, and norms in the service area. As one officer expressed,

> The CAC is there to help me put together a better investigation. It's not right for them to tell me when to come and go. My chief is who I report to.

In contrast, another officer commented,

> The CAC is the expert. We should see them at our departments all the time reminding us to participate. We see that in our area. Can't rely on all the disciplines' administrations to advocate the way the CAC does. They need to corral us and educate us.

The conversation about training also tied into their perspective of the role and authority of the CAC. The same officers who thought the CAC should be the facilitator of the MDT, rather than playing a supportive role, also thought the CAC should be responsible for providing MDT members with proper orientation and initial training, as well as an on-going training, related to child abuse on a local level and at minimal to no cost. On the other hand, the officers who saw the CAC as a supporting entity said the DA's office should be in charge of providing the necessary trainings to institutionalize the protocol for child abuse cases and use their authority to ensure MDT members attendance.

Building trust. All the female officers and one male officer explained that the most important type of communication was not about the case; it was social and about getting to know the other members. Four officers shared that their approach is getting to know the MDT members on a personal level first, then it is much easier to discuss work issues with them, especially the challenges of child abuse cases. Case review, lunches, forensic interviews, happy hours, CAC fundraisers/events, and trainings were the occasions officers listed as the best opportunities to build rapport and social connections with their fellow MDT members. Notably, I observed the complete lack of the word *trust*. Not one officer used the word *trust* to discuss building relationships with MDT members. Only two officers used the word *trust* during interviews at all, and they both used the word in reference to the child victim needing to trust the forensic interviewer.

Role clarification and boundaries. Transparency was identified as an important piece of MDT communications. Every officer highlighted the significance of knowing Children and Youth Services' (CYSs') timeline, in particular, and steps to complete their investigation so law enforcement efforts would not infringe on CYS but would actually complement each other's investigations. In Pennsylvania where this study was conducted, CYS is required to send letters within 48 hours to alleged perpetrators notifying them that they were named in child abuse allegations. All officers highlighted this letter as a major point of frustration. This letter may be the first hint to the alleged perpetrator that investigations of child safety and criminal acts are underway. Law enforcement officers emphasized the importance of the element of surprise and catching the alleged perpetrator off guard, so they do not have time to formulate excuses to police questions, flee the area, coach the alleged victim, or destroy evidence. All participants referenced this notification as an example for the need for transparency. A third of the officers

explained that if you have a good relationship with the CYS workers you can find a solution to this reoccurring challenge. One officer stated,

> I get to case review a little early. I move around the room, say hello, and bullshit with everyone. We have stressful job. It's better if we can all have a laugh to break up the day… Then, if I need to get serious with CYS about not calling me back it's not too bad because we feel a part of the same team. Members that rush in [to case review] and rush out have a harder time working together.

Officers suggested that if the investigating officer is aware the letter is about to be sent to the alleged perpetrator, the officer can make a point to interview him or her first, ask CYS to hold the letter (which they are allowed to do), meet with the alleged perpetrator along with CYS, or have CYS join the of the interview process. These solutions allow officers to conduct their investigation, CYS to gather information they need to assess safety, and maintain the integrity of the case. If CYS and law enforcement are not communicating on a regular basis and not sharing the path of their investigation, it can negatively affect the criminal investigation. One officer stated,

> She [CYS worker] has a job to do I have a job to do. You just pick up the phone, find a solution together. No drama. I can do that because we're friends.

Pattern 7: Case Review is an Engagement Tool

A seventh pattern in the findings is that *case review is an engagement tool*. These meetings were one of the main topics of the interviews initiated by both me and the participants. Case review is one of the 10 standards of the National Children's Alliance CAC accreditation process and serves the purpose of bringing the MDT together to review and track cases of child abuse that moved through the CAC. Each CAC must demonstrate execution of MDT case review

once per month, but they have the freedom to interpret this standard in a way that fits the needs of their CAC, MDT, and local community.

More specifically, case review can support engagement that results from collaborative efforts, in keeping with Bronstein's (2003) model linking *interdependence, newly created professional activities, flexibility, collective ownership of goals,* and *reflection on process*. Other opportunities exist for an MDT to exercise the components in the Interdisciplinary Collaboration Model, but case review is the only one that offers a platform for all components to be processed purposefully and concurrently (Bronstein, 2003).

Case review offers space for *interdependence* to occur as the members discuss cases and learn from each other, and they spend formal and informal time together. Bronstein (2003) stresses the importance of role clarification within their profession and collaboration which many officers commented on during the interviews. As members discuss individual cases and deciding on new plans for each case, they are satisfying the *newly created professional activities* and the tracking and follow-up relate to the *collective ownership of goals*. *Flexibility* is achieved through the behavior of members during case review. The MDT members choose to blur the lines of their roles and compromise and adapt when necessary. Law enforcement participants classified case review as a time, in some cases the only time, to converse with other MDT members about cases, gain additional training, and connect with them on a personal level. *Reflection on process* is also built into a standard case review in that when members meet every month, they continually evaluate their success as a team and implement strategies to improve.

Case review interpretations. The topic of MDT case review offered the most diverse answers from participants. Their responses mainly related to the structure of the meetings including the discipline representatives who are expected to attend, the level or representative

98

who are expected to attend, the frequency of the meetings, length of the meetings, and what types of cases are reviewed.

The descriptions of MDT case review varied in as many ways as there were participants in this study. Some case reviews consist of all MDT members regardless of the specific cases to be reviewed in depth during that meeting and others only invite the supervisors of each discipline such as the CYS supervisor of the child abuse unit. One CAC identifies a few priority cases per month and has an individual case review with the team members involved with each case. According to the officers in this county, case review was restructured specifically because officer attendance was so poor for a consistent period of time. Another CAC has a version of this approach and invites all the members on the identified team and their direct supervisors to attend case review meetings.

The different case review formats lead to diverse expectations of officer attendance and participation in the MDT process. Half of the officers reported positive engagement in case review personally and by other law enforcement in their area. The other half of participants reported poor engagement by officers in their area including their own. Those officers all claimed they want to participate more but struggle with other demands on their time, directives by supervisors not to attend, or it was not part of their job in their jurisdiction to attend these meetings.

Meeting as a team is valuable. All participants stated there is value to attending MDT case review meetings, but there were multiple explanations as to the benefits they personally derive from the experience. A third of the officers said that they did not value the case tracking provided by the CAC. These officers explained departments have clear procedures requiring enough internal checks and balances so that the CAC tracking process is redundant. These

99

officers noted that it was just as helpful to receive information through a report CYS sends with all their updates as it was to receive face-to-face communication. They explained it provides a benchmark to be accountable for each entity's piece of the MDT process, though. Four officers clarified that their CAC picks the cases the CAC staff are interested in discussing, not what might be helpful to specific MDT members. In the words of one officer, delivered in a strong tone,

> I don't know how they come up with their list. I just go along with it, but it doesn't help me. I kept going [to case review] to show support for the team.

> Even though most officers agreed that these meetings, in general, help the MDT's accountability, most officers noted that they go to case review to support the CAC and keep in touch with team members. A few officers explained that he would never halt the investigation process wait to speak to a fellow MDT member at case review. Officers referenced the rapport they have with the MDT members and can comfortably reach out to them as needed.

Case review offers opportunities to communicate. Communicating with team members was cited as the key to an effective MDT by all the participants. Half of the law enforcement participants in this study explained that case review was helpful with communication because it was a chance to touch base with team members and gain an understanding of the progression of their investigation. The responses varied when I asked officers to describe what they meant by communication and how to execute their version of communication. All the officers mentioned that it is important to communicate about each step of the case with their fellow MDT members, and some officers emphasized the inclusion of investigative details more than others. Half of the participants noted difficulty connecting with CYS about their joint cases, however, all but one officer mentioned that they know CYS is extremely busy and overworked.

All officers agreed that the MDT case review can be a great hub of information exchange for officers who are new to child abuse cases, and it offers the best opportunity to build relationships within the MDT. Two CACs consistently use a portion of their review time to provide education on a child abuse investigation trends or focus on a unique aspect to a recent case.

Lunch as an engagement tool. All the officers invited to a case review with all MDT members in their service area, including the supervisor-only reviews, mentioned that offering lunch was an incentive for officers to attend case reviews. Officers stated that providing food gets their attention and it makes it easier for them to justify their time to themselves and their superiors, especially if there is skepticism from leadership about the CAC or MDT model. Also, three officers highlighted that it is nice to share a meal with fellow MDT members and chat about their personal lives as well as cases. One officer highlighted the value of these lunches in developing MDT rapport:

In any type of relationship-building meals are always part of it. MDTs are all about

relationship-building, so why wouldn't we share a meal together.

Two officers said their CAC used to offer lunch but stopped due to lack of funding, and law enforcement attendance subsequently decreased. One officer said a local restaurant sponsors their meal every month. Two other officers said their CACs provide lunch for $3 to $5 and that money is used to throw a holiday party for the MDT.

Interestingly, when officers believed the CAC should facilitate the MDT and be responsible for engagement, they also thought the CAC should offer lunch as an engagement tool. By contrast, when officers believed the CAC is a support to the MDT process, they held no

expectation of the CAC providing lunch or taking steps to engage law enforcement in a similar way. No officers expected the DA's office to handle lunch.

Case review has the potential to generate the collaboration if facilitated according to the standard in the CAC model and intentionally addressing Bronstein's five components which overlap with the standard. Additional recommendations are shared in Chapter Five.

Summary

The purpose of this qualitative study was to explore law enforcement officers' perspectives on working with CAC MDTs. I analyzed data from interviews with 15 law enforcement officers from across Pennsylvania in relation to the research question of what facilitates or inhibits law enforcement engagement in MDTs. I identified seven patterns reflect officers' experiences with CAC MDTs. Overall, officers want to engage in the CAC MDT process, they value its efficiency and effectiveness, and they appreciate the need to build relationships among MDT members. However, they are hamstrung by resource constraints including time, funding, and sometimes supervisory support. Officers highlighted the importance of training, the local DA's office commitment to the CAC, and the role of CACs in educating MDT members and facilitating the collaborative process.

Chapter Five discusses the limitations, suggestions for future research, implications for policy and practice, and recommendations to engage law enforcement officers in CAC MDTs.

CHAPTER FIVE

DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSIONS

Introduction

This study sought to identify factors that facilitate or inhibit the engagement of law enforcement officers in children's advocacy centers' (CACs) multidisciplinary teams (MDTs). In order to explore this question, I conducted 15 semi-structured interviews with law enforcement officers from across Pennsylvania about their experiences with and perceptions of MDTs. The data point to important, feasible interventions; steps that can be implemented at the local level to foster the crucial engagement of law enforcement officers in CAC MDTs.

In this chapter, I assess the limitations of the study and offer directions for future research. Next, I address, what are perhaps of greatest value, the policy and practice implications of this research for CACs and the MDT model and related recommendations. Finally, I conclude by highlighting the key lessons from the study.

Limitations

This study of law enforcement engagement had four main limitations. First, my own experience working in CACs potentially biased me as a researcher. I guarded against this by using a systematic approach in my data collection, using a guide with questions asked of all law enforcement participants, and I adhered closely to the data itself in coding and analysis to ensure the findings stemmed from the data. Although personal bias could have swayed the interpretations of the results, this limitation is commonplace to all qualitative research (Patton, 2002). Being aware of this concern related to qualitative research, I acknowledged this limitation and my standpoint in order to deflate the power of subconscious influences.

The second limitation is the reliance on CAC directors as a source for referrals to officers to participate in the study. Not all participants in the study were recruited in this way, but among those who were it is possible that some CAC directors wanted to screen in or out participants. This approach potentially put the CAC staff in a position to influence the research and interview process.

A third limitation is that CAC directors had difficulty identifying officers who were not already champions for the CAC MDT model for handling child abuse cases since they were not aware of law enforcement officers who are not engaged with the process. A few directors shared their efforts to gather contact information of non-supporting officers, but all those officers were near retirement or had retired within the last year and were not interested in participating in research about CACs.

A fourth limitation is that scheduling interviews with law enforcement officers was a huge challenge, especially with patrol and rural officers. Both patrol and rural officers agreed to participate in the study, more than urban officers. Yet, when trying to confirm a time and location for an interview, their unpredictable patrol schedule and far driving distances prevented interviews from taking place. Unfortunately, no interviews could be completed with current rural patrol officers, even after exhaustive attempts. All officers were apologetic and were as accommodating as possible. This situation illustrates the logistical challenges of rural patrol officers who may want to fully engage with MDTs but simply do not have the time and flexibility to do so. It also points to challenges that may or may not be overcome through the use of technology to bridge the distances between officers and MDTs; even with the option of video conferencing or phone interviews, due to poor high speed internet access and cellular connectivity, rural patrol officers were unable to meet for an interview despite their willingness

and multiple attempts, and they likely would not be able to connect easily with an MDT for a case review meeting.

Recommendations for Future Research

The purpose of this study was to examine what facilitates or hinders police engagement in CAC MDTs. The exploratory nature of this research was not developed with replication in mind, but to illuminate the challenge of engagement from law enforcement's perspective and provide a foundational work to launch future research. Based on the findings, I recommend four focal areas for the next phase of research with a balance of quantitative and qualitative methods.

First, I suggest conducting research with a deeper concentration on the relationship between the DAs' offices and police in relation to CAC MDTs. Participants identified the DA's office as a major influence on officer engagement with CAC MDTs. The variable related to the DA's office's support could lead to practical implications in addition to this research study.

Second, I suggest providing officers with different types of training and analyzing their engagement levels after receiving said trainings. For example, do officers tend to engage more with the MDT after receiving only "minimal facts" training? Does engagement increase after receiving a full forensic interviewing training?

Third, I recommend assessing the level of team engagement after the institution of group trainings and/or social activities for the MDT. Rapport building was an important function of opportunities for interaction among the participants in this study

Lastly, I suggest examining the Case Review and Case Tracking standards, two of the National Children's Alliance Standards, to gain a better understanding of their intended purpose within the model, their benefits to the CAC and MDT members in practice, and direct links, if any, to MDT engagement, especially among law enforcement. The officers in this study pointed

to different evaluations of these activities depending upon their extent of experience. CACs may find way to tailor these functions to best serve the needs of MDT members both in terms of case tasks and relationship development.

<div align="center">**Implications for Policy and Practice**</div>

The research question for this study isolates law enforcement as the focus of this engagement challenge in CAC MDTs. With findings from interviews with law enforcement officers working in Pennsylvania, I identified seven patterns of what officers perceive as helping or hindering their ability to engage with MDTs. These patterns point to interventions at the individual level, organizational level, and state level.

Individual Police Officers

The study participants seemed very proud to be law enforcement officers and of the service they provide the community every day. Beyond participating in this study, most officers told me to follow-up if I needed more information for my research. Some officers even invited me to other activities within their department to demonstrate more about their culture and daily duties. They offered me opportunities to attend ride-a-longs, child fatality task force meetings, and department meeting, among other activities.

Individual officers presented the personal desire to engage with MDT process, but many of them felt there were fixed obstacles they must work around, when possible, to fully participate. Individual officers, once aware of the CAC model, supported the model and take advantage of opportunities to engage with the MDT. However, barriers to engagement exist outside of their control that, for the most part, stem back to the need for more training and resources.

One observation shared by most participants is that officers early in their law enforcement career are more open to the MDT model than their more seasoned counterparts. Officers in this study reported that more junior officers are learning only one way to handle child abuse cases because the jurisdiction's CAC has been in operation since before those officers started investigating child abuse. Their history of collaboration is a positive force towards CAC MDT engagement, as Bronstein's (2003) model would predict. Participants said many veterans of law enforcement possess an ideology grandfathered into the traditional way of dealing with child abuse, so their *history of collaboration* is minimal or absent, thereby creating a barrier to engagement (Bronstein, 2003). As time passes, veterans in the field are retiring, thereby self-selecting out of handling these cases, or move to leadership positions away from directly handling cases.

The findings suggest that when young officers become familiar with the MDT model they are likely to accept it simply as best practice. As these officers mature in their career, even if they move to a different type of police work, their positive perception of CACs and the MDT model will continue and they can be advocates within this discipline. Over time, these officers will move into leadership positions, direct their officers to engage with the CAC MDTs, and advocate for more funding and resources. Since the findings of this study suggest consensus around support for the CACs' victim-focused model, there is reason to think this support will grow. It is even possible that the issue of lower law enforcement engagement with CAC MDTs will resolve eventually; until then, there are proactive steps to take in policy and practice to address the issue.

Another implication from this research is that law enforcement engagement is not only a police issue. The essence of an MDT is the collaboration of all disciplines. Therefore, the issue

of engagement is a team issue. One purpose of this research was to identify what makes police culture unique or distinct in the context of MDTs, and what seems to be effective in integrating law enforcement officers in the team is building on the professional and personal commonalities among the MDT members. The officers acknowledged that their culture is dissimilar to other MDT members, but they also expressed a desire to learn about the MDT model, build social connections with fellow MDT members, and be viewed as "human like you." Therefore, the act of focusing on the distinctive characteristics of police culture may be a distraction to the discussion of law enforcement engagement. MDT engagement is a balance between appreciating the distinct circumstances under which officers must operate and valuing their commitment and desire for belonging to the team. Another implication from this research is that law enforcement engagement is not only a police issue. The essence of an MDT is the collaboration of all disciplines. Therefore, the issue of engagement is a team issue, neither solely the responsibility of CAC MDTs nor that of law enforcement officers and their agencies.

Training and Resources

Officers commented many times on the need for more funding to access basic child abuse training, specialized training, and training related costs, such as their time, travel, and coverage. By including and/or increasing the funds for training in the county and/or state budget monies will funnel to police to prepare them for child abuse investigations. Also, financial support will symbolize the counties and/or state's support of law enforcement's collaboration with CACs. Law enforcement officers who attended the highest level of training mentioned, forensic interviewing or MDT training through the National Children's Advocacy Center, also presented as the most informed about the MDT model and trauma-informed methods. This experience gave

them beneficial information and a chance to connect with their other MDT members by attending as a group.

Officers expressed many ideas for training topics. One idea that can be implemented immediately by CACs is offering education to help MDT members distinguish between the CAC and the MDT. Essentially, highlighting the significance of the MDT and the standards beyond the forensic interviews. Officers easily and positively spoke about the CAC and forensic interviewers. More often than not, officers needed to be prompted about their perspectives of the MDT approach, the collaborative portion beyond the forensic interview. All comments were generally positive and appreciative of the CAC services and the MDT process. The officers who participated in this study were supportive and wanted to contribute to the future success of CAC MDTs and good outcomes for the children and families they served.

Gender

Gender emerged as a significant pattern in this study. Among law enforcement officers, women are more likely to be assigned child abuse cases and findings point to issues of gender inequality and gender role assumptions. However, findings also highlight how education supports engagement for all officers. Similar to veteran officers retiring and taking the traditional model of police work with them, it seems, based on data from officers participating in this study, that this will continue to occur related to gender-specific assignments. As a younger generation of officers move into the police force, wherein both men and women are actively involved in childrearing and childcare in their own lives and experiences, and education about child-friendly services and specialized teams increase, the disparities in assignments based on gender may decrease over time.

Specialized Child Abuse Investigators

Based on the findings of this study, counties with high functioning and positive experiences among their MDTs had at least one, and sometimes a few, specially trained members from each discipline. The findings suggest that having responding or patrol officers funnel child abuse cases to a core group of specially trained officers to carry out the full investigation results in a more streamlined and victim-focused approach. Members create a tight-knit group forming strong, trusting bonds. Also, having specially trained child abuse investigators on a local level, especially in the rural areas, decreases the challenges that arise when there is a mix of law enforcement agencies handling these cases. In some areas, the PSP are the designated investigators for child abuse, and applying the same training requirements would still be beneficial.

The DAs' offices can impact police engagement by endorsing the CAC model and its protocols. They can demonstrate their commitment by providing and/or funding trainings for officers. These actions satisfy a huge need acknowledged by officers in this study and have potential symbolic value in law enforcement culture; they communicate that child abuse cases are priorities and the CAC model is the best practice. The DA's office is the only discipline in the MDT with the authority to fully enforce protocols. They also have the clout to make recommendations to change the protocols to include specialized child abuse investigators and/or minimum training requirements.

State Standards and Policies

The state also has the ability influence officer engagement. A mix of state laws/regulations, funding, and resources create barriers to police engagement in CAC MDTs. The state has the authority to implement standards that complement and support the CAC model,

and could employ the *structural characteristics* to influence collaboration. Pennsylvania is a unique setting for this research due to individualized county structures. Each of the 67 counties has their own local cultures with their own mores, history, resources, and laws, and all have the ability to govern their own cluster of townships and municipalities. Reports of child abuse come in from every county in the state, but the counties' varying cultures and resources around these reports create different protocols, and this highlights the need for greater uniformity on a state level.

The CAC model allows each community to interpret the model in a way that they can adapt it to their local community, but the current, county-based systems mean inconsistent funding, resources, and responses to child abuse, as explained by participants in this study. This inconsistency contributes to misunderstandings within the community, miscommunication among the professionals in the field of child abuse, and jurisdictional issues. One officer explained how he has to hand over cases to another department if the crime took place in another jurisdiction or when the investigation leads to another location; the victim and family are handed over to a new officer, as well, and possibly a new MDT, which conflicts with the child-focused approach that serves as the foundation of the CAC model.

Child abuse reports kept countless community-based organizations and government agencies busy before Pennsylvania laws were changed starting 2013 (Keep Kids Safe, n.d.). Most of the officers whom I interviewed referenced these changes and resulting overwhelming amount of new reports of alleged child abuse reports that followed the redefining of reporting requirements. According to officers interviewed, much of the new funding for child abuse was directed to start-up CACs for basic operations instead of established CACs to strengthen their services and/or MDTs. This approach may support engagement in the long-term as it may

111

decrease long driving distances for officers and, therefore, remove one major barrier of engagement for rural officers. However, study participants also disclosed a huge need for funding and resources at their current CACs. Findings also point to the need for an examination of the funding and resources for available for law enforcement, training requirements for those who may encounter child abuse allegations, jurisdiction regulations, and the CAC and MDT model.

In recent years, Pennsylvania heightened regulation of mandated reporting of child abuse (Keep Kids Safe, n.d.), largely in response to the high-profile child sex abuse scandal at Penn State University. Law enforcement officers in this study noted the resulting drastic increase in the reports, and subsequent investigations, as positive for the child abuse awareness, but also in exposing existing barriers. Participants reported there has been no corresponding increase in funding, hiring, or training of police officers to investigate the greater number of allegations of child abuse. Much of the recent state funding was designated for the establishment of new CACs, not to support police engagement by alleviating current barriers to MDT membership in existing CACs. According to the findings of this study, counties with more resources have more potential to build stronger MDTs. Due to the different funding streams, county structures, and opportunities, all participants in this study had a different level of training and resources, including no support, in some cases. The issue of training raises questions about who should receive it, how much is enough, who should pay for it, and who should provide it.

Recommendations

State level systemic and organizational norms take time and funding to address. Child abuse related resources and needs vary greatly across the state. Therefore, both short-term and long-term interventions are needed to address law enforcement engagement. With

Pennsylvania's diverse needs and resources county to county, an area might enhance police engagement in CAC MDTs with some grass roots projects at fairly low cost and little time investment.

Awareness and Training

Awareness of child abuse signs and symptoms and training to respond is needed across the state. Local communities can organize trainings for their residents in order to reduce the prevalence of child abuse and its effects. In the examples below, law enforcement can also be invited to benefit from these trainings. This also will encourage positive community engagement between law enforcement and community members. For example:

- Dauphin County secured the rights to an educational video and curriculum, *Resilience* (Pritzker & Redford, 2016). This program is now free to any person or group who wants to gain a basic understanding of how trauma affects children and the long-term effects it has on those children into adulthood. Much of this program overlaps with the consequences of child abuse. A county or community group could adopt this recommendation and offer this training to police and community members alike. This type of initiative would increase overall awareness of these issues and help satisfy the clearly stated need by law enforcement for more training.

- ACEs (Adverse Childhood Experiences) trainings are a similar option and focus on increasing awareness and understanding of the long-lasting effects of childhood trauma and dysfunction and/or disorders in adults ("Center for Disease Control," n.d.).

Formal trainings can be expensive, excluding many local departments. Patrol officers and officers from smaller departments could benefit the most from participating in case review, especially if education is incorporated into the regular agenda. The local departments and DAs'

113

offices can address training immediately by encouraging local departments to mentor their own officers about child abuse investigations including bringing them to a forensic interview or case review and walking them through the investigative steps of child abuse cases. Funding remains a barrier as overtime and overlapping schedules may need approved. However, this coaching is manageable if there are child abuse investigators who receive in depth training and they take on the role of providing basic education to officers outside of the specialized unit.

When asked what, if any, child abuse training officers should be required to complete, all the officers gave two answers: First, they said every officer should have at least "minimal facts" training in the academy. Minimal facts is a method of gathering enough information to assess the safety of the child and the need for a forensic interview without tainting a child's potential formal statement. Ideally, victim statements are with a trained forensic interviewer, who is supposed to be a neutral party in any investigation and should be documented on video to deter coercion and suggestions of bias (Children's Advocacy Center NC, 2013).

How Law Enforcement Can Support Engagement

Child abuse investigations are emotionally challenging and put those in the field at a higher risk of secondary trauma (Bonach & Heckert, 2012) and officers are not exempt from the effects. Secondary trauma can impact the workers' personal and professional relationships and their overall well-being. Burnout is another relevant concern (Bonach & Heckert, 2012) and with so much emphasis on relationship-building and trust within an MDT, one individual's trauma can cause ripples through the entire team. Law enforcement officers interviewed stated they are human just like the other team members, not immune to the potential for secondary trauma from working on child abuse investigations.

One recommendation is for police departments to avoid, if possible, requiring officers to handle these investigations if they do not feel comfortable as the disengagement could impact the case and therefore the child's experience. If a department needs to direct an officer to investigate child abuse allegations limit that service to a short period of time with intermittent relief and at least minimum training. This research demonstrates appropriate training creates support of the models (Bonach & Heckert, 2012). It stands to reason that with the proper training and healthy breaks, an officer may develop an interest in permanently handling these cases. Three departments represented in this study screen for secondary trauma, organize peer support groups, and/or offer access to a psychologist, as funding allows.

A direct approach to trying to understand law enforcement's perspective is to go to the source. Four officers in this study held a leadership position within the CAC structure. Other police officers can take the initiative to seek out leadership positions at the CAC such as joining their board of directors. An officer could also take on a leadership position within another MDT members' leadership group or committee or a related task force within their own departments. Officers may not know what opportunities are available so the CAC and MDT members can reach out to law enforcement so they will have representation at the table for decision-making and relationship-building.

How CACs Can Support Engagement

The CAC has a serious role to play in engaging law enforcement, but the findings here demonstrate they are not solely responsible for or capable of securing and maintaining that engagement. As the facilitator of the MDT, the CAC does have the power to influence change. Officers I interviewed offered other suggestions as to how the CAC could help engage law enforcement in small ways that could have a big impact.

Education can also take on a broader focus and address the entire MDT model. In the middle of my interviews, approximately half of the officers, knowing that I used to be a part of an MDT, asked me questions such as:

- "Is that weird to run case review that way?"

- "Is that normal [for a CAC director to do that]?"

- "What does a family advocate do?"

- "What's accreditation [for CACs]?

Officers also asked about specifics concerning the CAC MDT model and protocols. All participants had experience with child abuse cases and all but one had attended forensic interviews and case review MDT meetings. Yet, they had basic questions about the MDT approach and were curious enough to ask. Their interest supports the idea that individual officers want to engage, but they encounter barriers that stunt or their MDT engagement. Also, the terms CAC and MDT are not synonymous. The CAC refers to the umbrella organization that is the neutral party providing the forensic interviews and overseeing the MDT. The MDT, on the other hand, is the group whose process is a victim-focused approach of bringing together different disciplines to deal with child abuse cases holistically. Other specific suggestions from officers for enhancing law enforcement engagement with MDTs included:

- Share a list of community resources with police. Some of the officers complained they do not have a master list of community resources that they can share with citizens they encounter; something for people who do not need the CAC still need support services. Law enforcement would not have to rely on the CAC as the only vehicle to help people in need and officers would feel supported by the CAC in their role as police.

- Several officers suggested CACs should create a general orientation kit for officers new to child abuse cases. One officer said his local CAC provided a "minimal facts" information slip that fits on the visor in his patrol car. When I worked for CACs, I also saw examples of concise information sheets for first responders. Most of the officers whom I interviewed were not aware of this type of tool for child abuse cases. This may highlight a need to have standardized documents from the state or a consistent system for sharing helpful tools between CACs and the patrol officers.

- Leaders from an established CAC with strong MDT law enforcement engagement can foster mentoring by leaders of CACs needing to develop the engagement of law enforcement on their MDT. Peer-to-peer mentoring takes place now through the Pennsylvania Chapter of CACs and MDTs, but participants explained is it not specific to engagement of law enforcement.

- Officers made many comments about the stressors and motivations related to their chosen profession. Most officers shared they wished that they had more opportunities to showcase what it is like to be an officer and more positive proactive interactions with the MDT and the community.

CAC leadership can look for unique opportunities, specific to their area, to promote awareness and education of future MDT members. For example, one CAC collaborates with a local medical school. All fourth-year students must participate in a two-week internship at the CAC with a specifically designed curriculum and write a reflection paper on their experience. This type of program expands the network of MDT members to the entire profession and therefore the entire community. If community members have a better understanding of child

abuse and how CACs address this type of victimization, then they can garner more support from local officials and create meaningful partnerships.

How the DAs' Offices Can Support CAC MDT Engagement

The DAs' offices can lead the discussion to incorporate a minimum standard for trainings into county protocols for all MDT members. A step further could consist of the DA's office requiring any officer investigating child abuse to have a higher level of training and needing the DA's office to sign off on charges filed in a child abuse investigation. The DA's office would be able to oversee law enforcement officers' adherence to the CAC MDT model and provide overall checks and balances for these cases, which is both practical and symbolic of their support.

One officer explained that their DA's office provides a special training on CAC MDT protocols for detectives (in this service area they are the only officers who can investigate child abuse cases) and a law enforcement agency in the jurisdiction served by this DA's office cannot investigate child abuse cases unless they completed the CAC MDT protocols training provided by the DA's office. Staff from the DA's office, including a victim-witness coordinator, conduct the training and, even after that, the detectives need approval from the DA to file charges against an alleged perpetrator in a child abuse case.

A few officers whom I interviewed already have a representative from the DA's office, usually an assistant district attorney, facilitate the case tracking portion of their local case review instead of a CAC staff member. The CAC still facilitated portions of the meeting related to education or CAC updates. This role change seems to have a direct tie to improved and meaningful officer engagement. The DA's office facilitating case tracking portion of case review sends a clear sign of endorsement of the model. Even if the DA's office representative merely attends case review on a regular basis, the perception is that it is still a CAC function rather than

an important piece of each discipline's contribution to the MDT. An assistant district attorney facilitating case review demonstrates the significant role law enforcement has in this process and allows the CAC to step out of the authoritative role and back into one as a neutral party, just as the model prescribes.

Make the Most of Case Review

CACs can use case review as a time to incorporate education to law enforcement as well as the entire MDT. In this study, law enforcement noted the significant need for more training in their field, particularly for child abuse, but lack of the opportunities, time, and funding only perpetuate the need. Just a few officers mentioned their case reviews include an educational portion. CACs can adopt this recommendation easily and immediately by dedicating a portion of case review meetings to providing education to the members and possibly sending a summary to the rest of the MDT members who could not attend.

As one way to engage all disciplines and showcase their expertise, CACs might allow one team member to give an overview of a new trend in their field related to child abuse or review a current case selected for a unique aspect connected to their discipline. For example, the medical representative could highlight a case uncommon in child abuse injuries so the other members may learn different signs and symptoms of abuse for when they interact with children in the future.

One officer even suggested a portion of case review meetings should focus on the beginning of a case. The team could meet, maybe for the first time, to review the allegations, and discuss how they plan to approach the investigation. With this preparation, law enforcement and CYS can coordinate their timelines and compile questions for the forensic interview.

The MDT also can explore how technology can offer new opportunities for officers to participate in case review. When trying to schedule interviews for this study, I offered to complete the interviews via video conferencing and the phone to accommodate the officers' schedules and long driving distances to their CAC. These alternative options did not resolve the logistical challenges due to equipment capabilities and officers' unpredictable schedules. However, with an investment in joint systems technology offers more flexibility than any of the officers approached for this study currently have.

The idea of the CAC offering lunch during case review came up in many discussions about case review. Our society, like many others, turns to food to celebrate successes, comfort during tough times, and to connect with others. The foundation of the MDT is relationships. Food is routinely offered as courtesy and/or gesture of appreciation and offering food at a case review would be no different. For practical reasons, members can eat lunch without halting their work productivity. On the conceptual side, lunch provides an opportunity for the MDT to connect over a common ritual, normalize the exercise of case review, and/or bond over life experiences instead of cases. The findings in this study highlight that the strongest teams knew each other personally and enjoyed each other's company. Creating space for this to occur only costs the price of food. Some CACs found ways to alleviate even that obstacle. One CAC works with a local restaurant to have the food donated, meanwhile increasing the awareness of the CAC's mission. A few other CACs ask each member to donate a few dollars for lunch, which is later used for a team holiday party or a gift to children in need. These solutions expand the access points for engagement.

Officers participating in this study viewed MDT case review in different ways, and these varying perspectives that emerged from the data were linked to other beliefs and behaviors

among the officers. Based on the findings of this study, law enforcement needs to find value in case review beyond mere case tracking. Incorporating or increasing awareness of the features that benefit officers, personally and professionally, encouraged them to attend, as did acknowledgment of the expertise they bring to the team.

Officers seem to interact with case review on a spectrum depending on their level of familiarity with child abuse cases. For officers new or early in their career of child abuse investigations, case review provides three main benefits:

- With a concentration of child abuse expertise in one room, the officer has an educational opportunity to learn how to move through the CAC system and how other disciplines approach child abuse.

- For an officer new to the team, case review is a chance to meet and get to know fellow team members. In many areas, case review is the only time when MDT members come together and build relationships, making this a demonstration of the MDT approach.

- Case review offers support of tracking cases through the system. Child abuse cases are different from other types of criminal cases. Some differences include, but are not limited to, the length of time an officer spends on an investigation, the multi-layered approach with the other disciplines, and making decisions based on what is best for the child and not necessarily whether the case fits the criteria for charges or prosecution. Even an experienced law enforcement officer will need time to grasp the nuisances of these special cases. Case tracking offers the new officer a great deal of information from the other disciplines involved and subsequently gives the officer a road map of the established steps in the MDT process.

Officers with a lot of experience working child abuse cases reported finding less value in case review. They already know the investigative process for these cases, so they can move into an educator or mentor role for the newer officers and other MDT members. They are already familiar with the team so they do not have to attend case review to build relationships, however they can use it as an opportunity to maintain relationships and positively represent their department. Case tracking may not be useful because the officers have a routine of tracking their own cases, but again with their advanced experience they may have advice on processing difficult cases or background information such as knowledge of alleged perpetrator and family history from an old case.

An officer can "graduate" from orientation to the MDT to become a full-fledged team member, making decisions based on how the team can benefit. In other words, the officer moves from receiving support from the team to providing support to the team, thereby improving the delivery of services to the child victims and their families. An officer with experience may still learn something new at a case review, however, the findings from participants in this study suggest that hope is not enough to motivate them to attend case review. In order to engage veteran child abuse investigators there must be different motivators. If the CAC staff identify where an officer is on the continuum of experience and engages the officer based on that factor, the findings here suggest that the officer will gain more from the time at case review and will be more willing to attend in the future.

A version of this approach can be applied to the forensic interviews where MDT members working on joint individual case meet to observe the interview. The forensic interview may be the only other time the members interact with each other face-to-face besides case review. The literature and the findings did not uncover an issue with officer attending forensic

interviews, so these may serve as an opportunity to encourage MDT members to engage with each other on a deeper level, as appropriate to the delicate and difficult situation interviews may present.

How the State Can Support Engagement

Statewide standards have the power to encourage the *professional role* of law enforcement on MDTs and legitimize the collaborative team approach (Bronstein, 2013). Individual officers expressed a desire to support CACs. However, state-level obstacles can hinder their engagement.

- The findings strongly suggest the need for more funding, especially for training. Allocating funds for training will demonstrate support for MDT engagement and role model that support for county and local leadership. Local municipalities and CACs, most of which are nonprofits, are severely limited by what they can afford. Prioritizing training is linked to leadership support and more MDT participation. Therefore, the state earmarking monies for training is an investment in MDT engagement and would support the other disciplines by virtue of police having more opportunity to fully engage in the entire CAC model.

- The state can examine PSP's role as a whole and their role per county or per municipality utilizing their services. The assessment should evaluate how their role addresses criminal justice needs and goals and child abuse investigations. Then, the assessment results can be used to analyze how PSP's relation to the local community impacts both systems.

- The state can also examine jurisdiction issues and how cases are handled when they cross county and/or municipality lines, usually requiring investigating officers to transfer the case to another team or police officer. Attention should be paid to how these regulations

around jurisdictions impact child abuse cases. Reevaluating these boundaries can streamline the investigative process with consistent team members and maintain a victim-focused approach.

Conclusion

This study answers the research question about what facilitates or inhibits law enforcement engagement in Children's Advocacy Centers' (CACs) multidisciplinary teams (MDTs). The findings from this study suggest that police culture can present some obstacles for officers' CAC MDT engagement, however, all the officers who participated in this study universally supported the MDT model. They also found the work gendered, with women more likely than men to be selected for work with CACs, if available, due to beliefs about traditional gender role socialization. This study's participants believed men could be equally good at the law enforcement role on CAC MDTs given social changes toward more egalitarian gender roles in relation to childrearing. Further, barriers to law enforcement participation in CAC MDTs might be reduced by CACs offering law enforcement more education and providing opportunities for individual officers to form connections with other MDT members. Another finding highlights the important role of DAs' offices in the MDT process and the potential for them to use their leadership to cultivate law enforcement MDT engagement by: setting an example with their own involvement, providing overtime funding for officers to participate, and reinforcing the value of following the MDT protocols for successful outcomes. Finally, the state can strengthen law enforcement engagement with CAC MDTs by setting reasonable minimal standards for training of officers and by providing funding to support CACs' efforts to engage police.

Child sexual abuse is a societal issue that affects every facet of the population, despite socioeconomic status, location, education level, race/ethnicity, religious beliefs, among others. Approximately, 674,000 children were abused or neglected in the United States in 2017 alone (*U.S. DHHS*, 2017). Approximately 40 years ago the CAC model was established and became the best practice for addressing child abuse, mainly child sexual abuse allegations. This model is considered neutral and victim- and child-focused, and it is often referred to as a one-stop shop where all the major disciplines that need to be involved work together as an MDT. Team members include the CAC, law enforcement, child protective services, district attorney's (DA) office, medical, therapeutic, and victim-services. By working together, the child is interviewed by a trained forensic interviewer one time, thereby reducing any additional trauma, evidence is gathered for the investigation, efforts to keep the child safe and support the child and the family are coordinated.

Law enforcement is a key team member and, as the literature suggests, demonstrates a culture that does not necessarily align with the collaborative MDT model or the other disciplines' cultures. This exploratory study sought to identify what factors facilitate or inhibit police engagement using qualitative methods, specifically one-hour semi-structured interviews with police officers working in a CAC jurisdiction in Pennsylvania. CAC executive directors/leaders from all 32 CACs in the state helped identify officers who met the study criteria. I also interviewed these leaders briefly to gather background info about the CAC and the service area in order to aid in the comparison of perspectives of law enforcement participants. Fifteen officers participated, as did 11 CAC directors/leaders, representing 24 counties in Pennsylvania.

The data from these interviews produced findings reflecting seven patterns concerning factors that help or hinder law enforcement engagement with CAC MDTs. Main hindrances

included the rural areas, lack of resources, and leadership disengagement. Factors that facilitate officers' engagement on MDTs included training, endorsement and resources from the local DA's office, officers' perception of the value and effectiveness of CACs and the MDT approach, cooperative communication among MDT members, and case review opportunities. Other relevant factors emerged that influence MDT engagement among officers include the role of CACs in facilitating participation, officers' gender with women often being assigned as investigators, and the idiosyncratic role of the Pennsylvania State Police in rural areas without police protection. The seven patterns of engagement and disengagement of law enforcement in the MDT consist of:

1. Individual Officers Seek and Create Opportunities to Engage

2. Training (on Child Abuse, CACs and MDTs) Supports Engagement

3. Different Law Enforcement Subcultures Experience Different Barriers to Engagement

4. Leadership Impacts Engagement

5. Gender Influences Officer Exposure to the MDT Model

6. CACs Play a Key Role in Facilitating Engagement

7. Case Review is an Engagement Tool

In order to examine the patterns that developed from the patterns in the data from the interviews with law enforcement, I applied three theories to establish my conceptual framework. Schein's (1998) theory of organizational culture is consistent with the predominant finding that the law enforcement profession has a distinctive culture and there are factors unique to their profession that influence engagement. Moreover, Miller's (1958) Subcultural Theory outlines a subculture as having shared norms, values, and history that branches off from the principal culture. Using this framework, I found that police from rural areas and PSP are each subcultures

of the police culture because both possess their own method of functioning within law enforcement including, but not limited to, their own lingo, processes, and goals. Bronstein's (2003) Model for Interdisciplinary Team Collaboration identified five components of interdisciplinary collaboration including *interdependence, newly created professional activities, flexibility, collective ownership of goals,* and *reflection on process* and four influences on collaboration including *professional role, structural characteristics, personal characteristics,* and *a history of collaboration.* This model of collaboration provided guidance to analyze my findings and ascertain that support from the DA's office facilitates engagement, case review is an accessible and effective tool for engagement, Pennsylvania systems, specifically the county structure, creates barriers to engagement, and training of all types and levels supports engagement.

The findings of this study raise several implications for engaging law enforcement in CAC MDTs. First, the DA's office support is vital to law enforcement engagement. Second, MDT case review can be a major tool to influence engagement; the help educate officers who are newer to the process and, for more experienced officers, as opportunities for building rapport with team members. Third, the state's policies and regulations can have an impact on engagement by setting a standard for training. The implications from the findings of this study suggest that although law enforcement representatives may encounter culture can create some obstacles, individual officers support the MDT model, and there are interventions that can enhance their engagement with MDTs. Barriers to law enforcement participation in CAC MDTs can be addressed by CACs offering more education to law enforcement and more opportunities for individual officers to form connections with MDT members. Additionally, district attorney' offices can use their leadership and authority to set an example of engagement and following

127

MDT protocols. States can also help by setting reasonable minimal standards for training of

MDT-assigned officers and funding to support CACs' efforts to engage police. The key

implication is that the issue of officer engagement is not solely a law enforcement matter; all

CAC MDT members have a role in the engagement of the other members and in the team's

success.

Law enforcement engagement in multidisciplinary teams is essential in order for CACs to

function successfully (National Children's Alliance, 2017). This study explored the perceptions

of law enforcement officers about engagement on CAC MDTs, to gain a better understanding of

what helps or hinders officer engagement. The results of this study can be used to inform efforts

by stakeholders in the child abuse and CAC fields to fully engage law enforcement in MDTs and

contribute to their long-term success. Ultimately, enhancing engagement of the law enforcement

community in CACs will help child victims deal with the trauma of sexual abuse and give them a

chance to reclaim their childhood.

References

Acker, J. (1992). Gendering organizational theory. In A. Mills & P. Tancred. (Eds.), *Gendering organizational analysis*. London, UK: Sage.

Appelrouth, S. & Edles, L. D. (2010). *Sociological theory in the contemporary era*: *Text and readings*. Washington: Sage Publications Inc.

Bayley, D.H. (1998) Policing in America. *Society, 36,* 16-20. doi:10.1007/BF02685969

Beatrice, D. F. (1990). Inter-agency coordination: A practitioner's guide to a strategy for effective social policy. *Administration in Social Work, 14*, 45-59. doi:10.1300/J147v14n04_04

Beletsky, L., Agrawal, A., Moreau, B., Kumar, P., Weiss-Laxer, N., & Heimer, R. (2011). Police training to align law enforcement and HIV prevention: Preliminary evidence from the reid. *American Journal of Public Health*, *10*(11), 2012-2015. doi:10.2105/AJPH.2011.300254

Belur, J. (2009). Police use of deadly force: Police perceptions of a culture of approval. *Journal of Contemporary Criminal Justice, 25*(2), 237-252. doi:10.1177/1043986209333594

Beran, T. (2005). Evaluating multidisciplinary child abuse training: A comprehensive program and questionnaire. *IPT Journal, 15*. Retrieved from http://www.ipt-forensics.com/journal/volume15/j15_1.htm. doi:10.1093/sw/48.3.297

Bourdieu, P. (1990). *The logic of practice*. Cambridge, MA: Polity Press.

Bronstein, L.R. (2003). A model for interdisciplinary collaboration. *Social Workers, 43*(3), 297-306.

Bryman, A. (2015). *Social research methods* (4th ed.). New York, NY: Oxford University

    Press.

Bonach, K. & Heckert, A. (2012). Predictors of secondary traumatic stress among

    children's advocacy center forensic interviewers. *Journal of Child Sexual Abuse*, *21*(3),

    295-314. doi: 10.1080/10538712.2012.647263

Cain, M. (1973). *Society and the policeman's role*. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul.

Carson, K. (2013). A qualitative study of rural police culture. *Journal of Law*

    Enforcement, 83(6).

Center for Disease Control. (n.d.). Adverse childhood experiences. Retrieved from

    https://www.cdc.gov/violenceprevention/childabuseandneglect/acestudy/index.html

Chan, J. (1997). *Changing police culture: Policing in a multicultural society.*

    Cambridge, MA: Cambridge University Press.

Chandler R., Fletcher, B., & Voklow, N. (2009). Treating drug abuse and addiction in the

    criminal justice system: Improve public health and safety. *JAMA, 301*(2)*,* 183-190.

    doi:10.1001/jama.2008.976

Children's Advocacy Center of North Carolina (2013). *First responder contact minimal*

    facts interview. Retrieved from

    https://cacnc.org/wpcontent/uploads/2016/06/minimal-facts-interview.pdf

Creswell, J.W. (2014). *Research design qualitative, quantitative and mixed methods*

    Approaches. (4th ed). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications.

Cross, T.P., Jones, L.M., Walsh, W.A., Simone, M., & Kolko, D.J. (2007). Child forensic

    interviewing on children's advocacy centers: Empirical data on a practice model. *Child*

    Abuse and Neglect, 31, 1031-1052. doi:10.1016/j.chiabu.2007.04.007

Faircloth, P.K. & Clark, E. (2016). Gender role conflict and job satisfaction among

      police officers: Research and clinical implications for counselors and other

      mental health practitioners. *Alabama Counseling Association Journal,* p.4-21.

Farrell, A. & Pfeffer, R. (2014). Policing human trafficking: Cultural blinders and

      organizational barriers. *The Annals of the American Academy, 653,* 46-64.

      doi:10.1177/0002716213515835

Fielding, N. (1994). Cop canteen culture. In T. Newburn and E. Stanko (Eds.),

      Just boys doing business? Men, masculinities and crime. New York, NY: Routledge.

Fine, J. E., Marlar, C., Rioth, L., & Mullen, M. (2016). Putting standards into practice: A

      guide to implementing the 2017 standards for accredited members. Retrieved from

      http://www.nationalchildrensalliance.org/sites/default/files/downloads/NCA2017-

      StandardsIntoPractice-web.pdf

Formby, J., Shadoin, A. L., Shao, L, Magnuson, S. N., & Overman, L. B. (2006). Cost-

      benefit analysis of community responses to child maltreatment: A comparison of

      communities with and without child advocacy centers. (Research Report No. 06-3).

      Huntsville, AL: National Children's Advocacy Center.

Gamson, W. (1992). *Talking politics.* New York, NY: Cambridge University Press.

Goffman, E. (1959). *The study of self in everyday life.* New York, NY: Bantam Dell

      Doubleday Publishing Group.

Haney, C., Banks, C., & Zimbardo, P. (1973/1984). A study of prisoners and guards in a

      simulated prison. *Naval research reviews*, Reprinted in E. Aronson (Ed.), *Readings about*

      the social animal, 4th ed. New York, NY: W. H. Freeman**.**

Hatch, M. & Cunliffe, A. (2006). *Organization theory* (2nd ed.). New York, NY: Oxford

University Press.

Healy, K. M. (1999). Case management in the criminal justice system. *Research in

action*. National Institute of Justice.

Herbert, S. (1998). Police subculture reconsidered. *Criminology, 36*(2), 343-369.

doi:10.1111/j.1745-9125.1998.tb01251.x

Hughes, P. & Morgan, S. (2010). Academy training to retirement: Permeating leadership

in police organizations. *Journal of Current Issues in Crime, Law, and Law Enforcement*,

2(4), 327-334.

Johnson, R. (2011). Officer attitudes and management influences on police work

productivity. *American Journal of Criminal Justice*, *36*(4), 293-306.

doi: 10.1007/s12103-010-9090-2

Johnson, T. A., & Cox, R. W. III, (2014). Police ethics: Organizational implications.

Public Integrity, 7, 67-79.

Joyal, R. G. (2012). How far have we come? Information sharing, interagency

collaboration, and trust within the law enforcement community. *Criminal Justice

Studies, 25*(4), 357-370. doi:10.1080/1478601X.2012.728789

Justice and Security Strategies, Inc. (2004). *The development of the

American police: an historical overview.* Uchida, C. D.

Keep Kids Safe (n.d.). *Child protective services law*. Retrieved from

http://keepkidssafe.pa.gov/about/cpsl/index.htm

Kiely, J. A. & Peek, G. S. (2002). The culture of the British police: Views of police

officers. *The Service Industries Journal*, *22*(1), 167-183. doi:10.1080/714005065

Lardner, R. (1992). Factors affecting police/social work inter-agency co-operation in a

      child protection unit. *Police Journal, 65*, 213-228. doi:10.1177/0032258X9206500305

Lashley, J. (2005, Winter). Indicators of a healthy multidisciplinary Team. *Half a*

      Nation: The Newsletter of the State and National Finding Words Courses, 1-5.

Lee, Selye, "Revisiting Attitudes Toward the Police: The impact of law enforcement

      simulations and education on college students" (2018). *Theses and Dissertations (All).*

      1600. https://knowledge.library.iup.edu/etd/1600

Levine, M. J. (1988). Historical overview of police unionization in the United States.

      Police Journal, 61, 334-343. doi:10.1177/0032258X8806100406

Loyens, K. & Maesschalck, J. (2014). Police-public interactions: a grid-group cultural

      theory perspective. *Policing: An International Journal of Police Strategies &*

      Management, 37(1), 144-158. doi:10.1108/PIJPSM-03-2013-0023

Malmin, M. (2013). Warrior culture, spirituality, and prayer. *J Relig Health, 52*, 740-

      758. doi:10.1007/s10943-013-9690-5

Manning, P.K. (1989). *Occupational culture*. In W. Bailey (Ed.), *Encyclopedia of*

      police science. New York, NY: Garland.

Marin, R., Parker, K., Stepler, R., & Mercer, A. (2017). Police culture. Retrieved from

      https://www.pewsocialtrends.org/2017/01/11/police-culture/

Marsh, I., Cochrane, J., & Melville, G. (2004). *Criminal justice: An introduction to*

      philosophies theories and practices. New York, NY: Routledge.

Meyer, J.W. & Rowan, B. (1977). Institutionalized organizations: Formal structure as

      myth and ceremony. *American Journal of Sociology, 83*, 340-363. doi:10.1086/226550

Milgram, S. (1974). *Obedience to authority*. London, England: Travistock.

Miller, W. B. (1958). Lower class culture as a generating milieu of gang delinquency.

    Journal of Social Issues, 14, 5-19. doi:10.1111/j.1540-4560.1958.tb01413.x

Miller, H., & Rayner C. (2012). The form and function of "bullying" behaviors in a

    strong occupational culture: Bullying in a U.K. police service. *Group & Occupational*

    Management, 37(3), 347-375. doi: 10.1177/1059601112449476

Multidisciplinary Team. (n.d.). Retrieved July 4, 2017, from

    http://www.nationalcac.org/multidisciplinary-team/

Munich, R. (2000). Leadership and restructured roles: The evolving inpatient treatment

    team. *Bulletin of menninger clinic*, *64*(4), 482-493. doi:10.1007/BF02685969

National Children's Alliance National Statistics. (2017). Retrieved from

    http://www.nationalchildrensalliance.org/wp-content/uploads/2018/03/

    2017NationalAnnual.pdf

National Children's Alliance. (2012). Retrieved from http://www.nationalcac.org/

    calio-library/about-the-ncac-child-abuse-reseach-library-calio.html

National Children's Alliance (2015). *NCA statistics- statistical report.* Retrieved from

    http://www.nationalchildrensalliance.org/media-room/media-kit/national-statistics-child-

    abuse

National Children's Alliance (2018). *Healing, justice, & trust: A national report on*

    outcomes for children's advocacy center. Retrieved from

    http://www.nationalchildrensalliance.org/wp-content/uploads/2018/10/OMS2018-Brief-

    web.pdf

National Institute of Mental Health for Studies of Crime and Delinquency. (1970). *The functions of the police in modern society* (Public Health Service Publication No. 2059). Washington, DC: US. Government Printing Office.

Newman, B., & Dannenfelser, P. (2005). Children's protective services and law enforcement: Fostering partnerships in investigations of child abuse. *Journal of Child Sexual Abuse*, *14*(2), 97-111. doi:10.1300/J070v14n02_06

Newman, B., Dannenfelser, P. L., & Pendleton, D. (2005). Child abuse investigations: Reasons for using child advocacy centers and suggestions for improvement. *Child and Adolescent Social Work Journal, 22*(2), 165-181. doi:10.1007/s10560-005-3416-9

Northouse, P. G. (2013). *Leadership and practice* (6th ed.). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publication, Inc.

O'Neill, M. & McCarthy, D. J. (2014). (Re)negotiating police culture through partnership workings: Trust, compromise and the 'new' pragmatism. *Criminology and Criminal Justice, 14(2),* 143-159. doi:10.1177/1748895812469381

Oliver, D. P., Wittenberg-Lyles, E. M., & Day, M. (2007). Measuring interdisciplinary perceptions of collaboration on hospice teams. *American Journal of Hospice & Palliative Medicine, 24,* 49-53. doi:10.1177/1049909106295283

Parsons, T. (1937). *Structure of social action*. New York, NY: McGraw-Hill.

Parsons, T. (1951). *The social system.* Glencoe, IL: Free Press.

Patton, M. Q. (2002). Qualitative interviewing. *Qualitative research and evaluation methods*, *3*, 344-347.

Pelton, L. (1998). Commentary. *The future of children, 8*(1), 126-129.

Pennsylvania Chapter of Children's Advocacy Centers and Multidisciplinary Teams.

(2016). [Graphic illustration the Pennsylvania CACs Map, 2016]. Retrieved from

http://penncac.org/wp/wp-content/uploads/2017/04/StatewideMapCACMaster-3-22-

17.pdf

Pennsylvania Department of Human Services. (2016, May). *Annual child protective*

services. Retrieved from http://www.dhs.pa.gov/cs/groups/webcontent/

documents/report/c_260865.pdf

Pennsylvania Department of Human Services. (2019, May). *Annual child protective*

services. Retrieved from http://www.dhs.pa.gov/cs/groups/webcontent/

documents/document/c_289620.pdf

Pickens, W. J. (2010). Critical incidents in law enforcement: A phenomenological

analysis of coping with traumatic stress. *ProQuest Dissertations and Theses*, UMI

Number AAT 3448468

Pielmus, C. (2013). Reflections on the culture of the police cadets' initial training

organization conclusions of a case study. *Analele Stiintifice ale Universitatii, XVII*, 199-

211.

Police Services (n.d.). Retrieved from https://dced.pa.gov/local-government/police/

Pritzker, K. (Producer), & Redford, J. (Director). (2016). Resilience. [Motion picture].

(Available from KPJR Films https://kpjrfilms.co/resilience/buy-the-film/)

Rajaee, L., Rodriguez, J.M., Addison, S., Readio, S., & Longwood, W. (2013). Law

enforcement advocate program: An interagency collaboration to enhance community-

police relations and improve outcomes for substance-using offenders. *Juvenile Family*

Court Journal, 64(2), 17-33. doi:10.1111/jfcj.12004

Recent History (The 2000s and Beyond). (2019). Retrieved from

    https://www.policefoundation.org/about/history/recent-history/

Reiner, R. (1992). *The politics of the police.* Toronto, Canada: University of Toronto Press.

Reuss-Ianni, E. (1993). *Two cultures of policing: Street cops and management cops.*

    New Brunswick, NJ: Transaction Publishers.

Rural Urban Definitions. (n.d.). Retrieved July 21, 2017, from

    http://www.rural.palegislature.us/demographics_rural_urban.html

Schein, E.H. (1985). *Organizational culture and leadership.* San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.

Schein, E.H. (1990). Organizational culture. *American Psychologist, 45*(2), 109-119.

    doi:10.1037/0003-066X.45.2.109

Schweyer, A. (2010). The economics of engagement. Retrieved from

    http://theirf.org/research/the-economics-of-engagement/206/

Senna, J.J. & Siegel, L.J. (2001). *Essentials of criminal justice* (3rd ed.). Belmont, CA:

    Wadsworth.

Sheppard, D. I., & Zangrillo, P. A. (1996, Winter). Coordinating investigations of child

    abuse. *Public Welfare, 54*(1), 21-32.

Simmons, K. C. (2014). The law of violence: essay: The legacy of stop and frisk:

    addressing the vestiges of a violent police culture. *Wake Forest Law Review Association,*

    Inc., *49*, 2849-870.

Skolnick, J.H. (2008). Enduring issues of police culture and demographics. *Policing &*

    Society, 18(1), 35-45. doi:10.1080/10439460701718542

Swidler, A. (1986). Culture in action: Symbols and strategies. *American Sociological*

    Review, 51, 273-286. doi:10.2307/2095521

The Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention. (2015). *Child forensic interviewing: Best practice* (NCJ 248749). Rockville, MD: National Criminal Justice Reference Service.

Turner, J. C. (1987). *Rediscovering the social group- Self categorization theory.* Oxford, UK: Basil Blackwell.

U.S. Department of Health and Human Services. (2017). *Child maltreatment 2017*. Retrieved from https://www.acf.hhs.gov/sites/default/files/cb/cm2017.pdf

United States Department of Justice (2017). *Problem solving*. Retrieved from https://cops.usdoj.gov/Default.asp?Item=2558

Van Maanen, J. (1975). Police socialization: A longitudinal examination of job attitudes in an urban police department. *Administrative Science Quarterly, 20,* 207-228. doi:10.2307/2391695

Waddington, P. A. J. (1999). Police (canteen) sub-culture: an appreciation. *British Journal of Criminology, 39*(2), 287-309. doi:10.1093/bjc/39.2.287

Walsh, W., Jones, L., & Cross, T. (2003). Children's advocacy centers: One philosophy, many models. *American Professional Society on the Abuse of Children*, *15*(3), 3-7.

Warren, C. (2002). Qualitative interviewing. In J. Gubrium and J. Holstein (Eds.), *Handbook of interviewing research: Context and method* (p.83-102). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Watson, T. M., Bayoumi, A., Kolla, G., Penn, R., Fischer, B., Luce, J., and Strike, C. (2012). Police perceptions of supervised consumption sites (SCSs): A qualitative study. *Substance Use & Misuse, 47,* 364-374. doi:10.3109/10826084.2011.645104

Westley, W. (1970). *Violence and the Police: A sociological study of law, custom, and morality*. Cambridge, MA: The MIT Press.

What is a CAC. (n.d.). Retrieved from http://middlesexcac.org/what-is-a-cac/

Winfree, Jr., L. T., Taylor, T. J. (2004). Rural, small town, and metropolitan police in New Zealand: Differential outlooks on policing within a unified police organization. *Policing: An International Journal of Police Strategies & Management, 27,* 241-263. doi:10.1108/13639510410536841

Wood, J. P. Taylor, C. J., Groff, E. R., & Ratcliffe, J. H. (2015). Aligning policing and public health promotion: Insights from the world of the foot patrol. *Police Practice and Research, 16*(3), 211-223. doi:10.1080/15614263.2013.846982

Appendix A

Rural Pennsylvania Counties

Rural Pennsylvania Counties
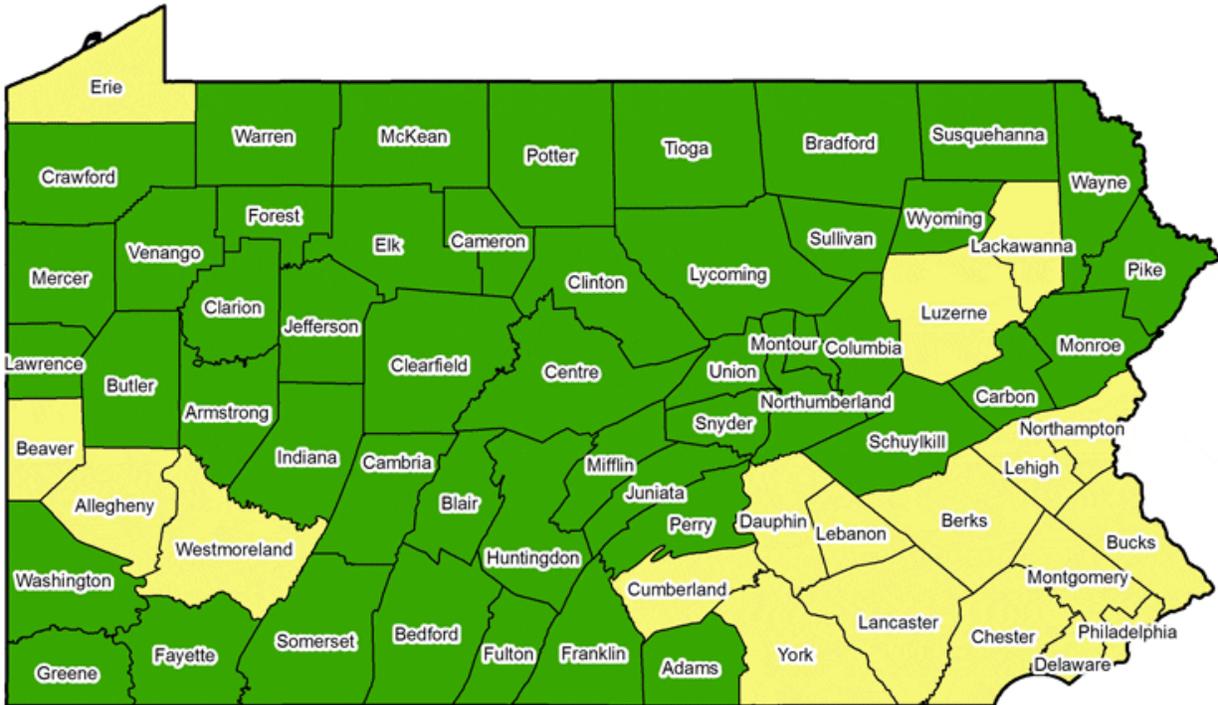
Source: U.S. Census Bureau, 2010 Census

Urban   Rural

Appendix B

Interview Guide

Semi-Structured Interview Guide

1. To get started, tell me about being a law enforcement officer. How long have you been an officer? What do your current duties entail? What is the jurisdiction you cover?

2. Tell me what you know about Children's Advocacy Centers (CACs) and multidisciplinary teams (MDTs).

3. Tell me about your involvement with a CAC's MDT and what that experience has been like for you?

4. What specific parts of a CAC MDT have you experienced? (case review, forensic interviews, etc.)

5. What made that involvement possible? (assignment, training, specialization, filling in for another officer, request, etc.)

6. What, if anything, prohibits you from participating in the MDT more and more often?

7. Tell me about the interaction with the other MDT members.

8. Tell me about a time you felt engaged in the MDT. What I mean by engaged is attending forensic interviews and court hearings, participating in case and peer reviews, data-sharing, coordination of investigative steps, and ongoing, open communication with other MDT members, and for the purpose of this study, engagement may also include attending CAC sponsored trainings and events. In short, engagement is more than attending MDT related meetings; it is fully participating in a joint investigative process.

9. What would you say are things that help you to be engaged with MDT members and processes?

     a.   Would you say there are factors that facilitate your engagement that are unique to law enforcement?

     b.   Would you describe an example you have in mind when you think of this?

10. Tell me about a time you really felt part of the MDT.

11. Ideally, what would law enforcement engagement with an MDT look like or be to you?

12. If a new law enforcement officer joined the MDT today, what would you tell him/her about participating in it?

13. What should a CAC consider when trying to engage law enforcement in the MDT?

14. What do the other MDT members need to understand about law enforcement when collaborating with them in the MDT?

If an officer did not have experience with a CAC MDT, this Alternative Semi-Structured Interview Guide will be used.

1. To get started, tell me about being a law enforcement officer. How long have you been an officer? What do your current duties entail? What is the jurisdiction you cover?

2. Tell me about what you know about Children's Advocacy Centers (CACs) and multidisciplinary (MDTs). How did you acquire this information?

3. Describe how law enforcement is involved with CACs and MDTs in your jurisdiction. Is there an interagency agreement?

4. Would you like to be involved with the CAC MDT? Why or why not?

     a.   What, if anything, prohibits you from participating in the MDT?

5. Tell me about any observations you have made of other officers and their involvement with CAC MDTs.

6. Tell me about any other experiences you have had working with multiple disciplines, task forces, interagency teams, or the like.

   a. What made that involvement possible? (assignment, training, specialization, filling in for another officer, request, etc.)

   b. Tell me about the interaction with the other members of those groups.

   c. Tell me about a time you felt engaged in those groups. What I mean by engaged is attending meetings/trainings/conferences, on-going communication, supporting other members, and following procedures established by the group. In short, engagement is more than attending a committee meeting; it is fully participating in a collaborative process.

   d. What would you say are things that help you to be engaged with those groups and processes?

      i. Would you say there are factors that facilitate your engagement that are unique to law enforcement?

      ii. Would you describe an example you have in mind when you think of this?

7. Tell me about a time you really felt part of those groups.

Appendix C

Letters of Support

Pennsylvania Chiefs of Police Association

3905 North Front Street, Harrisburg, PA 17110 • Tel: (717) 236-1059 • Fax: (717) 236-0226 • www.pachiefs.org

Scott Bohn
President
Chief of Police
West Chester Borough

Albert Walker
1st Vice President
Chief of Police
Hanover Township

John English
2nd Vice President
Chief of Police
Edgeworth Borough

David Steffen
3rd Vice President
Chief of Police
Northern Lancaster
County Regional

Fred Harran
4th Vice President
Director of Public Safety
Bensalem Township

William Richendrfer
Secretary – 2020
Chief of Police
South Centre Township

Thomas Gross
Executive Director

David DiSanti
Treasurer - 2020
Chief of Police
Town of McCandless

August 1, 2018

Dear IRB Committee,

This serves as a Letter of Support for Ms. Ivy Schneider to conduct her dissertation research about children's advocacy centers' (CACs) multidisciplinary teams in Pennsylvania (MDTs).

It is my understanding that Ms. Schneider will be conducting research at various CACs with law enforcement officers on "Engaging Law Enforcement in Children's Advocacy Centers' Multidisciplinary Teams in Pennsylvania." We offer our support to Ms. Schneider and her study. We understand this letter may be shared with CACs, police departments, and/or police officers during the research process to demonstrate the support of governing entities in the field.

If you have any questions, please contact me.

Sincerely,

Thomas C. Gross, Executive Director
Pennsylvania Chiefs of Police Association
Office: 717.236.1059 ext. 108
Email: tgross@pachiefs.org

Bryan Kelly – 2019
Chief of Police
Shaler Township

James Sabath–2020
Chief of Police
Newtown Borough

William Smith – 2020
Chief of Police (Ret.)
Derry Township

Larry Palmer – 2019
Chief of Police
Palmer Township

Mark Toomey – 2020
Chief of Police
Upper Providence Township

James Adams – 2020
Chief of Police
Upper Allen Township

Michael Scott – 2020
Chief of Police
Baldwin Borough

Jason Loper - 2020
Chief of Police
Fairview Township

Royce Engler - 2020
Chief of Police
Wright Township

David Splain - 2020
Chief of Police
Nether Providence Township

National Children's Advocacy Center

July 18, 2018

Institutional Review Board
Indiana University of Pennsylvania (IUP)

Dear IRB Committee,

This serves as a Letter of Support for Ms. Ivy Schneider to conduct her dissertation research about Children's Advocacy Centers' (CACs) Multidisciplinary Teams in Pennsylvania (MDTs).
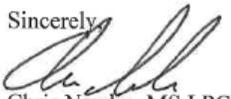
It is my understanding that Ms. Schneider will be conducting research at various CACs with law enforcement officers on "Engaging Law Enforcement in Children's Advocacy Centers' Multidisciplinary Teams in Pennsylvania." This research has tremendous value and potential impact given that there are more than 950 CACs currently operating in the United States, and these programs conduct more than 200,000 forensic interviews with children each year. Unfortunately, gaining the full engagement of law enforcement personnel is sometimes a challenge, and learning more about how to effectively engage law enforcement could have dramatic impact in both Pennsylvania and throughout the United States.

The National Children's Advocacy Center was the first CAC in the world, and we continue to operate as a fully co-located CAC in our community while also serving as a model for the 1,100+ CACs operating throughout the world, and as a training center for professionals responding to child abuse. To date we have trained more than 138,000 professionals throughout the world.

We offer our support to Ms. Schneider and her study. We understand this letter may be shared with CACs, police departments, and/or police officers during the research process to demonstrate the support of governing entities in the field.

If you have any questions, please contact me.

Sincerely,

Chris Newlin, MS LPC
Executive Director

Appendix D

Site Approval Template

Site Approval Letter on Agency Letterhead

(date)

Dear IRB Committee,

This serves as a site approval letter for Ms. Ivy Schneider to conduct her dissertation research at the (name of CAC).

It is my understanding that Ms. Schneider will be conducting research at this CAC on "Engaging Law Enforcement in Children's Advocacy Centers' Multidisciplinary Teams in Pennsylvania."
I give my approval to Ms. Schneider to use this CAC as a site for conducting interviews of law enforcement officers for her study. I may provide to her contact information for our multidisciplinary team law enforcement members or pass on to those individuals information about her study and her contact information.

If you have any questions, please contact me.

Sincerely,

(signature)
Name, Title

This project has been approved by the Indiana University of Pennsylvania Institutional Review Board for the Protection of Human Subjects (724-357-7730).

Appendix E

Social Media Post

LinkedIn (and other social media) Post

Attention law enforcement officers working in the (service area of approved CAC). I am looking for participants to interview for my dissertation research study about officers' engagement in Children's Advocacy Centers' multi-disciplinary teams. Participation and all responses are confidential. Officers must be 18+ with at least one-year experience. Please contact me by texting your contact information to 717-884-8665 (Google Voice account), or you can email me, jmhs@iup.edu, or my faculty sponsor, mabry@iup.edu, for more details. This project is approved by the Indiana University of Pennsylvania Institutional Review Board for the Protection of Human Subjects (724-357-7730).

Appendix F

CAC Director Questions

1. Years of operation

2. Accreditation status

3. CAC Structure (501c3, hospital model, etc)

4. Population density

5. Service area and culture

6. List of programs/services

7. Number and type of law enforcement departments working within the CAC model

8. Average number of forensic interviews per year

9. Overall observation of LE engagement

Appendix G

Consent Forms

Indiana University of Pennsylvania

Administration and Leadership Studies—Nonprofit & Public Sectors

Department of Sociology	Phone: 724-357-2956
102 McElhaney Hall	Fax: 724-357-4842
Indiana, Pennsylvania 15705-1087	Internet: *www.iup.edu/als*

Purpose and Benefits

My name is Ivy Schneider and I am a Ph.D. candidate in the Administration and Leadership Studies Program at Indiana University of Pennsylvania (IUP). I am conducting research on a project entitled "Engaging Law Enforcement in Children's Advocacy Centers' Multidisciplinary Teams in Pennsylvania." The purpose of this study is to identify what facilitates or inhibits law enforcement officers' engagement in children's advocacy centers' (CACs) multidisciplinary teams (MDTs). At the conclusion of this research, I expect to gain information that will assist CACs in increasing opportunities for law enforcement to engage in MDTs and, therefore, strengthen the collaborative victim-centered process.

Your Involvement

Participating in this study means taking part in an interview of about 15 minutes. During the interview I will ask you questions about the demographics of the CAC of which you are the Director and your perceptions of law enforcement officer involvement. I will not be asking you about cases or to share any sensitive or confidential information. Rather, it is your perspective on officer engagement that I seek.

Your Participation is Voluntary

Your participation is voluntary. You are free to skip any questions or to leave the interview at any time. Just let me know that's what you'd like to do. For accuracy, I would like to audio record the interview, but once I've transcribed the interview and made notes from it, I will destroy the recording. If you give me permission to record our interview, please initial here: _____

Your Participation is Confidential.

The information you provide and your participation in this interview will be kept confidential. I will remove your name and any identifying information from your responses. The information you provide will be combined with information from other study participants and analyzed together. Quotes from the interview may be used in reports of this research, but no names or identifying characteristics will be included so there will be no way anyone could link you to your responses or to being a participant in this study. The information will only be used for academic purposes. Audio recording of interviews will be stored in a password protected file through the IUP until they have been transcribed. Once a transcription is complete, I will destroy the recording. Transcriptions will be kept in a password protected file through IUP for up to 3 years in keeping with federal guidelines.

Potential Risks and Benefits

There are no risks in this study beyond minimal risks of daily living. Although there is no compensation for participating in this study, you may benefit by having your opinions and experiences valued and by contributing to potential procedural improvements to decrease barriers to law enforcement engagement in MDTs.

This project has been approved by the Indiana University of Pennsylvania Institutional Review Board for the Protection of Human Subjects (724-357-7730).

Indiana University of Pennsylvania

Administration and Leadership Studies—Nonprofit & Public Sectors

Department of Sociology	Phone: 724-357-2956
102 McElhaney Hall	Fax: 724-357-4842
Indiana, Pennsylvania 15705-1087	Internet: *www.iup.edu/als*

Purpose and Benefits

My name is Ivy Schneider and I am a Ph.D. candidate in the Administration and Leadership Studies Program at Indiana University of Pennsylvania (IUP). I am conducting research on a project entitled "Engaging Law Enforcement in Children's Advocacy Centers' Multidisciplinary Teams in Pennsylvania." The purpose of this study is to identify what facilitates or inhibits law enforcement officers' engagement in children's advocacy centers' (CACs) multidisciplinary teams (MDTs). At the conclusion of this research, I expect to gain information that will assist CACs in increasing opportunities for law enforcement to engage in MDTs and, therefore, strengthen the collaborative victim-centered process.

Your Involvement

Participating in this study means taking part in an interview of about an hour. During the interview I will ask you about your experiences with and impressions of CAC MDTs from your perspective as a law enforcement officer. I will not be asking you about cases or to share any sensitive or confidential information. Rather, it's your perspective on MDTs that I seek.

Your Participation is Voluntary

Your participation is voluntary. You are free to skip any questions or to leave the interview at any time. Just let me know that's what you'd like to do. For accuracy, I would like to audio record the interview, but once I've transcribed the interview and made notes from it, I will destroy the recording. If you give me permission to record our interview, please initial here: _____

Your Participation is Confidential.

The information you provide and your participation in this interview will be kept confidential. I will remove your name and any identifying information from your responses. The information you provide will be combined with information from other study participants and analyzed together. Quotes from the interview may be used in reports of this research, but no names or identifying characteristics will be included so there will be no way anyone could link you to your responses or to being a participant in this study. The information will only be used for academic purposes. Audio recording of interviews will be stored in a password protected file through the IUP until they have been transcribed. Once a transcription is complete, I will destroy the recording. Transcriptions will be kept in a password protected file through IUP for up to 3 years in keeping with federal guidelines.

Potential Risks and Benefits

There are no risks in this study beyond minimal risks of daily living. Although there is no compensation for participating in this study, you may benefit by having your opinions and experiences valued and by contributing to potential procedural improvements to decrease barriers to law enforcement engagement in MDTs.