"Homelessness isn't a policing issue, until it is" A Mixed Methods Study on the Role and

Decision Making Processes of the Police and Outreach Workers in Responding to

Homelessness

by

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ABSTRACT

Law enforcement officers are frequently tasked with addressing and responding to public safety and community concerns related to issues of homelessness. While interactions between law enforcement and individuals experiencing homelessness occur frequently, issues of homelessness also span public health, policy, and housing spheres. Because of this, several communities in the United States also lean on outreach workers to address issues of homelessness. Recent research has described both law enforcement officers and outreach workers as street-level bureaucrats. Both groups grapple with unique shift demands, lack of supervision, burnout, and issues such as turnover, all while leveraging their personal knowledge and connections to make decisions on a case-by-case basis.

In two studies, this dissertation explores the role of the police and outreach workers in responses to issues of homelessness. This is important to address because there is evidence that these two groups have a high degree of contact with individuals experience homelessness and have similar decision-making processes. Yet, they are largely siloed from one another making it difficult to generate policies related to issues of homelessness that are informed by both groups. In study one, responses to close- and open-ended responses (N = 1,163) drawn from a survey distributed to law enforcement personnel are analyzed, merged, and interpreted. The second study of this dissertation is an ethnography of outreach workers in Maricopa County, Arizona. The collective findings from these two studies underscore a remarkable similarity between outreach worker and law enforcement decision making, as well as a growing need to strengthen

the relationships between these two groups to support longer-term solutions. Co-created training guides and events can be constructed to enhance the relationship between these two groups and to support mutually beneficial outcomes.

DEDICATION

For my mom, Christine, who was all that is kind, thoughtful, and spirited in the world,

and who taught me what it means to remain curious.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I concluded my final year in graduate school as a scholar in the Office of Inclusive Design for Equity and Access. In one meeting we wrote haikus, here is mine:

I am going there

Where? Towards my discomfort

Here, I will blossom

I make a promise to myself, you five— Chandra Crudup, Cynthia Mackey, Mary Mathis-Burnett, Tasha Holmes, and Trey Jenkins—and my future students that I will continue to "do the work," and blossom as I persist in the good fight towards anti-racism and anti-oppression. Thank you for being my cornerstones in this work, colleagues, and friends.

And now for the friends and family that have been on this journey with me. My cat Merlin has had nothing but positive thoughts to say about this dissertation. It was that blind support (and a meow or two) that I needed more than anything sometimes. To the women in my life that surround me with steadfast support in their own unique ways— Andrea Farias, Hannah Stroud, Kathleen Padilla, Kathleen Mitchell, Michaela Flippin, Raven Simonds, Savanna Allen, Taylor Allison Swift— the world is a better place with you all and I am a better person because of you all. To my Jake F.'s— you both came into my life at the end of my graduate career but have had substantial impacts in keeping me sane*ish* throughout this process. I consider myself lucky to know you both. Arda, Matt, and Rita— you helped me in ways no one else could, and your support has changed my life. I could continue for pages, but for now, to my sister and father who might not always understand what I am doing but love and support me nonetheless, thank you.

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CHAPTER 1

STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM

Homelessness is a multifaceted social problem that has been addressed by both

social welfare systems and social controls in the United States. Federal, state, and local

governments, as well as for- and non-profit organizations, have created policies and

programs to address issues such as affordable housing, drug addiction, and accessible

mental health care for individuals who are unhoused. Governments have also created a

variety of anti-homeless laws (e.g., sit and lie, loitering, and living in vehicle ordinances;

see Beckett & Herbert, 2009; Herring, 2019) that specifically target crime and disorder

among individuals experiencing homelessness.[1] To enforce these anti-homeless laws

much of the burden has fallen on the criminal justice system (CJS), particularly the

police.

The function of the police in society is an ongoing topic of conversation.

Vulnerable populations such as those experiencing homelessness and mental illness—

oftentimes both (Polcin, 2016)— have unique needs that often expand beyond the scope

of the tools and expertise police officers hold (Beckett & Herbert, 2009; Herring et al.,

2020; McNamara et al., 2013). Yet, the criminalization of individuals experiencing

homelessness and mental illness has challenged law enforcement to strike a balance

[1] Throughout this dissertation I employ the terms "experiences with homelessness" and "individuals who are unhoused" interchangeably. I refrain from describing these groups as simply "homeless," or "unhoused," which removes the individual from the conversation and focuses solely on their status.

between enforcing local ordinances that penalize behaviors among this population (e.g., street sleeping and panhandling; see Wilking et al., 2018) and adopting tactics or employing tools that divert individuals away from the criminal justice system (Batko et al., 2020). In many places across the U.S. there remains no alternative response available 24/7, individuals experiencing homelessness and mental illness continue to be criminalized in public space by the community (Stuart & Beckett, 2021), and despite many officers lacking the tools and expertise to respond to these social problems, they remain the primary first responder.

Police responses to issues of homelessness have been studied through time, with Los Angeles, CA's Skid Row serving as a consistent research site. Bittner's (1967) seminal research on policing Skid Row describes Los Angeles Police Department (LAPD) officer's decision making as *peace keeping*. Bittner found that policing Skid Row is unique because officer discretion and decision making are rooted in the overarching goal of maintaining peace. As such, discretionary decisions were not solely determined by legal culpability, which is typically considered a core determining factor of police decision making. In contrast to this, in 2005 the Safer Cities Initiative employed LAPD officers to target geographic areas in and near Skid Row that had large homeless encampments identified as public health nuisances (Berk & MacDonald, 2010). In these instances, officers were motivated by policy to draw on formal sanctions (e.g., arrest and citation) to control perceived disorder. More recently, (Stuart, 2016) categorized the approaches of the LAPD as 'therapeutic policing,' where officers are invested in pushing individuals experiencing homelessness towards services and rehabilitation. Through his

ethnographic research, Stuart found that this type of policing still had harmful effects on the Los Angeles homeless population because individuals experiencing homelessness perceived this as a form of harassment. In Los Angeles– a city with over one-third of California's population experiencing homelessness (Department of Housing and Urban Development, 2021a, b)—the police have been consistently involved in the lives of those experiencing homelessness, with descriptions of their role and goals shifting across time.

More recently, practitioners and researchers have come together to understand how social welfare systems and the CJS can work together to address issues of homelessness. Batko and colleagues (2020) recommended a variety of alternatives to arrest including support for Housing First approaches, inclusive management of public spaces, and shifting the role of law enforcement officers. These recommendations underscore a fundamental modification in approaches to homelessness, wherein police officers encompass an emerging role in support of both social welfare and crime control goals.

Multiple police agencies illustrate different versions of these innovative practices. For instance, in Indio, CA the police department has created a quality of life team, which pairs officers with a mental health clinician to address issues of homelessness and the needs of the community more directly (Telep & Brown, 2021). In doing so, IPD takes a non-arrest approach to homelessness, acting as a liaison between the local homeless population and outreach workers. When describing how they decide what to do, officers explained that:

"it was very 'gray,' and that they made these decisions based on their previous

experiences with that homeless individual and the characteristics of the situation.

If prior instances of leniency were not working, it indicated they may need to take

a sterner approach to the situation. We heard variations of this idea in CORP

[Community Outreach Resource Program, see below] meetings as well, with the

chief once noting in regards to the agency's approach 'we're social workers with

a hammer'" (Telep & Brown, 2021, pp. 72-73).

In Indio the officers, mental health clinician, and local service providers also advocate for

individuals experiencing homelessness to join CORP (Community Outreach Resource

Program), a program endorsed by the courts, which creates individualized programming

for individuals experiencing homelessness and absolves these individuals of accrued fines

and fees upon program completion. Other agencies such as Portland Police Bureau (PPB;

Covelli et al., 2014) have developed specific training on crisis intervention and have

partnered with mental health clinicians to better respond to problems related to

homelessness in their cities. Collaborative approaches to homelessness are new and

emerging, necessitating further research to understand how social welfare providers and

CJS practitioners can coordinate to generate long-term solutions for individuals

experiencing homelessness. Ultimately, these new strategies expand a police officer's

toolkit in responding to issues of homelessness and provide more breadth in the range of

responses and outcomes they can draw on.

An additional group that responds to issues of homelessness are outreach workers.

Like police officers, outreach workers wear many hats, but for the most part they consist

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of individuals who bring specialized services to individuals experiencing homelessness. In his ethnographic research of outreach workers, Smith (2022) uses the analytic perspective of street-level bureaucracy to describe the work of outreach workers:

> "When workers lacked resources to be fully sufficient, they coped by indirectly shaping how policy was carried out… [they] go beyond the bureaucratic paperwork, both in helping clients to receive services and in terms of their own job descriptions" (p. 147).

Essentially, outreach workers face dilemmas in their work that force them to creatively problem solve in ways that go beyond the boundaries of their job description to get individuals into housing. While the two groups are in different spheres of social policy and may have different goals when responding to issues of homelessness, law enforcement officer and outreach workers similarly experience dilemmas in their shifts that challenge the way they encounter individuals experiencing homelessness and the outcomes they receive.

The present study seeks to explore the role of law enforcement officers and outreach workers in responding to issues of homelessness. To do so I address four primary research questions: 1) What do police officers perceive their role to be in addressing and responding to issues of homelessness? 2) Does officer decision-making in police-citizen encounters vary between housed and unhoused citizens? 3) How do outreach workers engage with individuals experiencing homelessness in Maricopa County, Arizona? and 4) What characterizes the relationship between outreach workers and law enforcement officers in Maricopa County, Arizona? To answer these research

questions I conduct two separate studies, the first incorporating a mixed methods experimental survey design and the latter drawing on an ethnographic design.

The roadmap for this dissertation is as follows: In Chapter 2, I discuss the body of literature on homelessness in the U.S. and how it has been addressed through social welfare and law enforcement strategies. In doing so I identify clear gaps in the research and introduce this dissertation's research questions in greater depth. Chapter 3 introduces the methodology that will be employed to answer these research questions. Here I outline the two studies conducted and identify the methods used to collect and analyze data. Chapters 4, 5, and 6 discuss the results of the two different studies. I conclude with Chapter 7, a discussion on the implications, limitations, and directions for future research.

CHAPTER 2

BACKGROUND

The Problem of Homelessness in the United States

Homelessness has been a growing social problem in the United States since the

1960s. In 2020 the Department of Housing and Urban Development (HUD) reported that

homelessness has increased in the U.S. for the fourth consecutive year, with the

chronically homeless population increasing by 15% and the number of unsheltered

individuals experiencing homelessness increasing by 7%. In New York alone— the state

with the highest proportion of homelessness to housed residents in the U.S.— the total

homeless population has increased 46% between 2007-2020 (National Alliance to end

Homelessness, 2020). Other states have seen a similar trend. California reported a 16%

increase in residents who are unhoused between 2008-2020, with a 346% increase in

Imperial County alone, the neighboring county of San Diego. According to the annual

Point-in-Time count, the population of individuals experiencing homelessness increased

26.22% between 2019 and 2022 in Arizona, with the unsheltered population increasing

the most (Maricopa Association of Governments, 2022).

Several scholars have tried to explain the complex problem of homelessness in the

U.S. Hinton (2016) describes how the 1968 Safe Streets Act resulted in a large shift of

funding from social assistance programs into the CJS. Consequently, many social safety

nets such as housing programs (Herring, 2019) and long-term care facilities (Lamb, 1984;

Mechanic & Rochefort, 1990) were reduced or shut down. This left a gap in services for

vulnerable populations that depended on services to remain housed, which were

especially necessary in the economic recession of the 1980's, which led to an increase in housing instability (National Academies of Sciences, 2018). Research suggests that the demand for affordable housing at the time outweighed the availability of affordable housing options in an economy with rising housing costs (Quigley & Raphael, 2001). The simultaneous changes in the economy, social safety nets, housing market, and CJS contributed to a growing homeless population in the U.S. The population of individuals experiencing homelessness in the U.S. has continued to grow into the 21st century. In 2007 the population peaked, likely due to the Great Recession, after which it steadily declined until 2016 when the unsheltered population began to steadily increase. This population has increased for several reason, most recently the ongoing COVID-19 Pandemic. The COVID-19 Pandemic increased unemployment rates which impacted the ability for individuals to pay housing costs, resulting in an unsettling number of evictions, and causing a federal eviction moratorium. Recent estimates found Arizona to have the highest rate of evictions during the Pandemic, leading to an increase in the unsheltered community which was exacerbated by COVID-19 restrictions placed on shelters (United Way of the National Capital Area, 2021).

Beyond structural-level changes (e.g., shifts in governmental funding), several individual-level barriers act as primary drivers of homelessness. Mental illness, for instance, is a consistent barrier to housing seen among individuals experiencing homelessness (Bassuk et al., 2015; Michaels et al., 1992; Nilsson et al., 2019; Shinn, 2010; Tsai et al., 2010). People who are unhoused frequently experience co-occurring barriers, such as concurrent mental illness and substance abuse disorders (Polcin, 2016)

which can be magnified among sub-groups such as veterans (Creech et al., 2015). Mental illness and substance abuse also hinder opportunities for employment, which can reduce housing access and eligibility (Krupa et al., 2009; Poremski et al., 2014; Waghorn & Lloyd, 2005). Complicating the issue further, individuals experiencing homelessness often have reduced social capital and social structures that can be used for temporary housing (Rose & Clear, 1998; Shinn et al., 2007; Walker et al., 2014). Altogether, the unhoused experience individual-level barriers preventing them from becoming housed, and policy shifts in the 1960s reduced structural support for them to lean on in the presence of these individual-level barriers.

In the 1980s, increases in homelessness coincided with a shift towards a crime-control model in the CJS as a response to growing concerns over violent crime (Blumstein & Wallman, 2006). The backbone of this response was Wilson and Kelling's (1982) broken windows theory, which contends that the police should use their discretion to remove minor forms of crime and public disorder, which would reduce the likelihood of crime rates escalating in U.S. neighborhoods. Wilson and Kelling described this strategy as 'order-maintenance policing,' where officers on foot patrol generated informal norms in the communities they patrolled and moved individuals in violation of those norms along. When characterizing the type of disorder that was articulated as leading to further crime, in their *Atlantic* article, Wilson and Kelling wrote:

> "But we tend to overlook another source of fear—the fear of being bothered by disorderly people. Not violent people, nor, necessarily, criminals, but disreputable or obstreperous or unpredictable people: panhandlers, drunks, addicts, rowdy

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teenagers, prostitutes, loiterers, the mentally disturbed… The unchecked

panhandler is, in effect, the first broken window. Muggers and robbers, whether

opportunistic or professional, believe they reduce their chances of being caught or

even identified if they operate on streets where potential victims are already

intimidated by prevailing conditions" (pp. 29-30).

Wilson and Kelling's description of disorder has the consequence of criminalizing the

poor, and ultimately, individuals experiencing homeless. However, while there is a lot of

overlap between experiences with homelessness and other forms of disorders such as

panhandling, substance use, and mental illness, it is unlikely that individuals who are

unhoused engage in all forms of disorder that would be consequential for future crime.

Thus, there remains a large amount of nuance regarding how the police should address

issues of homelessness in communities, leaving police responses to the discretion of

street-level officers.

Herring (2019) describes police strategies such as order-maintenance policing as

complaint-oriented policing because police responses became strongly informed by local

groups and community members (e.g., businesses and government agencies). These

groups criminalized poverty through their support for anti-homeless laws and calling the

police to deal with issues of homelessness in public space (see also Clifford & Piston,

2017; Stuart & Beckett, 2021). Herring articulates that this approach positions individuals

experiencing homelessness, who are especially likely to engage in quality-of-life offenses

(e.g., panhandling, street sleeping, misdemeanor drug use), to be heavily targeted by the

CJS (see also Herring et al., 2020). Beckett and Herbert (2009) touch on this point,

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arguing that cities have adopted punitive policies and practices (e.g., exclusionary orders, anti-street sleeping laws) that banish people who are unhoused from public spaces. Kohler-Hausmann (2018) expands on this and describes how order maintenance policing later developed into zero-tolerance policing– employing punitive sanctions to address all forms of crime no matter how minor– which resulted in more individuals in misdemeanor courts than the court system was prepared for. The shift to zero-tolerance policing marked a new 'punishment imperative' where the CJS was strongly focused on being highly punitive towards all forms of disorder (Clear & Frost, 2013). Consequently, public space has become exclusive and individuals experiencing homelessness can face criminal consequences when they inhabit it (see also Amster, 2003).

In addition to the criminalization of the poor, individuals experiencing homelessness are in unique positions because they live in public spaces. This makes them more likely to receive sanctions for both normative and deviant behavior when compared to individuals who have private space to engage in the same behaviors (e.g., homeless individuals receive citations for sleeping because they cannot sleep in private space, drug use; see Wilking et al., 2018). Altogether, reductions in resources in social welfare systems, the criminalization of lower-level offenses and poverty, and the visibility of homeless individuals in public spaces generated a revolving door into the CJS for individuals experiencing homelessness. This has been described as the *homeless-incarceration nexus*, where a reciprocal relationship exists between experiences with homelessness and stints of incarceration (jail and prison) (Crane et al., 2005; Gowan, 2002).

Anti-homeless laws exist in an ambiguous realm in the United States. In 2018

U.S. Court of Appeals for the 9th Circuit ruled that anti-homeless laws cannot be enforced

because the choice to sleep in public is removed for individuals experiencing

homelessness when there are no shelter spaces available. Yet, anti-homeless continue to

be created, with places like Tempe, Arizona creating new city ordinances prohibiting

individuals from "occupying ramadas for more than four hours" (City of Tempe, 2022).

Alone this does not come across as solely an anti-homeless ordinance, but it has also been

paired with restrictions on other behaviors commonly associated with issues of

homelessness in parks (e.g., drug use and landscaping damage). Through anti-homeless

laws in public spaces and their likelihood of more creating more punitive outcomes

compared to housed individuals in felony court settings (Brown & Mitchell, 2022),

individuals experiencing homelessness are significantly more likely to become

incarcerated (Applied Survey Research, 2013; Greenberg & Rosenheck, 2008).

Many studies support that incarceration in and of itself is related to a greater

likelihood of becoming unhoused (Metraux et al., 2007; Mogk et al., 2020; Nilsson et al.,

2019). It should also be noted that after incarceration, or in lieu of incarceration,

individuals may be assessed fines and fees they cannot pay and a criminal record that can

reduce housing and employment opportunities, further trapping them in poverty (Boches

et al., 2022; Shannon et al., 2020; Telep & Brown, 2022).

The Function of the Police and Police Decision Making

The ability for police officers to accomplish their broad range of duties rests on

the assumption that they can maintain public support for their right to exercise authority

(Black, 1970; Peel, 1829). When exercising this authority, officers do so with a large amount of discretion and in largely unsupervised environments (Skogan et al., 2004). As discussed by Black (1970, 2010), social control manifests in four distinct styles, which can be employed discretionarily by the police. This includes penal policing (e.g., formal decisions with criminal justice consequences such as arrest and citation), conciliatory policing (e.g., conflict resolution), compensatory policing (e.g., requesting a debt be paid), and therapeutic policing (e.g, providing a referral service) (for further discussion, see Skogan et al., 2004). Altogether, when the police exercise their authority they can do so through a wide range of approaches that officers have the discretion to employ.

A notable theme in these discussions is that the function of policing is vast and encompasses several different ways of interacting with the community that do not exclusively involve enforcing the law. In 1977, Goldstein conjectured that the police have a wide range of objectives that included assisting those who cannot care for themselves and identifying problems that have the potential for becoming more serious problems for the individual, the police, or for the government. These sentiments are echoed in the work of Bittner (1967) and Banton (1959) who both identify peace keeping as core components of the function of the police. While peace keeping—particularly in terms of Bittner's work— is not generalizable beyond the homeless, it is another component of the police role that goes beyond invoking the full power of the law in their exercise of authority. Because the function of the police is broad and encompasses such a vast range of duties, officers face many decision-making points where they have the discretion to lean on the law or not in their effort to maintain order.

Lipsky (1980) provides a strong theoretical framework for understanding police decisions in encounters with the public. Lipsky contends that police officers act as street-level bureaucrats, delivering policy through their use of authority with the public. This is because much of the work police officers engage in is related to applying government policies. He posits that street-level bureaucrats balance a variety of dilemmas when interacting with the public (e.g., supervisor instructions, experience, resource constraints, client reactions) that shape the reality of what oftentimes ambiguous policies look like in practice. For instance, street-level police officers often work by themselves or in a pair, with no direct supervision, and can experience departmental (e.g., lack of officers, high call volume) and community (e.g., no after hour services, shelter restrictions, lack of available beds) resource constraints that put boundaries on potential decisions. In a study on street-level bureaucracy, Maynard-Moody and Musheno (2003) found:

> "In these and many more cases described in their stories, street-level workers first establish citizen-clients' identities and then respond. Forming and fixing identities may involve careful evaluation, as in the case of vocational rehabilitation, or snap judgements, as with police officers patrolling a neighborhood. Once fixed, these identities shape the nature of street-level workers' responses, from bending the rules and providing extraordinary assistance to allowing only begrudging and minimal help and at times to abuse" (p.154).

Maynard-Moody and Musheno show that the identity-formation process has implications for the ways police officers, teachers, and counselors make decisions. In the case of police officers, their own identity, and the identities they perceive the individuals they

engage with to hold "determine which and how rules, policies, and procedures are applied" (p.155). Put simply, street-level police officers maintain a high degree of discretion in the application of ambiguous laws. This discretion is influenced in different ways by the level of supervision they have, resource constraints, and identity formation of the individuals they interact with, forcing them to interpret the law to their best ability and apply it on a case-by-case basis. This leaves room for policies to vary in application.

While discretion is not inherently bad and gives police officers the opportunity to contextualize their decisions, it does mean that the application of the law may vary across groups. Because police discretion can interfere with the fidelity of the application of the law, there is room for bias in the decision-making process, which can ultimately lead to disparate applications of the law, or policy, across groups.

There are accountability mechanisms that police departments can adopt to restrict these decisions. For instance, body-worn cameras (BWCs) increase certainty of punishment/apprehension for both officers and citizens who engage in misconduct, which should limit officer discretion in ways that deter police officers from making biased decisions (Ariel et al., 2018). Police departments can also provide officers with additional training that can impact discretion by giving officers additional tools or guidance on how to respond to particular challenges. A study evaluating the implementation of training aimed at altering police behaviors in response to individuals with mental health disorders, for example, found officers who went through training were more efficient in their response and less likely to use force (Krameddine & Silverstone, 2016).

Police Discretion

Because the police operate with a wide range of discretion, their decisions can become vulnerable to potential bias. Scholars have identified several discretionary police decision points that can lead to disparate outcomes among multiple social groups. Goldstein (1963) argues that discretion "suggests that the police are required, because of a variety of factors, to decide overtly how much of an effort is to be made to enforce specific laws" (p.140). Evidence supports the conclusion that racial groups that have been targeted for oppression, males, and groups from socially disadvantaged neighborhoods are vulnerable to disparate outcomes across various police decision points. Importantly, these disparate outcomes may be magnified for individuals at the intersection of multiple identities.

In regards to race, there are multiple discretionary decisions where certain racial groups are more likely to receive more punitive outcomes than White individuals. In the U.S., both Black and Hispanic drivers are consistently found to be overrepresented in traffic stops (Engel & Calnon, 2004; Grogger & Ridgeway, 2006; Horrace & Rohlin, 2016; Lundman & Kaufman, 2003; for a review see, Smith et al., 2017). Discretionary vehicle searches have also been found to vary according to driver race (Fallik & Novak, 2012; Ridgeway, 2006). Beyond traffic stops and vehicle searches, multiple studies have supported the finding that police officers disparately choose to stop and frisk racial minorities at a greater frequency than White individuals (Kramer & Remster, 2018; Morrow et al., 2017). For race and ethnicity alone, research is saturated with support for racial disparities in a wide range of discretionary police decisions.

Importantly, disparities also occur at the intersection of different social positions. For instance, arrests are more likely to occur in neighborhoods with higher proportions of Black and Hispanic residents (Campbell et al., 2022; Huff, 2021; Roh & Robinson, 2009), drug arrests disproportionately occur in socially disadvantaged neighborhoods (Campbell et al., 2022), and young, Black males are more likely to experience warnings and citations than older Black and White males (Tillyer & Engel, 2013). A study by Roach and colleagues (2022) examined the extent to which disparities exist in investigatory police stops across several states in the U.S. The authors contended that investigatory stops have higher levels of police discretion than traditional safety stops because the officer intends to "look to investigate potential criminality," (p. 240) allowing for more room for implicit biases to direct their investigation.

Roach et al. presented three core findings. First, male Black drivers are significantly more likely to be searched in safety stops when compared to their White counterparts; this is not the experience of female Black drivers in safety stops. Second, individuals pulled over for an investigatory stop are significantly more likely to experience a search– Black females and males are significantly more likely to experience a search in investigatory stops. Lastly, despite higher rates of being searched, Black drivers are no more likely to produce a contraband hit. Generally, the body of literature suggests that when compared to females, males are disproportionately represented in punitive police outcomes (e.g., suspicion and arrest; see Smith et al., 2006) and that Black females experience more punitive outcomes than White females (see Visher, 1983). Importantly, disparities do not automatically indicate discrimination. For instance,

the disparate outcomes for male experiences with vehicle searches can be credited to the gender gap in crime (i.e., the overrepresentation of men in criminal behavior). Moreover, many of these research findings are drawn from administrative data and may not entirely capture the actual decision-making process of officers in the field. Nonetheless, the weight of the evidence does support a trend of disparity in discretionary outcomes for individuals with intersectional identities and in certain places.

Researchers have also considered the role of discretion in police interactions with individuals experiencing a mental illness. There is no strong consensus on the extent to which individuals with a mental illness experience disparate police outcomes. Where some research indicates individuals with mental illness have higher odds of being cited (Schulenberg, 2016) or arrested (Charette et al., 2014; Teplin, 1984) by the police, other research suggests that the odds of being arrested are lower for individuals with a mental illness (Engel & Silver, 2001; Watson et al., 2021). Godfredson and colleagues (2010) further explore the issue of police discretion in encounters with the mentally ill. In a quasi-experimental study the authors find that police officer perceptions of ideal outcomes and likely outcomes in a mental illness encounter are often different. Officers are constrained by different aspects of their role, making them sometimes more or less likely to make an informal decision, walk away from a scenario, call a specialized team, or apprehend an individual displaying concerning mental health behavior (see also, Wells & Schafer, 2006).

While the research on police encounters with the individuals who are unhoused is growing, there are some insights in the body of literature that speak to the discretionary

nature of these interactions. Generally, the odds of an interaction with the police are higher for unhoused individuals (Kouyoumdjian et al., 2019), providing more opportunities for the police to engage in discretionary decision making. The decision to draw on punitive responses such as citation or arrest versus less punitive responses such as giving a warning can be determined by the history of an officer's interactions with an individual (Telep & Brown, 2022) and the conditions of an area (Bittner, 1967). These factors may mitigate the impact of legal culpability on the decision-making process, making the police less likely to draw on formal outcomes such as citation and arrest. In their work looking at police decision making in mental health encounters, Wood and colleagues (2017) describe many of the encounters they observed to fall into a "gray zone." The gray zone is characterized by a police-citizen encounter that does not necessitate legal intervention. Instead, it requires the officer to make a discretionary decision that may satisfy short-term goals, draws on their knowledge of the local area, and generates peace. That being said, officers still have the discretion to employ more punitive outcomes (e.g., citation and arrest), which, given what we know about race and discretion, may occur more frequently for non-White individuals that are experiencing homelessness (e.g., Indigenous and homeless, Black and homeless).

There are a number of individual-factors that impact police discretion as well. Among a sample of 274 male Portuguese police officers, level of stress was a stronger predictor of aggressive behaviors than officer characteristics (Queirós et al., 2013). Similar findings have been replicated among Dutch police officers, who were more favorable towards higher degrees of use of force when experiencing burnout (Euwema et

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al., 2004; Kop & Euwema, 2001). Police officers also face a number of challenges related to burnout including high rates of turnover (Schuck & Rabe-Hemp, 2018), stress (Mears et al., 2017; Rose & Unnithan, 2015), and to some degree, boredom (Phillips, 2016). In an observational study of police officers, Phillips (2016) found police officers to use their discretion to engage in a variety of duties when they experienced boredom, including traffic stops and patrolling high crime areas. These activities, among others, allowed officers to engage in activities that simultaneously passed time and gave them a sense of meaning as they felt they were engaging in 'real police work.' The body of literature suggests that the individual experiences of police officers can also impact their discretionary decisions on the job.

Altogether, discussions on the function of the police and police discretion highlight three core themes. First, the function of the police is vast, with officers having the power to exercise authority across a wide range of duties to serve the public in the application of government policies and laws. Second, when exercising authority police officers maintain a high level of discretion when deciding how they choose to approach an aspect of their role and in the decisions they make while doing so. Thirdly, the extensive amount of discretion police officers have leaves their decisions vulnerable to personal bias in the application of the law, increasing opportunities for disparate applications of the law. For groups that have and continue to be targeted for oppression in American society, they become particularly susceptible to disparate outcomes.

Responses to Homelessness

Police Responses

Issues of homelessness in the 20th century coupled with the broad function of the police in society have generated many tasks related to homelessness for the police to respond to. Bittner's (1967) seminal research on policing the individuals experiencing homelessness on Skid Row in Los Angeles describes police responses to the these concerns as highly discretionary, wherein police officers made decisions with the primary purpose of peacekeeping under the conditions of Skid Row. Alternatively, other descriptions of police responses to problems related to homelessness suggest that when police are given boundaries to what is legally accepted behavior in public, their responses may be more punitive.

Embodying the work of Lipsky (1980), many police responses to issues of homelessness are rooted in local policy. This is illustrated in research by Wilking and colleagues (2018) who conducted a study investigating police responses to homelessness over the course of six years after Chino, CA introduced a 'sit and lie' city ordinance that criminalized street sleeping. The authors found a significant uptick in arrests across the six years, as well as the displacement of individuals experiencing homelessness into other areas. Expanding on the implications of homeless-targeted policies, Darrah-Okike and colleagues (2018) found the enforcement of such policies perpetuated the dehumanization of the unhoused and conjured emotions such as anxiety and fear, all while generating new barriers through the confiscation of property. Ultimately, it is likely anti-homeless ordinances magnify the likeliness of individuals experiencing homelessness entering the

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CJS through citation and arrest, while also causing emotional harm through dehumanizing practices.

Berk and MacDonald (2010) also discuss the relationship between local ordinances and police responses to issues of homelessness in their study examining the Safer Cities Initiative (SCI). The SCI identified encampments of homeless individuals in Los Angeles as public health concerns, giving police the authority to cite and arrest individuals for their presence and violation of the law. While the study found marginal reductions in crime, the SCI initiative was highly criticized because it employed a punitive response to homelessness and was not coupled with service provision (Culhane, 2010; Vitale, 2010; White, 2010). Moreover, through the use of citation and arrest, the SCI initiative potentially perpetuated the nexus between homelessness and incarceration (Greenberg & Rosenheck, 2008; Brown & Mitchell, 2022), and increased harm among the unhoused through added stress and by reducing notions of safety (Robinson, 2019; see also Chesnay et al., 2013).

Notably, anti-homelessness laws/ordinances and subsequent police responses have not been developed to address a housing problem, but instead a crime/disorder problem. It makes sense, then, that they do not support solutions to homelessness since they were never intended to do so. This brings up two challenging questions: 1) Should a goal of the police and criminal justice system be to support long-term solutions to issues of homelessness or simply to reduce perceived crime among the population? and 2) Are these two goals mutually exclusive— can the police simultaneously reduce perceptions and actual rates of crime among the homeless while supporting long-term solutions

through innovative responses? Indeed, several communities have generated successful coordinated responses to homelessness that do not draw on law enforcement at all (Dee & Pyne, 2021; Stuart & Beckett, 2021; Townley et al., 2022). For example, Stuart and Beckett (2021) evaluated the Let Everyone Advance with Dignity (LEAD) program, which strategically targeted local business grievances related to issues homelessness in Seattle, WA, with non-police responses centering on harm-reduction. LEAD participants were 89% more likely to find permanent housing, 46% more likely to find formal employment, and 33% more likely to attain access to government benefits. When compared to a control group "LEAD participants averaged 1.4 fewer yearly jail bookings and 41 fewer days in jail, and they had 87% lower odds of prison incarceration" (Stuart and Beckett, 2021, p. 405). A similar non-police response in Denver reported a 34% reduction in community reports of less serious crime related to homelessness (Dee & Pyne, 2021). Despite these innovative approaches, there remains roughly 18,000 U.S. police departments charged with responding to issues of homelessness, most having vastly different approaches and often without any assessment of effectiveness (Goodison et al., 2020).

Social Welfare Responses

Housing
While the police have adopted a more punitive approach to responding to issues of homelessness during the era of broken windows and zero-tolerance policing, social welfare systems have focused on housing provision. At the federal level, a number of acts were passed to support access to affordable housing. For instance, the Housing and

Community Development Act of 1974 created the Housing Choice Voucher Program

(i.e., Section 8), which provided opportunities for low-income housing. In 1987 the

Stewart B. Mckinney Homeless Assistance Act (SMHAA) was passed and generated

federal funding opportunities for Continuums of Care (CoCs) throughout the U.S, which

continues to be a core source of funding for social welfare services today (Stanhope &

Dunn, 2011). Through SMHAA, service providers can apply for funding through the

Department of Housing and Urban Development (HUD) so long as the funding will meet

specific housing goals determined by HUD.

Among the various approaches to homelessness, the adoption of a Housing First

framework has been the most fruitful for providing long-term solutions to experiences

with homelessness. The Housing First approach was created through the Pathways to

Housing (1982) project in New York. Housing First approaches to homelessness

prioritize getting homeless individuals housed prior to getting individuals 'housing ready'

(Padgett et al., 2015). The alternative method to housing is a 'treatment-first' approach,

which requires sobriety from all substances and uses housing as an end goal to be

achieved after getting through predetermined causes of an individual's housing instability

(Woodhall-Melnik & Dunn, 2016). Housing First approaches to homelessness have

garnered a significant amount of support for reducing rates of homelessness and

providing long-term solutions for formerly homeless individuals (Baxter et al., 2019;

Padgett et al., 2015; Woodhall-Melnik & Dunn, 2016).

Under a Housing First framework are permanent supportive housing (PSH) and

rapid re-housing (RRH) approaches. PSH incorporates long-term permanent housing and

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individualized intensive services. PSH has garnered quite a bit of empirical support in its

success at reducing homelessness and increasing housing stability (for reviews see Aubry

et al., 2020; Rog et al., 2014). Alternatively, RRH provides short-term housing with less

service provision. RRH is typically used for less vulnerable individuals because it does

not prioritize services to the degree that PSH does, instead focusing on bridging

individuals from shelters to housing in a short time frame without the continuation of

services once housed (Cunningham et al., 2015; National Alliance to End Homelessness,

2014; Rodriguez & Eidelman, 2017). While PSH has been shown to produce significantly

higher rates of housing stability for participants (Leff et al., 2009), RRH has still been

shown to have high rates of individuals entering permanent housing without returning to

homelessness (Cunningham et al., 2015; Department of Housing and Urban

Development, 2013). Given the large amount of support for housing first programs, to

receive federal funding from HUD CoCs must adopt a Housing First framework and

provide either PSH or RRH.

Outreach Workers

A core element of social welfare initiatives that address issues of homelessness in

the U.S. are outreach workers. For the purpose of this dissertation, I employ the term

outreach worker to describe groups and individuals that bring specialized services (e.g.,

mental health care, access to housing, substance abuse care) directly to individuals

experiencing homelessness instead of waiting for individuals to seek services (Lee &

Donaldson, 2018; Olivet et al., 2010a). These groups can be employed by the local or

federal government but are often employees of non-profit organizations that may co-

respond with law enforcement but often work individually. This term has been used in similar research looking at social welfare responses to homelessness (see Smith, 2022). In particular, many outreach worker groups have emergency response teams that go directly into the community to provide individuals with and link individuals to services.

Drawing on Lipsky (1980), Smith (2022) applies street-level bureaucracy to the work of outreach workers. Smith used qualitative observation and interviewing to generate a theory that described the processes social service workers engage in when managing bureaucratic obstacles in their goal to get individuals housed. Smith contends that social service workers, just like other front-line workers, spend much of their time making discretionary decisions pertaining to various policies. In their decision-making process, these workers navigate formal rules (e.g., document requirements for housing access) and 'red-tape' in order to get their clients services. When doing their job, outreach workers built strong relationships with their clients and other agencies, negotiated with potential landlords, and found various ways to get around the different bureaucratic policies that generate additional housing barriers for clients. In describing the use of discretion among outreach workers, Smith (2022) wrote:

> "Rather than simply reciting questions as stated on the SPDAT, some workers probed their clients with further questions or made statements that were meant to remind clients of relevant experiences. They also provided a perspective that would result in an increased vulnerability score on the SPDAT. Assertive advocate workers also moved discussion beyond official VI-SPDAT questions to

consider other individual or situational issues for the sake of advocating for their

clients' worthiness for expedited housing in Fast-Track meetings" (p. 144).

The SPDAT is a risk-assessment tool designed by HUD to measure an unhoused

individual's level of need, where higher scores signal a higher need and thus produce

quicker access to HUD-funded housing services. While this generates a standardized way

of getting unhoused individuals into service, this is also a form of bureaucratic red-tape

because it introduces a new barrier to getting individuals access to services. These

sentiments are illustrated by police officers in Indio, CA who find the SPDAT to hinder

their ability to link individuals that are ready for housing to services because they do not

score higher than other individuals that are not ready for housing services (Telep &

Brown, 2022).

To counteract the barriers to housing access SPDAT generated, outreach workers

use their discretion to draw more information out of clients in an effort to get them

housed (Smith, 2022; Smith & Anderson, 2018). Because of this use of discretion in

decision making, Smith (2022) describes social services as 'red-tape warriors.' Red-tape

warriors generate relationships with clients and other service providers and find avenues

to getting individuals housed that surpass the red-tape generated by bureaucratic policies

and practices. In this way, outreach workers and police officers share a similar quality--in

an effort to meet the goals of their immediate situation, outreach workers and the police

discretionarily interpret and apply polices on a case-by-case basis in ways that can alter

the original intent and purpose of a policy. It could be the case that in doing so this leaves

decisions vulnerable to bias outcomes, which is sometimes the case for police decision making.

While several jurisdictions have coupled outreach workers with the police in response to issues of homelessness (for a review see Telep & Brown, 2022), outreach workers largely work independently of other emergency responders. Beyond the general red-tape challenges, outreach workers face several other hindrances when providing outreach. Olivet and colleagues (2010b) conducted a study looking at the challenges faced by 11 programs that received funding through the Collaborative Initiative to Help End Chronic Homelessness (CICH), supported by a number of government entities including HUD. The authors found that the different programs experienced challenges including burnout and consequential staff turnover, low pay, inability to provide necessary supervision and support, and lack of training in employees due to the high turnover of staff. These findings underscore a number of internal challenges that outreach workers and frontline workers face in their job (see also Dreison et al., 2018; Prosser et al., 1999; Starcher & Stolzenberg, 2020).

A number of studies have evaluated homeless outreach programs. A review of literature by Olivet and colleagues (2010a) identified 19 quantitative studies and 6 qualitative studies on homeless outreach and engagement. They assert that outreach is commonly operationalized as a way of linking largely underserved unhoused individuals to services. The weight of the evidence suggests that outreach improves housing and health outcomes, particularly for individuals who are unhoused and experiencing substance abuse or mental health disorders. Contextualizing this in qualitative findings,

outreach work is described as a way of generating a relationship that humanizes

individuals and connects them to services. These outcomes can be magnified by ensuring

outreach teams are strategic in addressing issues such as burn out, and by incorporating

individuals on the team that have shared experiences with the clients they serve. Several

other studies have identified outreach as an effective tool to address issues of

homelessness and link hard-to-reach populations (e.g., the chronically homeless) to

housing and other services.

Coordinated Responses to Homelessness

Several police responses to homelessness have involved coordination and

collaboration between outreach workers and other emergency responders. The body of

literature points to the coordination between the police and several types of outreach

worker groups, including housing assistance, shelter services, and mental health

clinicians. Problem-oriented policing (POP) is an evidence-based approach to social

problems that involves the creation of tailored responses to reoccurring crime problems

and signs of disorder (Hinkle et al., 2020; Lum et al., 2011). While the scholarship on

POP approaches to homelessness is limited to agency reports, the findings provide some

compelling insights. The Colorado Springs Police Department (2010) targeted homeless

encampments by making enforceable policies better suited to reduce encampment size in

addition to teaming with outreach workers. In Colorado and in other locales (see

Clearwater Police Department, 2001; Fort Lauderdale Police Department, 2002; Houston

Police Department, 2017; San Diego Police Department, 1998) the police approached

homelessness through strategic homeless outreach teams that often employed situational

crime prevention (SCP) strategies coupled with access to service providers. SCP rests on the assumption that opportunity makes a thief (Felson & Clarke, 1998). Thus, communities can reduce crime by manipulating space and environment to reduce opportunities for crime (Clarke, 2016). While multiple of these agency reports support the use of POP to reduce crime related to homelessness, they do not identify if and how these new approaches may indirectly contribute to long-term solutions for issues of homelessness or support other city initiatives related to homelessness.

Similar to POP programs, police departments have begun developing partnerships with a variety of community stakeholders (e.g., mental health services, service providers) and other criminal justice practitioners (e.g., parole, probation, and district attorney) to more holistically approach homelessness in their jurisdictions. The Portland Police Bureau, for example, has coupled mental health training for police officers with mental health professionals on patrol (Covelli et al., 2014). All officers within the bureau are trained in Crisis Intervention Training (CIT) and some have volunteered to undergo Enhanced Crisis Intervention Training (ECIT) which was designed by the Behavioral Health Unit Advisory Committee to target the mental health needs of their community. The department has a behavioral health unit that also pairs officers with mental health professionals in response to mental health calls. In an evaluation of ECIT training, Covelli et al. (2014) found that officers felt especially prepared and knowledgeable when responding to mental health calls. Given the overlap between homelessness and mental health, having the appropriate knowledge of mental health is necessary to effectively respond to such calls. Similarly, the Seattle Police Department has partnered with mental

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health professionals as well as housing outreach workers to respond to their homeless population. SPD's approach emphasizes the importance of housing in solving homelessness and their officers are trained to de-escalate situations and use CIT training (Gross Shader & Sumitani, 2018).

The IPD in California has partnered with both outreach workers and criminal justice practitioners to create the Community Outreach Resource Program (CORP). CORP is a multi-agency program where representatives from IPD, local service providers, probation, the Riverside District Attorney, and the Riverside Public Defender's Office have partnered to provide programing and the absolution of fines and fees to individuals experiencing homelessness. Upon approval and successful completion of individualized programming, any fines and fees that have accumulated while in the county are forgiven for homeless individuals admitted to CORP. In addition to CORP, IPD has created a quality-of-life team assigned to calls for service related to homelessness. A report by Telep and Brown (2022) discusses the unique role the quality-of-life team has in Indio. In qualitative information gathered on ride-alongs, the officers described their role as a "mix of oil and water," (p.73) when making discretionary decisions to be punitive (oil) or lenient (water). The officers considered the history of their interactions with an individual and what they felt would lead to more positive outcomes in the short- and long-term for an individual. This underscores how police responses to homelessness contain a high degree of discretion and how, similar to Bittner's (1967) findings, officer decisions are not bound simply by the legal culpability of the individual they are interacting with.

Limitations of Prior Research

Several gaps exist when evaluating the body of literature on policing, outreach workers, and homelessness. First, it is not entirely clear what the role of police officers is when responding to issues of homelessness. The function of the police, already quite broad, becomes even murkier when considering the wide range of tools needed to address issues of homelessness (e.g., housing services, mental health care, substance abuse counseling) and location-specific characteristics of the police (e.g., rate of homelessness, jurisdiction size, anti-homeless ordinances). Failing to have a definition of the function of the police in responses to homelessness leaves officers with little direction on what best practices are for responding to these calls, leaving greater room for bias in discretionary decisions. Further, without a defined role, it can be unclear for community members what they should expect out of the police when they call them for homeless related assistance.

Second, because research looking at police decision making in encounters with individuals who are experiencing homelessness is not extensive, and because the role of policing the homeless is largely undefined, it is unclear how police officers make decisions when they respond to issues of homelessness. It is not entirely clear if homelessness in and of itself is a mechanism that shapes how police officers make decisions. This becomes more complex after multiple studies have shown that police officers report their perceived ideal outcome in an interaction with someone experiencing mental illness is different than what is likely to occur. As Wood and colleagues (2017) explain, officers operate in a "gray zone," in encounters with individuals diagnosed with a mental illness. These officers must grapple with the fact that the interaction may not

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necessitate legal action, but they may have no other tool to draw on, which is not optimal.

Estimates suggest that upwards of 76% of individuals experiencing homelessness in

wealthy countries (i.e., countries deemed high income by the World Bank) have been

reported to present a mental disorder (Gutwinski et al., 2021). Thus, for encounters

between the police and individuals experiencing homelessness, the mechanism that could

impact officer decision making is unclear— is it housing status, mental health status, a

combination of both, or something else entirely? This will be addressed in the results of

Study 1.

Third, there is an entire sphere of agencies responding to issues of homelessness

that have not been explored extensively through a criminal justice lens. While there is a

range of literature describing the nature of decision making among outreach workers who

connect individuals to housing and other services, it is less clear what the culture of

relationships between outreach workers, law enforcement officers, and individuals

experiencing homelessness looks like. This is important because all three of these groups

frequently interact with one another. The research in Study 2 incorporating outreach

worker perspectives highlights the success and pitfalls in these different dynamics, which

have direct policy implications for enhancing coordinated and individual responses to

issues of homelessness.

Lastly, there are multiple calls for police reform as it pertains to responding to

issues of homelessness, but it is not entirely clear what this reform should look like.

Where some groups have called for changes in the police role when responding to

homelessness — which is already undefined to begin with— some groups have called for

the removal of the police entirely for these types of calls. Much of the conversation on calls for reform comes from the voices of researchers and academics rather than police officers themselves and other primary responders that address issues of homelessness. Without the incorporation of these voices in calls for policy change, we fail to understand what the police and other primary responders perceive as realistic for the future of their role in responding to and addressing issues of homelessness.

Current Study

The literature on police responses to individuals experiencing homelessness is limited, providing policymakers and police departments with partial information on how to generate new strategies to target issues of homelessness. There is empirical evidence that suggests police responses to homelessness can be rooted in anti-homeless laws, are highly discretionary, and may involve non-arrest approaches and coordination with local outreach workers to generate more long-term outcomes. Less is known about police responses to homelessness more broadly, why and how police officers make decisions in these interactions, and perceptions of these responses by other groups that respond to issues of homelessness.

Understanding the influence of housing status on police decisions and encounter outcomes is important for multiple reasons. For large cities that have a high number of police-citizen interactions with individuals experiencing homelessness— and for rural areas that have limited social services forcing communities to rely on the police— understanding decision making and outcomes can influence how departments inform

policy and respond to these types of calls. Understanding the implications of housing status on police decision making and encounter outcomes is also important because this information can lend itself to educating communities on the limits of law enforcement in responding to issues of homelessness and what this should mean for anti-homeless laws within their community. To fill the gaps in the literature the first of two studies uses a mixed methods research design to address two research questions: 1) What do police officers perceive their role to be in addressing and responding to issues of homelessness? and 2) Does officer decision-making in police-citizen encounters vary between encounters with citizens who are housed compared to those experiencing homelessness?

This dissertation seeks to further enhance the understanding around responses to issues of homelessness through an ethnographic study of outreach workers. In doing so, two additional questions are posed: 3) How do outreach workers engage with individuals experiencing homelessness in Maricopa County, Arizona? and 4) What characterizes the relationship between outreach workers and law enforcement officers in Maricopa County, Arizona? Answering these questions provides a collection of experiences that can help explain the culture around responses to issues of homelessness in Maricopa County, Arizona, an urban setting with exponential growth in its population experiencing homelessness. In doing so, this study seeks to support the needs of outreach workers in Maricopa County broadly.

CHAPTER 3

METHODS, DATA, AND ANALYTIC STRATEGY

This chapter introduces and explains the methods, data, and analytic strategies employed to test and answer all four research questions of this dissertation. Because research questions one and two draw on the same data set, they are grouped under "Study 1," while "Study 2" encompasses research questions three and four. I begin this chapter by describing the different epistemologies drawn on in qualitative and quantitative research. I then introduce mixed methods research (MMR), which is employed in Study 1, detailing the procedures used to collect, analyze, and interpret the data. I do the same for Study 2, which takes a much different approach compared to Study 1. I conclude this chapter by describing the methods used to ensure the trustworthiness of these data and analyses.

Epistemology

There are several different philosophical or "worldview" perspectives that can be drawn on to frame a study. Epistemology refers to the theoretical perspective an individual adopts to understand the nature of reality (Denzin & Lincoln, 2011). There are a range of different stances, but three of the most common include: postpositivism, constructivism, and pragmatism. These three lenses have developed over time and make assumptions about the objective and subjective reality, which has consequences for how researchers plan, collect, analyze, and interpret research findings.

Adopting a worldview is related to a study's research question because it helps determine the best approaches to answering the question. Postpositivsm has traditionally

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understood that there is a singular reality (Creswell & Planko-Clark, 2022). The consequences of this for research are that we either reject or fail to reject hypotheses, with researchers filling an impartial role that does not bias questions, design, and outcomes. While not explicitly stated in many research articles, this is the position of most quantitative research because the nature of hypothesis testing is deductive and assumes that outcomes represent an objective reality (Creswell & Planko-Clark, 2022). In contrast, constructivism assumes that multiple realities exist and that the relationship between the researcher and research participants is close and subjective. Constructivism is commonly adopted for qualitative research designs because researchers use qualitative data to underscore the different realities of their participants, which is not often intended to be generalizable.

Conducting mixed-methods research (MMR) is difficult to do with strictly a postpositivist or constructivist worldview because MMR involves both hypotheses testing and the presentation of varying views and realities through qualitative data. Previously epistemologists have articulated that individuals have to choose one design or the other. More recently it is understood that "The forced-choice dichotomy between postpositivism and constructivism should be abandoned," (Creswell & Plano-Clark, 2018, p. 39) because the two can be used together if there are different methods incorporated into one study. More commonly, however, mixed methods (MM) studies are created from a pragmatic worldview. Pragmatism assumes that there are both singular and multiple realities, allowing for the incorporation of hypotheses testing and the incorporation of subjective realities through open-ended data (Creswell & Planko-Clark, 2018). Because of this,

there is more flexibility in how researchers collect data, analyze, and interpret data. Ultimately, pragmatism is less rigid in its assumptions of reality, setting an optimal platform to conduct MMR.

Study 1: Mixed Methods Police Survey on Decision Making

Mixed-Methods Design

Study 1 seeks to answer to research questions one and two, "What do police officers perceive their role to be in addressing and responding to issues of homelessness?" and "Does officer decision-making in police-citizen encounters vary between housed and unhoused citizens?" To answer these questions, I draw on a mixed methods (MM) design (Creswell, 2003). MM research bases "knowledge on pragmatic grounds," (Creswell, 2003, pp. 16) and

> "employs strategies of inquiry that involve collecting data either simultaneously or sequentially to best understand research problems… [and] involves gathering both numeric information (e.g., on instruments) as well as text information (e.g., on interviews) so that the final data base represents both quantitative and qualitative information" (Creswell, 2003, pp. 16-18).

Put simply, mixed methods research (MMR) designs assert that to best understand a problem, one should collect and analyze several types of data. Providing both quantitative and qualitative information to answer one research question allows the research to confirm or disconfirm results, providing a broader understanding of research findings. In this spirit, I adopt pragmatism as the worldview of Study 1 in this dissertation.

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MMR has developed over decades into a cornerstone methodology for collecting, analyzing, and interpreting research. Formal MMR can be traced back to the 1950s with Campbell and Fiske (1959) who drew on both quantitative and qualitative data to define psychological traits. While quantitative and qualitative data are often rooted in different methodological philosophies (e.g., positivism, constructivism, and post-positivism), MMR researchers have articulated that different research philosophies can be used together and do not have to be so separate (Denzin & Licoln, 2011), particularly if both are explicitly discussed and applied when appropriate (Tashakkori & Teddlie, 1998). MMR designs have been refined in recent decades and supported as an ideal way of conducting research because "The complexity of our research problems calls for answers beyond simple numbers in a quantitative sense or words in a qualitative sense." (Creswell & Plano-Clark, 2018, p. 23). Alone, quantitative data may not accurately depict the meaning behind numeric findings, while qualitative information alone can lack generalizability. Used together, quantitative and qualitative data sources can comprehensively answer research questions in a way that extends their reach into the field of policy because of the use of multiple data sources while also allowing the voice of participants to guide research findings.

Creswell (2003) discusses four different criteria that have to be considered to conduct an MMR project: implementation, priority, integration, and theoretical perspective. Implementation refers to the phases of data collection— if they are done sequentially (i.e., at different time points and informing one another) or concurrently (i.e., at the same time). Priority and integration refer to which data source, quantitative or

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qualitative, is given more weight and the way in way the results of each source are brought together (e.g., through collection, analyses, interpretation). Lastly, theoretical perspective is in reference to the lens used to structure the research study. These four components are cornerstones of conducting an MMR project, because their incorporation helps guide the collection, analyses, and integration of both quantitative and qualitative data.

Study 1 Data Source

Study 1 seeks to, first, understand how sworn law enforcement personnel perceive their role in addressing and responding to issues of homelessness and, secondly, identify if police-citizen encounter outcomes vary due to the citizen's housing status. To address these study aims, an experimental survey titled "Police Decision-Making Survey," was designed and administered to actively sworn law enforcement personnel in the United States. Recruitment of actively sworn law enforcement personnel began in November of 2022. In total, 21 agencies known by the author and dissertation chair received solicitations for survey participation, including six professional associations with memberships largely comprised of police officers (e.g., American Society of Evidence Based Policing, International Association of Chiefs of Police Research Advisory Committee, and National Institute of Justice LEADS Scholars). Official survey distribution began on December 5th, 2022. Data collection is ongoing but was concluded for this study on January 31st, 2023. In total, 15 different agencies distributed the survey to their sworn personnel and one nationwide training group distributed the survey to a

random selection of over 8,000 law enforcement personnel who received training in the past two years.

The survey was developed using Qualtrics software and approved by Arizona State University's Institutional Review Board. An anonymous link was shared with agencies that agreed to distribute the survey. Some agencies requested an individualized report, and in these cases, received an individualized link to ensure reliability in data analyses for their agency. Prior to beginning the survey participants were presented with a consent document outlining the study, incentive, confidentiality, and who to contact with questions or concerns. Participants were incentivized to participate in the survey with a $10 Amazon gift card funded by the National Science Foundation's Law and Science Dissertation Grant. Individuals who chose to move forward after the consent document were then asked, "Are you currently employed as a sworn law enforcement officer?" Participants who responded "Yes" were moved forward to the survey. The topic of homelessness was not mentioned prior to beginning the survey so that so that the effect of the vignette stimuli on officer responses were not impacted. The session in Qualtrics was concluded for individuals who selected "No." The survey was broken into four sections: 1) Department demographics, 2) Experimental vignettes, 3) Perceptions of homelessness, and 4) Officer demographics. The median length of time participants took to complete the survey was 19 minutes.

Experimental vignettes have frequently been used in criminological and criminal justice literature (Brown et al., 2022; Brown & Reisig, 2019; Flippin, 2022) to evaluate the effect of specific stimuli on outcomes and have specifically been used in police

surveys to assess anticipated officer behaviors and perceptions in encounters with the public (Nix et al., 2019, 2019; Pickett & Nix, 2019). The vignettes in this study featured one hypothetical scenario involving an officer responding to a trespassing call for service. The scenario contained two experimental stimuli (i.e., housing status and the presence of an outreach worker), thus employing a 2 (housing status) x 2 (outreach worker) between-subjects experimental design. The housing status stimulus was embedded in the vignette by identifying the individual the officer contacts as experiencing homelessness (e.g., "You ask if you can see his license and he responds, '*I don't have a license, I lost it in the park. I'm homeless.*'") or as housed (e.g., "'*Sorry I was just walking home from the baseball game downtown*.'"). To create the outreach worker stimulus the same two vignettes with the housing status stimulus were recreated with language describing the presence of an outreach worker at the call for service (e.g., "Your agency recently signed a contract with the local county health department for mutual-aid assistance and y*ou ask dispatch to coordinate with them to have a mental health clinician meet you at the construction zone.*").

Importantly, the development of these vignettes was informed by three sources: 1) There is empirical evidence supporting the overrepresentation of individuals experiencing homelessness among trespassing calls for service (see Diamond et al., 2022; Reinhard, 2023), 2) The author who created them drew on her experience in law enforcement responding to trespassing calls at a public university in Southern California, and 3) The vignettes were reviewed by sworn law enforcement officers and an interdisciplinary

group of scholars prior to launching the survey. See Appendix A for a full description of the vignettes used in this study.

Research Question 1: The Role of the Police in Issues of Homelessness

Sample

Data cleaning efforts revealed 3.41% of participants (n = 41) did not pass a narrative check asking them to identify the type of call for service described in the hypothetical scenario they were randomly assigned. Because these same participants responded to measures for research question one, they were dropped from all data analyses to protect the sample from containing participants who may not have been paying close attention. Recent studies using similar methodology also dropped individuals that failed to pass the narrative check (Brown et al., 2022; Flippin, 2022; Reisig et al., 2018). This results in a final sample size of 1,163 participants for research question one.

In terms of individual-level characteristics, most of the sample is over 30 years of age (89.24%), male, (86.92%), and White (78.78%). Seven (0.66%) participants identified as "non-binary/third gender." Because this is such a low proportion of participants relative to men and women, these individuals were not included in analyses to prevent inaccurate generalizations. Regarding race, 3.14% (n = 33), 1.81% (n = 19), and 3.71% (n = 39) of participants identified as Asian, American Indian/Indigenous, or other, respectfully. These participants were collapsed into one category for "Other." Respondents who identified as Hispanic (8.94%) and Black (3.62%) were kept as individual comparison categories in the race variable.

For officer education, the original responses included "Less than a high school education," "High School Education," "Some College Credits," and an "Associates Degree." These measures were collapsed into one category described as "Less than a bachelor's degree" (37.31%). Of the remaining participants, 46.24% reported a bachelor's degree and 16.45% reported having a graduate degree. In the full sample, 6 (0.56%) participants reported "Other," for level of education. After reviewing open-ended responses to "Other," two of these participants were moved into the bachelor's degree and graduate degree categories and the remaining four were dropped from the sample. When compared to nationwide statistics for local police departments, White officers are overrepresented, whereas women officers match nationwide averages (Bureau of Justice Statistics, 2020). 27.47% (n = 292) of officers reported that they were veterans, and 7.84% (n = 84) reported they had prior experience working on a homeless specialty unit.

Sworn law enforcement officers from 46 of 50 U.S. states participated in the survey, with 44% of responses coming from states categorized as "West" by the U.S. Census Bureau. Because nearly half of the sample comes from one region in the U.S., the state variables were collapsed into a binary variable where the comparison category is all participants from western states according to the U.S. Census and the reference category is all other participants. Most of the sample reported working at a local police department (70.59%) that employed more than 100 sworn officers (66.70%). An entire breakdown of officer and agency demographics is presented in Table 1.

Table 1 Sample Characteristics

	n	Percent
Individual- Level Characteristics		
Age group (n = 1059)		
18-29	114	10.76
30-39	337	31.82
40-49	328	30.97
50 or older	280	26.44
Experience on a Specialty Homeless Unit (n = 1071)		
No	987	92.16
Yes	84	7.84
Level of Education (n = 1064)		
Less than a Bachelor's Degree	397	37.31
Bachelor's Degree	492	46.24
Graduate Degree	175	16.45
Race/Ethnicity Collapsed (n = 1051)		
White	828	78.78
Hispanic	94	8.94
Black	38	3.62
Other: American Indian, Asian, Mixed, etc.	91	8.66
Rank (n = 1065)		
Patrol & Detective	622	58.40
Sergeant	213	20.00
Leadership (Chief, Deputy Chief, Lieutenant, etc.)	155	14.55
Other (Training Officer, School Marshal, Specialty Assignment, etc.)	75	7.04
Time in Law Enforcement (n = 1070)		
Less than 10 Years	365	34.11
11- 20 Years	338	31.59
More than 20 Years	367	34.30
Veteran (n = 1063)		
No	771	72.53
Yes	292	27.47
Officer Gender (n = 1055)		
Man	917	86.92
Woman	138	13.08
Agency-Level Characteristics		
Agency Homeless Policy (n = 1066)		
No	614	57.60
Yes	452	42.40
Agency Size (n = 1156)		
Small: 25 or fewer Officers	169	14.62
Medium: 26-100 Officers	216	18.69
Large: More than 100 Officers	771	66.70
Agency Type (n = 1156)		
Local PD	821	70.59
Sheriff	149	12.81
University PD	72	6.19
Tribal, State, Federal, & Other Depts.	121	10.40
West Region (n = 1133)		
South, Northeast, Midwest	630	55.60
West	503	44.40

Measures

Quantitative Measures

Several statements were posed to participants to capture perceptions of homelessness broadly and the police role in responding to issues of homelessness. All questions were measured on a four-point Likert-scale so that higher scores reflected stronger agreement (1 = Strongly Disagree, 4 = Strongly Agree).

General Perceptions of Homelessness

Seven measures capture participant agreement with general statements related to homelessness and law enforcement (e.g., "Homelessness is a choice," and "Homelessness is a housing issue."). Multiple statements specifically target research question one and how participants perceive their role in responding to and addressing issues of homelessness: "Homelessness is a policing problem," "I want to help get unhoused individuals into appropriate services," "Law enforcement are effective agents in homelessness prevention," "The community does not understand law enforcement's role in responding to issues of homelessness," and "There are too many individuals experiencing homelessness in my jurisdiction for law enforcement to handle alone." Measures such as "Homelessness is a choice," and "Homelessness is a housing issue," enhance the explanatory power of the previous measures by providing breadth to the type of perceptions measured. These measures are also interesting and important to look at on their own because they provide insight into officer perceptions on issues of homelessness, which is a social problem they often respond to but one we have little research on.

Agency-Related Needs

Participants were also asked to share their level of agreement with a range of statements related to agency-related needs in responding to issues of homelessness. Participants were fist asked their level of agreement with measures capturing needs that could allow their agency to more effectively respond to issues of homelessness: "A designated officer or specialty unit for homelessness-related calls," and "Formal policies detailing how officers should respond to issues of homelessness." Respondents were then asked to share their level of agreement with measures capturing knowledge and access to resources (e.g., "More information on resources in my jurisdiction that are available for individuals experiencing homelessness," and "Resources after hours (i.e., 1700-0900)"). All of these measures can be used to inform policy broadly and for individual agencies that responded through an agency-unique survey link. These measures are displayed in Table 2.

Table 2 Descriptive Statistics for Measures Capturing General Police Perceptions and Agency-Related Needs

	Mean	SD	Min	Max	N
General Perceptions (Please select your level of agreement with the following statements.)					
Homelessness is a choice. (*Choice*)	2.595	0.716	1	4	1069
Homelessness is a housing issue. (*Housing issue*)	2.365	0.831	1	4	1075
Homelessness is a policing problem. (*Policing problem*)	2.052	0.814	1	4	1075
I want to help get unhoused individuals into appropriate services. (*Want to help*)	2.999	0.654	1	4	1070
Law enforcement officers are effective agents in homelessness prevention. (*LEO effective agents*)	1.792	0.703	1	4	1075
The community does not understand law enforcement's role in responding to issues of homelessness. (*Community understanding*)	3.394	0.587	1	4	1077
There are too many individuals experiencing homelessness in my jurisdiction for law enforcement to handle alone. (*Too many individuals*)	3.028	0.938	1	4	1074
Agency-Related Needs (To more effectively respond to calls related to homelessness, law enforcement agencies need...)					
A designated officer or specialty unit for homelessness-related calls (*Designated specialty unit*)	2.599	0.894	1	4	1081
Formal policies detailing how officers should respond to issues of homelessness (*Formal policies*)	2.595	0.716	1	4	1069
More information on the resources in my jurisdiction that are available for individuals experiencing homelessness (*More resource info*)	3.006	0.806	1	4	1080
Resources after hours (i.e., 1700-0900) (*Resources after hours*)	3.506	0.679	1	4	1079

Note. () indicates variable name in analyses. Multiple measures were adapted from McNamara et al. (2013)

Social Welfare and Public Health Service Needs

Participants were also asked to share their level of agreement in needing better access to certain agencies to respond to issues of homelessness more effectively. Because law enforcement frequently engages with other first-responders that are also responding to issues of homelessness, these measures provide a more comprehensive understanding

of the need for co-response models to issues of homelessness. Specifically, officers were asked to what extent better access to *local emergency shelters*, *local substance abuse facilities*, *medical care facilities*, and *mental health clinicians* would help them more efficiently respond to calls related to homelessness. These four variables were also measured on a Likert-type scale where higher scores reflect a higher level of agreement (1 = Strongly Disagree, 4 = Strongly Agree). Responses to these four measures were then averaged to create *better access*, an average score for every participant (α = 0.905). Higher scores in this scale indicate stronger agreement with the need for better access to the four social welfare and public health services to more effectively respond to calls related to homelessness. The final scale contains estimates from observations with no missing data across the four measures, consisting of 92.78% of the full sample (n = 1079). The measures and scale are presented in Table 3.

Table 3 Descriptive Statistics for Measures Capturing Social Welfare and Public Health Service Needs

	Mean	SD	Min	Max	N
Social Welfare and Public Health Service Needs (To more effectively respond to calls related to homelessness, law enforcement agencies need...)					
Emergency Shelters	3.254	0.752	1	4	1081
Medical care facilities	3.063	0.812	1	4	1080
Mental health clinicians	3.254	0.764	1	4	1081
Local substance abuse facilities	3.306	0.734	1	4	1080
Average Scale					
Better Access to Social Welfare and Public Health Services* (*Better access*)	3.219	0.676	1	4	1079

Note. () indicates variable name in analyses. An alpha score of 0.905 was estimated using the four ordinal variables prior to creating this average scale.
* Scale is average score for each category across each observation, a total of 1079 cases had no missing data. A total of 84 cases were dropped, 82 of which had no responses to the four questions and 2 of which were missing data for one of the four questions. In total this is a 7.22% reduction in sample size.

Qualitative Measures

Participants were asked to respond to several open-ended questions regarding their role in addressing homelessness and perceptions of issues of homelessness. Two open-ended questions are drawn on in this section. Participants were first asked, "*What do you think are the top three contributors to the problem of homelessness?*" Responses to this question provided participants an opportunity to elaborate on their responses to the close-ended questions through an open-ended response. For instance, in the close-ended questions participants were asked their level of agreement statements identifying homelessness as a choice, policing problem, and housing issue. These close-ended responses limit the officer to all the other "problems," and "issues" that homelessness is related to. Replies were divided into three sub-categories, one for each contributor. The first contributor had a total of 1,058 responses, the second had 1,035 responses, and the third had 999.

The second open-ended question asked participants, "*What do you view as the role of law enforcement in responding to and addressing issues of homelessness?*" This question was included to target research question one directly, providing an opportunity for participants to explain in as much detail as they like what they how they perceive their role in addressing and responding to issues of homelessness. This response garnered a total of 1,061 responses.

Mixed Methods Convergent Design and Analytic Strategy

The purpose of research question one is to identify how police officers perceive their role in responding to and addressing issues of homelessness. To answer research

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question one, this study draws on a fixed MM convergent design. A fixed (i.e., one data source is not used to inform the collection of an additional data source later) convergent design is used when predetermined quantitative and qualitative data are collected simultaneously and used to:

"compare the two results with the intent of obtaining a more complete understanding of a problem, to validate one set of findings with the other, or to determine if participants respond in a similar way if they check quantitative predetermined scales and if they are asked open-ended qualitative questions" (Creswell & Plano-Clark, 2018, p. 65).

Figure 1 presents the procedure flow chart for research question one. Step 1 describes the data source (i.e., the Police Decision-Making Survey) and the different procedures used to collect data. In Step 2 quantitative and qualitative data were cleaned and analyzed separately using inferential and descriptive statistics. In sum, a total of 180 chi-squared tests were estimated to identify how and if participant perceptions were independent of individual- and officer-level characteristics. Two multivariate regressions were predicted to assess how individual- and agency-level variables were related to departmental needs. The open-ended data was imported into ATLAS.ti where reflexive thematic analysis was used to identify high-level themes related to the top contributors to homelessness. Reflexive or reflexivity "involves routinely reflecting on your assumptions, expectations, choices and actions" (Braun, 2022, p. 18) to identify how and if it is implicating the coding and analyses of qualitative analyses. Thematic analyses refers to the coding and analyses of open-ended data to identify patterns and, eventually,

high-level themes incorporating those patterns. Together, I engaged analyzed the open-ended responses with the intent of identifying emergent and high-level themes, while also being mindful of my positionality in creating said themes. These high-level themes for top contributors to homelessness were transformed into quantitative data so that the frequency of the high-level themes for each category are presented and discussed. Thematic analysis was also used to identify emergent themes for the second open-ended question asking officers what they perceive their role to be in responding to and addressing homelessness. These themes were then further examined to create four high-level roles that participants described engaging in when responding to issues of homelessness. Step 2 concludes with individual discussions on the results of the quantitative and qualitative data separately.

Research question one concludes with Steps 3 and 4, the integration and subsequent interpretation of the quantitative and qualitative results, respectfully. To do so the emergent themes in the open-ended responses are used to identify differences and similarities in the quantitative results. A discussion comparing the results and interpreting the meaning of them in terms of the research question ensues. A final discussion and conversation around future research occur in Chapter 7 of this dissertation.

Figure 1
Research Question 1 Procedure Flow Chart – Mixed Methods Convergent Design

<table>
<tr>
<td>Step 1</td>
<td>
Quantitative and Qualitative Data Collection
• What do police officers perceive their role to be in addressing and responding to issues of homelessness?
Procedures
• Survey Recruitment: 11/22-12/22/2022
• Cross-sectional web-based survey distributed to 15 departments across the U.S. and to 8,000 officers linked to one nationwide police training center.
• 11 Close-Ended Likert-Style Questions
• 2 Open-Ended Questions
• IRB Approved: 10/28/2022
• Collection Period: 12/5/2022-01/31/2023
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</table>

<table>
<tr>
<td>Step 2</td>
<td>
Analyze Quantitative Data
• Descriptive and inferential statistics of close-ended responses
Product (N = 1,163)
• Inferential Statistics
• Descriptive Statistics
• 180 Chi-Squared Tests
• 2 Multivariate Regressions
</td>
<td>and</td>
<td>
Analyze Qualitative Data
• Thematic analyses of open-ended responses to identify emergent themes
Product (N = 1,163)
• 12 High-Level themes related to contributors to homelessness (3,464 codes)
• 4 High-Level Roles (1,255 codes)
</td>
</tr>
</table>

<table>
<tr>
<td>Steps 3 and 4</td>
<td>
Integrate and Interpret
• Identify differences and similarities in quantitative results based on the emergent themes in the qualitative data.
• Create a comparison discussion section for the mixed methods report.
• Summarize and interpret separate results, areas of convergence/divergence/relation, how the combined results support a more comprehensive understanding.
• Address plans for future research.
</td>
</tr>
</table>

Note. Figure 1 provides a flow chart presenting the mixed methods convergent design created to answer research question of study one. Design is drawn from Creswell & Plano-Clark (2022).

Research Question 2: Police Decision Making and Issues of Homelessness

Sample

Fifteen participants (0.01%) from the initial launch of the survey did not have a measure indicating which version of the vignette they received. All 15 participants correctly answered the narrative check and were kept in the sample for research question

one. To prevent any impact on estimates in the experimental portion of the survey, these participants were dropped from the sample, reducing the sample size to 1,148 observations for research question two.

Participants were asked two questions to gauge a sense of how realistic the scenario was and if they could imagine it. 95.80% (n = 1095) of participants agreed or strongly agreed that the scenario was realistic. When asked their level of agreement with the statement "I could clearly imagine the call for service," 98.07% (n = 1120) of participants agreed or strongly agreed. The weight of these measures in combination with a low-percentage of participants who failed the narrative check suggests that survey participants were largely paying attention to the survey and it was relatable to their job. This will be explored further in the qualitative section of this chapter.

Measures

Quantitative

Several questions were posed to participants after reading their randomly assigned vignette. Respondents were asked about the likeliness of certain criminal justice sanctions ("*How likely is it that this call will resolve…?*") and about the likeliness of certain behaviors the individual in the randomly assigned vignette may exhibit ("*How likely is it that the man trespassing…?*"). These questions resulted in six variables (*citation*, *arrest*, *informally, recent contact*, *physically aggressive*, and *verbally aggressive*). All six measures were captured on a four-point Likert scale ranging from "Very Unlikely" (coded 1) to "Very Likely" (coded 4). Descriptive statistics suggested that there was little variability in responses, with most participant perceptions split between disagree and

agree, generally falling around the mean. These variables were re-coded into

dichotomous measures for analyses to prevent the lack of variability from impacting

estimates (0 = Unlikely, 1 = Likely). These dichotomous variables were used as

dependent variables. Table 4 provides the overall descriptive statistics for these variables

as well as the descriptive statistics for each version of the vignette.

Table 4 Descriptive Statistics for Measures Capturing Criminal Justice Outcomes and Police Perceptions of Anticipated Behaviors

	Mean	SD	Min	Max	N
How likely is it that this call will resolve…?					
With an arrest (*Arrest*)	0.069	0.253	0	1	1133
With a citation (*Citation*)	0.067	0.250	0	1	1132
Informally (e.g., ask the individual to move on or give a warning; *Informally*)	0.889	0.314	0	1	1138
How likely is it that the man trespassing…?			0	1	
Has had recent contact with law enforcement for a similar issue (*Recent contact*)	0.913	0.282	0	1	1130
Will at some point become physically aggressive (*Physically aggressive*)	0.225	0.418	0	1	1133
Will at some point become verbally aggressive (*Verbally aggressive*)	0.508	0.500	0	1	1131
Measures for each Vignette					
Vignette 1 (Housed)					
Arrest	0.059	0.236	0	1	288
Citation	0.059	0.236	0	1	288
Informally	0.931	0.254	0	1	290
Physically Aggressive	0.463	0.500	0	1	285
Verbally Aggressive	0.955	0.208	0	1	287
Recent Contact	0.161	0.369	0	1	285
Vignette 2 (Homelessness Stimulus)					
Arrest	0.104	0.306	0	1	268
Citation	0.083	0.276	0	1	266
Informally	0.862	0.345	0	1	269
Physically Aggressive	0.431	0.496	0	1	267
Verbally Aggressive	0.869	0.338	0	1	268
Recent Contact	0.230	0.422	0	1	269
Vignette 3 (Housed, Mental Health Clinician Stimulus)					
Arrest	0.058	0.234	0	1	293
Citation	0.048	0.214	0	1	292
Informally	0.890	0.313	0	1	292
Physically Aggressive	0.590	0.493	0	1	293
Verbally Aggressive	0.952	0.214	0	1	291
Recent Contact	0.232	0.423	0	1	293
Vignette 4 (Homelessness and Mental Health Clinician Stimuli)					
Arrest	0.056	0.231	0	1	284
Citation	0.080	0.272	0	1	286
Informally	0.871	0.336	0	1	287
Physically Aggressive	0.542	0.499	0	1	286
Verbally Aggressive	0.873	0.333	0	1	284
Recent Contact	0.276	0.448	0	1	286

Participants were also asked about the likeliness of the encounter resolving through the coordination of specific services ("*How likely is it that this call will resolve…?*"). *Emergency shelter coordination*, *mental health service coordination*, *facilitate transportation*, and *provide transportation* were all measured on a four-point Likert scale (1= Very Unlikely, 4 = Very Likely). These measures were then averaged across each participant to create an average scale *service coordination* (α = 0.644). This scale is measured so that higher scores represent a higher likeliness that the participant feels the randomly assigned vignette will resolve through service coordination. The scale is comprised of 1136 cases, with only 1.05% of data dropped due to missing data. The descriptive statistics of these measures are presented in Table 5.

Table 5 Descriptive Statistics for Experimental Measures Capturing Service Coordination Outcomes

	Mean	SD	Min	Max	N
How likely is it that this call will resolve…?					
By connecting the man to emergency shelter services (*Emergency shelter coordination*)	2.617	0.826	1	4	1040
By connecting the man to mental health services (*Mental health service coordination*)	2.913	0.786	1	4	1142
By facilitating transportation to the man's identified area of living (*Facilitate transportation*)	2.402	0.855	1	4	1143
By personally providing transportation to the man's identified area of living (*Provide transportation*)	2.200	0.885	1	4	1140
Average Scale (4 items)					
Service Coordination*	2.533	0.620	1	4	1136
Service Coordination Scale for each Vignette					
Vignette 1 – Housed	2.535	0.621	1	4	289
Vignette 2 – Homelessness Stimulus	2.436	0.634	1	4	269
Vignette 3 – Housed, Mental Clinician Stimulus	2.610	0.604	1	4	294
Vignette 4 – Homelessness and Mental Health Clinician Stimuli	2.547	0.612	1	4	284

Note. () indicates variable name. An alpha score of 0.644 was estimated using the four ordinal variables prior to creating this average scale. Binary measures are presented in Appendix B.
* Scale is average score for each category across each observation, a total of 1136 cases had no missing data. A total of 12 cases were dropped, 3 of which had 0 responses to the four questions, 2 of which had only 1 response to the four questions, 2 of which had only 2 responses to the four questions, and 5 of which had only 3 responses to the four variables. In total this is a 1.05% reduction in sample size.

Finally, participants were asked to share their level of agreement with a range of statements capturing how the call they responded to in their randomly assigned vignette made them feel about their job. Officers were asked if "These types of calls…" are *real police work*, make them feel *satisfied* with their job, and make their job feel *meaningful*. Separately, participants were asked if they agreed if "*It is my job to respond to these kinds of calls.*" These measures were captured on a four-point Likert scale ranging from "Strongly Disagree" (coded 1) to "Strongly Agree" (coded 4). Participant responses across each variable were combined and averaged to create a scale, *job applicability*

sentiment ($\alpha = 0.769$). Higher scores in this variable represent a more positive sentiment

related to their job after responding to the randomly assigned vignette. The scale is

comprised of 1117 cases. Only 31 cases (2.70%) across the four measures had missing

data and were thus dropped from the overall scale. The descriptive statistics for job

applicability sentiment measures are presented in Table 6.

Table 6 Descriptive Statistics for Measures Capturing Participant Perceptions of Job Applicability
Sentiment

	Mean	SD	Min	Max	N
These types of calls…					
Are real police work (*Real police work*)	2.997	0.683	1	4	1126
Make me feel satisfied with my job (*Satisfied*)	2.641	0.712	1	4	1120
Make my job feel meaningful (*Meaningful*)	2.644	0.705	1	4	1122
Please select your level of agreement with the following statements.					
It is my job to respond to these kinds of calls. (*My job*)	2.644	0.665	1	4	1143
Average Scale (4 items)					
Job Applicability Sentiment*	2.916	0.531	1	4	1117
Job Applicability Sentiment Scale for each Vignette					
Vignette 1 – Housed	2.872	0.493	1.5	4	285
Vignette 2 – Homelessness Stimulus	2.966	0.533	1	4	262
Vignette 3 – Housed, Mental Clinician Stimulus	2.897	0.577	1	4	28
Vignette 4 – Homelessness and Mental Health Clinician Stimuli	2.934	0.516	1.5	4	282

Note. () indicates variable name. An alpha score of 0.769 was estimated using the four ordinal
variables prior to creating this average scale. Binary measures are presented in Appendix D.
* Scale is average score for each category across each observation, a total of 1117 cases had no
missing data. A total of 31 cases were dropped, 4 of which had no responses to the four
questions, 16 of which had only 1 response to the four questions, 6 of which had only 2
responses to the four questions, and 5 of which had only 3 responses to the four. In total this is a
2.70% reduction in sample size.

Qualitative
After reading their randomly assigned vignette participants were asked to explain

how they would respond in this encounter. Specifically, the participants were asked "*If*

you were the officer in the call described, please explain how you would respond to this

call for service." A total of 1099 participants responded to this question with a total of 280, 266, 276, and 277 responses for vignettes one through four, respectively. The responses were divided into four separate documents for analyses, one for each vignette condition, by the dissertation chair. Consistent with the goal of the experimental survey, these responses were then coded without knowledge of which vignette participants received. Several themes emerged from these analyses and are discussed individually and in a section integrating the results of the quantitative and qualitative findings.

Mixed Methods Experimental Design and Analytic Strategy

The purpose of research question two is to identify: 1) If officer decision making varies in police-citizen encounters when the citizen is described as housed compared to when the citizen in the encounter is described as experiencing homelessness and 2) If these decisions are altered when the presence of a mental health clinician is incorporated in the hypothetical scenario. To answer this question, a mixed methods experimental design was implemented. Mixed methods experimental designs incorporate both quantitative and qualitative data to answer the primary research question. Step 1 of answering this research question was identifying how an experiment would be conducted to identify differences in police decision making between citizens who are housed and unhoused. The design is experimental because participants who received the Police Decision Making Survey were randomly assigned one of four vignette conditions embedded in their survey and were then asked to respond to a wide range of close- and open-ended questions. For this study the qualitative and quantitative data are equally important in identifying if police decision-making varies across these four conditions.

Whereas the close-ended measures provide explicit potential outcomes for the police-citizen encounter, the open-ended question provide space for the officer to describe their anticipated response to the call for service that they were randomly assigned. As such, the open- and close-ended data provide insights regarding the overall research question but are also combined to complement one another and enhance the individual results.

Step 2 of answering research question two involved separately analyzing the qualitative and quantitative data from this section of the survey. This portion of the study began by cleaning both the quantitative and qualitative data, and then moved into analyzing both data sets individually. For the quantitative data, a total of 48 chi-square tests, 30 logistic regressions, and 12 ordinary least square regressions were estimated to identify how decision-making varied across vignette conditions. Thematic analysis was used to identify emergent themes in the open-ended responses. To do this, the open-ended responses were imported into ATLAS.ti and analyzed for high-level themes, of which 9 were emerged across 3809 individual codes. Importantly these open-ended responses were analyzed without knowledge of the vignette that the participant received prior to responding. In doing so, themes were able to expand on the close-ended responses while also providing an experimental measure in and of themselves.

The final two steps of this mixed methods experimental design involved integrating and interpreting the results of the quantitative and qualitative data. To do so the subjective themes that emerged among the open-ended responses were used to enhance the explanatory power of the close-ended measures. This is because by integrating the qualitative and quantitative data the researcher can identify where the

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results confirm and disconfirm one another. This allows for more breadth in our

understanding of officer responses to research question two. Answering this research

question concludes with a discussion interpreting the meaning of the individual and

merge results with respect to the research question. A procedure flow chart describing the

steps taken in the mixed methods experimental design is shown in Figure 2.

Figure 2
Research Question 2 Procedure Flow Chart — Mixed Methods Experimental Design

Experimental Survey (Distributed 12/5/22-0/19/2023)

- "Does officer decision making vary: 1) between housed and unhoused individuals and 2) in the presence of a mental health clinician?"
- Cross-sectional web-based survey distributed to 15 departments across the U.S. and to 8,000 officers linked to one nationwide police training center.
- Recruitment: 11/22-12/22/2022
- IRB Approved: 10/28/2022
- Collection: 12/5/2022-01/31/2023

2 Stimuli, 4 Randomly Assigned Vignette Conditions

Homelessness Stimulus

Control Housed (n=290)

Treatment Homeless (n=272)

Mental Health Clinician Stimulus

Treatment Housed & Mental Health Clinician (n=295)

Treatment Homeless & Mental Health Clinician (n=291)

Quantitative and Qualitative Post-Experimental Assessment
- 14 Close-Ended Questions (Dependent Variables)
- 1 Open-Ended Question

Quantitative Analysis
- Chi-Squared Tests
- Logistic Regression
- Ordinary least squares regression

Product (N = 1,148)
- 48 Chi-Squared Tests
- 30 Logistic Regressions
- 12 Ordinary Least Squares Regressions

Qualitative Analysis
- Coding and thematic analysis of open-ended responses to identify emergent themes

Product (N = 1,148)
- 9 High-Level Themes (3,809 codes)
- Identification of themes that vary between experimental and control

Integrate and Interpret
- Enhance the explanatory power of the quantitative findings by providing subjective experiences with the stimuli.
- Enrich the understanding of the different dependent variables presented in the study.
- Provide an opportunity for participants to share subjective descriptions of their anticipated decision-making process in their randomly assigned encounter.

Note. Figure 2 provides a diagram of the mixed methods experimental design adopted from Creswell & Plano-Clark (2022) and Wiart et al. (2016) for research question two of the current study.

Study 2: Ethnographic Observations and Field Interviews

Study 2 draws on ethnographic methods to answer research questions three and four of this dissertation: 3) How do outreach workers engage with individuals experiencing homelessness in Maricopa County, Arizona? and 4) What characterizes the relationship between outreach workers and law enforcement officers in Maricopa County, Arizona? To answer these research questions, I take a constructivist perspective and adopt ethnographic methods to identify cultural meanings among outreach workers in Maricopa County, Arizona. Creswell and Planko-Clark (2022) articulate that constructivist perspectives assume that there are multiple realities and that the research seeks to identify them by engaging in field work with the participants that they are studying. In doing so, this research seeks to "rely as much as possible on the participants' views of the situation," (Creswell & Poth, 2018, p. 24) to create "subjective meanings of their experiences… [which are] varied and multiple, leading the researcher to look for the complexity of views rather than narrow the meanings into a few categories or ideas" (p. 24). Constructivist perspectives encourage broad and open-ended research questions because they allow researchers to interpret and capture a broader understanding of the culture they are studying. Study 2 research questions seek to do just that. They both focus on one specific location, Maricopa County, Arizona, and broadly focus on the outreach worker relationships and engagement with law enforcement and individuals experiencing homelessness in Maricopa County.

In this section I begin by describing ethnographic methodology and explain how these methods are adopted to answer Study 2 research questions. I then describe the

context of where this research takes place and provide a portrait of the outreach worker teams that I conducted research with. From here I describe the research procedures and sample used to conduct this ethnographic study.

Ethnographic Methodology

Ethnographic methodology began in the field of anthropology in the 20th century. Berg (2009) explains that ethnographic methodology has been described using different semantics for decades, with some individuals emphasizing the importance of field work in the natural setting (Zigarmi & Zigarmi, 1980), others highlighting the importance of describing culture from the "native point of view," (Spradley, 1979, p. 3), and some articulating that ethnographies very specifically describe participant observations (Babbie, 2004). Summarizing the core themes of these descriptions, Berg (2009) states:

> "The important point about the concept of ethnography… is that the practice places researchers in the midst of whatever it is they study. From this vantage, researchers can examine various phenomena as perceived by the participants and represent these observations as accounts" (p. 191).

For ethnographic methodology to be appropriate, it is important that the researcher recognize that subjectivity does exist in this research. The observations and accounts presented are subjective to the experiences of the participants studied. Further, the interpretation of these observations to create cultural meaning is subjective to the researcher's perspectives and positionality.

A range of different ethnographic approaches have developed over time. This includes critical and realist ethnography as well as field-specific approaches such as

ethnonursing (see Berg, 2009; Creswell & Poth, 2018). The present study adopts a realist ethnographic approach. Realist ethnographies provide an "objective account of the situation, typically written in the third person point of view and reporting objectively on the information learned from the participants at a site" (Creswell & Poth, 2018, p. 92). As an educated White woman with no experiences as an outreach worker, with homelessness, or as a sworn law enforcement officer, there are certainly ways that my positionality can influence my interpretation and presentation of ethnographic observations. Thus, I do not entirely abandon the idea of researcher objectivity altogether and I do include my first-person observations. However, the goal of this ethnography is to immerse myself in the field to observe outreach workers in their natural world. In doing so, I seek to engage in "subjective soaking" (i.e., the process of immersing myself into the culture I am observing; Ellen, 1984) to create "thick descriptions" (i.e., comprehensive observations that distinguish different actions and the meanings behind them in a culture; Geertz, 1973) of the culture around outreach workers, their relationships with law enforcement, and engagement with individuals experiencing homelessness. This study has no intention to advocate for the dismantling of different types of societal disadvantage as might be seen in critical ethnographies (see Creswell & Poth, 2018), but aims to present the most objective observations as possible, given the limits of my own positionalities.

Research Context & Participants

In 2022 the Arizona Point-in-Time (PIT) count estimated that on any given night in Maricopa County, roughly 9,026 individuals were experiencing homelessness, a 22%

overall increase since 2020 and a 26.22% increase since 2019 before the COVID-19

Pandemic spread worldwide (Maricopa Association of Governments, 2022). Breaking

this down, estimates reveal that the unsheltered community rose 34% since 2020 while

those in shelters increased only 9%. While a rough estimate at best, the PIT count

illustrates that issues of homelessness are a growing concern in Maricopa County,

Arizona.

Issues of homelessness have gained increasing media attention over the course of

the past few years in Maricopa County. Since the beginning of the COVID-19 Pandemic

much of the attention on issues of homelessness in Maricopa County have been given to

"The Zone," a growing encampment in Downtown Phoenix (Dowd, 2022; Saslow, 2023).

In Tempe, individuals have been ushered out of the Salt River Bottom for issues cited as

public safety (Birzer & Caltabiano, 2022). In addition to all of this, the Phoenix Police

Department is under an ongoing investigation from the U.S. Department of Justice for

violating the First Amendment Rights of individuals experiencing homelessness (The

United States Department of Justice, 2021). Ultimately, there is an increased pressure

from the media and community members to address concerns related to the growing

homeless community in Maricopa County, with a particular focus on Phoenix and

surrounding cities. This makes the county an ideal area to answer Study 2 research

questions as community partners grapple with solutions.

To recruit participants for this study I connected with the Action Nexus on

Housing and Homelessness (ANHH) in Watts College of Public Service and Community

Solutions at Arizona State University. ANHH "is a team dedicated to connecting efforts

across siloed systems and agencies in Maricopa County in order to improve service delivery and maximize effectiveness, bringing ASU resources to bear in the pursuit of lasting solutions."[2] Individuals in the Nexus were able to help coordinated connections with three different outreach teams to engage in research with. Conversations were held with all three groups to determine if they could accommodate my request to deo ride-along and research with and for them. Of these three groups, two panned out. To protect confidentiality, I refer the two outreach teams that agreed to participate as Homeless Outreach Team A (HOT-A) and Homeless Outreach Team B (HOT-B).

Outreach Team A and Outreach Team B

I now provide a brief description of the two outreach teams I conducted ride-alongs with. HOT-A is a group of outreach workers that engages with individuals experiencing homelessness and community stakeholders. The goal of HOT-A is to facilitate connections between a concentrated group of unsheltered individuals with services/solutions to help end their experience with homelessness. HOT-A works with a large group of unsheltered individuals concentrated in an eight-block radius that I describe as the Neighborhood. The group provides a range of services, from necessities (e.g., feminine hygiene, clothes, and personal hygiene) to informal case management. HOT-A, works with private security near their main office and coordinates with a homelessness-specific police team when necessary. Over the course of the four months I

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[2] Information on ANHH can be found here https://publicservice.asu.edu/nexus/about-nexus.

worked with HOT-A they had a total of nine outreach workers involved in the project.

HOT-B is a crew of outreach workers in a city adjacent to HOT-A, roughly 15 miles away. HOT-B fills a role highly similar to HOT-A, but responds to issues of homelessness across an entire city. In their role, HOT-B responds directly to calls from the community as well as calls that go to law enforcement and are re-directed to them. HOT-B also works with a homelessness-specific police team in their city. The role of HOT-B is described as providing case management and service connection for individuals experiencing homelessness. Ride-alongs with HOT-B were conducted in January of 2023 and I shadowed four different outreach workers in this time-period.

Ethnographic Observations and Field Interviews

This study draws on ethnographic observations and field interviews to answer the two research questions. To collect these data a total of 16 ride-alongs were conducted, totaling 75.5 hours in the field, between the months of December 2022 and March 2023. 12 of these ride-alongs were conducted with HOT-A (50 hours) and 4 of these ride-alongs were completed with HOT-B (25.5 hours). Prior to engaging in ride-alongs individuals were presented with a consent document approved by Arizona State University's Institutional Review Board. Ride-alongs ranged between 1-8.5 hours. During these ride-alongs I observed interactions between outreach workers and any individuals they encountered. When appropriate I conducted "informal field interviews," with only the outreach workers. In these informal interviews I asked the outreach workers questions about their role, to explain something related to a previous interaction, or

something related to the current shift or the overarching research questions. Follow-up questions were asked when needed.

A variety of approaches were included when observations were conducted. Originally, I intended data collection to be done solely as an observer. As will be discussed later in Chapter 6, there were times when my role became more of a participant because I began helping with certain aspects of outreach. LeCompte & Schensul (2010) note the importance of researcher personality traits in conducting ethnographic research. They articulate that researchers "must be able to participate in the reciprocal and mutual relationships that develop in the ethnographic field site" (p. 47). Put simply, engaging in ethnographic research requires the researcher to build rapport and trust with their participants, which means reciprocating and helping participants just as they are helping answer my core research questions. Elaborating on this, Johnson et al. (2006) describes how the role of the active-participant observer can be advantageous in collecting ethnographic data. In ethnographic research an active-participant observer is a researcher who engages in the work of the participants they are studying. Because of this, Johnson and colleagues (2006) suggest that being an active-participant observer can help facilitate meeting different criteria needed to conduct an ethnography (e.g., information access and information relations). In the case of this study, I remained open to filling an active-participant role when appropriate. When in the field and outside of it, I was always willing to answer questions or do favors for the participants I worked with. While engaging in observations, this often took the shape of me fielding basic questions from

individuals in the Neighborhood or assisting outreach workers with moving, carrying, or handing items out.

To collect field notes I frequently used a digital tablet and digital pencil. This helped keep the notes organized and easy to read, while also increasing the efficacy of writing notes. In terms of process, if the outreach worker and I were seated, I sometimes took notes while we spoke but often I jotted notes down in transitionary moments when there was no room for conversation or nothing directly in front of me to observe. This often occurred when we were walking to new locations or when a dull moment in the shift occurred.

The second part of the ethnography incorporated the collection of informal field interviews. In ethnographic research it is often the case that researchers:

> "accumulate different types of data for use in sorting out patterns and meanings (Gardner, 1983) and build on and formalize everyday logical/linear and informal cognitive skills as well as the intuitive problem-solving, informal problem-solving, and information gathering strategies we use in our everyday lives" (LeCompte & Schensul, 2010, p. 49).

This means that when engaging in ethnographic research, researchers draw on a range of different skills to informally problem solve and work through the different observations they make to construct meaning. In this spirit, informal field interviews can best be described as conversations between myself and the outreach worker related to the research questions and, oftentimes, an observation I made during the ride-along. I did not have a formal interview protocol so these questions often began as a general question

during the shift and became an ongoing conversation around the outreach worker's experiences and perspectives. During informal field interviews it was often the case that the outreach worker I was shadowing asked my perspective on the topic we were discussing, creating rich conversations where we both learned from one another. Because of these dynamic conversations I was able to quickly build a high degree of trust with HOT-A and HOT-B outreach workers.

Analytic Strategy

The sole source of data used for this study are field notes. Ethnographic field notes are seen as "providing the primary means for deeper appreciation of how field researchers come to grasp and interpret the actions and concerns of others." (Emerson et al., 2011, p. 17). Field notes are notes initially taken in the field during ethnographies that are later transformed into detailed and comprehensive descriptions of the observations. In the case of this study the field notes taken during ride-alongs were expanded on and turned into "memos" as soon as possible after the ride-along. In total, 94 single-spaced pages of memos were created and describing the course of each shift and a minimum of 177 observed interactions between outreach workers and individuals experiencing homelessness.

Wolcott (1990) articulates that the three core parts of ethnographic data analyses are description, analysis, and interpretation of the culture-sharing group. In this spirit, I begin by providing a straightforward description of the HOT-A and HOT-B teams to provide insight on the typical day each team experiences. To do so I draw on the ethnographic field notes I wrote describing each ride-along. To analyze the data, I

reviewed field-notes multiple times to identify patterned themes. These themes were then interpreted in an effort to identify what the culture around outreach work, law enforcement, and individuals experiencing homelessness looks like in practice. In doing so, three core patterns were identified to answer research question three, and four core patterns were identified across the data to answer question four. In answering these questions, I lean on the field notes and quotes from outreach workers in the field. While describing these patterns I connect them to the overarching meaning of them for culture within HOT-A and HOT-B.

Ethicality and Trustworthiness

Multiple ethical concerns need to be discussed regarding these studies. The first is regarding research connected to individuals experiencing homelessness. Unhoused individuals are a vulnerable population because they lack access to legal counsel and social capital that can protect them from being taken advantage of. While this study did not directly involve individuals experiencing homelessness, this population was present within each shift. Every effort to anonymize outreach team members and individuals experiencing homelessness has been made. In this dissertation, the names of the organizations I worked with, and their team members, were de-identified. Participants were given the opportunity to select their own alias name for this study. Participants who did not choose one had a name assigned. The location of this ethnographic study takes place within two cities in Maricopa County, Arizona, a county with 27 different towns and cities and 19 census-designated places. By not identifying this further I provide another layer of protection for the team members and agencies I worked with. I have also

de-identified any organizations that were involved in the data collection process which could potentially identify the town/city the data collection process took place in.

A final concern is related to ethicality during data collection and analysis. My positionality as a researcher who has not been homeless but has worked in a police department may situate me to have some biases in the data collection and analyses stages. To encourage trustworthiness, I will engage in reflexivity and triangulation. Reflexivity involves the ongoing reflection of how my own biases and status may influence my interpretation of data, while triangulation involves discussing my coding with other researchers to ensure consistent interpretation (see Lietz et al., 2006). In addition to this, I engage in *memoing* where I write down my experiences while coding, analyzing, and interpreting data. Thus, reflexivity, triangulation, and *memoing* provide the necessary steps to achieve trustworthiness in my results and research practices.

Positionality Statement

Thus far I have tried to incorporate conversation around my positionalities and how they may impact Study 1 and Study 2. I recognize that as a White woman who is highly educated, has worked in police departments but has never been a sworn officer, has never been an outreach worker, and who has never experienced homelessness I hold a high degree of privilege and also exist outside of the participants I am researching. The intersectionality of these different positions have the potential of influencing the way I collect, analyze, and interpret this data. In an effort to remain aware of these positionalities I have created memos in the process, but I have also engaged the practice of reflexivity, where I reflect on my social location and how it is impacting my

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interpretation of different experiences throughout this process. I also engaged in this reflexivity while taking field notes, jotting down my feelings towards and perceptions of the different observations I made and conversations I engaged in.

CHAPTER 4

RESEARCH QUESTION 1: POLICE PERCEPTIONS OF THEIR ROLE IN

ADDRESSING HOMELESSNESS

Section 1: Quantitative Results

Frequency Distributions

Table 7 presents the frequency distributions of the individual- and agency- level

measures for research question 1. In terms of variability, there are a couple patterns to

discuss. Multiple questions were nearly evenly divided in terms of level of agreement.

For instance, participants were marginally more likely to agree or strongly agree that

homelessness is a choice (56.78%) and that *a designated officer or specialty unit for*

homelessness-related calls (65.13%) and *formal policies detailing how officers should*

respond to issues of homelessness (54.67%) would make them more effective agents in

responding to issues of homelessness. Alternatively, participants were a bit more likely to

disagree or strongly disagree that homelessness is a *housing issue* (54.79%) or a *policing*

problem (70.51%).

A few themes can be drawn from these distributions. Most participants would

agree that policies detailing how to respond to issues of homelessness would make them

more effective at responding to these types of calls and participants were more likely to

agree that a designated officer or specialty unit for homelessness-related calls would

make them more effective. This suggests that in terms of departmental intervention,

police officers may be accepting of departmental intervention in how they respond to

issues of homelessness to some degree. Participants were more likely to disagree with the

statements that homelessness is a policing problem and that it is a housing issue. This begs the question, what type of problem or issue is homelessness? If homelessness as a social issue does not fall under the purview of housing or policing, this suggests that law enforcement may perceive the issue as more nuanced and to fall under a wider range of categories. Moreover, officers were more likely than not to agree that homelessness is a choice, suggesting that issues of homelessness are the result of an individual's own agency. This will be revisited in the qualitative section of this dissertation.

There are several measures that lack much variability at all. For instance, 95.26% of participants agreed or strongly agreed that *the community does not understand law enforcement's role in responding to issues of homelessness* and 93.33% of participants agreed or strongly agreed that access to *resources after hours* would make them more effective at responding to issues of homelessness. Most participants disagreed or strongly disagreed that *law enforcement officers are effective agents in homelessness prevention* (86.51%). Despite most participants disagreeing that homelessness is a policing problem, 83.38% of participants agreed or strongly agreed that *I want to help unhoused individuals get into appropriate services*. Thus, while participants may not identify homelessness as a policing problem, it does not deter them wanting to help these individuals access appropriate services in their role.

Participants shared similar levels of agreement on a few questions. Much of the sample agreed or strongly agreed that *there are too many individuals experiencing homelessness in my jurisdiction for law enforcement to handle alone* (72.35%) and that *information on the resources in my jurisdiction that are available for individuals*

experiencing homelessness (76.39%) would make them more effective at responding to these types of calls. In terms of specific resources, most participants agreed or strongly agreed that to respond to issues of homelessness more effectively, they needed better access to *local emergency shelters* (86.03%), *local substance abuse shelters* (88.70%), *medical care facilities* (77.04%), *and mental health clinicians* (86.04%). Altogether, participant responses to these questions suggest issues of homelessness are outside of the scope of a policing problem, too big of an issue for them to handle alone, and that homelessness is not something that law enforcement is strong at preventing. Yet, most officers express that they want to help unhoused individuals get into appropriate services and that this could be better facilitated by getting them better access to services "after hours" (i.e., 1700-0900).

Table 7 Frequency Distributions for Research Question 1 Measures

		Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Agree	Strongly Agree
General Perceptions					
Homelessness is a choice.					
	n	58	404	520	87
	Percent	5.43	37.79	48.64	8.14
Homelessness is a housing issue.					
	n	170	419	410	76
	Percent	15.81	38.98	38.14	7.07
Homelessness is a policing problem.					
	n	295	463	283	34
	Percent	27.44	43.07	26.33	3.16
I want to help get unhoused individuals into appropriate services.					
	n	28	145	697	200
	Percent	2.62	13.55	65.14	18.69
Law enforcement officers are effective agents in homelessness prevention.					
	n	385	545	129	16
	Percent	35.81	50.7	12	1.49
The community does not understand law enforcement's role in responding to issues of homelessness.					
	n	3	48	548	478
	Percent	0.28	4.46	50.88	44.38
There are too many individuals experiencing law enforcement in my jurisdiction for law enforcement to handle alone.					
	n	80	217	370	407
	Percent	7.45	20.2	34.45	37.9
Increase Response Efficacy					
A designated officer or specialty unit for homelessness-related calls.					
	n	102	275	401	303
	Percent	9.44	25.44	37.1	28.03
Formal policies detailing how officers should respond to issues of homelessness.					
	n	123	367	412	179
	Percent	11.38	33.95	38.11	16.56
More information on the resources in my jurisdiction that are available for individuals experiencing homelessness.					
	n	46	209	517	308
	Percent	4.26	19.35	47.87	28.52
Resources after hours (i.e., 1700-0900)					
	n	21	51	368	639
	Percent	1.95	4.73	34.11	59.22
Emergency shelters					
	n	26	125	478	452
	Percent	2.41	11.56	44.22	41.81

Table 7 Continued from previous page.

		Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Agree	Strongly Agree
Increase Response Efficacy					
Medical care facilities					
	n	38	210	478	354
	Percent	3.52	19.44	44.26	32.78
Mental health clinicians					
	n	31	120	473	457
	Percent	2.87	11.1	43.76	42.28
Substance abuse facilities					
	n	27	95	478	480
	Percent	2.5	8.8	44.26	44.44

Chi-Squared Tests

Individual-Level Characteristics

Chi-squared tests were estimated for research question one measures to identify if variability across each measure is independent of individual- and agency-level characteristics. Several themes emerged from these estimates. Among individual-level characteristics, chi-squared tests between measures and officer race were most frequently significant; 80% of the estimated chi-squared were significant for age group and race, respectively. For race, it was sometimes the case that Black and Hispanic participants had similar perceptions of the dependent variables when compared to White participants. The chi-squared test between race and *homelessness is a choice* (42.35, $p < 0.001$) produced the largest estimate in Table 8, with a higher proportion of Hispanic and Black participants disagreeing with the question. There were only three measures that were independent of race— *policing problem, want to help,* and *law enforcement officers are effective agents* in homelessness prevention.

Second to race, chi-squared test between outcome variables and age were significant 46.67% of the time. For age, it is a bit more difficult to see patterns in the estimates, but the frequency distributions suggested that participants in 40-49 age range

seemed to differ across categories when compared to younger age groups. Experience on a specialty homeless unit and identifying as a veteran were the least likely to result in a significant chi-squared test, with only 6.67% and 0% of tests significant for these two characteristics specifically.

Chi-squared estimates for age group and rank more frequently produced a significant test with respect to service access needs. All measures related to service access needs (i.e., *local emergency shelters*, *local substance abuse facilities*, *medical care facilities*, and *mental health clinicians*) varied by age group and rank, as did agreement with the sentiment that to more effectively respond to calls related to homelessness, law enforcement agencies need better access to *resources after hours (1700-0900)*. When looking at the frequency distributions of these measures across age groups, the significant estimates seem to be driven by a greater percentage of individuals in the 18-29 age bracket and officers in leadership roles who agree or strongly agree that better access to these facilities would be beneficial. Additional measures that vary by age group include homelessness is a *housing issue* and that *formal policies* detailing officers' responses to homelessness would make them more effective at responding to issues of homelessness.

The weight of the evidence suggests that, for the most part, only a handful of individual-level characteristics consistently impact perceptions related to issues of homelessness, with race and age having the most frequent impact, followed not too closely by education and rank. Veteran status, identifying as a woman officer, and experience on a specialty homelessness unit produced the fewest number of significant estimates. Table 8 presents the significant estimates between dependent variables and

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individual-level variables, and tables with all of the estimates can be found in Appendix

B.

Table 8 Chi-Squared Tests Summary of Individual-Level Results

	Age Group	Edu.	Race	Rank	Spec. HL Unit	Tenure	Woman Officer
General Perceptions							
Choice		14.91*	42.35***				
Housing Issue	29.96***		24.90***			12.97*	
Policing Problem							14.78***
Want to Help					11.52**		
LEO Effective Agents							
Community Understanding		12.84*	23.51**				14.88***
Too Many Individuals			29.78***	28.66***		15.48**	
Increase Response Efficacy							
Experience on a Specialty Homeless Unit			34.42***				
Formal Policies	22.37**	19.63***	31.23***				
More Resource Information		12.65*	25.85***				
Resources After Hours	33.71***		38.25***			12.55*	
Service Access Needs							
Local Emergency Shelters	22.04**		33.34***	17.17*			
Local Substance Abuse Facilities	20.68**	27.76*	20.69**	23.56**			
Medical Care Facilities	22.65**		24.87***	24.77***			
Mental Health Clinicians	28.71***		18.19*	26.24***		12.60*	
Total Significant Measures	7	5	12	5	1	4	2
Significance Frequency	46.67%	33.33%	80.00%	33.33%	6.67%	26.67%	13.33%

Note. This table presents all the significant estimates across the 120 chi-squared tests estimated between the dependent variables and individual-level characteristics. The individual-level variable *veteran* was not included because there were no statistically significant estimates.

 *** $p<0.001$, ** $p<0.01$, * $p<0.05$

Agency Level Characteristics

Agency-level characteristics produced a higher frequency of significant chi-squared tests overall than individual-level characteristics. Perceiving their agency to have a formal homeless policy, agency size, agency type, and working in the West region of the US produced significant chi-squared tests 53.33%, 53.33%, 46.67%, and 73.33% of the time, respectively.

For region specifically, 73.33% of research question one measures varied between individuals in the West region compared to others. A greater proportion of participants in the West agreed or strongly agreed that *homelessness is a choice* and that there are *too many individuals* experiencing homelessness in my jurisdiction to for law enforcement to handle alone. The largest chi-squared test estimate in Table 9 for region was between the variables *West Region* and *too many individuals* (102.23, p <0.001). This helps contextualize the finding that more participants in the West disagree or strongly disagree that better access to certain services would make them more effective in homelessness-related calls. Perhaps the degree of the problem has increased exposure to individuals experiencing homelessness who do not request or accept services, resulting in a larger percentage of officers in the West that would not agree that better access to services would help them. Alternatively, the West may be more politically and economically situated to invest in social welfare services, creating fewer gaps for officers in this realm of their job.

Measures for agency homeless policy, agency size, and agency type also produced a wide range of significant chi-squared estimates. Participants who perceived

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their agency to have a formal policy on homelessness reported significant differences in their agreement with the sentiment that there are too many individuals in their jurisdiction for law enforcement to handle alone. These individuals also reported differences related to all service access needs except mental health clinician, and experience on a specialty homelessness unit and resource information needs. For agency size, all chi-squared estimates related to service needs were significant. Very clearly in the frequency estimates there were more participants in larger agencies that strongly disagreed and disagreed that their agency needed better access to local emergency shelters, substance abuse facilities, medical facilities, and mental health clinicians. Small and medium agencies had similar frequency distributions, with more individuals agreeing and strongly agreeing that they need better access to these types of services to respond to issues of homelessness more effectively.

The largest estimate in Table 9 is for agency size and the measure for too many individuals ($x^2 = 134.43$, $p < 0.001$). Participants employed in larger agencies more frequently reported that they agree with this measure. So, while larger agencies have articulated there are too many individuals for them to handle alone, the estimates also show that they are less prone to agreeing access to more services would make them more effective agents in homelessness prevention. This suggests that in big cities issues of homelessness may be a large concern for law enforcement, but increasing access to services might not be the change needed for them to respond to these issues more effectively. Finally, agency type produced significant chi-squared estimates across almost half of the measures. Similar to the other agency-level measures, agency type had a large

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effect on the measure too many individuals which appeared to be caused by a high degree of variation in responses for each type of agency. Agreement that better access to medical care facilities and more resource information would make officers more effective in responding to homelessness varied by agency type, with participants employed at local police departments more frequently agreeing or strongly agreeing with these two sentiments. A summary of the chi-squared test results for agency-level characteristics and research question one measures is presented in Table 9 (for full results see Appendix B).

Table 9 Chi-Squared Tests Summary of Agency-Level Results

	Agency Homeless Policy	Agency Size	Agency Type	West Region
General Perceptions				
Choice			24.88***	21.27***
Housing Issue	14.81***		18.34*	23.01***
Policing Problem	7.65*	12.81*		17.36***
Want to Help				
LEO Effective Agents				
Community Understanding				11.04**
Too Many Individuals	68.34***	134.43***	53.43***	102.23***
Increase Response Efficacy				
Experience on a Specialty Homeless Unit	11.38**	15.32*		
Formal Policies			21.93**	20.39***
More Resource Information	30.51***	25.11***	27.55***	29.60***
Resources After Hours				
Service Access Needs				
Local Emergency Shelters	30.06***	35.66***	27.53***	18.62***
Local Substance Abuse Facilities	21.56***	18.90***		9.97*
Medical Care Facilities	20.27***	30.10***	28.11***	25.14***
Mental Health Clinicians		23.43***		13.35***
Total Significant Measures	8	8	7	11
Significance Frequency	53.33%	53.33%	46.67%	73.33%

Note. This table presents all the significant estimates for across the 60 chi-squared tests estimated between the dependent variables and agency-level characteristics.
*** $p<0.001$, ** $p<0.01$, * $p<0.05$

Multivariate Regression Models

Table 10 displays estimates from two ordinary least square regression models.

Model A presents estimates of individual-level characteristics predicting *better access*.

When compared to individuals aged 18-29, participants 40-49 years of age are

significantly less likely ($b = -0.197$, $p \leq 0.05$) to agree that better access to social welfare

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and public health services would help them to more effectively respond to calls related to homelessness. Among different ranks, individuals in leadership roles ($b = 0.257$, $p \leq 0.001$) and who marked other (i.e., Training Officer, School Marshal, Specialty Assignment; $b = 0.192$, $p \leq 0.01$) are significantly more likely than patrol officers to agree that better access to social welfare and public health services would help them to more effectively respond to calls related to homelessness. Many of the participants who marked "other" as their rank worked in unique positions such as training officer and school marshals. It would make sense that these groups may be more prone to identifying a need for access to social welfare and public health services as they are siloed from other services and agencies in their positions. While significant, Model A has an *F* statistic of 2.92 ($p \leq 0.001$) and an R-squared of 0.040, suggesting that there is room for improvement in this model. Consistent with the chi-squared estimates, age and rank are significant measures in identifying differences in perceptions of service access needs.

Model B presents the estimates of both individual- and agency-level predictors on the *better access* scale. The effects of age and rank are consistent in this model. Participants 40-49 years of age still had significantly lower better access scores on average, suggesting that access to local emergency shelter, substance abuse facilities, medical care facilities, and mental health clinicians would not make them more effective at responding to issues of homelessness ($b = -0.217$, $p \leq 0.01$). Officers in leadership roles had higher scores, on average, suggesting they are more likely to agree that that better access to social welfare and public health services would help them to more effectively respond to calls related to homelessness ($b = 0.207$, $p \leq 0.01$). Among

agency-level variables, officers who perceived their department to have a formal policy on homelessness were significantly less likely ($b = -0.114$, $p \leq 0.05$) to agree that better access to social welfare and public health services would help them to more effectively respond to calls related to homelessness. These findings may suggest one of two things. As individuals climb the ranks of their department, they may be more prone to identifying gaps in access to services that would be beneficial in responding to issues of homelessness. Alternatively, officers with higher ranks may be less in touch with what is occurring related to homelessness at the patrol level. Thus, they may be more prone to thinking better access to social welfare and public services would make their officers more effective agents in homelessness prevention because they do not have an objective reality of what accesses are available at the patrol level. Officers who perceived their agency to have formal policies related to homelessness reported lower scores. This could indicate that these departments already have standing partnerships with these types of services. Alternatively, it could suggest that departments with formal policies may impact officer-level decision making that deters them from wanting more access to these services. This opens a new direction for future research on this topic.

Table 10 Ordinary Least Square Models Estimating the Effect of Individual- and Agency-Level Characteristics on Better Access Scale

	Model A (n = 1030) Better Access	Model B (n = 952) Better Access
Individual-Level Characteristics		
Age Group		
30-39	-0.068	-0.079
	(0.070)	(0.071)
40-49	-0.197*	-0.217*
	(0.092)	(0.094)
50 or older	-0.007	-0.011
	(0.102)	(0.104)
Education Collapsed		
	-0.002	0.026
	(0.029)	(0.031)
Experience on a Specialty Homeless Unit		
	0.051	0.111
	(0.075)	(0.077)
Race/Ethnicity		
Hispanic	-0.001	-0.007
	(0.066)	(0.067)
Black	0.186	0.176
	(0.100)	(0.100)
Other	-0.074	-0.029
	(0.091)	(0.092)
Rank		
Sergeant	0.097	0.082
	(0.058)	(0.059)
Leadership	0.257***	0.207***
	(0.062)	(0.065)
Other	0.192*	0.129
	(0.079)	(0.081)
Tenure/Length of Time in Service		
11-20 Years	0.019	0.027
	(0.068)	(0.071)
More than 20 Years	0.004	0.034
	(0.089)	(0.091)
Veteran		
	0.010	0.028
	(0.050)	(0.050)
Woman Officer		
	0.072	0.091
	(0.058)	(0.059)
Agency-Level Characteristics		
Formal Homeless Policy		-0.114*
		(0.048)
Agency Type		
Sheriff		0.016
		(0.060)
University PD		-0.100
		(0.091)
Tribal, State, Federal, & Other Depts.		-0.068

Table 10 Continued from previous page.

	Model A (n = 1030) Better Access	Model B (n = 952) Better Access
		(0.064)
Agency Size		
Medium: 26-100 Officers		0.027
		(0.063)
Large: More than 100 Officers		-0.116
		(0.060)
West Region		
		-0.053
		(0.047)
R-squared	0.039	0.063
F	2.92***	2.88***

Note. Robust standard errors are in parentheses.
 *** $p<0.001$, ** $p<0.01$, * $p<0.05$

Section 2: Qualitative Results

Police Perceptions on Contributors to Homelessness

To garner a general sense of how participants viewed causes of homelessness, respondents were asked to respond to the question "What do you think are the top three contributors to the problem of homelessness?" A wide range of themes emerged among participant responses to the question. For this research question the most relevant themes are what participants identified as top contributors to issues of homelessness. Overall, participants identified substance abuse issues, mental health issues, and individual-level issues as the top three contributors to the problem of homelessness. Additional themes include economic and resource-related contributors.

Substance abuse themes were most frequently identified (n = 1010) as the top contributor to problems of homelessness generally and were also the most frequently discussed in terms of first and second contributors. Among the discussion around substance abuse, 913 participants discussed "Drugs/Substance Abuse," broadly, which

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included terms such as "Narcotics," "Opioids," and "Drug Addiction." Closely related, and often paired with "Addiction," was "Alcoholism" or "Alcohol Addiction," which garnered 239 responses. While officers also viewed the "Legalization/Decriminalization" and "Lack of Substance Abuse Treatment Facilities," as contributors, these were less notable. From these responses it can be gleaned that many police officers identify drug use as a fundamental contributor to the problem of homelessness.

Multiple themes emerged related to mental health and its contribution to homelessness. Respondents attributed mental health related themes as a top contributor to homelessness 809 times, with it being the second most discussed theme overall. In particular, "Mental Illness/Health/Disorder" was mentioned 756 times alone and was the most frequently discussed contributor after substance abuse for the first and second categories. Among responses to the third contributor to homelessness, "Mental Illness/Health/Disorder" was the most frequently discussed theme. Additional themes related to mental health were the "Lack of Mental Health Care Facilities and Deinstitutionalization," and "Undiagnosed/Untreated Mental Illness/Health/Disorder," although these were discussed at a much lower frequency.

Both substance abuse and mental health issues are discussed as top contributors to problems of homelessness. Because both categories are mentioned so frequently it suggests they may be mentioned together. Indeed, a simple glance through the open-ended responses shows many of the participants naming substance or mental health first, followed by the other in the second category. This leaves direction for future analyses with this data, which could help to inform the types of services officers need access to

most.

Despite several other important themes, individual-level contributors to the problem of homelessness were discussed 446 times in total, making it the third most frequently discussed contributor overall. The comprehensive list of individual-level contributors is large, but ultimately the category "Choice and Lifestyle Preference" was the fifth and fourth most frequently discussed themes for the first and third contributors to homelessness, respectively. Among lifestyle contributors, "Lack of Familial Support," "Lack of Education," and "Bad Decisions" were commonly discussed themes.

Several other important observations can be gleaned from this data. When looking at contributors related to the criminal justice system, "Criminal Record" is the most frequently discussed contributor, but even then, it comprises only about 1% of all topics discussed. Despite the high degree of contact between law enforcement and individuals experiencing homelessness, criminal record and related issues are not noted as top contributors to the problem of homelessness. However, "Economic and Financial Hardship," and "Unemployment and Job Availability," frequently that, highlighting the perceived relevancy of economic contributors in advancing the problem of homelessness. Lastly, a notable theme among the top contributors was the discussion around a "Lack of Something," (288). Whether it was motivation or social welfare services, participants frequently discussed how a lack in certain things contributed to the problem of homelessness. Across the entire list of themes, it can also be noted that many of these contributors to homelessness exist a bit beyond the scope of police duties. For instance, experiences with "Trauma," "Poor Child Rearing and Foster Care Involvement," and

"Mental Illness/Health/Disorder" are not necessarily in the range of duties officers are

generally trained to deal with. This is reflected in some of the core themes discussed in

the following section. Table 11 presents the full list of themes capturing officer

perceptions on contributors to the problem of homelessness.

Table 11 Transformed Open-Ended Response Codes to "What do you think are the top three contributors to the problem of homelessness?"

	1st	2nd	3rd	Overall
Substance Abuse (Drugs & Alcohol) Contributors				**1167**
Drugs/Substance Abuse Issue	427	376	110	913
Alcoholism	98	93	48	239
Legalization & Decriminalization of Drugs	6	2	4	12
Lack of Substance Abuse Treatment Facilities	3	4	3	10
Drug Addiction Causing Mental Health Concerns	1	1	0	2
Drugs - No Insurance	1	0	0	1
Mental Health Related Contributors				**838**
Mental Illness/Health/Disorder	350	287	119	756
Lack of Mental Health Care Facilities & Deinstitutionalization	24	21	17	62
Undiagnosed/Untreated Mental Illness/Health/Disorder	7	5	2	14
Behavioral Disorders	0	2	1	3
Mental Health Leading to Drug Use	1	1	0	2
Mental Health - No Insurance	0	1	0	1
Individual-Level Contributors				**443**
Choice and Lifestyle Preference	25	22	87	134
Lack of Familial Support	10	21	37	68
Trauma	3	12	20	35
Lack of Education	5	15	13	33
Bad Decisions	5	10	16	31
Lack of Support Broadly	2	8	14	24
Do Not Want Help	5	5	11	21
Poor Child Rearing and Foster Care Involvement	1	6	13	20
Bad Luck and Hard Times	0	2	17	19
Work Ethic & Responsibility	4	3	8	15
Situational/Circumstantial	1	0	10	11
Divorce	0	3	5	8
Opportunity and Lack of Alternatives	1	2	5	8
Veteran Related	2	0	2	4
Individual Geographic Movement	1	0	2	3
Immigration/Refugee Status	0	1	1	2
Lack of Purpose	0	1	1	2
Lack of Self Worth	0	0	2	2
On the Run	0	1	1	2
Do Not Want to Work	0	0	1	1
Economic Contributors				**331**
Economic and Financial Hardship	43	55	102	200
Unemployment and Job Availability	13	32	41	86
Poverty and SES	10	14	21	45
Resource Related Contributors				**174**
Lack of Social Welfare Services	18	28	55	101
Access & Barrier Issues	4	13	14	31
Resource Dependency	7	2	8	17
Lack of After Care & Wrap-Around Services	1	1	4	6
Lack of Long-Term Solutions/Care	2	1	3	6
Lack of Funding	1	0	4	5
Lack of Resources after Hours	2	0	1	3
Resource Concentration	1	0	2	3

Table 11 Continued from previous page.

	1st	2nd	3rd	Overall
Lack of Response Coordination	0	0	1	1
Lack of Transportation	1	0	0	1
Government & Policy Contributors				**121**
Government	18	16	30	64
Public Policy and Laws	9	15	7	31
Handouts	6	4	10	20
Democrats	2	1	3	6
Housing Related Contributors				**103**
Housing and Lack of Affordable Housing	12	19	51	82
Lack of Shelters	4	4	8	16
Lack of Supportive Housing	0	1	4	5
Enabling and Accountability Contributors				**91**
Lack of Internal & External Accountability Mechanisms	12	15	30	57
Enabled	5	13	16	34
Emotional/Attitudinal Contributors				**68**
Laziness	7	12	28	47
Hopelessness	1	0	6	7
Apathy	0	3	3	6
Scared	0	0	3	3
Attitude	1	0	0	1
Belonging	0	0	1	1
Delusional	1	0	0	1
Stubborn	0	0	1	1
Vulnerability	0	0	1	1
CJS Related Contributors				**61**
Criminal Record/Behavior	5	10	29	44
Lack of Court Ordered Care Facilities	2	1	2	5
Overreliance on CJS	1	0	3	4
Reentry Failure	1	0	2	3
Homeless-Crime Nexus	0	0	2	2
Officer Related	0	1	1	2
Broken Windows Theory	0	0	1	1
Community and Society Contributors				**38**
Society and Community	5	4	13	22
Stigma	1	0	4	5
Community Rejection/Exclusion	0	1	3	4
Lack of Empathy	1	2	1	4
Culture	0	2	0	2
Lack of Volunteers	0	1	0	1
Medically Related Contributors				**22**
Disabilities	1	4	6	11
Physical Issue	2	1	4	7
Sick	0	0	1	1
Totals	1183	1181	1100	**3464**

The Police Role in Responding to and Addressing Homelessness

Participants reported several interpretations of their role when asked "*What do you view as the role of law enforcement in responding to and addressing issues of homelessness?*" These roles are not mutually exclusive (i.e., participants discussed ways they fill multiple of them simultaneously) and often officers report balancing them all based on the call for service. A number of participants described their role as "complex" and reported the different things an officer must think about when responding to and addressing issues of homelessness. This is illustrated in one individual's response below:

> "For this specific question, we are called because there is no one else more apt for the cause. We serve almost no law enforcement purpose in these calls since homelessness/panhandling are constitutionally protected activities and not in and of themselves violations of law. Private businesses can set whatever restrictions they want, and often jump to trespass or ban and bar requests in these circumstances. I do not simply act as an enforcer for businesses though, and solving the 'problem' with the lowest level of government intrusion while also looking out for best interest of the homeless person is my goal."

In this quote, an officer describes how their response to calls for homelessness are driven by a lack of other entities in their area that can be directed to the call. The officer describes how they consider laws, the needs/desires of the community, and the interests of the individual experiencing homelessness when responding to these types of scenarios.

This is further demonstrated by several participants who articulated "it depends" on the situation, what role they fill. For instance, service provision depends on the

services made available in the jurisdiction an officer works. One participant alluded to this by stating they view their role as "Offering resources where the city has shelled out millions for." Contrary to this, a participant with less available resources in their jurisdiction noted:

> "I personally don't like responding to calls about homeless individuals. In the county where I work and city in particular we do not have a lot of options available to provide. Normally we tell them to move along since we can't do anything else. I don't think law enforcement should be responsible for addressing homelessness and it places us in sometimes very difficult positions where we want to help but we can't. If homelessness is the only issue and doesn't include crimes it should be handled by people better trained and suited to deal with it."

The reality for officers in this sample is that the role of law enforcement shifts situationally, from person to person, and from place to place.

One participant said that "The modern police officer is a law enforcement officer, social worker, friend, confidant, protector, teacher, caretaker, warrior, and all these things that we are expected to accomplish." The role of law enforcement at large spans a broader scope than traditional definitions of law enforcement, and it is no different in the case of responding to issues of homelessness. This theme is consistent in these data and is illustrated in the previous conversation around top contributors to homelessness. For some individuals in the sample acting in non-traditional roles, like that of a social worker, has become an aspect of the job participants have accepted, whereas others reject any role beyond that of law enforcement.

Yet, there are central themes related to their role in addressing issues of homelessness that participants described. Depending on the situation, officers in this sample commonly drew on one to four different roles: *The Criminal Law Enforcer as a Means of Public Safety* (n = 408)*, The Gateway to Services and Support in a Collective Issue* (n = 415), and *The Temporary Problem Solver* (n = 59)*. Amidst navigating these specific roles, participants express an emerging theme related to *Balancing Community Needs and the Limits of Law Enforcement* (n = 116)*. Ultimately, drawing on these different roles can be thought of as discretionary, but officers may be forced into different roles in the absence of an alternative. One participant explained that "Often the police are expected to act in unfortunate circumstances and the outcome is not always optimal, and in many instances, the optimal outcome may have never been possible." This highlights how officer discretion is more nuanced than it appears on the surface. While an officer may want to provide services and individualized help, they may be forced into a different outcome given the situation or context. When officers are not put into a corner, however, they can choose the extent to which they fill certain roles:

"Homelessness on it[s] own is not a law enforcement matter. If someone who is experiencing homeless is breaking the law, it becomes a law enforcement matter. Sometimes, for people who are homeless, it is unavoidable to break the law. This is understood by the majority of my peers and myself. Discretion is an important tool for a law enforcement officer, especially when dealing with someone who is homeless. Often times 'black and White' enforcement is not the answer that benefits the involved persons, including the victims. It is important to consider all

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options and offer what the best possible solution to the short- and longer-term

problem. Law enforcement contacts many homeless people throughout a normal

shift, and it is important that although not a law enforcement matter, because of

the amount of contacts, law enforcement is equipped with the resources and

information to offer services for a homeless person, trying to get them out of

homelessness."

The quote above illustrates how discretion is intertwined into an officer's response to

issues of homelessness. In their response the officer identified a range of decision-making

points, including, 1) Their belief on the nature of homelessness and how that intertwines

with their job, 2) Considering outcomes relative to finding a short- or long-term solution,

and 3) Identifying and offering resources. In this decision-making process, the officers

can enforce the law, provide and/or support other services, ensure public safety, all while

potentially being a temporary problem solver. For many participants in this sample the

role an officer takes is situational and is also shaped by the degree of discretion they

have.

The Criminal Law Enforcer as a Means of Public Safety

For many survey participants, a pattern across roles was clear— an officer's

primary role in responding to any call is public safety, which is achieved by holding

people accountable through the enforcement of criminal law. As stated by one

participant, the role of the police is "To address public safety issues within the scope of

established, enforced, criminal statutes." For many officers their answer was as simple as

"Priority is public safety." To achieve public safety, some participants had a bit more to

say:

> "Our purpose is to uphold the law, address criminal behavior and hold offenders
>
> accountable for their actions. Public safety is a hugely important part of what we
>
> do. We also have a community caretaking function and can make referrals to
>
> mental health / drug/veterans court for misdemeanor criminal behavior, the
>
> hospital for crisis cases, or crisis solutions center if they don't fit criteria."
>
> "It [homelessness] is an operational reality which is largely not of our creation.
>
> There are many issues surrounding the homeless population which have a public
>
> safety nexus which the public has a reasonable expectation of us managing."

In the quotes above participants describe the multifaceted role of the police in responding

to issues of homelessness and highlight the reality of this aspect of their job. The first

quote highlights their purpose, which infuses law adherence with holding individuals

accountable and addressing criminal behavior to achieve public safety. The second quote

demonstrates how issues of homelessness have almost become seamlessly related to

public safety. Echoing these sentiments, a separate participant said that their role in

addressing homelessness is "Ensuring the safety of all parties involved, including

homeless, citizens and officers. Prevention of serious safety issues and holding those

accountable for offenses." To achieve their priority of public safety participants, assume

the role of the criminal law enforcer, which is thought of as an accountability mechanism.

For some participants, public safety is where the role of the police ends in

addressing issues of homelessness. "Law enforcement should only be involved with

homeless people if there is a violation of the law, disturbance of the peace, or safety of

the public to include the homeless is present." Indeed, other participants resonated with this and described their role as "Responding and mitigating criminal activity," and "Minimizing criminal activity and preservation of properties." Put simply, for some officers in this sample, homelessness is not a policing issue and they leave it at that. For these participants, public safety, and the means to achieve it, are the sole role of the police in responding to issues of homelessness. One participant went as far as describing their role in responding to and addressing homelessness as:

> "Limited, homelessness, in general, should not be a public safety issue. This is better handled in a community services environment, where social services can be provided facilitating a positive outcome for people experiencing homelessness. Public Safety interests should be narrowly focused on criminal activity, protecting the rights of everyone involved."

In this response, homelessness altogether is removed from the conversation around public safety. Instead, the participant is articulating that the role of the police is public safety broadly.

Expanding on this a participant remarked "We don't respond to 'homelessness.' We respond to criminal activity, disturbances, 911 calls, etc. Homelessness is not a crime." The sentiment that homelessness is not a crime was echoed by a large proportion of participants. These individuals compartmentalized their role to public safety and addressing suspicious or criminal activity, regardless of housing status. Unpacking this further, one participant urged that "We are not social workers and should stay in our lane enforcing the law and holding people accountable for the violation of criminal codes."

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For participants that held similar beliefs, including homelessness as a part of their role was expressed as beyond the scope of law enforcement.

The Gateway to Services and Support in a Collective Issue

After discussing their role in addressing public safety one participant concluded by stating, "I'm also the gateway to services for many in need." A core theme among responses related to providing services and support was the role of police officers in facilitating, connecting, and offering services after addressing concerns of public safety. Many officers explained that they are often the first point of contact for people experiencing homelessness so offering services is naturally a part of their role. This is illustrated by one participant who said, "Police Officers are often times the first line in the referral process for the homeless." Expanding on this, two participants explained:

> "We are often the first interaction, but we are able to refer people to our Homeless Navigators who can get people further assistance. I know that many are resource resistant, but sometimes it is because it is coming from a cop who doesn't understand the situation on a personal level."

> "They are human beings like everybody else and deserve our respect and require a degree of patience. If needed, it is our job as servants of the public to assist the homeless, but should still be held accountable to the law if no other alternative is available to resolve the issue. If we can get them help, we should as long as in keeping with standard police and department policy."

Connecting individuals with services directly, or to someone who can help navigate services specifically, is an important role for participants who identified

addressing issues of homelessness as some aspect or part of their job. As illustrated in the second quote above, public safety remains at the core of their role description, but being a public servant assisting individuals experiencing homelessness is a part of this role. As one officer noted, their role is "to provide support and facilitate necessities they [individuals experiencing homelessness] aren't able to obtain themselves." Because of the high degree of contact between law enforcement and individuals experiencing homelessness, some participants articulated it was especially important for them to be well versed in various services. Put plainly, "The best thing officers can do are provide resources to the homeless."

Relatedly, many officers categorized their job as a supportive role in a collective issue. As one participant noted, "Homelessness is not a crime, but it is often considered that way by community members. Law Enforcement's response to homelessness should be a supportive role that can provide resources for help and be a facilitator for obtaining help." In the support role, officers act to support individuals experiencing homelessness by connecting them to services, but also support other agencies that are specifically trained in addressing the issue:

> "Currently, we are there to assist them with mental health issues or finding a shelter. I think a civilian would be better to work with homeless, with an officer standing by to assist as needed. Many homeless have been treated poorly, and view police in a negative light. Coupled with mental health issues this can lead to a negative outcome for the homeless person."

The quote above highlights the multifaceted nature of the police role in addressing issues

of homelessness.

Providing support in addressing issues of homelessness can take place by directly providing services or by providing support for those services when they arrive to a call for service. As one individual put it, addressing homelessness works best when "using a multi-agency approach that require[s] strong collaboration between all stake holders. Law enforcement is a very small component of the process." Echoing this, other respondents said that law enforcement should "coordinate with other agencies" to get individuals in contact with the services that they need. Perceived as a collective issue, responding to and addressing issues of homelessness involves officers assuming the role of a liaison between the unhoused community and local service providers.

Despite a desire for many individuals in the sample to go a step beyond public safety by connecting individuals to services, this is not something that can always be accomplished. As exemplified in the participant response below, some officers and departments are too understaffed to do this aspect of their job:

> "The role should be low. There are better non-police services that help more than police. My dept [department] is understaffed and usually call to call, so interactions are brief. We can give resources, but as far as taking time to connect these people with them is very limited."

An emerging theme among responses is how "stretched thin" law enforcement agencies are. In other words, agencies have more calls for service than the number of officers they have available. This finding speaks to a recent trend in law enforcement, that of a "workforce crisis," (Police Executive Research Forum, 2019). The workforce crisis in

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law enforcement can be defined of the inability of agencies to recruit new officers and retain officers already employed. One participant said, "with the severity of how understaffed we are as a department I feel the homelessness issue falls by the wayside because we do not have enough resources." Participants do not have the staffing levels at their agency to permit them to spend the time necessary to connect an individual to services if they want. As noted by one respondent, "It is also law enforcement's job to prioritize calls for service based on what crimes/calls have the greatest impact on society," making service-related calls a low priority during a high demand shift.

A Temporary Problem Solver

An emerging theme among participant responses was the characterization of law enforcement's role as a temporary problem solver, because much of their work related to homelessness involves finding temporary solutions to long-term problems. A participant explained that when law enforcement responds to issues of homelessness, they "must utilize limited resources and come up with creative solutions to solve problems on a case-by-case basis. Those solutions are only temporary." Officers are largely limited in their ability to support long-term solutions because of the limits of their job— being understaffed, having a lack of training, and lack of resource knowledge and access. Two participants clearly articulated this in their responses:

"Homelessness often creates criminal activity which law enforcement is tasked with addressing. While addressing the crimes we often offer services that are refused. Homelessness is often mixed with substance abuse and mental illness. Many times we end up having to use law enforcement to temporarily fix the issue

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of why someone called us, but the arrests don't fix the underlying issues and homelessness."

"In my experience at my department, our role tends to be investigating any crimes that may be reported involving homelessness and providing resources such as shelter transports to homeless individuals. Many homeless individuals may also experience mental crisis issues which we address with referral to Crisis Solution Centers, and/or Involuntary hospital treatment. I however believe these resources are a temporary displacement of an issue and officers in my department are ultimately not provided the resources to truly begin to fix the homeless issue."

Both resource refusal— another emerging theme among participant perceptions of homelessness in these data and in the list of contributors to homelessness section— and lack of non-arrest tools create the perfect storm for officers to draw on enforcement when responding to issues of homelessness. In the quote above the participant acknowledges that using arrest is a temporary fix, but that is the only tool they subjectively have when responding to calls related to homelessness. Expanding on this, multiple participants described their desire to support long- term solutions but inability to do so:

"Acute crime prevention, property protection, and protection of all people involved. I can also put these people in contact with the few services available in our community. I am unable to provide long term support or even anything more than a brief conversation between calls."

"Assist in areas where we can but the larger long-term issue of homelessness cannot be solved by law enforcement alone."

Put together with the previous roles discussed, much of the work officers engage in within the realm of homelessness only provide temporary fixes. Some participants described their work as "triage," and that their efforts are a mere "Band-aid on an arterial bleed." Regardless of if officers use enforcement as a means to public safety or offer services and connect individuals to social welfare providers, there is consensus among many participants that "fixes" roles are only temporary. Because many of the tools an officer can directly provide do not treat root contributors to the problem of homelessness, it is difficult to say if these outcomes will support positive outcomes in the long term.

Balancing Community Needs and the Limits of Law Enforcement

One emerging theme among the sample was the contention between traditional approaches to low-level crime (e.g., arrest and citation), community demands, and less punitive approaches. One participant expressed that, "Too often we receive calls simply because people don't like seeing them [individuals experiencing homelessness]." Because of this, many participants shared that they are, "Balancing the need to help homeless individuals (point to resources and shelters, etc.) with the needs of the community as a whole (preventing property crime, etc.)." In balancing these different demands, multiple officers expressed that their "hands are tied." In other words, officers cannot do what the public wants because homelessness is not illegal, but they want to do something and are limited in the tools they have and stressors of the job (e.g., staffing and prioritizing calls for service). To help reduce the burden placed on the police to address an issue they do not always feel prepared for, multiple participants called on communities and business owners for help. One participant said:

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"Homelessness should not be criminal. Additionally, society cannot arrest its way

out of homelessness. Police should not be used as a catch-all to combat

homelessness issues. Society/business should take on additional weight to combat

homelessness issues in the community instead of law enforcement."

Outside of different roles the police identified in addressing homelessness, one emerging

theme was their classification of homelessness as a society and community issue. The

quote above and similar sentiments stress how business owners and society at large can

have a bigger part in solving problems of homelessness. In navigating this balancing act,

survey participants acknowledged the harm that enforcement can potentially bring into

these calls, underscoring a need for alternative solutions.

Research Question 1: Mixed Methods Interpretation

Thus far, I have presented both quantitative and qualitative results independent of

one another. Participants shared a wide range of quantitative and qualitative views on

their perceptions of homelessness generally and their role in responding to and addressing

the issue. I now discuss the quantitative and qualitative findings jointly to better address

research question one of study one.

Frequency distributions from the quantitative data revealed a few patterns that can

be explained by the qualitative findings. In terms of their role in addressing

homelessness, 70.51% of survey participants disagreed that homelessness is a policing

problem and 86.51% disagreed that law enforcement officers are effective agents in

homelessness prevention. The open-ended responses suggested that police officers

perceived the top contributors to homelessness to be substance abuse, mental health, and

individual-level factors (e.g., choice, trauma, and poor child rearing). Generally, law enforcement does not have much bearing on these contributors to homelessness, which helps explain why they do not perceive problems of homelessness to be a policing issue or that they are effective agents in preventing it. Discussing this exact issue, one participant articulated that:

"Issues surrounding homelessness are complex and involve a significant number of contributors (substance abuse, mental health, physical abuse, economics). Law enforcement has a role in these issues, but generally only to ensure the safety of the public. Most agencies currently do not have resources to deal with these issues outside of our initial interaction with protecting the community, which is frustrating."

This quote is consistent with the open-ended themes surrounding law enforcement's role in protecting public safety, the different challenges they navigate to do so, and highlights the range of contributors discussed in section two of this chapter.

Mostly participants agreed that homelessness in and of itself is not a policing issue. Elaborating on this, one participant said,

"Homelessness is not a police issue, until it is. It is a community issue that requires a coordinated approach to a reasonable solution. Police are often the first call, which requires officers to be aware of different resource options for each individual contacted."

Participants in this sample agreed that homelessness becomes a police issue when there is an active crime occurring or because members of the community feel compelled to call

the police for any issue related to homelessness.

While participants want to help and describe their efforts to do so, sometimes they are limited in how they can help. This is echoed in the quantitative results of section one, where 83.38% of participants indicated that they do want to help get individuals into appropriate services and 95.26% agreed that the community does not understand their role in responding to issues of homelessness. Providing some context to these frequency distributions, one participant said:

"I view the role of 'law enforcement' to have a very small role in addressing homelessness. We cannot arrest our way out of this wicked problem. I do feel as 'Peace Officers' of the State of [name extracted for anonymity], we have a role to play in conjunction with many other social agencies. There is no quick fix and that is what the public expects. They also expect the police to fix it and when the police do not they are viewed as apathetic if the officer refuses to apply laws to the individual, or overly aggressive if they do. Many homeless people have mental health concerns that will not be solved in a jail cell or in the court system. Issuing a citation only perpetuates the problem but sometimes business owners insist punitive action be taken."

Both frequency distributions and estimates from chi-squared tests and multivariate regression models indicate that participants perceive that gaining better access to a range of services would help law enforcement be more effective in responding to calls related to homelessness.

While not much can be gleaned from open-ended responses on the impact of

individual- and agency-level characteristics, these open-ended responses to help explain

why more access to these types of services are seen as helpful:

"I believe the role of law enforcement is to assist the individuals who are

homeless with boundaries and safety of the community and the individual. The

Law Enforcement Official needs to work out the legal aspects and weigh the

consequences through incarceration vs. social services. This is a long-term

problem needing long term planned solutions to help the individual who is

homeless."

"To understand the complaint being addressed from the community and meet with

and listen to the needs of the person being labeled as homeless and to find the best

outcome that supports both groups."

"Law enforcement has an obligation to provide service to underrepresented

communities that we serve. The homeless population are one of the highest

groups suffering from crime. Exploitation, assaults, robbery, rapes, abductions are

some of the few crimes that the homeless communities are victim of. Police,

however, need to work in conjunction with outreach, mental health professionals,

homeless advocates, and other governmental agencies to ensure the needs of the

homeless are met. With the high crime rate within homeless communities, police

are an important component of public safety within homeless communities to

address the needs of the victims of crimes that live within these communities."

The quotes above highlight how the incorporation of services are infused into police

responses to address issues of homelessness. In the first quote, the officer articulates how

leaning on social services is particularly useful if the consequences of incarceration outweigh its utility in the encounter. The second quote highlights the use of social services to support the "best outcome" the officer can achieve, and the third quote discusses how officers may draw on services and collaborate with other groups to help the homeless community when they experience crime themselves. The weight of these quotes indicates that in response to issues of homelessness law enforcement may draw on services for any number of reasons, which underscores why there such consensus in the quantitative findings that better access to social welfare and public health services is needed.

The quantitative and qualitative findings of research question one underscore how complex the role of law enforcement is when it comes to addressing issues of homelessness. Many of the quotes introduced discuss these roles at a high level, detailing what it means to respond to issues of homelessness at large for law enforcement. But on the individual level, some participants found their role quite simple:

"I took an oath to be of service; I will serve."

"That is part of the job, to serve the public... homeless or not."

"We take an oath to serve and protect the community... not just those not homeless."

At the root of it all, it seems that the oath officers take to serve and protect the community is centered in how law enforcement officers choose to respond to calls for service.

CHAPTER 5

RESEARCH QUESTION 2: POLICE DECISION MAKING AND ISSUES OF

HOMELESSNESS

Section 1: Quantitative Results

Multivariate Regression Models

Prior to conducting analyses twelve balance tests were estimated to ensure that the

random assignment of vignettes led to balanced groups across individual- and agency-

level characteristics. As indicated by the non-statistically significant chi-square values (p

> 0.05), all four vignette versions were equitably distributed across individual- and

agency-level characteristics (for results see Appendix E).

A total of 36 logistic regression models and 12 ordinary least squares regression

models were estimated to identify effects of the experimental stimuli on outcomes. Half

of the models only contain a measure for vignette type; the other models contain the

vignette measure with two additional covariates. The first covariate *experience on a*

specialty homeless unit was incorporated to capture any effects related to prior or

ongoing experience working on a specialty unit solely dedicated to homelessness. This

was incorporated because task forces related to homelessness can have specialty crisis

intervention training (e.g., Portland Police Bureau, 2015) or take unique approaches that

might not focus on criminal justice outcomes (e.g., Indio Police Department, 2021,

Seattle Police Department, 2018). The second covariate, *formal policy on homelessness*,

captures the participant's perception that their agency has any formal policy on

responding to issues of homelessness. Because this is a subjective measure, it does not

account for the objective reality of homeless policies at each agency and thus only captures officer interpretation of these policies. Without including the two covariates these characteristics could have implications for the experimental stimuli estimates.

Criminal Justice Outcomes

A total of 18 logistic regressions were estimated to assess the impact of the various experimental stimuli and covariates on the likeliness of different criminal justice outcomes. The first six logistic regressions predicted the effect of the stimuli and covariates on the dependent variable *arrest*. In this table— and the rest of the regression tables in this chapter— results are presented such that Models 1A/1B are the sub-sample of participants that received the control (coded 0) and homelessness stimulus (coded 1) vignettes. Models 2A/2B contains the sub-sample of participants who received the two vignettes containing the mental health clinician stimulus (0 = Housed, Mental Health Clinician Stimulus, 1 = Homelessness and Mental Health Clinician Stimuli), and Model's 3A/3B report estimates for the full sample.

Table 12 below presents the effects of the experimental stimuli and covariates on the dependent variable arrest. Participants in Model 1A who received the vignette with the homelessness stimulus alone had 46.2% (odds ratio = 0.538, $p \leq 0.05$) lower odds of agreeing that their encounter would resolve with an arrest when compared to participants with the housed counterpart. This is consistent with the Model 1B containing the covariates, where participants had 50.7% lower odds of agreeing. None of the covariates were significant in Model 1B, but Model 1B reports a non-statistically significant Likelihood-Ratio Chi^2 test. Unfortunately, this is a theme for the remaining models

predicting arrest, suggesting that none of these variables have a large impact on an officer's decision to arrest. However, in Model 2B experience on a specialty homelessness unit increases the likeliness of selecting arrest by 274.4% for participants who responded to an individual experiencing homelessness with a mental health clinician. Figure 3 provides a figure of the predictive margins for arrest over the two experimental stimuli in Model 3B. While the model itself has nonsignificant findings, from the predictive margins it can be inferred that the probability of arrest is lowest for participants who received the vignette with the stimuli for both homelessness and the presence of a mental health clinician. Probability of arrest is highest in the control condition.

Table 12 Logistic Regression Models Estimating the Effect of Experimental Stimuli and Covariates on Arrest Likeliness

	Sub-Sample of Participants with Homelessness Stimulus	
	Model 1A (s.e.)	Model 1B (s.e.)
Arrest Likeliness		
Homelessness Stimulus	0.538*	0.493*
	(0.172)	(0.167)
Experience on a Specialty Homelessness Unit		0.276
		(0.280)
Formal Policy on Homelessness		1.119
		(0.369)
Observations	556	510
Likelihood-Ratio Chi^2	3.753**	6.553

	Sub-Sample of participants with Mental Health Clinician Stimulus	
	Model 2A (s.e.)	Model 2B (s.e.)
Homeless and Mental Health Clinician Stimuli	1.032	1.105
	(0.370)	(0.420)
Experience on a Specialty Homelessness Unit		3.744*
		(2.096)
Formal Policy on Homelessness		0.438
Observations	577	578
Likelihood-Ratio Chi^2	0.008	7.075

	Full Sample	
	Model 3A (s.e.)	Model 3A (s.e.)
Homelessness Stimulus	0.714	0.712
	(0.170)	(0.177)
Mental Health Clinician Stimuli	0.686	0.693
	(0.163)	(0.174)
Experience on a Specialty Homelessness Unit		1.207
		(0.546)
Formal Policy on Homelessness		0.803
		(0.204)
Observations	1133	1034
Likelihood-Ratio Chi^2	3.920	5.178

Note. Entries are odds ratios and robust standard errors (SE). Threshold values indicating cut points in latent variables were estimated for the ordinal logistic models but are not presented in the table.
*** $p<0.001$, ** $p<0.01$, * $p<0.05$

Figure 3 - Predictive Margins for Arrest (95% CI)
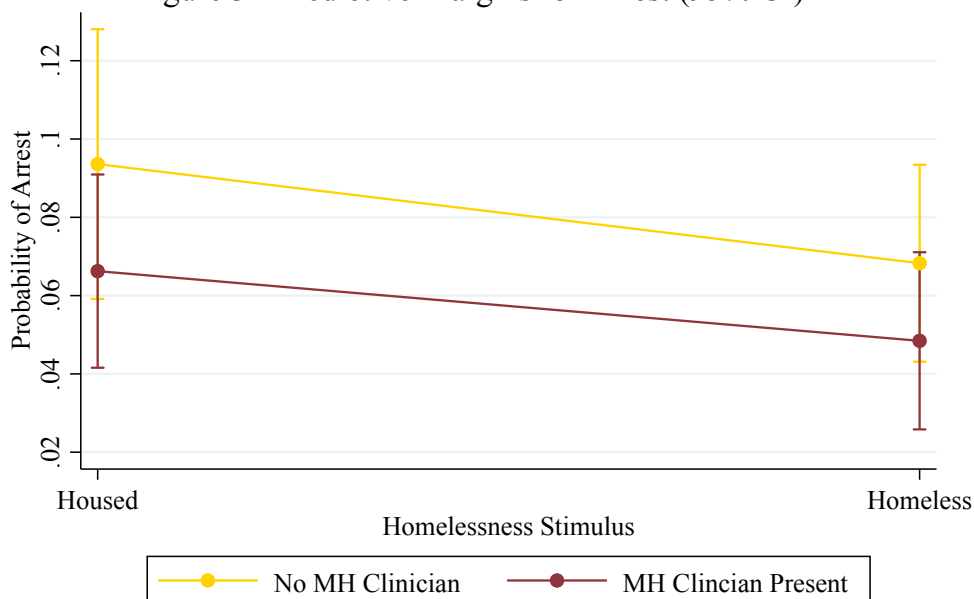
Table 13 presents the results of the logistic regressions estimating the effect of the experimental stimuli on the dependent variable *citation.* In Table 13 none of the estimates or models were significant, suggesting that none of the stimuli nor covariates have much of an impact on citation outcomes in an interaction with the police. The direction of the odds ratio is negative for individuals who received the homelessness stimulus, suggesting that police officers may be less likely to agree the scenario would end with a citation, even in the presence of a mental health clinician. These estimates are echoed in Figure 4 below, which highlights that the participants with the lowest probability of a citation are those who received both the homelessness and mental health clinician stimuli. However, these findings are nonsignificant and the probability of citation is only 1% lower for participants who received the vignette with both stimuli.

Table 13 Logistic Regression Models Estimating the Effect of Experimental Stimuli and Covariates on Citation Likeliness

	Sub-Sample of Participants with Homelessness Stimulus	
	Model 1A (s.e.)	Model 1B (s.e.)
Citation Likeliness		
Homelessness Stimulus	0.696	0.668
	(0.233)	(0.230)
Experience on a Specialty Homelessness Unit		0.329
		(0.336)
Formal Policy on Homelessness		0.756
		(0.269)
Observations	554	508
Likelihood-Ratio Chi^2	1.172	3.394

	Sub-Sample of Participants with Mental Health Clinician Stimulus	
	Model 2A (s.e.)	Model 2B (s.e.)
Homeless and Mental Health Clinician Stimuli	0.576	0.620
	(0.202)	(0.229)
Experience on a Specialty Homelessness Unit		2.328
		(1.239)
Formal Policy on Homelessness		1.118
		(0.415)
Observations	578	524
Likelihood-Ratio Chi^2	2.486	4.534

	Full Sample	
	Model 3A (s.e.)	Model 3A (s.e.)
Homelessness Stimulus	0.635	0.649
	(0.153)	(0.163)
Mental Health Clinician Stimuli	0.897	0.849
	(0.213)	(0.211)
Experience on a Specialty Homelessness Unit		1.181
		(0.525)
Formal Policy on Homelessness		0.943
		(0.235)
Observations	1132	1032
Likelihood-Ratio Chi^2	3.790	3.684

Note. Entries are odds ratios and robust standard errors (SE). Threshold values indicating cut points in latent variables were estimated for the ordinal logistic models but are not presented in the table.
*** p<0.001, ** p<0.01, * p<0.05

Figure 4 - Predictive Margins for Citation (95% CI)
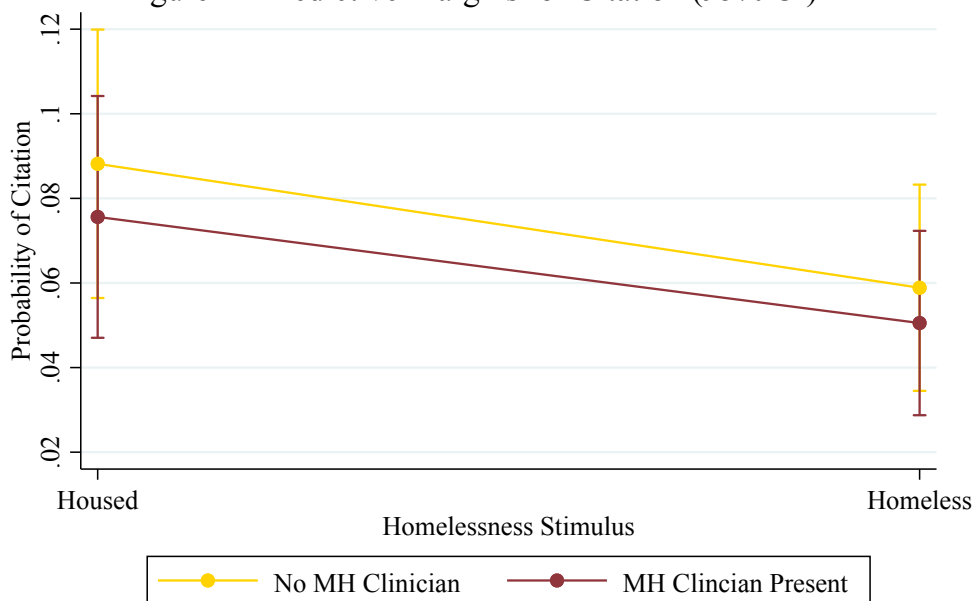
Table 14 displays the results for the outcome variable *informal outcome.* In Models 1A and 1B participants who received the homelessness stimulus reported a 115.3% (odds ratio = 2.153, $p \leq 0.01$) and 137.5% (odds ratio = 2.375, $p \leq 0.01$) significantly higher odds of selecting the informal outcome, respectively. None of the covariates in Model 1B were significant, suggesting that in both models being randomly assigned the homelessness stimulus was the primary significant factor in decision-making.

Models 2A and 2B in Table 14 contain no significant differences in informal outcomes when participants are presented with the homelessness and mental health clinician stimuli. While this suggests there are no significant differences between participant responses among those who were randomly assigned a vignette depicting a

housed individual versus an individual experiencing homelessness, it is interesting to note that the effect of housing status on the dependent variable is removed when a mental health clinician is present. Moreover, the direction of the odds ratio remains positive but is reduced in magnitude. While this would need to be explored further, it does suggest that the presence of the mental health clinician in the sub-sample may be reducing the likeliness of an informal outcome.

In the final two models the effects of the stimuli and covariates are seen on the full sample. Model 3A has no covariates and is the only significant model. Participants who received the homelessness stimulus in Model 3A had a significantly lower (odds ratio = 0.722, $p \leq 0.05$) odds of agreeing that the scenario would resolve informally, regardless of if there was a mental health clinician present or not. In the same model, participants who were randomly assigned the mental health clinician stimulus had 40.4% significantly higher odds (odds ratio - 1.404, $p \leq 0.05$) of agreeing that the scenario would end informally, regardless of covariates.

While Model 3B reports a non-statistically significant Likelihood-Ratio Chi^2 test, these findings are nearly identical to the estimates in Model 3A. For criminal justice outcomes, the effect of housing status and the presence of a mental health clinician is not entirely clear. For the homelessness stimulus, most models except the full model for *informal outcome* are in a negative direction. The only exceptions are Models 1A and 1B in Table 14. With this in mind, in most cases participants who receive the homelessness stimulus may have lower odds of resolving the encounter with an arrest, but also lower odds of resolving the encounter through an informal outcome. The results for the *citation*

outcome are inconclusive, although they are in a negative direction. Altogether, this may suggest that participants are unlikely to resolve the encounter through and arrest or citation when the individual in their encounter is described as experiencing homelessness, but may be less likely to go as far as saying the encounter would resolve informally. Perhaps other outcomes, such as resource connections may be considered formal.

For the mental health clinician stimulus, there are no reports with statistically significant estimates, except for Models 3A and 3B. In these models in Table 14 participants who were randomly assigned the mental health clinician stimulus had significantly higher odds of receiving an informal outcome. While nonsignificant, the estimates in the sub-sample of Table 14 are also in a positive direction, giving some support that individuals receiving the mental health clinician stimulus may be more prone to ending the encounter informally. Figure 5 presents the predicted margins of informal outcome in the full sample with both covariates. Figure 5 illustrates how the likeliness of an informal outcome is lowest for participants who received a vignette with a mental health clinician and housed citizen. Informal outcomes are most likely for participants who received a vignette with only the homelessness stimulus. The weight of the evidence from predicted probabilities suggest that individuals experiencing homelessness may be less likely to experience formal criminal justice outcomes (i.e., arrest and citation) in trespassing encounters and that the presence of a mental health clinician can reduce the probability of criminal justice outcomes for housed and unhoused individuals.

Table 14 Logistic Regression Models Estimating the Effect of Experimental Stimuli and Covariates on Informal Outcome Likeliness

	Sub-Sample of Participants with Homelessness Stimulus	
	Model 1A (s.e.)	Model 1B (s.e.)
Informal Outcome Likeliness		
Homelessness Stimulus	2.153**	2.375**
	(0.628)	(0.740)
Experience on a Specialty Homelessness Unit		1.352
		(0.858)
Formal Policy on Homelessness		1.118
		(0.269)
Observations	559	514
Likelihood-Ratio Chi^2	6.903*	7.836*

	Sub-Sample of Participants with Mental Health Clinician Stimulus	
	Model 2A (s.e.)	Model 2B (s.e.)
Homeless and Mental Health Clinician Stimuli	1.202	1.208
	(0.309)	(0.323)
Experience on a Specialty Homelessness Unit		0.763
		(0.362)
Formal Policy on Homelessness		0.894
		(0.219)
Observations	579	526
Likelihood-Ratio Chi^2	0.513	1.233

	Full Sample	
	Model 3A (s.e.)	Model 3B (s.e.)
Homelessness Stimulus	0.722*	0.715*
	(0.104)	(0.107)
Mental Health Clinician Stimuli	1.404*	1.411*
	(0.202)	(0.212)
Experience on a Specialty Homelessness Unit		1.131
		(0.309)
Formal Policy on Homelessness		0.939
		(0.144)
Observations	1138	1040
Likelihood-Ratio Chi^2	6.791*	8.445

Note. Entries are odds ratios and robust standard errors (SE). Threshold values indicating cut points in latent variables were estimated for the ordinal logistic models but are not presented in the table.
*** $p<0.001$, ** $p<0.01$, * $p<0.05$

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Figure 5 - Predictive Margins for Informal Outcome (95% CI)
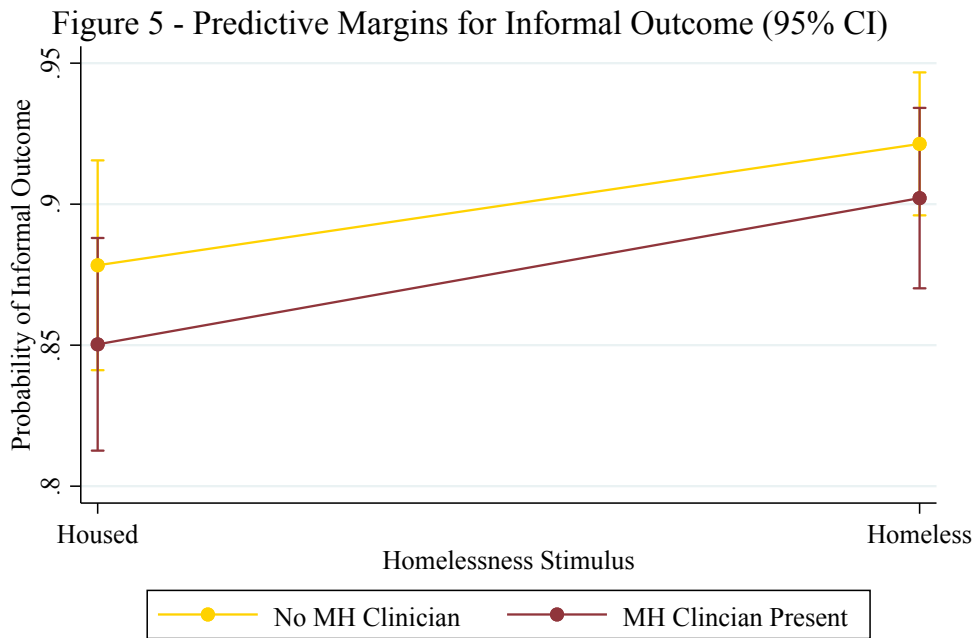
Behavior Perception Outcomes

A total of 18 logistic regressions were estimated to calculate the effect of the experimental stimuli and covariates on officer perceptions of the behavior of the individual in their randomly assigned vignette. Table 15 displays the results of officer perceptions on the outcome variable *physically aggressive.* In total, three models estimating the effect of the experimental stimuli on *physically aggressive* were significant— Models 1A, 3A, and 3B. In Model 1A, participants assigned the homelessness stimulus had 35.7% (odds ratio = 0.643 $p \leq 0.05$), 27.8% (odds ratio = 0.722, $p \leq 0.05$) lower odds of reporting that the individual in their randomly assigned vignette would become physically aggressive. These results are consistent in Model 1B, where participants randomly assigned the homelessness stimulus had 27.8% (odds ratio =

0.722, $p \leq 0.05$) lower odds of reporting that the individual in their randomly assigned vignette would become physically aggressive.

The final model with a significant Likelihood Ratio chi^2 test is Model 3A. In Model 3A participants randomly assigned the homelessness stimulus had a 28.5% (odds ratio = 0.715, $p \leq 0.05$) significantly lower odds of perceiving the individual in their vignette of becoming physically aggressive. In Model 3A, the effect of a mental health clinician produced a significant and positive outcome (odds ratio = 1.404, $p < 0.05$). Predicted probabilities for the full sample are presented in Figure 6. This graph illustrates how individuals who received the vignette with the homelessness stimulus only have the lowest probability of perceiving the individual in the vignette of becoming physically aggressive. Participants who received the mental health clinician stimulus and a housed individuals had the highest predicted probabilities if being perceived as becoming physically aggressive. From this we can assume the presence of a mental health clinician in an interaction may overpower any impacts of housing status on outcomes because both housed and unhoused individuals are perceived as becoming physically aggressive, housed participants only marginally more so.

Table 15 Logistic Regression Models Estimating the Effect of Experimental Stimuli and Covariates on Likeliness of Physical Aggression

	Sub-Sample of Participants with Homelessness Stimulus	
	Model 1A (s.e.)	Model 1B (s.e.)
Likeliness of Physically Aggressive		
Homelessness Stimulus	0.643* (0.139)	0.623* (0.141)
Experience on a Specialty Homelessness Unit		0.735 (0.339)
Formal Policy on Homelessness		0.790 (0.183)
Observations	554	508
Likelihood-Ratio Chi^2	4.16*	5.932

	Sub-Sample of Participants with Mental Health Clinician Stimulus	
	Model 2A (s.e.)	Model 2B (s.e.)
Homeless and Mental Health Clinician Stimuli	0.792 (0.152)	0.794 (0.160)
Experience on a Specialty Homelessness Unit		1.485 (0.535)
Formal Policy on Homelessness		1.059 (0.219)
Observations	579	526
Likelihood-Ratio Chi^2	1.483	2.668

	Full Sample	
	Model 3A (s.e.)	Model 3B (s.e.)
Homelessness Stimulus	0.722* (0.104)	0.715* (0.107)
Mental Health Clinician Stimuli	1.404* (0.202)	1.411* (0.212)
Experience on a Specialty Homelessness Unit		1.131 (0.309)
Formal Policy on Homelessness		0.939 (0.144)
Observations	1133	1034
Likelihood-Ratio Chi^2	11.004**	10.801*

Note. Entries are odds ratios and robust standard errors (SE). Threshold values indicating cut points in latent variables were estimated for the ordinal logistic models but are not presented in the table.
*** $p<0.001$, ** $p<0.01$, * $p<0.05$

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Figure 6 - Predictive Margins for Physical Aggression (95% CI)
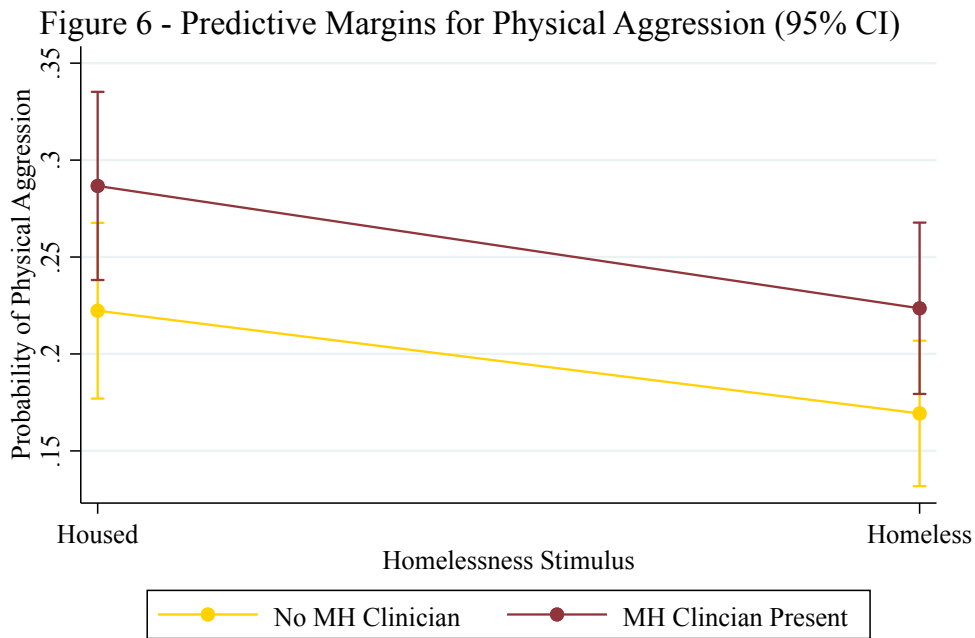
Participants were asked to report the likeliness of the individual in their vignette becoming verbally aggressive. These estimates are reported in Table 16. The effect of the homelessness stimulus was nonsignificant, albeit positive, across all six logistic regressions presented. Further, only models with the full sample were significant. In both Models 3A and 3B, participants who received the mental health clinician stimulus reported a 48.2% (odds ratio = 1.618, $p \leq 0.001$) and 37% (odds ratio = 1.630, $p \leq 0.001$) significantly higher odds of reporting that the individual in their vignette were likely to become verbally aggressive, respectively. These estimates are consistent with the direction of the estimates in Models 2A and 2B. Model 3A estimates also suggest that participants who reported that their agency had a formal policy on homelessness were

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significantly less likely (odds ratio = 0.756, $p \leq 0.05$) to report that the individual in their randomly assigned vignette would become verbally aggressive.

In Figure 7, the predicted probabilities of becoming verbally aggressive are presented. In this graph, participants who received the homelessness and mental health clinician stimuli had the highest predicted probabilities of perceiving the individual of becoming verbally aggressive. Alternatively, individuals who received the control condition had the lowest predicted probability of perceiving the individual in their scenario becoming verbally aggressive. Ultimately, the findings in Table 16 and Figure 7 suggest participants who received any vignette other than the control had higher odds and predicted probabilities of perceiving the individual in their vignette as becoming verbally aggressive, regardless of housing status.

Table 16 Logistic Regression Models Estimating the Effect of Experimental Stimuli and Covariates on Likeliness of Verbal Aggression

	Sub-Sample of Participants with Homelessness Stimulus	
	Model 1A (s.e.)	Model 1B (s.e.)
Likeliness of Verbal Aggressive		
Homelessness Stimulus	1.140 (0.196)	1.106 (0.199)
Experience on a Specialty Homelessness Unit		1.136 (0.384)
Formal Policy on Homelessness		0.689* (0.126)
Observations	552	506
Likelihood-Ratio Chi^2	0.586	4.495

	Sub-Sample of Participants with Mental Health Clinician Stimulus	
	Model 2A (s.e.)	Model 2B (s.e.)
Homeless and Mental Health Clinician Stimuli	1.218 (0.205)	1.118 (0.197)
Experience on a Specialty Homelessness Unit		1.198 (0.416)
Formal Policy on Homelessness		0.826 (0.149)
Observations	579	526
Likelihood-Ratio Chi^2	1.382	1.627

	Full Sample	
	Model 3A (s.e.)	Model 3A (s.e.)
Homelessness Stimulus	1.180 (0.142)	1.111 (0.140)
Mental Health Clinician Stimuli	1.618*** (0.194)	1.630*** (0.205)
Experience on a Specialty Homelessness Unit		1.178 (0.283)
Formal Policy on Homelessness		0.756* (0.097)
Observations	1131	1032
Likelihood-Ratio Chi^2	17.743***	20.087***

Note. Entries are odds ratios and robust standard errors (SE). Threshold values indicating cut points in latent variables were estimated for the ordinal logistic models but are not presented in the table.

*** $p<0.001$, ** $p<0.01$, * $p<0.05$

Figure 7 - Predictive Margins for Verbal Aggression (95% CI)
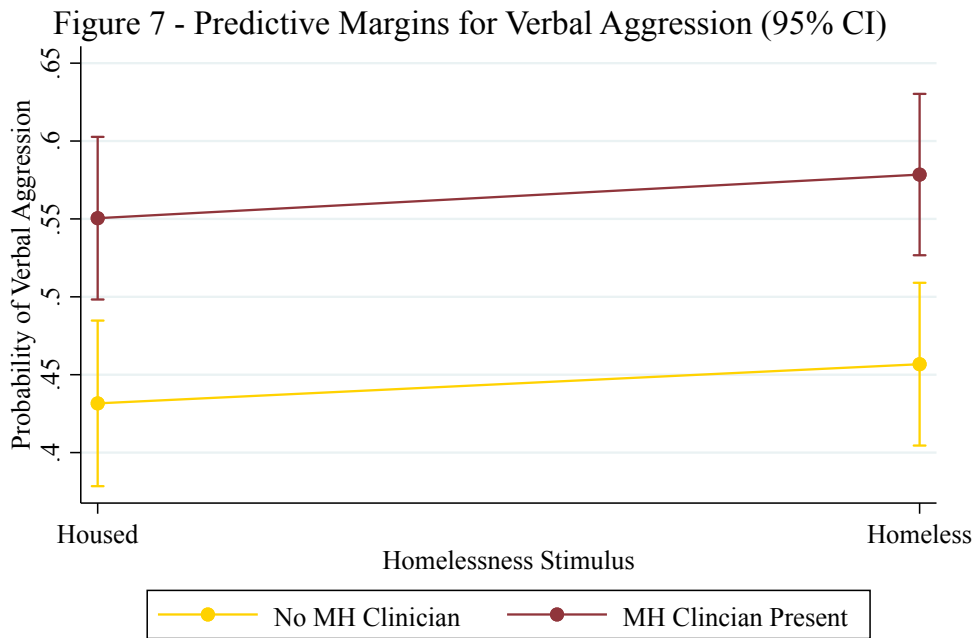
The final set of logistic regressions related to behavior perceptions estimate the

effect of the experimental stimuli and covariates on the participants' perception that the

individual in their randomly assigned vignette has had recent contact with law

enforcement for a similar issue (Table 17). Compared to participants who were randomly

assigned the control (i.e., housed vignette), participants in Models 1A and 1B had a

216.6% (odds ratio = 3.166, $p \leq 0.001$) and 193.1% (odds ratio = 2.931, $p \leq 0.001$)

significantly higher odds of reporting that the individual in their scenario was likely to

have had recent contact with law enforcement for a similar issue. These findings are

consistent in the full sample where participants have 201.3% (odds ratio = 3.013, $p \leq$

0.001) and 215.3% (odds ratio = 3.153, $p \leq 0.001$) significantly higher odds in Models

3A and 3B, respectively. In terms of the mental health clinician stimuli, participants who

received this stimulus with the homelessness stimulus also had significantly higher odds of reporting that the individual in their vignette has had recent contact with law enforcement for a recent issue in both Model 2A (odds ratio = 2.872, $p \leq 0.01$) and 2B (odds ratio = 3.363, $p \leq 0.001$). Covariates were nonsignificant across all models.

Altogether, these findings suggest that individuals experiencing homelessness have higher odds of being perceived as having had recent contact with the law enforcement for a similar reason in the past, but less likely to become verbally aggressive. Interestingly, individuals had nearly identical predicted probabilities regardless of having the mental health clinician stimulus or not, as seen by the overlapping lines in Figure 8. The mental health clinician stimulus had little bearing on perceptions of recent contact, but participants had higher odds of agreeing that the individual would become verbally or physically aggressive when a mental health clinician was present. These findings will be further discussed considering the qualitative findings in a discussion in section three.

Table 17 Logistic Regression Models Estimating the Effect of Experimental Stimuli and Covariates on Likeliness of Recent Contact

	Sub-Sample of Participants with Homelessness Stimulus	
	Model 1A (s.e.)	Model 1B (s.e.)
Likeliness of Recent Contact		
Homelessness Stimulus	3.166***	2.931**
	(1.067)	(1.037)
Experience on a Specialty Homelessness Unit		0.603
		(0.313)
Formal Policy on Homelessness		1.112
		(0.372)
Observations	555	509
Likelihood-Ratio Chi^2	11.688***	11.361**

	Sub-Sample of Participants with Mental Health Clinician Stimulus	
	Model 2A (s.e.)	Model 2B (s.e.)
Homeless and Mental Health Clinician Stimuli	2.872**	3.363***
	(0.940)	(1.206)
Experience on a Specialty Homelessness Unit		1.140
		(0.717)
Formal Policy on Homelessness		0.915
		(0.289)
Observations	575	522
Likelihood-Ratio Chi^2	10.400***	11.508**

	Full Sample	
	Model 3A (s.e.)	Model 3A (s.e.)
Homelessness Stimulus	3.013***	3.153***
	(0.707)	(0.793)
Mental Health Clinician Stimuli	1.006	0.991
	(0.215)	(0.226)
Experience on a Specialty Homelessness Unit		0.796
		(0.319)
Formal Policy on Homelessness		1.016
		(0.235)
Observations	1130	1031
Likelihood-Ratio Chi^2	22.087***	22.421***

Note. Entries are odds ratios and robust standard errors (SE). Threshold values indicating cut points in latent variables were estimated for the ordinal logistic models but are not presented in the table.
*** $p<0.001$, ** $p<0.01$, * $p<0.05$

Figure 8 - Predictive Margins for Recent Contact (95% CI)
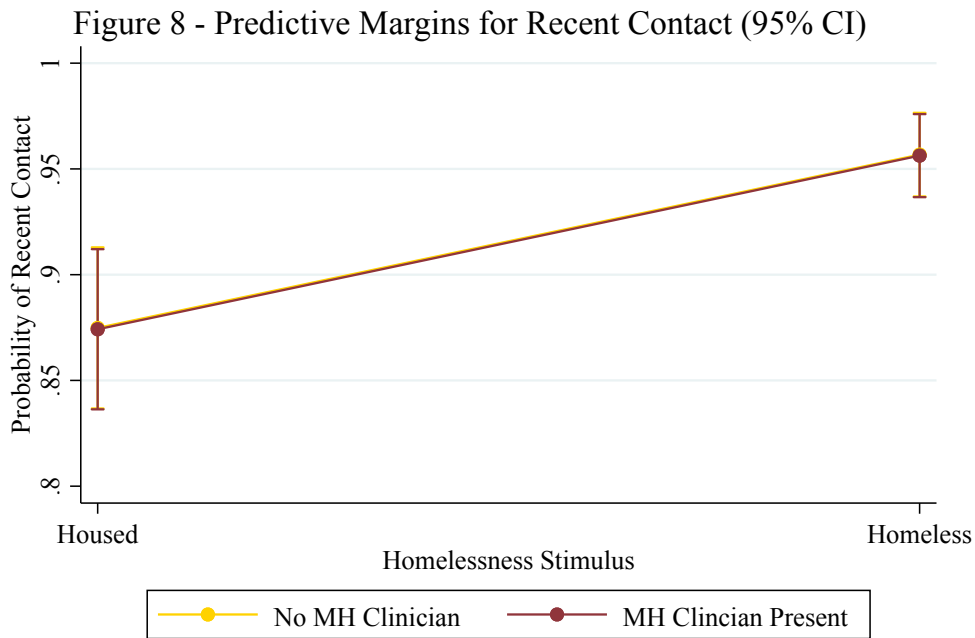
Service Coordination Outcomes[3]

To assess the effects of the stimuli and covariates on the service coordination

scale, a series of ordinary least squares regressions were estimated. As seen in Models

1A-2B in Table 18, the experimental stimuli do not have a significant effect on service

coordination outcomes. In Models 3A and 3B the effects of the stimuli are stronger. The

coefficients for the homelessness stimulus in Models 3A and 3B ($\beta = 0.081, 0.086$

respectively, $p \leq 0.05$) suggest that participants who received a homelessness stimulus

were significantly more likely to resolve the encounter by coordinating services when

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[3] Individual logistic regression models using the scale measures transformed into binary dependent
variables can be found in Appendix F.

compared to participants who received the control condition (i.e., housed vignette). Similarly, participants who received the mental health clinician stimulus were significantly more likely ($\beta = 0.092$, 0.093 respectively, $p \leq 0.05$) to report that they would be likely to resolve scenario through service coordination.

In Figure 9, these results are illustrated and suggest that participants who received the homelessness and mental health clinician stimuli had the a higher likelihood of coordinating services, with participants who received the control condition having the lowest probability of coordinating services to resolve the encounter. These findings suggest, first, that individuals who are unhoused may be more likely to have services offered to them in encounters with the police, and secondly, having a mental health clinician present may increase the likeliness of coordinating services to resolve an encounter regardless of an individual's housing status. In Models 1B and 3B participants who reported that they perceived their agency to have a formal policy on homelessness were significantly less likely coordinate services ($\beta = -0.208$, -0.135 respectively, $p \leq 0.001$), suggesting that agencies may intervene on some level with regards to how officers connect services to individuals they respond to in the field. Ultimately, participants with who received the mental health clinician and homelessness stimuli were more likely to resolve the encounter through service coordination in the full sample when compared to their control. Participants were less likely to resolve the encounter through service coordination when they perceived their agency to have a formal policy on homelessness.

Table 18 Ordinary Least Squares Regression Models Estimating the Effect of Experimental Stimuli and Covariates on Likeliness of Service Coordination

	Model 1A	Model 1B	Model 2A	Model 2B	Model 3A	Model 3B
Sub-Sample: Homelessness Stimuli	0.099 (0.053)	0.103 (0.055)			--	--
Sub-Sample: Mental Health Clinician Stimuli	--	--	0.063 (0.051)	0.074 (0.053)	--	--
Full Sample: Homelessness Stimulus	--	--	--	--	0.081* (0.037)	0.086* (0.038)
Full Sample: Mental Health Clinician Stimulus	--	--	--	--	0.092* (0.037)	0.093* (0.038)
Experience on a Specialty Homelessness Unit	--	0.143 (0.095)	--	0.082 (0.107)		0.121 (0.071)
Formal Policy on Homelessness	--	-0.208*** (0.056)	--	-0.060 (0.056)		-0.135*** (0.039)
Observations	558	512	578	524	1136	1036
R-squared	0.006	0.035	0.003	0.007	0.010	0.023
F	2.510	7.195***	0.208	1.540	5.046**	7.364***

Note. Standard errors are in parentheses.

*** $p<0.001$, ** $p<0.01$, * $p<0.05$

Figure 9 - Predictive Margins for Service Coordination (95% CI)
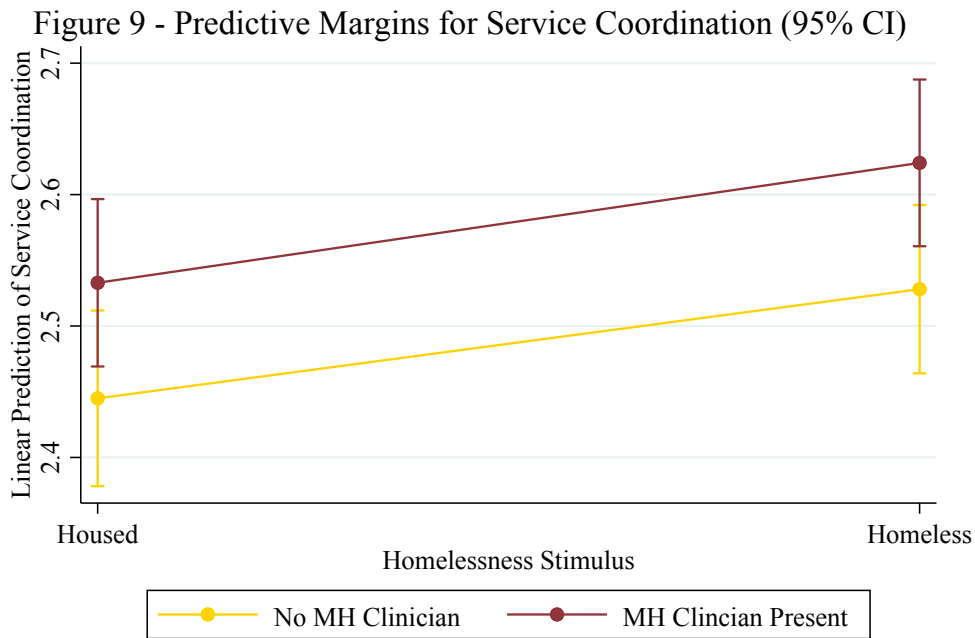
Job Applicability Outcomes [4]

The final 6 models of research question 2 measure the effect of the experimental stimuli and covariates on perceptions of job applicability (i.e., the extent to which officers perceive the call they responded to as applicable to their job). In Models 1A and 1B the homelessness stimuli has a significant and negative effect on job applicability (β = -0.094, -0.093 respectively, $p \leq 0.05$). This finding suggests that participants who received the homelessness stimuli were less likely to perceive the call for service as an applicable part of their job compared to participants who received the vignette with the housed

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[4] Individual logistic regression models using the scale measures transformed into binary dependent variables can be found in Appendix F.

individual. Participants with a formal policy on homelessness in this sub-sample also reported significantly lower scores ($\beta = -0.152, p \leq 0.001$) for job applicability in this sub-sample. The latter finding is consistent with Model 2B, where participants who perceived their agency to have a formal policy on homelessness responded with significantly lower scores ($\beta = -0.110, p \leq 0.05$) in the mental health clinician sub-sample. Within the full sample, participants with the homelessness stimulus in Model 3B— regardless of the presence of a mental health clinician— had significantly lower scores ($\beta = -0.076, p \leq 0.05$) than participants who received a vignette with an individual portrayed as housed. As with Model 2B, participants in Model 3B also reported significantly lower job applicability scores if they perceived their agency to have a formal policy on homelessness ($\beta = -0.133, p \leq 0.001$).

Put together the findings of these estimates suggest that participants are less likely to feel the scenario applies to their job when the individual involved is described as experiencing homelessness and if they perceive their agency to have a formal policy on homelessness. These findings are clearly illustrated in Figure 10, where predicted values that the encounter was applicable to their job are lowest for participants who received both the homelessness and mental health clinician stimuli and highest for the control vignette.

Table 19 Ordinary Least Squares Regression Models Estimating the Effect of Experimental stimuli and Covariates on Job Applicability Sentiment

	Model 1A	Model 1B	Model 2A	Model 2B	Model 3A	Model 3B
Sub-Sample: Homelessness Stimuli	-0.094* (0.044)	-0.093* (0.045)	--	--	--	--
Sub-Sample: Mental Health Clinician Stimuli	--	--	-0.037 (0.046)	-0.057 (0.048)	--	--
Full Sample: Homelessness Stimulus	--	--	--	--	-0.065* (0.032)	-0.076* (0.033)
Full Sample: Mental Health Clinician Stimulus	--	--	--	--	-0.003 (0.032)	-0.023 (0.033)
Experience on a Specialty Homelessness Unit	--	-0.017 (0.083)	--	-0.118 (0.103)	--	-0.064 (0.066)
Formal Policy on Homelessness	--	-0.152*** (0.045)	--	-0.110* (0.050)	--	-0.133*** (0.034)
Observations	547	508	570	524	1117	1032
R-squared	0.008	0.031	0.001	0.017	0.004	0.023
F	3.495*	3.578**	0.955	3.907*	1.965	5.371***

Note. Standard errors are in parentheses

*** $p<0.001$, ** $p<0.01$, * $p<0.05$

Figure 10 - Predictive Margins for Job Applicability (95% CI)
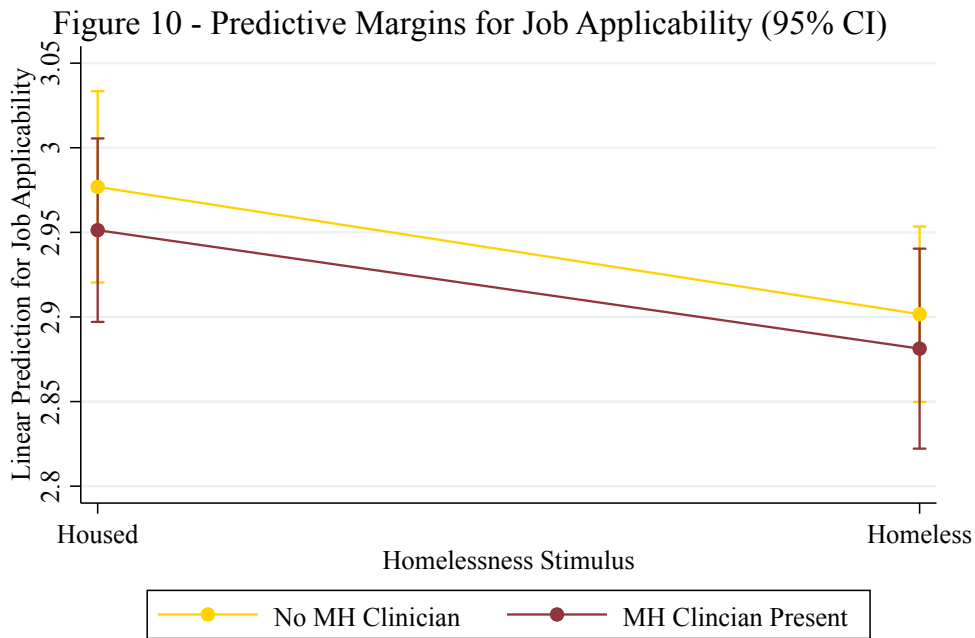
Section 2: Qualitative Findings

Themes Across the Four Vignettes

After reading their randomly assigned vignette participants were asked to respond

to one open-ended question, "*If you were the officer in the call described, please explain*

how you would respond to this call for service." The intent of including this question was

to enhance the understanding of how police officers make decisions in encounters with

individuals experiencing homelessness. A total of 54 overarching themes were created to

identify how the participants would have responded to the call for service. Across all

1099 responses, several themes emerged related to an officer's anticipated interactions,

decision-making process, and outcomes. Because these responses were coded according

to their assigned vignette, multiple differences in themes were identified between

participants who received the experimental and control groups. These themes are

discussed generally across all vignettes and a broader understanding of police responses

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to these encounters is presented, followed by a conversation around differences in themes between the stimuli and control groups within the full sample.

Across all vignettes some of the strongest themes to occur prior to resolving the encounter (i.e., arrest, citation, warning) were trying to identify the individual (n = 473) and assessing their medical and mental health (n = 483), often by asking dispatch or the individual for more information (n = 355). These three themes were often related in an encounter. Participants often reported asking for more information, and in the process of doing so, trying to identify the individual and getting a better understanding of their medical and mental health. When trying to identify the individual, it was common for participants to do two things. First, many responses (n = 87) highlighted the importance of introducing themselves, explaining why they are contacting them, and building rapport:

> "I would try to befriend the person to gather more information. Once I was able to gather a name I would be able to find out if he is engaged with any homeless outreach providers or mental health professionals. If he is not I could help him get in contact with the outreach providers or mental health professionals. I would see if there is an immediate resource he is needing, i.e. shoes/ food. If he is homeless I would encourage him to seek shelter at one of our homeless shelters or see if he would be willing to seek treatment at our location assessment and intervention center. If he would be willing to go to one of the 2, I would offer transportation or a bus pass. Before leaving I would still try to explain the importance of staying out of the construction area." (*Housed, No Clinician*)

"I would first explain why I had approached him and who called for police services. After listening to his response, I would explain why he was being asked to leave the area. If he had mental health issues, I would determine the extent, the need for immediate intervention such as (immediate detention, medication compliance, voluntary psych eval at local clinic or hospital), and initiate/coordinate assistance. If he was in need of transportation, I would attempt to contact a nearest of kin/relative or arrange other means. I would determine if he were in need of additional services and provide contact information. If it were just him being in the wrong place with no other issues, I would politely ask him to leave the area of the construction site and explain why." (*Homelessness Stimulus, No Clinician*)

"Introduce myself, tell him my name, introduce my partner (mental health officer), and ask for his name. Explain to him why we were called. Ask if he was sick or injured. Ask if he knew his address. Ask if he needed us to contact someone for him. Ask if he needed assistance getting to where he was going. Let him know being in the construction area without permission may get him in trouble."(*Mental Health Clinician Stimulus, Housed*)

"Once an intro/rapport was established, explain to him why we are there. This can be incorporated into a quick assessment to establish his awareness and level of comprehension. Rule out any immediate medical needs and get a history including address of residence, family, medical and psych diagnosis as well as prescriptions/compliance." (*Mental Health Clinician Stimulus, Homelessness*

Stimulus)

In the descriptions above, participants from each vignette illustrate that one of the first things they would anticipate doing in their encounter is introducing themselves before gathering more information.

A second theme upon interacting with the individual in their encounter, participants described "running" him or conduct a "warrant check" (n = 274). Conducting a warrant check also allowed participants to identify if this is a repeat offense (n =44) and if the individual is listed as a missing person (n = 26). Alluding to this process, and what happens after, one participant explained:

> "I would do a record check on the verbal ID the male gave me to ensure that he is
> not wanted for a criminal offence, or a Mental Health Apprehension. If he is not
> wanted I would contact a shelter to determine if there is a bed available. If no bed
> available then I would arrange for one of the street outreach programs to stop by
> and assist with transportation, food, etc." (*Homelessness Stimulus, No Clinician)*

When participants ran a warrant check and the individual was considered "clean," (i.e., no pending warrants or written trespasses for the location) the participant articulated that they would conclude the interaction by offering a range of different informal outcomes. For instance, in the description above, the officer anticipated that they would offer services in the form of a shelter or contact them with an outreach program for other services. Across the responses, mention of a shelter was discussed 113 times, offering services more generally was discussed 162 times, and facilitating/providing transportation was noted 167 times. Some examples of offering help or different services

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include:

> "I would ask for his name and date of birth. I would check for warrants and then ask him to leave. If needed a ride, I would give it to him." (*Housed, No Clinician*)

> "If he's just trespassing/"being suspicious" I would try to minimize any type of enforcement action and assist the person in maybe getting back to his "spot" or maybe get him some help if he's willing to accept it. I would try to identify him. Not because of warrants but he could be a missing person and maybe he needs help getting him back with his family." (*Homeless Stimulus, No Clinician*)

> "Upon arrival, I would attempt to identify the subject, since technically the subject was committing a crime, i.e., trespassing. I would then try to ascertain what exactly was going on and if the subject just needed help getting back home or needed a ride somewhere, I would oblige the subject and take them wherever they wanted to go."(*Housed, No Clinician*)

> "Explain reason for contact. Assess comprehension. Ascertain identity and check for wants/warrants. If criminal issues exist, handle at appropriate level with documentation for human services follow-up. If shift to community caretaking is feasible, introduce partner and see what basic human needs can be addressed in the present time. Accommodate as reasonable based on precinct/patrol needs. Refer and connect to human services if accepted, if not, at the very least provide written/verbal information for human services connections. Retain info for potential human services follow-up with caseworker/MHP follow-up. Referral to any diversion programs if appropriate (Drug Court, Community Court, MH

Court, Veteran's Court - if applicable)." (*Mental Health Clinician Stimulus,*

Homelessness Stimulus)

For some officers, if there was no clear criminal intent, the encounter was not a

repeat trespassing offense, the individual did not have a warrant or written trespass, and

no need for immediate medical attention, they concluded the scenario by moving the

individual along (n = 277). Illustrating this, participants said "Tell the fella to move

along. Call then complete," and "Gather name and information. Tell him to move along."

This was coupled with service provision many times, but other times not. In terms of

criminal responses, most participants articulated that it would be unlikely for the

encounter to end in an arrest or citation unless the individual became noncompliant.

Instead, participants were more likely to let the individual off with a verbal warning,

verbal trespass, or written trespass, which was largely related to the property owner's

concerns. Put together, survey participants were largely in consensus that the interaction

would involve asking the individual more questions to ascertain their identity and any

services they need, and "run" them for active warrants/missing person cases/recent

contact, which would help determine if an informal or criminal justice outcome would be

best.

Homelessness Stimulus – Full Sample

Most of the themes that emerged were present for all four vignettes, with only a

few appearing only in the stimulus or control and not the other. However, several themes

emerged at a different frequency in the full sample for participants who received the

homelessness stimulus compared to those who received the control vignette. At a

quantitative level, participants randomly assigned the homelessness stimulus (including those who received both stimuli) more frequently reported: moving the individual along (n = 202 v. 148), conducting a warrant check/running the individual (n = 151 v. 123), offering services (n = 94 v 68), mentioning shelter services (n = 84 v. 29), introducing themselves and explaining the situation (n = 63 v. 31), and contacting an outreach worker/CIT team/co-responder (n = 36 v. 14).

When compared to the control condition *with* a mental health clinician, there were some themes that occurred less frequently for participants who received the homelessness stimulus. Specifically, participants who received the homelessness stimulus less frequently mentioned a medical/mental/behavioral health crisis (n = 224 v. 259), facilitating transportation home or to services (n = 81 v. 97), potentially detaining the individual (n = 21 v. 41), and some degree of substance abuse (n = 16 v. 42). Participants were also less likely to describe the encounter with the homelessness stimulus as a welfare check or as an avenue to assess an individual's well-being and if they are a danger to themselves or others (n = 46 v. 63).

Mental Health Clinician Stimulus – Full Sample

Themes also emerged differently among participants assigned the mental health clinician stimulus when compared to participants who had the baseline interaction (i.e., no mental health clinician dispatched). Quantitatively, among the mental health clinician stimulus three themes emerged more frequently: medical/mental/behavioral health crisis (n = 269 v. 214) and offering services (n = 89 v. 73). Themes less frequently mentioned among the mental health clinician stimulus included: verifying identification (n = 223 v.

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250), facilitating transportation (n = 79 v. 99), and contacting the property owner (n = 37 v. 56). It should also be noted that across all interactions including the mental health clinician stimulus, participants noted 93 times that the clinician would take the lead or have some sort of role in the interaction.

Section 3: Mixed Methods Integration

Across the 1099 responses, a handful of participants identified the vignette as akin to a "common call," (n = 14) for them, while others felt it was not detailed enough (n = 32) because it either made inaccurate assumptions or left out information they would receive at their department. Examples of these comments include:

> "I have been on this call hundreds of times. In most cases it has been based around a transient subject who has unlawfully entered to: take shelter, steal, or is suffering from some mental/drug related impairment that hinders them from thinking 'I shouldn't be here.'" (*Common call, Homelessness Stimulus, No Clinician*)

> "There is not enough information in this scenario to accurately make a determination about anything. The scenario is poor. Each action takes a reaction and then the scenario changes from there." (*Not detailed enough, Mental Health Clinician Stimulus, Housed*)

These findings are consistent with the quantitative findings which overall suggested that the vignettes were realistic and easy to imagine. In the 32 responses that noted the scenario was inaccurate or they needed more information, it was often because they simply needed more information to make a decision, or because something like the

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scenario they received (e.g., having a mental health clinician as a co-responder) was unlikely to happen in their area:

> "The original information does not lend me to believe the suspect is mentally ill beyond a functioning capacity. There is not enough information in the narrative provided. Is there a baseball game? Is he just intoxicated? Is he just tired? Too much ambiguity to fully form an opinion on this example." (*Housed, No Clinician*)

Relatedly, across all answers, 355 participant responses indicated that the officer would try to ascertain more information from the individual or dispatch to decide on how they wanted to proceed with the contact. While some officers did not see this favorably— and certainly a handful simply did not like the call at all— the nature of the call intentionally lacked detail to provide more opportunities for the participant's personal narrative. In essence, the fact that these interactions did not have enough information allowed me to identify what their processes would look like going into an interaction without prior details, thereby giving more insight into their decision-making process and the role they fill in these types of interactions.

In addition to the fact that several participants noted the scenario or trespassing was not enough to permit an arrest without a history of recent contacts or pending warrant, this helps explain why the criminal justice outcomes in the quantitative findings were largely nonsignificant. Put best by a survey participant, one officer said:

> "It would depend on factors not given in the scenario. We also attempt to ID a subject we come in contact with, especially if they are not fully cooperative with

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us and a crime has been committed. If the person is believed to be suffering from a mental health issue, we would do everything to provide him help by calling a co-responder out that is experienced in this field. If we believe the person may be intoxicated, we will find them someone to release them to and issue a citation. If they are cooperative and provide their correct info and pose no other concerns, we will likely move them along with no further action." (*Housed, No Clinician)*

This is an important finding because it underscores how situationally dependent these interactions are. and that they cannot necessarily be narrowed down to likeliness of a specific outcome. Moreover, the need for more information was equally present among all vignettes. Put together, outcomes in police-citizen interactions, particularly for lower-level crimes such as trespassing, are not as cut and draw as informal versus formal outcome. In these encounters officers weigh a wide range of information to come to their subjective conclusion of the most positive outcome for everyone involved.

The quantitative portion of this chapter did not clearly identify if certain criminal justice outcomes are more or less present among the stimuli. For the homelessness stimulus, estimates were in a negative direction with regard to arrest and citation but in a positive direction for informal outcomes. The qualitative findings help explain why this may be the case. Participants who received the homelessness stimulus were no more or less frequently discussing arrest as an outcome than participants with other vignettes. Yet, participants assigned the homelessness stimulus more frequently discussed conducting a warrant check. The warrant check has the potential to lead to an arrest, and because of this, individuals experiencing homelessness may be more likely to receive an arrest

compared to housed individuals if they are naturally getting ran for a warrant check in the qualitative findings. Because participants were presented with a hypothetical scenario; however, these officers suggested that arrest was only an outcome in the instance that they had a current warrant or written trespass. Otherwise, participants were given a warning— written or verbal— and instructed to move along, which may be perceived as gray area in terms of formal and informal outcomes. In some cases, participants were connected to other services like crisis intervention teams, which may also be in a gray area as far as formality goes. This is demonstrated in the quotes below for participants who received the homelessness stimulus:

"Get his name, run him for warrants. Otherwise, with our policy we would issue a warning. If the owner wants him trespassed, I can trespass him from the property with a warning if he comes back, he can be arrested. The jail would not take him for just a trespass arrest, so I would release him and request charges." (*Housed, No Clinician*)

"I would attempt to understand his point of view. If I determined this to be a mental health crisis, I would involve our Crisis Response Team. If the subject continued to refuse with lawful orders, I would have place him/her under arrest. The goal is to get the subject to leave, and provide the subject with help. Arrest is the last option." (*Homelessness Stimulus, No Clinician*)

"I would ensure he was safe, offered any appropriate resources, educate him on trespassing laws, warn him about trespassing at that location and that he would be arrested if he returns to that area, and then ask him to move along. If victim

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advocates were available, see if they were able to provide transportation to a shelter or other resource if the subject was willing." (*Homelessness and Mental Health Clinician Stimuli*)

In the full sample, participants with the homelessness stimulus also reported higher odds of resolving the scenario through service coordination, which could be perceived as either a formal or informal outcome. This also helps explain the lower odds of participants concluding their scenario with a formal outcome. Estimates in Appendix F underscores this finding, with participants reporting significantly higher odds of resolving their encounter by coordinating with emergency shelter and mental health services. These findings are also aligned with the higher frequency of themes related to mentioning shelter services, offering services broadly, and mentioning/coordinating with a co-responder unit within open-ended responses among participants with the homelessness stimulus.

In terms of the mental health clinician stimulus, quantitative findings suggested that participants reported higher odds of: 1) resolving the encounter informally, 2) agreeing that the individual would become verbally or physically aggressive, and 3) resolving the encounter through service coordination. Because participants with the mental health clinician stimulus more frequently discussed the potential of a medical/mental/behavioral health crisis in open-ended responses, this helps explain why participants have higher odds of agreeing the individual would become verbally or physically aggressive and why officers may be more prone to coordinate services. Perhaps the mere presence of the mental health clinician in the encounter primed officers

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to be more inclined to think about issues related to behavioral and mental health. In addition to this, 93 participants alluded to taking advice or having the clinician take the lead on the encounter. Some examples of these findings are shown below:

"I would tell him that he cannot be on the property and ask him to leave. I would let the clinician offer any applicable services that the man may voluntarily receive. If he met the criteria for emergency commitment he would be take[n] in custody to a hospital. If he did not meet criteria or refused to leave after being given notice, I would arrest him and take him to jail." (*Mental Health Clinician and Homelessness Stimuli)*

"Obtain the man's Name and date of birth from him verbally. If he was not aggressive, I would give the Mental health clinician time to speak with him so that they could determine if there were any services that they could provide. If not, I would allow him to leave the scene with a warning." (*Mental Health Clinician Stimulus, Housed)*

"I would defer to the mental health worker. I have no interest in pursuing any further criminal investigation." (*Mental Health Clinician and Homelessness Stimuli*)

The quotes above illustrate the emphasis on mental health, the use of the mental health clinicians, and a range of potential outcomes, including informal ones, that could conclude the encounter. In doing so they reinforce the value of incorporating a clinician in police responses to issues of homelessness because it opens up opportunities for the police and mental health clinicians to coordinate and create an optimal response. Because

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these participants had the clinician available to draw on, they were able to lean on their knowledge in the decision making process, or hand the encounter entirely off to them. The weight of the experimental findings, both quantitative and qualitative, highlight one fundamental theme— encounters with individuals, regardless of homelessness status, are highly complex and it is difficult to pin down how they will end. Most officers articulated that an outcome could not be determined without asking more questions to consider the background and behavior of the individual in the encounter. In 14 open-ended responses participants suggested that the time they spend in the encounter depends on the scenario circumstances as well as their departmental demands (e.g., number of pending calls, available officers). For instance, one participant noted that they would:

> "Have the person move along and go to the next priority call holding. My shift minimally staffed is 17. We typically run between 5-7 officers short every day. That's only if there isn't a major tactical call (shooting, homicide, etc.) happening in any of the three precincts. We unfortunately don't have the time to give the service people need." (*Mental Health Clinician and Homelessness Stimulus)*

In the quote above, the participant shares how their ability to provide services is limited to the demands of their shift. Regardless of potentially wanting to provide more services or services being available, the officers may not be able to provide them anyways. Echoing this, a different participant said they would "Give the person a ride out of the County as we do not have services for homeless. As with most of rural [State], these services are limited to the few metropolitan areas and we are not one of them." When making decisions in encounters who are experiencing homelessness or not, participants

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are illustrating what it means to be a street-level bureaucrat. They are delivering policy

— or not— based on the circumstances of the encounter, their bounded knowledge on

resources, and the high degree of demands placed on them for a shift.

CHAPTER 6

STUDY 2: ETHNOGRAPHY ON OUTREACH WORKERS

Research Question 3: Outreach Workers and Individuals Experiencing

Homelessness

Research question three asked "How do outreach workers engage with individuals experiencing homelessness in Maricopa County, Arizona?" To answer this question, I draw on ethnographic field notes taken during observations of outreach workers in Maricopa County, Arizona. These field notes were originally taken in the field and then elaborated on after the shift, totaling 94 single spaced pages of notes and a minimum of 177 interactions between outreach workers and individuals experiencing homelessness. In the spirit of a constructivist approach, I present the observations of and conversations held with outreach workers during the four-month data collection period to express the culture around outreach worker engagement and responses to issues of homelessness.

The Atypical Day of an Outreach Worker

I begin this chapter by providing an overview of what the typical day looks like for the outreach workers I did ride-alongs with. The biggest pattern across the typical day for the 14 outreach workers I shadowed was that no day is really typical. The role of the outreach worker is highly dynamic. For HOT-A, members of the team shared that their overarching goal is to get individuals housed that may not receive housing through federal funding. This is because these individuals score so low on the VI-SPDAT— a housing assessment tool used by the Department of Housing and Urban Development to determine an individual's eligibility for federally funded housing— that they may never

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receive funded housing. It was often the case these clients scored for permanent

supportive housing, which was described as having less funding. An outreach worker's

day on HOT-A is largely unstructured and members on the team use their time to achieve

their ultimate goal of getting individuals housed, but engage with the Neighborhood and

individuals who reside in it in many other ways:

> I asked the team members "What does a typical day look like for you all?" The
>
> consensus was that there really is no typical day. "No day is the same," Dorthea
>
> noted. I asked them what their goal is, because at that point it was still a bit
>
> unclear what they actually did. Dorthea and Joe explained that each outreach
>
> worker with HOT-A has a caseload of clients and "our goal is housed." The two
>
> explained that they aim to work with clients first who have income because there
>
> may be fewer challenges in getting them housed because they have the means to
>
> potentially pay for housing. In doing so, the team works with their clients to
>
> identify needs and how they can connect them to the resources that can meet those
>
> needs. For individuals without income, HOT-A can put clients in hotels they own,
>
> which they call a "bridge program." They note that this is for clients who may not
>
> be able to get into other types of housing but would be suitable for the hotel.
>
> When asked about how they perceive their role and the different types of things
>
> they do, Dorthea noted "I look at my role as a guidance counselor, case manager,
>
> a therapist."

Echoing this, when asked how she would describe her role a different team member on

HOT-A said:

"It's a lot," she starts off saying. Specifically, Faith feels like they have a very

large role doing outreach with the community. Speaking to how she sees her role

more broadly Faith says that, "As long as I put a plus in someone's day, I did my

job." But, more specifically Faith 's ultimate goal is everything—housing,

sobriety, furniture, getting kids back, etc. There are many outcomes that she can

work towards when helping clients and her ultimate goal is to slowly achieve all

of them.

For HOT-A a typical day involves any range of roles and is typically dependent on the

needs of the individuals in their caseload. Take, Faith, for instance, whose day when I

observed her was primarily centered on getting a client additional funding so that she

could furnish her house:

Faith has a client in a domestic violence shelter, and she is trying to get her and

her two sons help with moving costs. The woman and her children were in a

situation where their family was abusing them and so they were placed in a shelter

for protection. Faith was able to get them an apartment after a long process of

looking, but because of the costs the family would not be able to have furniture as

well. [The nonprofit] provides something called "flex funds," which is an

allotment of $2,500 for each client to help pay for the different services they need.

Faith's client will use all of this funding to get into housing but will be left with

no other money for any type of furniture and other expenses, leaving her about

$1400 shy. At that point, the reasoning for getting individuals into housing is

diminished because it isn't as sustainable. For her domestic violence client, Faith

is coordinating with a different service provider to help get the additional funding for the apartment and furniture. The client has a meeting this morning and we are going to take her to it after her son is picked up for school.

HOT-B also engages in a wide range of outreach strategies to get individuals into housing. The outreach workers on HOT-B have some flexibility in their day, but sometimes their day is derailed by other aspects of their job:

I ask 'Em what a typical day looks like for her. She hesitates and says that she tries to plan, but "sometimes you don't know what's going to happen." So, for today her mission is to find a client named Tim because his housing voucher is ready. This means that she needs to find him somewhere out in the city so she can get him his housing voucher and into his own place. But the "day kind of gets jumbled," because we sometimes ride-along with the police.

In a different conversation with Shelly, she expands on this a bit and describes how the outreach workers on HOT-B are also responsible for responding to calls on the community hotline and reports of community encampments. In this way, outreach workers have a similar issue to law enforcement in that they both can become caught up by calls for service, preventing them from doing other aspects of their role. Discussing this, Shelly said:

More generally, their job has been impacted because they have to prioritize community hotline calls from the previous day before beginning outreach. Because of this, appointments they make with clients on the streets or shelters end up being missed and they lose time to go into the community and build rapport.

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Shelly says that "Trust is everything," when it comes to getting clients into

services. Not having the time in the field to build this trust reduces the capacity of

the team to make connections with clients and to connect them to services.

There was no day that was the same across the 16 ride-alongs I conducted with

HOT-A and HOT-B. A pattern across almost all days was that at some point we were in

the field doing outreach. This involved handing out water and personal hygiene products,

and identifying if there were needs that could be provided immediately to some

individuals. However, outreach itself is not the only part of the job. Many times, I

observed outreach workers engaging in case management duties like driving people to

housing meetings, and in other observations I went with outreach workers to community

calls related to emerging encampments. Each ride-along brought new interactions and

activities as the outreach workers responded to the needs of their community, which shift

from case-to-case.

Identifying Needs and Problem Solving

At the center of an outreach worker's job is identifying the needs of individuals

they engage with and finding ways to provide them with resources. For some individuals

this meant housing, for others it meant getting them access to detox or to a safe place to

stay. In this section I provide a series of observations, some short and some longer, that

underscore the way outreach workers engage with the community experiencing

homelessness as they identify needs, problem solve, and provide services.

Augustine

On my first ride-along with Faith she had clear goals for the day. She wanted to help one of her clients, Augustine, get access to more funding for their new apartment and she wanted to check in with another client that she had been trying to help with sobriety. At seven in the morning Faith and I drove up to a tent and I observed the following encounter:

We get to a specific tent in the Neighborhood and meet an individual Faith said that she had been trying to help for a while. A woman stepped out wearing pink sweatpants and a sweatshirt. She comes out shivering just as I was thinking that I was cold. Faith says she was just stopping by and she asks what she can do to help the woman get what she needs. "I want to move so I can get clean," she says and Faith replies, "You tired? You ready, I'm ready to make that move with you." Faith asks her when the last time she used was. "Last night," says the client. Faith hugs her and says, "I'm so proud of you." The woman starts crying. I watch the scene and notice that I can already smell the smoke of fentanyl in the air, strong like it was the day prior. Faith says we will be back in an hour after we drop another client off at their appointment. Before we get in the car to go she tells her to try hard not to use again before we get back.

In this interaction, Faith happened to go to this person at the right time, and they happened to be ready to receive services. While Faith did have to leave for a standing appointment, we went later that day to help this woman. The following observations describe the rest of this encounter with Augustine:

When the client finally came out she got into the back seat. She said she needed to go back for her chapstick, "I'm dehydrated." We started driving and Faith asked "What made you give in today?" At that the client began to describe her story. It was a bit difficult to following because it seemed like she was still shivering from how cold she was, but I also could not tell if she had used again or might have some mental health issues. She explains that her brother and her got shot, but her brother was killed. She also has family in prison and has been in prison herself. "I don't want nothing to happen to my kids… If anything happens to my kids." The client begins crying and Faith adopts a counselor role. She says multiple times how proud she is of her and that she is going to get her into services today.

The client gets out behind me and we walk to the back entrance of a wraparound service provider. Augustine is crying a little and Faith continues to say how proud she is of her while she cries. All the desks are empty except for the one at the entrance where one man sits. Faith asks him if there are any employees that can help set her up and he says that most individuals are off today.

Faith tells Augustine to go sit down with two or three other clients in the waiting area, I think so she can have some privacy with the man at the front desk. She tells him that she just brought her client in from the Neighborhood, and she thinks she might have used again while we were gone. She says that we have to capitalize on the fact that she is here and whatever he can do we need to do it because she is ready for services. He asks a couple of questions, and Faith says that the client is going to need wraparound services, including detox. He says

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okay let me see what I can do and goes to the back room. After a couple minutes he comes back and asks Faith's client to come with him; she seems confused but steps forward and we follow him a few feet away to an employee named Marjorie. She says hi and tells the client she is going to help her right now.

Augustine seems a bit scared and is still crying and Faith steps in and hugs her. "We gotta keep you safe," she says to Augustine a couple of times and then she explains to the client that she will be here to help her through the process, she just has to call her. She tells her that she is going to go to detox to get clean... As we leave I make a mental note that Faith has a strong relationship with this service provider and is very comfortable working with them, despite the concerns I heard from the team the day prior about this provider. I asked Faith about this and she reiterated that she will work with anyone and her client needed wraparound services. This provider is the only group that can do that, so she has to be able to work with them.

The observations made between Faith and Augustine illustrate the different strategies an outreach worker will draw on to meet a client's needs. When it came to Augustine, her broader need was getting into detox, but in the process, she also needed someone to listen to her and support her and Faith was able to shift into that role while getting Augustine to detox. In terms of process, Faith used her discretion to pick a service provider that could best meet the needs of her client. Knowing that her client needed wraparound services, Faith brought her somewhere that could provide that, regardless of if they were the ideal partner to coordinate with.

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James and Betty

James and Betty are an old married couple experiencing homelessness in Maricopa County. 'Em, an outreach worker with HOT-B, has been working with them for a few months and is trying to get them into housing. The issue with James and Betty is that they both have a drug dependency and are not ready to take certain steps needed to go into housing that might be available for them. In the encounter described below, James and Betty called 'Em because they needed help moving their belongings to shelter for the evening:

> James says thank you to 'Em and says that him and his wife, Betty, will be ready to leave once she gets there. Once we see that James has a bunch of belongings next to him, 'Em begins putting things in the back of the truck. Instead of just standing there and observing this happen, I started pitching in. This started to become second nature during my ride alongs with HOT-B. It seemed like there were times the team just needed help and I had two available hands. Sometimes I was asked and other times I wasn't... We gently moved IKEA bags full of clothes. We've moved blankets. We moved a frozen pizza and half empty bottles of soda, placing them into the back of the truck bed, which ended up being full by the time we finished. Once everything was in the truck, all that was left was James, his Betty, and a giant crate that had three cats in it. James looked at 'Em and asked if she wanted to put the cat crate in the bed of the truck and she said no, they can go inside of the cab. She opened the back of the cab and moved things out of the way

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so the cat crate could go in the center… I picked up the cat crate and put it in the back seat.

James and Betty are characters. As soon as his wife showed up to the area, I could smell the fentanyl around her. She talked to us the entire time and told us stories about what had been going on in her life recently while we put things into the bed of the truck. James and his wife are in their 60s and they carry around a giant crate with three cats in it everywhere they go… And this is exactly what 'Em was talking about earlier when she said that one of the biggest barriers for individuals is getting them to get into housing when they have pets because James and his wife will not leave their cats.

'Em, myself, James, Betty, and the three cats are in the truck and we begin driving to whatever location it is that 'Em said she would drop them off at. While we're in the truck, James and his wife tell us a story about how they were on a street recently and they were being watched and followed by a car… With the windows closed, I could very strongly smell the fentanyl. I noticed that 'Em put her window down a couple of inches, and so I did the same in hopes that it would help blow the scent of the drug out of the cab. Betty continued to talk in the back of the car when the topic of her cats came up. 'Em said that she was curious if they still wanted to keep all of them right now, or if they were interested in housing, because boarding the cats temporarily could be an option. James and his wife seemed saddened by this idea, and James's wife choked up a little bit as she described how one of her most loved cats, Sylvester, recently passed away. She

started crying a little bit. She said that it seemed like he [Sylvester] wasn't feeling well. And then he stopped moving one day. They realized that he passed away but didn't know what to do with the body, so they carried it around for a week until they found a place to get rid of it. Now they carry three cats around in the crate.

When 'Em stopped the truck I was surprised to see that we were at a storage unit office. At first I wasn't really sure what was going on until I heard Betty talk about the code to the unit and how they are going sleep in there for the night. That is when I realized that 'Em and I had just transported this couple to a storage space where they were going to sleep for the night and then in the morning say that they did not know that they were not able to sleep there… 'Em and I worked to move all of their belongings out of the bed of the truck. We placed bags in a circle, put blankets on top of each other, and 'Em asked if they wanted any other blankets from the back of the truck, and she gave the couple one… As we drove off, Betty was using a code to open the door to the storage unit office and James was slowly bringing their belongings into the area where they would stay for the evening. I confirmed with 'Em that this was the case, that they were staying for the night, and she said yes. I asked 'Em why they carried those three cats around in the giant crate and she said that that is just what they want to do. She said that she had offered alternatives. She had discussed boarding them so they could get into housing, but they would not let go of the cats. And so they spent the night in a storage unit.

There is a lot to unpack in the interaction between 'Em, James, Betty, and their three cats. Ultimately, 'Em is using the tools that she has to solve a problem for James and Betty. It was late in the evening so 'Em so many places she may have been able to connect them with were closed. It was also a towards the end of the week so a referral to a shelter would not have been reviewed until Monday. 'Em's discretion was naturally constrained by the time of day and week, but was further limited by the couple's needs. Primarily, the couple needed assistance getting to public storage, but in the interaction 'Em also offered options to get them into housing. Unfortunately, the couple is limited to where they can be housed because they are unwilling to board their cats temporarily. 'Em is illustrating how a core element of being an outreach worker is getting people access to resources to address their current needs, regardless of if they satisfy long-term goals such as housing. In this case the couple needed a ride to public storage so they would have somewhere to sleep at night. Yes, James and Betty need permanent housing and likely other services related to physical and mental health, but that is not something they were ready to work towards. So, 'Em did what she could given the limits of her training and knowledge and the boundaries the couple has put up regarding housing. This is a clear of street-level bureaucracy where 'Em, the street-level bureaucrat, made discretionary decisions based on the case she had encountered. Perhaps dropping two individuals off near public storage is not the ideal outcome, but it was the best outcome she could provide given the situation.

Inez

During one of my ride-alongs with HOT-B, 'Em spent the better part of an entire shift providing services to one individual. On this ride-along 'Em demonstrates how a part of the outreach role can be reactively providing services to individuals who reach out themselves and need them:

I arrived at the HOT-B Office Space at 1:00 PM and 'Em had already texted me that we have a mission. She tells me that this morning a woman named Inez showed up at the office this morning, and she asked 'Em for help because she had been beaten up at a shelter the night previously. 'Em let me know that she is currently waiting to be seen by a mobile medical unit… Inez says that she was beat up by men with bats at a shelter in a different city. When they beat her up, they took her wallet and her identification. She said that this was not the first time that this had happened. She checked in at the shelter sometime around January 23rd. She got her ID's and her Social Security check sometime around the 24th, and at some point between those two days the men beat her up. She then left on January 26th and showed up in this city.

While we are waiting, a woman comes out of the van and approaches 'Em and I. She says that she is a social worker. After talking to Inez, she says that she feels like Inez is very vulnerable, and she wants to get her into somewhere for housing that evening. 'Em said that she's not entirely sure where she can go because it is because if they put any referrals in they will not be reviewed until Monday. The social worker says that she has a couple people that she can call and

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that she will see what she can do…The social worker comes to the office we were waiting in and she tells 'Em that she called a few people, but no one was able to get her in that evening.

'Em began her encounter with Inez by addressing her most urgent needs first. Because Inez had physical injuries from being assaulted her first step was to get Inez to see medical care. While this confirmed that Inez was moderately injured, there remained a lot of other needs that Inez had and that 'Em had to figure out how to address. After hearing from the social worker, 'Em went to Inez so they could make a plan together on what to do next:

'Em takes some time to problem solve and figure out what we should do next for Inez. The first thing that makes sense is to call and cancel her debit card, which got stolen by the gentleman that beat her up the night previously. We spent about 10 minutes calling different individuals and trying to get it cancelled, which was difficult because Inez was not entirely sure of the permanent address that was on file. We ended up getting it cancelled and 'Em asked her how she was feeling and what she wanted to do next. "Yeah, it's [her nose] definitely fractured. They only got me in the head once or twice, though," referring to the men that beat her up. Inez's nose has a bunch of bruising around it, and there are little places where the skin had broken from being hit. 'Em says "I don't have anywhere for you to go tonight. I want to be honest with you," to which Inez responds, "I trust you…" When we drop Inez off. 'Em says, "Do you want me to have them call me when

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they're done?" Inez says yes because she'd like 'Em to drop her off somewhere

that she can sleep for the night.

After having her seen by the mobile medical unit, 'Em addressed Inez's next biggest

needs, which were protecting her identity by cancelling her debit card and then taking her

to see further medical attention. In this process 'Em sat with Inez and walked her through

cancelling her cards and she actively asked Inez what she wanted to do next, giving her

agency in the process. Moreover, 'Em made herself available to pick her up after seeing

the doctor. After responding to different calls in the city related to homelessness, 'Em and

I went back to the medical center to pick up Inez:

> We asked Inez where she wants to be dropped off, and she says "I'm gonna sleep
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> in the alley behind [city building]." 'Em mentions that she did put in a referral to
>
> a rotating shelter but had not heard back yet. Inez asks if on our way we can stop
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> at the CVS across from the library so that she can pick up an anti-anxiety
>
> medication that was ordered for her by the doctor. 'Em agrees and we head that
>
> way… [After the CVS] We get closer to the city building and Inez says that she
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> wants to be dropped off in the alleyway because there are no cameras there. 'Em
>
> says that is a good spot to stay because if she gets too close to the bus stop or to
>
> the West side of the city building they will call security on her and have her
>
> moved. Inez laughs and says "They got cameras but no homeless
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> resources…They can't get us off the street because of a $30,000 camera."

> We dropped Inez off on the northwest side of the city building. As she
>
> walks away, 'Em looks at me and she says that she bets security watched her drop

Inez off and she is going to hear about it later. Usually, they do not like it when she drops people off there.

The conclusion of 'Em's interaction with Inez involved addressing additional needs that Inez shared and doing the best she could to find a space for Inez to stay for the night. In total we spent about five hours with Inez on this shift, navigating her through different resources that could address the needs she had in that moment. Ultimately, Inez did not end up housed or even sheltered. Instead, she slept near the same place she had shown up that morning because resources are so limited that there was nowhere for her to go. Even though 'Em referred her to shelters, Inez has to wait for the process of them looking through her file and accepting her, which at best would occur the following Monday leaving her vulnerable until then. Later that evening I asked 'Em about a different service provider option and the following conversation ensued:

> I asked 'Em why we could not have asked if Inez if she wanted to go to detox with [Provider Name]. While there are no shelters available for walk-in's that evening, [Provider Name] does have a detox that would take individuals who are ready and want to go through it. That is an available option if Inez wanted to go through detox and it was something that I had seen a separate outreach worker do with HOT-A. In hindsight, I probably shouldn't have said this at all because it was kind of manipulating the situation. Not intentionally, of course, but it is adding information that could produce an outcome that would not have happened if I was not there. Ethically, however, I felt that not saying this would reduce an opportunity for Inez to be sheltered for the evening. That felt more unethical to

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me than not saying anything and letting the evening continue to pan out without giving her an opportunity to go somewhere for the evening. I told 'Em that I was sorry. I did not mean to provide input where maybe I should no. She said not to worry about it at all and that she thought it was a great idea. Instead of heading to a hotline call we drove back to the public building where we dropped off Inez less than an hour ago. We looked for her there and in the alley where she said she was going to sleep, but she was not in either place.

The conversation with 'Em after dropping of Inez highlighted a gap in resource knowledge and illustrated how the bounded knowledge of street-level bureaucrats has implications for decision making. By "bounded," I mean that outreach workers and other street-level bureaucrats only know as much as they have learned through training and the connections they have made at work (Simon, 1997). Thus, they can only make decisions based on that knowledge even if there are more optimal outcomes available. In this conversation I informed 'Em of a potential option for Inez that would have provided her with immediate shelter if she was interested in detoxing from her fentanyl addiction. Unfortunately, I shared that idea too late with 'Em and by the time we went to offer this option to her she was gone.

Stephen

One of my ride-alongs involved attending a coordinated event hosted by HOT-A. The outreach workers had an integral role in planning the event. Some of the outreach workers were posted at check-in, while some played a more supportive role. During this shift I spent most of my time with Faith, but also roamed around to other outreach

workers. At one point Stephanie brought a client to Faith and the following encounter ensued:

> Faith and I go back into the table where [the nonprofit] is set up. Stephanie has someone waiting for Faith because he also has kids, and she knows that Faith has a soft spot for kids and seniors. Stephanie tells her that he has a felony background, but he also has enough income to afford an apartment for himself and his children. The issue is that she is not sure if he would pass a background check. Faith starts looking through phone numbers and she calls someone; before he answers she says, "This dude won't do a background check if I ask." Faith calls him and she lets him know that she has an individual who has proof of income, has kids, but has a new felony record for possession and stolen property. After a couple of minutes, she finishes the phone call and then she asks the gentleman to come over and talk to her. She confirms that he does indeed have proof of income and that he would be willing to take an apartment in [city name]… Stephen asks if he has to go check the place out today and she says no. He agrees that he would like to take the place, so Faith texts the person that she just got off the phone with and lets him know that. She gets an address of where the place is located and gives it to Stephen. She gives him her phone number and says that he needs to call her tomorrow, and they'll set up a time to go over and get everything set up. Faith was able to problem solve and find a housing solution for this individual in a matter of 10 minutes. We walked over to the table, and I asked her how she was able to do that. She said, "You just get in good with people." Faith articulated that

once that happens, you're able to draw on these relationships and resources to provide individualized solutions to clientele. I took note that this is probably one of the clearest moments of street-level bureaucracy that I've seen doing these ride alongs.

In the encounter described above Faith draws on a range of different techniques to get a client housing. Specifically, she uses her discretion to identify a way she can get around the barrier of Stephen's felony record and get him into housing. To do so, Faith drew on her personal connections to avoid the red-tape formalities that would prevent her client from being housed. In juxtaposition to police decision making, Faith illustrates that outreach workers have much more agency and flexibility in how they make decisions. Because outreach workers may be less bound to the law, they can find ways to work the system that gets individuals housed regardless of their circumstances. Ultimately, Faith was able to get this person into an apartment in a short period of time because she made relationships with different apartment complex managers who can bend the rules when needed if it means housing a client.

Summary of Findings

With each outreach worker I shadowed I had opportunities to observe them and ask them about how they make decisions and engage with individuals experiencing homelessness. Across these observations and conversations, the most common pattern is that each outreach worker addresses individuals and their needs on a case-by-case basis. The needs of the community experiencing homelessness are too nuanced to have a one-size-fits-all approach. Moreover, outreach workers have the flexibility in their job so that

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they do not have to provide a one-size-fits all approach. Instead, they navigate their social networks and connections to provide the best outcomes they can for their clients needs. Unfortunately, this is limited to only the connections and training they have, meaning every outreach worker may have a different network of individuals they can tap into when addressing a client's needs. While the ultimate goal for many outreach workers is getting individuals housed, their role shifts frequently to the needs of the individual they are interacting with in the moment. This is demonstrated in the observations shared above, but also in a conversation with Rose where she described the role of the outreach workers from her managerial role.

> She tells her outreach workers to use "whatever means necessary to end this person's homelessness," as long as it is legal, moral, and ethical. She says that when it comes to other groups, sometimes they do not address everything needed to support a long-term solution for individuals. "There is no closing the loop, I'm not interested in leaving the loop open," she says, referring to the gaps left open in addressing individuals' needs that make them vulnerable to staying or falling back into homelessness.

> "Closing the loop," involves a lot of effort from the outreach workers in this

study. Outreach workers were dynamic in how they tried to address the needs of their clients, even when their needs were not entirely housing focused. Ultimately, not every "loop," was closed in all the observations discussed. For instance, Inez was dropped off in an alley, and Augustine was just beginning her journey through detox, making stable housing an outcome that might be a bit far away. Across these different interactions a

handful of patterns exist. First, outreach workers have to respond to the needs of their client in the moment. For instance, when Faith realized that her client needed someone to express verbal support, she shared how proud she was of her for taking the step to go to detox. In 'Em's interaction with Inez, she knew that Inez needed to close her debit cards since they were stolen, so she helped her navigate that process. When outreach workers provide services, it goes beyond the assumptions that they will be connecting individuals with housing, doctors, and or mental health professionals. They do this too, but there are other parts of their role that are less defined, much of it involving becoming whatever it is that their client needs in that moment. All of these steps seem to be part of the larger "loop," of getting individuals housed.

A second pattern that existed across the scenarios above is how outreach workers drew on well-established connections to meet the needs of their clients. Illustrated best in the group of observations discussed is when Faith drew on a connection that would not run a background check so she could get an individual with kids housed. In doing so, Faith was able to work the system so that an individual who otherwise would not be able to get housed would be off the street in a matter of days. While some individuals did not have the opportunity to do this exactly, the intent was there. In 'Em's response to James and Betty, she repeatedly expressed a desire to connect the two with boarding services for their pets so she could get them into housing. If James and Betty are ready to be housed 'Em has a connection with a veterinarian who can board the animals while they transition into housing. In practice, many of the outcomes and desired outcomes that were observed are rooted in the outreach worker's social capital. In other words, outcomes were often

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related to an outreach worker knowing someone that can meet their client's needs. In this way, outreach workers gain knowledge regarding the skills and resources different individuals and groups among social welfare providers have so they can draw on them for their clientele.

The final pattern among these different observations, and others that were not noted, is a strong culture of compassion. In an effort to "close the loop," or meet whatever needs their clients have, many of the outreach workers embrace compassion in their approach to their clientele. This culture took a range of shapes— from finding housing for an individual that is ineligible because of criminal history to spending an entire day with someone to help them get their immediate needs met regardless of if it ended in housing or not, the outreach workers centered this compassion in their approach when their clients expressed needs. In a way, drawing on compassion becomes a part of their discretionary decision making. Outreach workers have the agency to emote and respond in any way, but in prioritizing client needs, compassion often comes first.

Research Question 4: Outreach Worker and Police Officer Relationships

The second question of this study, and fourth of this dissertation, asks "What characterizes the relationship between outreach workers and law enforcement officers in Maricopa County, Arizona?" To answer this question I describe observations between outreach workers and the police and conversations with outreach workers describing their perceptions of the police in responding to and addressing issues of homeless.

Observations of the Police in the Field

The goal of research question four was to identify what the relationship between the police and outreach workers looks like. The general pattern across the different interactions I observed is that the police and outreach workers interact with one another when they need to, but the police are not a core element in the typical day of the outreach workers. Both teams engage with agency-specific specialty homelessness units that respond only to issues of homelessness. The outreach workers in both teams agree that these individuals are fine to work with and have a better understanding of the community needs than other officers do. For HOT-A, there were no interactions between the police and outreach workers where they collaborated to co-respond to an issue. Instead, the presence of the police was largely absent in the Neighborhood, except for their required presence at all medical aids. With HOT-A, the longest presence of a police officer with the team occurred when they responded with paramedics to a drug overdose:

Someone is overdosing and there is a medic on the ground trying to check an individual's pulse, while Rose is describing the man's name and who he is. The man is largely unresponsive. Rose says that he has been an alcoholic for a really long time and that he has been on the corner for years. His name is John. At this moment, I'm observing a lot of things happening while the medic is there. Security guards are trying to take John's blood pressure while the EMT is trying to talk to him and get a sense of what is in his system. The EMT takes a breathalyzer so he can get a sense of how intoxicated he is, but John is largely unresponsive. The situation is so bad and John is so intoxicated that no one can get a BP on him, because he has clenched his arms so close and tightly to his

chest that neither the EMT nor security can get him to extend his arm so they can take a pulse. Rose gets on the ground and lays down next to John. She repeatedly says, John, it's me, Rose, you know me. She makes eye contact with him and she says, hi John, it's Rose, can you blow on this breathalyzer? She says it over and over again, but no matter how many times they make eye contact or he seems to look at her, he does not respond. Rose is on the ground and she looks at the EMT and she says "I've known him for 10 years," She looks John in the eye again and she said "It's Rose. I know you know me." She tells the EMT and the other individuals around him that he has some type of condition. Because the man is clenching his arm so tightly and they can't extend his arm, the EMT cuts his sweater to see if his arm was caught and that's why he cannot extend it…I remember asking Dorthea if they had administered Narcan and then I looked closer to the ground and I saw the small nose spray device sitting next to the EMT's bag. At this point, paramedics and PD arrives. I remember that PD is required to go to any calls that paramedics respond in the Neighborhood. PD meets with security and stands back to observe the interaction. The paramedics are with the EMT, and they asked John "Did you take fentanyl too?" They look closer and his eyes are open and I hear one of them say, "Oh yeah, look at his pupils." The paramedics are asking questions and Rose lets them know that on top of alcoholism, he has a skin condition and body lice. Rose is really talking to no one specific at this point, she's just speaking and staring at John. She says, "I've

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housed him three separate times... I honestly think he wants to die." She then lets

the paramedics know that he also has stage two kidney failure.

The interaction above describes what a co-response looks like to a drug overdose

in the Neighborhood. When reported by the outreach workers the response involved

them, medics, HOT-A security, paramedics, and the police. Across all the individuals

involved, the police had the least to do with the interaction, spending most of their time

just observing. For the duration of the call the officer stood back and observed the

interaction, with no other role than to make sure people in the area were safe. The only

other times I observed the police in the Neighborhood were when they just drove through

or were dropping people off at the front gate of the service provider office located at the

heart of the Neighborhood.

The police were a bit more active with HOT-B. Both Shelly and 'Em described

that sometimes they are paired with the police when they work, but the police and HOT-

B also work together to respond to encampment complaints within the community. For

the outreach workers, this developed into two types of interactions that I observed. The

first type involves police officers calling the outreach workers to connect individuals

experiencing homelessness with resources so the officers do not have to trespass or cite

them for urban camping. The second type of interaction is indirect in that the police can

sometimes go to encampment complaints after the outreach workers have already made

contact. While on a ride along with 'Em, I observed the following interaction, which

details 'Em responding to an officer who called for assistance in connecting two

individuals with resources:

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Officer Jakobson with the Homelessness Officer Team requested a HOT-B

member to come out and check in on an encampment… We get to the

encampment, and I realize that it is the same tent from my previous ride along that

Shelly saw. We get out of the truck and walk over to the officer who is just

getting out of his car to approach us. He points us towards a tent that is sitting by

the stop light just as it was on my previous ride-along. He lets us know that

because the tent is on city property it is considered urban camping. He wanted to

have someone with HOT-B check in on them before he is forced to give them a

trespass. We walk over to the tent, and 'Em says her name, that she's with HOT-B

and that she has a teammate with her (me). She asks if there is anyone in the tent,

and if they can talk to her. A feminine voice responds and says that her name is

Fernanda when 'Em asks. 'Em says that she is not in trouble now, but where she

has her tent is considered urban camping because it is trespassing on city

property. 'Em says that the officer would rather see the individuals get access to

housing or shelter if that can happen instead of trespassing them. The officer

stands next to the stop light, observing from a distance… We conclude the

interaction by letting the officer know that they accepted a referral to a rotating

shelter and will try and get in soon. The officer says thank you and we both leave.

When we are in the car 'Em tells me that the two individuals likely accepted

services so they could avoid getting trespassed, which will not happen for a few

days now that HOT-B has outreached and sent in a referral.

In the description above the officer involved was largely there for public safety. While they have the authority to cite the individual for urban camping, they have chosen an alternative route by facilitating a connection with HOT-B. When we arrived, the officer directed us to the tent and made themselves available for public safety concerns, but otherwise they just observed from a distance. At the end of the encounter it was implied that if the individuals likely have a couple of days to move along before the police formally trespass them. It seems that calling the HOT-B is a discretionary decision in and of itself that allows police officers to take a non-arrest approach to encampments and individuals experiencing homelessness. In this instance, the police are really only facilitating resources for the individual experiencing homelessness by calling HOT-B to them.

In a separate encounter, I observed the HOT-B team respond to an individual sleeping on the sidewalk in a busy part of town that was reported by the police:

We looked across the street where there was a police car and a small dark shape on the ground. 'Em and I ran across the street and we made contact with the officer, who let us know that she had watched him walking and it looked like he was struggling. The officer had asked if the man wanted her to "roll fire," (i.e., call paramedics to the scene), but he said no. At that point the officer called for the HOT-B team.

Like her previous encounters, 'Em looked at the individual who was sleeping and said hi. She introduced herself and asked if he minded if she sat next to him and asked him a couple of questions. She asked for his name and I forgot

what it was, but he was a White male adult in his 50s, it seemed. He gave her his name and his birthday, and she pulled him up in the Homeless Management Information System (HMIS) used to collect client information across agencies in Arizona. HMIS showed that he had 71 entries and that he was a veteran. 'Em spoke to the gentleman with ease and said thank you for his service and asked what branch she was in. He said that he was a veteran who was in the US Navy and that he is from Texas. I noticed that the police officer is really just standing by…She asked me how long I've been doing this work, and I told her that I was actually a graduate student collecting data for my dissertation… the officer left prior to the interaction ending, and according to 'Em later, she thought it was because the gentleman who was sleeping on the ground was not blocking any area for foot traffic.

For HOT-B team, interactions between the police and themselves were generally positive when I observed them and outreach workers expressed that this was usually the case. The problem with law enforcement and the outreach workers for HOT-B is that these types of calls can interrupt "organic outreach" (e.g., going to the park and connecting with individuals experiencing homelessness). Moreover, sometimes the presence of the at an encampment shortly after their own response can impact their relationships with the community of individuals experiencing homelessness. After responding to a community concern where no police were present, Henry notes that the presence of the police can be damaging for their relationship with the local community:

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I asked Krista and Henry how they feel about the fact that the police and HOT-B both have access to the same encampment list (i.e., list of reported encampments in the city). Henry says, "It kind of hinders our relationship with them [individuals experiencing homelessness] because they [individuals experiencing homelessness] now associate us with the police." Henry and Krista explained that when they are doing outreach, that is when they build rapport. But if the police follow shortly after them it can break down trust that they have worked hard to build. When they do organic outreach, meaning that they go out on their own to connect with individuals, that is when they make the best connections because it is unlikely the police will show up immediately after them.

Perceptions of the Police

Across the 16 shifts with the two outreach teams, there were only a handful of direct observations I made between the police and outreach workers. Because of this I spent a lot of time in transitional moments (e.g., driving or sitting in the office) asking the outreach workers what their perspectives are of the police and how they should be involved with responding to issues of homelessness. Dorthea (HOT-A) and 'Em (HOT-B) shared their perspectives of the police when describing their local police agency's specialty homelessness units:

Dorthea notes "I absolutely love our team [local agency's specialty homelessness unit]… They know how to talk to them and treat them (individuals in the Neighborhood)… I'm hoping they don't take our team [disband the unit], they patrol through here routinely, they know people by name." She worries if they

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leave other officers would respond to their calls, which would not be good because they do not understand the Neighborhood and what goes on there.

The specialty homelessness unit officers in this city are "special and compassionate." 'Em goes on to describe that working with law enforcement is really a matter of the officer you get. When she works with the homelessness-specific team she has positive experiences and describes the officers as pretty understanding of the population they are responding to. It is the officers not on these teams that are more of a mixed bag.

In a conversation with Ethan, a member of HOT-A, he elaborated on the fact that their relationship with the police can have negative impacts on their relationship with individuals experiencing homelessness. However, some degree of presence would be beneficial as a deterrent to crime. More than this, he sees potential for a more collaborative approach when engaging in outreach to help support the development of prosocial relationships with law enforcement. Explaining this, Ethan said:

> "I would like a deterrent presence. It's kind of like the Wild West out here." By here he was referring to the Neighborhood and how chaotic it can be in terms of crime and gang activity. But he says that he would like them to be involved within the Neighborhood in a community-based manner so that they can build rapport with the individuals residing there. He very specifically identified rapport as a core reason he would like to see law enforcement engaging in outreach, and he said that it would be a part of building mutual respect. He said, "Sometimes they

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ask us to do things that could jeopardize our own relationship with the community… Relationships matter, and relationships improve things." Expanding on this, Ethan noted that the HOT-A has worked hard and invested a lot of time within the Neighborhood to build community and to build a relationship and trust with individuals who live in the area. When the police ask them for certain things like information or they ask them to help with identifying someone, it could potentially impact their relationships with the community.

Building trust and rapport with the community of individuals experiencing homelessness is a central mechanism that outreach workers use to do their job. When core groups that respond to issues of homelessness interfere with trust and rapport, it reduces the capacity of the outreach workers to do their job. Unfortunately, it is not uncommon for individuals experiencing homelessness to be left disappointed by groups engaging with them and providing services. In a shift with Shelly (HOT-B) she said, "The longer they've been out there, the longer they've been let down by agents." This sentiment was echoed by HOT-A. In a ride-along with HOT-A, Faith said:

> "don't promise anything." Things like funding and housing can vary and individuals experiencing homelessness are so used to being inside institutions that fail them, that promising something and not being able to follow through is just another reason for them not to trust the outreach workers and to seek services from them. "It's a lot of trust building. I let them speak, I let them have their voice." Faith highlights here the different ways she builds trust with individuals in the community in an effort to get them to be open to her.

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Opportunities came up to ask the outreach workers what they perceived the role of the police to be in responding to and addressing issues of homelessness. For HOT-A, the role of law enforcement was often spoken about in tandem with drug control in the Neighborhood. This made sense as the presence of fentanyl was made very clear on my first ride-along in the Neighborhood when my outreach worker told me not to breathe in a certain space because someone had just lit up. Speaking about the role of the police in the Neighborhood, Faith engaged in the following conversation with me:

I ask what Faith perceives the role of the police in the Neighborhood to be and how she perceives their presence. "They're here," she says. But she notes that they need to put more energy into the area. The only time she sees them respond is if someone dies. "We have to build a case," before they can respond, which is frustrating because of the drug problems within the Neighborhood and the frequency of dealers. If they are not a part of outreach they could at least do the crime part. I ask if she expects them to engage in outreach. "I do not respond to crime, I don't expect you to do mine (her job)." She notes that fentanyl has a huge presence within the Neighborhood. So much so that the dealers have told her they currently have holiday specials where it is two dollars a pill, but when social security checks are processed, they bring the price back up. She notes that she will not walk into the Neighborhood for outreach the week that those checks are processed because of how much fentanyl is in the air because it does not make her feel good.

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In another instance, Faith elaborated on this after we saw a dealer's vehicle in the

Neighborhood idling:

> "I don't expect them to outreach," she said, and then asked something to the effect
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> of, but why are you not getting the dealers? This question seems to be a big one
>
> for Faith. She feels she cannot do her job effectively when so many people are
>
> strung out on drugs; they are even harder to reach in these cases. If the police
>
> could address the drug issue it would make outreach easier and likely more
>
> effective.

In a separate exchange Meg shared that "We know who the dealers are because they tell

us they're the dealers," but sometimes it doesn't seem like the police are doing much to

respond to the individuals that they identify to them. This sentiment was echoed by

Dorthea and Rose in separate conversations.

For HOT-B, the outreach workers did not share much on their perceptions of

crime and the police. Rather, their perceptions reinforced the idea that there is a working

relationship between the police in their city and the outreach team"

> Shelly says we ride with the police sometimes and that she has meetings on
>
> Thursdays to make a plan about encampments in different hotspots…She
>
> mentions that the first approach to these hotspots is outreach, and then
>
> enforcement starts.

Above, Shelly describes that the police and HOT-B have a working relationship to target

issues of homelessness in the community. The two speak and collaborate at times,

making plans on how to address recent issues related to homelessness. Moreover, as

illustrated in the observations above, the local police and HOT-B actively respond to the same calls at times.

Community Interactions with the Police

Throughout the ride-alongs I heard about several experiences individuals within the homeless community had with the police. Most of these interactions involved some degree of enforcement with the individual involved. I now describe a series of interactions I heard about and observed throughout the ride-alongs I engaged in to elaborate on the role of law enforcement in responding to issues of homelessness.

Cornelius' Story

The most salient of all interactions between the police and a client involves the story of Cornelius, a cornerstone member of the community in the Neighborhood. I observed Cornelius interact with the outreach workers on my very first ride-along:

> Cornelius is wearing a black track suit with White stripes on the sides, is smoking something, and is sitting in an old desk chair with wheels. "Hi Cornelius," says Dorthea in a cheerful voice. Dorthea gives him a flyer to let him know about the street cleaning and he snaps at her a bit. She mentions he is having a bad day and will not talk today. We walk away.

After seeing this encounter Dorthea told me that Cornelius has good days and bad days. He has a designated serious mental illness and uses fentanyl. The next time I saw Cornelius he was sitting in his same chair, and I watched him smoke his fentanyl right in front of me. Only a few hours later I observed Dorthea and Joe get Cornelius to agree to go into housing:

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I see Joe and I see Dorthea standing next to the area where Cornelius usually sits and I hear Joe go, "We got Cornelius." I walk over to Joe and Dorthea and they are putting Cornelius into the gray van. I asked them if I can go with them and they say yes. We get into the gray van, Joe is driving, and Dorthea is in the passenger seat in front of me. I'm sitting behind her and Cornelius is sitting to the left of me. The entire van smells like fentanyl… Dorthea looked back at him and she said "I was never giving up on you."

Joe, Dorthea, myself, and Cornelius drive over to the stairs where we take Cornelius and all of his belongings up to his room. Joe teaches Cornelius how to use his key card to get access to the bedroom. When we walk inside Cornelius seems very quiet and is just looking around. He puts his belongings onto the bed and he goes and looks at the bathroom. Joe tells him that there is a shower over there, and that he can shower in there as long as he wants to, and that this bed is all his… Before we leave, Dorthea looks at Cornelius and she says to him that she knows that he likes to use his drugs. He's not supposed to be using them in the hotel, so whatever he does, he needs to be careful and make sure that he doesn't get caught or he's going to get kicked out. She asks him if he understands what she's saying and he says yes. Joe and Dorthea decide that it is time to leave, and we head out the door. We left Cornelius in his room with a smile on his face and two bags of food on his bed.

Cornelius was put into the hotel in mid-December. Some outreach workers mentioned that they saw him in the Neighborhood a few hours later but that he eventually went

back. By January Cornelius had been kicked out of the hotel and incarcerated. In a ride-along, Ethan and Rose explain what happened:

> In early January, Cornelius was using drugs and at around 2am he went outside into the middle of the parking lot of the hotel and engaged in public lewdness by himself. The cops ended up being called on him and when they got there, he ran inside and shut the door… They shot rounds of pepper ball around his head where he was leaning against the wall and continued to engage in lewd activities by himself. When he did not respond, they shot him with pepper balls. Cornelius ended up getting injured and having to go to the hospital afterwards. He has been incarcerated in jail ever since, apparently in solitary confinement.

Cornelius represents one singular story between the police and individuals experiencing homelessness. But in so many ways he is also an example of all of the different characteristics present among individuals experiencing homelessness in the Neighborhood. Cornelius is chronically homeless, had a designated serious mental illness, and a drug dependency. None of these characteristics are entirely uncommon among populations experiencing homelessness. While Cornelius did engage in public lewdness, much of this can be traced back to his experiences with mental illness and addiction, both of which can require long-term treatment. Yet, because of this interaction with the police at the agency hotel he became incarcerated and put into a space that cannot necessarily treat the core issues driving these behaviors. Cornelius' story also illustrates the difficulties of being a street-level bureaucrat, both for the outreach workers and the police. Neither the outreach workers nor the police necessarily had the proper

tools to draw on to create an optimal outcome for Cornelius. As far as the outreach workers went, they were able to get him sheltered, but this was not coupled with treatment for his substance dependency or mental illness. But, when Cornelius said that he would go to shelter, this was the best available space they had for him. Thus, the outreach workers were limited in what they could draw on to help Cornelius. In addition to this, the police who responded to Cornelius used their discretion to decide the best way to respond to Cornelius, a non-lethal weapon. Arguably, the police do not have the right resources to address these types of calls, making their decisions limited as well.

The really unfortunate aspect of Cornelius' story is that HOT-A found out after this incident that the day prior to going to the hotel, Cornelius had been approved to go to a housing space that provided intensive treatment for serious mental illness. The group that went into the Neighborhood to find him could not locate Cornelius, left, and failed to connect with HOT-A to find him. His story illustrates a deeper level of disconnection between different service providers in the area and the consequences of this disconnection for the lives of individuals in the Neighborhood.

A Series of Interactions with the Police throughout the Community

Cornelius's story is not the only interaction between an individual experiencing homelessness and the police that was described unfavorably. There were multiple moments when I observed interactions between outreach workers and their clientele that began with a comment describing a negative interaction with the police:

'Em and I cross the street and we come across a gentleman with all his belongings working on a bicycle in the grass by the street corner. 'Em walks up and

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introduces the two of us as part of the HOT-B team. She asks how he is doing and

he says "I've done nothing but run from the cops all day." He says that every time

he stops, they end up popping up and he's not doing anything illegal. He said that

he thinks the cops are popping up on him because the Super Bowl is coming and

they're trying to clean up [the city] like nothing is wrong.

In the observation above, the individual described how a large portion of their day had

been spent moving from place to place because the police kept telling them to move on.

A similar interaction was observed with a different individual and HOT-B:

We wait a couple moments and meet up with the Elizabeth who is walking further

behind everyone with her cart of belongings and dog. "We were at the bus stop

and they [the police] said we were urban camping," she says. Shelly asks who and

Elizabeth says the police. "They fuck with us everywhere… my feet, my feet hurt

so bad," Elizabeth says as she continues to walk towards the rest of the group.

Importantly, the descriptions above were interactions between clients

experiencing homelessness and members of HOT-B. These types of observations

happened less frequently with HOT-A, but there were still moments where there was a

general understanding that the police did not respond to the community experiencing

homelessness in a way that made them feel like a part of the broader community.

Joe asks why he is back on the streets, and the man lets him know that his

apartment was broken into and a bunch of personal items were taken. He says that

for some reason he is no longer allowed inside the apartment, but about $2,500

worth of personal items are in the apartment and he does not know how to go get

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them. Joe says, "Call a peace officer to come get your items," describing how

they can be available for safety so he can get his belongings. The man notes that

he called his local police department and they did not do anything so maybe he

will call a different one to help instead.

Summary of Findings

The totality of the observations and stories described above paints an abstract

picture of what the relationship between law enforcement and outreach workers looks

like in responding to issues of homelessness. Generally, both HOT-A and HOT-B have

positive perceptions of their local police department's task forces that are aimed solely at

responding to issues of homelessness. The consensus is that these individuals have a

stronger understanding of the community when compared to other officers, which makes

them better at responding for calls for services.

Beyond this, HOT-A and HOT-B team members had very different patterned

experiences with the police. HOT-A identified one core concern related to law

enforcement— that they are not present in the Neighborhood when it comes to addressing

crime. When the police were present in the Neighborhood they spent the time standing

back and observing. This suggests that the relationship between HOT-A and law

enforcement is strained because, ironically, they have taken too much of a hands-off

approach.

Essentially, law enforcement is needed within the Neighborhood to do two things:

1) Act as a deterrent and address drug and gang crime, and 2) To help repair the

relationships between law enforcement, outreach workers, and individuals experiencing

homelessness through community-based responses that involve rapport building. From my observations and 50 hours in the field, the current presence of the police in the Neighborhood is largely non-existent, and when it is present it is related to paramedic responses. This does not mean there are not negative experiences like that of Cornelius's, but police absence is the overarching pattern when it comes to HOT-A.

HOT-B's experience with law enforcement is different from HOT-A because they respond to calls directly from police officers responding to community encampment issues. For HOT-B observations between the outreach workers and the police in this project in addition to their descriptions of their relationship with the police is largely positive and highlights one way a co-responding team of social welfare services and law-enforcement can work together to respond to issues of homelessness. This relationship can become strained, however, when the police respond on their own:

> We get to the area and 'Em mentions that there is a new city ordinance limiting individuals from spending more than four hours at certain spaces in the park. She says that it seems a bit targeted towards the population and makes her job harder. This is because when she goes to look for individuals who have gotten approved for services, or even just to check in, she can't find them anymore because they are no longer at the ramadas after enforcement goes through.

The observations and experiences shared from the HOT-B team demonstrate how a relationship between the police and outreach workers can be beneficial, but only if the two are communicating. When law enforcement moves through areas and asks individuals to move along without them, it reduces the capacity for the outreach workers

to do their job because the individuals experiencing homelessness are pushed from their usual spot. This is exacerbated when the police show up shortly after outreach workers because it undermines the rapport and trust that HOT-B members have worked to build with the community.

Put together, the findings from both HOT-A and HOT-B illustrate there are ongoing issues with enforcement in communities experiencing homelessness. On one hand, the lack of their presence in the Neighborhood had reinforced issues of drug crime that hinders the ability of the outreach workers to communicate with the individuals in the Neighborhood. For HOT-B, enforcement in the absence of outreach workers reduces the capacity of HOT-B members to do their job because individuals in the homeless community are moved from their typical space, or the trust they have built is undermined. It seems like if police departments were able to address some of the enforcement issues through their homelessness specific task forces this could be supported by the outreach worker teams and be mutually beneficial for addressing concerns related to crime and public safety while simultaneously creating a better space for outreach workers to do their job.

CHAPTER 7

DISCUSSION

Summary of Findings

This dissertation comprised two separate studies that answered four research questions related to issues of homelessness, policing, and outreach workers. Study 1 was comprised of two separate mixed methods research designs that asked 1) What do police officers perceive their role to be in addressing and responding to issues of homelessness? and 2) Does officer decision-making in police-citizen encounters vary between housed and unhoused citizens? In Study 2, an ethnographic research design was drawn on to answer two additional questions: 3) How do outreach workers engage with individuals experiencing homelessness in Maricopa County, Arizona? and 4) What characterizes the relationship between outreach workers and law enforcement officers in Maricopa County, Arizona? Individually, there were a wide range of important findings for each question.

The results for research question one provided insight into the way police officers perceive issues of homelessness and their role in addressing this social problem. Together, the quantitative and qualitative findings suggest that officers do not generally perceive homelessness to be a policing problem, nor something that they are effective at preventing. This is explained by the high frequency of participants who identified substance abuse, mental health, and individual-level factors such as trauma and poor child rearing, as key contributors to issues of homelessness. For the most part, officers felt that homelessness alone does not qualify as a policing problem. However, when individuals experiencing homelessness engage in crime it does become part of the public

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safety nexus. In these instances participants suggested that it becomes part of their role as crime enforcers, but they continue to prioritize resource connection in this role nonetheless. The confusion as to whether issues of homelessness are or are not policing problems is largely related to community perceptions of the individuals experiencing homelessness. Qualitative and quantitative feedback indicated that the police did not feel the communities they served understood that being homelessness is not illegal, and there are limits to what law enforcement can do surrounding this social problem.

Research question two tested the impact of homelessness status and the presence of a mental health clinician on officer decision making in a hypothetical police-citizen encounter. The clearest theme across the quantitative and qualitative data for research question two is that encounters with the public are far too complex to narrow down to one outcome without engaging in different strategies to attain more information. The results related to criminal justice outcomes were not entirely conclusive, with the homelessness and mental health clinician stimuli sometimes showing differing impacts between the sub- and full-samples. The open-ended responses provided some insight into why this was the case. Participants were adamant that police responses were far too situational to determine an outcome, which helps make sense of the inconsistency and lack of statistically significant quantitative findings. All of this said, there were some notable differences between the findings for each vignette collectively. Participants with the homelessness stimulus more frequently mentioned conducting a warrant check, moving the individual along, and requesting an additional individual who was trained in strategies to better respond to these types of calls. For the mental health clinician stimulus,

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participants had higher odds of coordinating services and resolving the encounter informally, which was echoed by 93 participants in the open-ended responses who suggested they would let the clinician take the lead or provide insights on the outcome. These findings highlight the potential value of adopting co-responsive teams for encouraging non-arrest approaches. This would be particularly beneficial for participants who lack shelter availability for participants and rely on arrest as a way of connecting individuals to services.

The final two research questions provided insights into the work of outreach workers who respond to issues of homelessness in Maricopa County, Arizona. The interactions observed and stories shared illustrated the complexity of responding to issues of homelessness. While interacting with individuals experiencing homelessness in the field, outreach workers demonstrated a quick ability to switch between different strategies to meet the needs of the individual they were engaging with. The outreach workers centered the current and long-term needs of the clients they served. In terms of law enforcement, outreach workers engaged with police in the field and had a good relationship with their local police department's homelessness specialty units. Across the 16 ride-alongs I engaged in, HOT-B spent more time coordinating with law enforcement during their shifts. In these encounters, police officers acted as a liaison between HOT-B and the local community experiencing homelessness, often just standing by as a public safety measure. Nonetheless, in both cases when police officers were in the presence of outreach workers they largely took a non-enforcement role. Outreach workers with HOT-A made the observation that the lack of enforcement in the Neighborhood can become

problematic when it comes to crime in the area. Much of the Neighborhood currently has a high degree of drug activity, which is seen as result of a lack of enforcement in the area. When clients spoke about their personal experiences with police officers though, there often was a discussion of enforcement activity. Individuals spoke to outreach workers about experiences with police moving them along from different spaces throughout the county.

Collective Interpretation

There is just as much to be learned collectively from these two different studies as there is individually. Three core themes cut across the two different studies conducted in this dissertation. The first theme suggests that there could be some degree of utility in having co-response models between the police and outreach workers to address issues of homelessness. This is because it may promote non-arrest outcomes as far as police responses are concerned and increase service coordination. In the long-term, this could have reduce the likeliness of an individual becoming caught in the homeless-incarceration nexus. Relatedly, the second theme is the need for more communication between outreach workers and the police to help support mutually beneficial outcomes. The last theme of these studies is that the interactions between anyone and individuals experiencing homelessness are highly complex, leading to a high degree of discretionary decision making among these street level bureaucrats. The complexity of these interactions are exacerbated by different constraints on decision making that the police and outreach workers face, who both act as street-level bureaucrats in these types of

encounters. I move forward with this section by describing each of these themes and what they mean in terms of these research questions.

Co-response units—the collaboration between police officers and some type of service provider— were brought up in both study one and two as potential ways to addressing issues of homelessness. The mixed methods studies suggested that officers perceive issues of homelessness to be driven by many social problems that are largely unrelated to law enforcement and were less likely to perceive that homelessness is a policing problem. Many participants in the open-ended responses to research question one stated that their role regarding issues of homelessness was purely to enforce crime and, if able to, offer some degree of resources or support. Themes that emerged in the mixed methods experimental design included having the mental health clinician take the lead or inform the outcome of the interaction in over 15% of responses and requesting an officer or unit better suited to respond to issues of homelessness when the mental health clinician was not present. Examples of these responses were illustrated in the interactions between the outreach workers and police officers in the ethnographic study of this dissertation. In coordination with outreach workers, police officers called upon HOT-B to interact with individuals experiencing homelessness on their own and only stood by to observe for public safety reasons.

Moreover, in these encounters the officers initiated contact with the outreach workers prior to contacting the individuals experiencing homelessness and deferred to the outreach worker's outcome, at least temporarily, which resulted in only informal outcomes within the interactions I observed. When it comes to the role of the police in

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these encounters, the officers truly served as a mechanism of facilitating resources without drawing on the criminal justice system to do so. As officers draw on HOT-B they are using their discretion to have an alternative to law enforcement address the issue of homelessness. This then displaces the discretion to the outreach workers in determining what outcome is best given the circumstances of the individual they encounter.

Law enforcement officers articulated in their responses to research question one that a core element of their role in addressing issues of homelessness is enforcing the law and maintaining public safety. However, in these responses officers really only spoke about drugs as they pertain to addiction and substance abuse. Something the outreach workers in the Neighborhood observed is that they did not see police officers effectively responding to drug dealing within the area. The outreach workers articulated multiple times that they informed the police of the dealers within the Neighborhood, but never saw any changes or enforcement related to drug dealing. It seems that there is some misalignment between what outreach workers and police officers perceive their role to be when it comes to addressing homelessness. Whereas law enforcement officers identified their role as addressing crime committed by individuals experiencing homelessness, outreach workers articulated that the role of the police should center addressing crime around the Neighborhood and individuals experiencing homelessness. There were officers in the open-ended responses to question one who said that it was important to also think of individuals experiencing homelessness as potential victims. Echoing this, two survey participants said:

"It's varied. Homeless people both commit and are victims of crime at very high

rates. There is a lot of impact reduction. In addition to the crime I'm often

attempting to manage behavior in a way to minimize self-harm and also make it

possible for other community members to go about their lives."

"I've interacted with several homeless individuals in my career. I view our role as

guardians of them to some extent. I take an 'order maintenance' approach vs. an

enforcement approach to them and am pretty willing to accommodate homeless

individuals who co-exist peacefully with others. 'Regulars' should get checked on

from time to time and they can be sources of information for things going on in

the neighborhood. I think empathy, compassion and respect are the ways to

respond to homeless. Several are homeless by choice and free will. Some are due

to mental health or substance issues. Help as needed. Work with those who are

reasonable. Take enforcement action as a last resort."

In the quotes above, the participants describe an extension of the arm of public safety,

that of responding to and addressing issues of victimization. For some officers in this

sample, this was a central element of how they viewed their role in responding to and

addressing issues of homelessness. However, for most survey participants public safety

seemed to be responding to crime committed *by* individuals experiencing homelessness,

rather than individuals experiencing homelessness who had been *victimized*. If the police

and outreach workers were able to communicate on the needs of communities

experiencing homelessness and crime control there is potential to create mutually

beneficial outcomes. The outreach workers articulated that the degree of drug usage in the Neighborhood inhibits them from doing their job. If this was communicated with law enforcement and they were able to target drug dealing, this may have an effect on the overall impact of the efforts of outreach workers in the Neighborhood.

Both law enforcement officers and outreach workers highlighted the complexity of each interaction they have with individuals experiencing homelessness. A core pattern across the ethnography was that outreach workers center the needs of individuals experiencing homelessness in their interactions but understand that everyone is unique and thus has unique needs for them to address. As such, the outreach workers act as street-level bureaucrats as they navigate the different resources and draw on connections draw on to create the most optimal outcome they can. In some cases, this meant providing housing even if it was not the best space for an individual to be housed, in others it meant dropping individuals off where they wanted to be, regardless of housing options available.

Similarly, police asserted in both the open-ended responses to question one and two that each interaction is too complicated to pinpoint what an outcome would be or what role they would fill. Because of the high degree of variability across all of these encounters, there is no on-size-fits-all approach that can be written into law or city ordinances that make coming to an outcome more efficient and consistent across cases. This means that both outreach workers and the police are forced into situations where they have to use their discretion because there is no playbook telling them what to do. The unfortunate reality is that this also leaves room for bias to exist in outcomes across

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interactions that can be related to the criminal justice system and housing/service provision.

This study extends the work of Smith (2022), who identified the ways that outreach workers navigate red-tape and draw innovative strategies to get individuals into housing. Study 2 of this dissertation highlights the way that outreach workers in this sample navigate different social welfare services to get individuals access to the services that they need, including but not limited to, housing, detox, and medical care. The work of outreach workers is largely unsupervised, and the workers have the freedom to draw on their own knowledge and experiences to do their jobs. In multiple scenarios the outreach workers demonstrated how a core component of their job is building a rich network of connections that they can tap into when they need to meet the unique needs of their clientele. Moreover, because of these unique needs, the outreach workers have to be strategic in who they connect with. For instance, if Faith had never made a connection with a landlord that would not run a background check she would have never been able to house her client Stephen. It is the connections that are flexible to the distinct circumstances of this type of clientele that outreach workers must make and maintain to succeed at "closing the loop."

Like that of outreach workers, police officers also described ways that their decision-making in encounters with individuals experiencing homelessness mimics the dynamics of the street-level bureaucrat. In open-ended responses participants articulated that their decision-making in encounters with individuals experiencing homeless is highly contextual. As such, participants in the Police Decision Making Survey often gave a

string of questions they anticipated asking the individual in their encounter to figure out how they would navigate the encounter. Importantly, for many officers, issues of homelessness, and particularly when they intersect with a low-level crime such as trespassing, was not worth drawing on the criminal process. Instead, participants often discussed moving the individual along, giving a warning, and providing services based on the needs of the individual in the encounter. As such, police decision-making in these encounters is highly contextual— it varies between officers and citizens, is related to the demands the officer is facing in a shift and depends largely on the resources an officer can draw on.

Policy Implications

Generating Connections between the Police and Outreach Workers

The clearest policy implication of this dissertation is a need to generate stronger ties between the police and outreach workers. While there are existing relationships between local police departments and the outreach workers I engaged in research with, these relationships were not frequently used to create mutually beneficial outcomes. In fact, it seemed that for the most part officers and outreach workers were siloed from one another, despite responding to the same population and expressing a greater need for the skills of the other group. In terms of the police, survey participants detailed a range of roles they filled in responding to issues of homelessness, many of them walking a thin line between law enforcement and social service provider roles. These same officers also described a need for more access to social service and public health providers, underscoring a gap in connections to draw on to serve populations experiencing

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homelessness. For outreach workers, HOT-A identified multiple crime concerns making their jobs more difficult and life in the Neighborhood more challenging for clients, and HOT-B described ways the police can inhibit their ability to connect with clientele. Ultimately, these two groups have a high degree of contact with communities experiencing homelessness, yet there is a gap in their ability to draw on one another in these contacts. Without creating a stronger network between these two groups, they remain siloed in their responses to issues of homelessness, which reduces the ability to create innovative solutions and support one another in these solutions.

The data collected in this project can be used in a variety of ways to generate these connections. First, in addition to ongoing conversations with the outreach workers and police agencies involved in this project, the data can be used to create training guides for police agencies and outreach workers that provide direction for when to draw on one another in their encounters with individuals experiencing homelessness. These training guides can be co-created by the outreach workers in this project and their local agency to help facilitate more informed practices and the creation of new relationships between police and outreach worker personnel. Secondly, these guides can be used in ongoing co-created training events wherein police officers and outreach workers are taught guide contents together and are able to engage with the different personnel responsible for responding to issues of homelessness. Lastly, after the implementation of co-created training guides and training events, outreach workers and police personnel can discuss the potential of creating co-responder units. Together, these three policy implications have the potential to simultaneously create stronger relationships between two groups

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commonly responding to homelessness, while also informing best practices in these responses. An additional benefit is that they are all co-created by agencies in the same location, providing an opportunity to create location-specific policy. Maricopa County is the fifth largest county in the US by population size, the 15th largest by land mass, has record-setting high temperature summers, and contains Phoenix, one of the fastest growing cities in the US. These are unique circumstances that can impact the size and concentrations of populations experiencing homelessness, access to services, and seasonal needs (e.g., access to water, shade, cooling areas). This underscores the importance of co-created policies that are unique to locations because each place has unique needs. Because this survey connected with agencies across 46 states and two outreach worker teams, there is potential to work with agencies to help facilitate these types of connections where they do not already exist or to help strengthen them where needed. Below I detail these three policy implications further.

Co-Created Training Guides and Events

The comprehensive findings of this dissertation provide information that can be used to create training for both police officers and outreach workers on engaging with one another and responding to issues of homelessness. For police officers, the open-ended data to research questions one and two underscored the complex nature of calls for service related to homelessness and the different ways officers go about decision making. For the most part, officers wanted to ascertain if there was a public safety issue and then either move along or connect individuals to service providers and engage in some level of case management (e.g., identify what needs the individual has, provide transportation). A

training guide describing who officers should connect with when responding to issues of homelessness would be useful for multiple reasons. First, because agencies are so short staffed, they can save time by being properly trained in what agencies to connect with and when. For instance, if officers are interacting with someone near or not too far from the Neighborhood, having a direct contact with an outreach worker may be useful in getting individuals connected to services more efficiently. Secondly, a training guide could provide general details or be coupled with more explicit training on identifying signs of mental illness, substance abuse, and ongoing crises. Importantly, this aspect could be informed by the outreach workers who have a rich understanding of the homeless community and who may be able to articulate ways they have seen success and pitfalls in communicating with this population. Lastly, a training guide could incorporate details on when to communicate with outreach workers when it comes to enforcement. HOT-B identified multiple moments when officer enforcement immediately after their arrival to an encampment or enforcement in parts negatively impacted their rapport with clients and ability to offer services. A training guide could also be informed by the needs of outreach workers While much of the data in this project suggested both police and outreach workers respond to issues of homelessness on a case-by-case basis, having a baseline understanding of how to identify the needs of an individual efficiently and who to connect this individual with can expedite the call and connection to service needs.

A similar guide could be created for outreach workers to help communicate needs that they have of law enforcement. HOT-A and HOT-B work with specialty homelessness units comprised of officers working at the local police department. These

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officers could create a training guide explaining who to contact and when to contact them

if a need for officers arises or if the outreach workers need to communicate a community

concern. Together, the co-creation of a training guide for officers and outreach workers

will help facilitate better practices in response to issues of homelessness that are mutually

beneficial for agencies involved. Moreover, they help maintain an open relationship

between police officer and outreach workers that the two can actively draw on with

concerns. These guides can be updated as needed.

Another component of these training guides would be training implementation.

To reinforce the dynamic goals of these guides, co-created training can occur wherein the

two agencies train one another on these guides and communicate active needs they have

from the other agency. Importantly, in-person training should happen regularly because

of the high degree of turn over documented among street-level bureaucrats. Thus, regular

training and exposure to the other agency will be important in maintaining active

connections between officers and outreach workers as turnover occurs. This also helps

keep individuals up to date on training guides, which should evolve with the needs of the

community. Ultimately, creating training guides and training events that are generated

through a joint effort of both the police and outreach workers will help maintain a

network between these two agencies that should reinforce communication on agency- and

community- specific goals and needs.

Co-Responder Units

To advance the connection and communication between the police and outreach

workers, an additional policy implication of this dissertation is support for co-responding

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units to issues of homelessness. This study advances the work of Telep and Brown (2022) by identifying the utility of pairing police officers with a social welfare provider. In Study 1 of this dissertation, participants who received the mental health clinician stimulus described letting the clinician take the lead on the encounter and leaning on their input in coming to an outcome. This suggests that this immediate resource in a call for service would be beneficial in informing a police officer's discretionary decision-making process, which is largely what participants described in their open-ended responses. In the ethnographic study of this dissertation, police officers and HOT-B generated a strong co-responding relationship in which police officers called outreach workers to issues of homelessness in the community and deferred to their outcome with the individual instead of using enforcement. If done correctly, co-responses could be mutually beneficial and support longer term solutions to problems of homelessness.

Generally, both HOT-A and HOT-B had positive perceptions of police officers who were assigned to specific units designed to address homelessness. Agencies should draw on officers who care about this work and are interested in coordinating with agencies outside of law enforcement to enhance responses. Importantly, the utility of co-responder units is also seen in the police survey. Participants assigned the mental health clinician stimulus were more likely to resolve their trespassing encounter through service coordination and informal outcomes. This encourages the adoption of co-responder units as a way of reinforcing non-arrest approaches to homelessness, which participants may be inclined to support since they were no more likely to draw on or express a desire to draw on formal outcomes such as arrest and citations to address homelessness related

calls. One concern is that agencies do not have the existing manpower to deal with service-related calls in this manner to begin with. However, it could be the case that adopting a co-response model and having a specialty unit just for homelessness could reduce the overall workload for the department and allow for more individualized responses on service-related and homelessness-related calls. This dissertation did not identify what these co-responder units should look like, and it is likely they will not work everywhere. For instance, in Seattle, Washington, the city has gotten rid of co-responder models because the community did not see the utility in having law enforcement respond to issues of homelessness (Patrick, 2020). Creating co-responder units should be based on the needs of the community and should be informed by both outreach worker and police agency needs and goals in responses to issues of homelessness.

Immediate Service Provisions

Participants in Study 1 and observations in Study 2 underscored a clear need for more resources, particularly ones that can be immediate. In the case of police officers, participants overwhelmingly agreed and strongly agreed that better access to emergency shelters, medical care facilities, mental health clinicians, and local substance abuse shelters would improve their responses to issues of homelessness. Officers also reported a need for resource information broadly and resources after hours. The need for more services was greatly illustrated across the 16 ride-alongs I conducted with HOT-A and HOT-B. For James and Betty, there is no shelter available for them to go to because of their pets; Cornelius was placed in a housing space that may not have been ideal for his circumstances but it was all they had available for him; Inez was left behind a public

building to find an alley to sleep in because there were no walk in shelters available that she had not been beaten up in. The needs of these communities are immediate, and without services many encounters ended with the outreach worker making a referral or letting the individual know they would touch base with them soon when they found out more. Like the police officers in Study 1, many of these solutions are temporary and do not "close the loop."

Not having enough services immediately available for this population is problematic for multiple reasons. First, outreach workers have to capitalize on when individuals are ready for services. In a conversation with Shelly on HOT-B she said, "they could not be ready the first 100 times… and then they are." Expanding on this, Rose said:

> "Outreach works best when you are able to give services in real time," Rose
> elaborates and explains that outreach workers must capitalize on moments when
> individuals are ready for services. Because [nonprofit provider] does not have a
> group of individuals that connect clients with next steps in case management and
> to stay with them and walk them through the process, the outreach workers have
> to stick with their clients through every step of the process. The frustrating part of
> this is it takes the outreach workers away from the field and connecting with more
> people. It seems like [service provider] needs one of two things— a group of
> individuals clients can trust equally to that of the outreach workers that they can
> move forward the service connection process with, or they need more outreach

workers so each one can spend more time on case management while people are still in the field making connections.

Outreach workers struggle with resources on both an agency- and personnel- level. In terms of agency-level, when there are not immediate resources available for individuals who are ready for services, they may not be the same degree of ready in one week and are left in vulnerable situations. Moreover, it puts individuals in positions where they may put in some degree of preparation to move out of their state of homelessness but cannot get the resources to transition fully"

> A female adult comes up to us, and she's a little bit in tears. The woman tells Rose that she is sober, but she is still living in a tent. Specifically, referring to Blues [fentanyl], she says, "I don't want it no more." The woman is very upset, and she continues to ask why after she worked to quit drugs is she still living in the street even though she's not using drugs anymore?

I saw this woman again when I participated in the Point-in-Time Count, over a month later:

> One of the women that Rose and Faith had worked with on a previous shift with me ran up to her [Faith] and was sobbing. The individual said that she was clean and had been clean for a really long time, and she was frustrated because she was still waiting on the housing. She said that she wants to go in a hotel, but shelter is the only thing that is available. When she was talking to Faith, she explained that she had done the hard work of getting off drugs and she thought that was going to get her to a place where she could get into housing and get back on her feet. Yet

after all that hard work of getting off of drugs and being less dependent on substances, she was still here, sleeping on the streets and sleeping in shelters. It didn't seem like Faith really knew what to say.

When housing is unavailable for clients who are ready and want services, it leaves these clients vulnerable to both the streets and shelters. Moreover, it has the potential to diminish the work they have put in to be in a place that they feel capable of living independently and off the street. As was the case with this client, she described in two separate encounters over a month apart how she had continued to stay off drugs. While I did not catch her full story or have an opportunity to ask the outreach workers about these encounters, it was quite striking that in the matter of a month almost the same encounter occurred with one individual who was ready for housing and had not received them.

There are also concerns at the personnel level when it comes to service provision. HOT-A largely works as outreach workers, but they often engage in case management, seeing clients all the way from initial contact to housing placement. Rose described how this can be difficult because it removes outreach workers from the Neighborhood where they can continue to get more clients connected with services. As such, HOT-A either needs more outreach workers so they can engage in case management, or they need an entire group of individuals that outreach can hand off clients to that will engage in case management. The difficulty here is that getting individuals engaged in services involves a high degree of trust and rapport building. Thus, it would be important the case manager would be able to also maintain this high degree of trust.

Balancing Enforcement and Non-Enforcement

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An additional policy implication from this dissertation is finding ways to address issues of drug crime more effectively in areas with concentrated issues of homelessness without further criminalizing individuals who are experiencing homelessness. HOT-A team members were very adamant that they are able to identify drug dealers within the community and that regardless of reporting them nothing happens. The consequences of this are vast. Individuals engaging in drug dealing activities are creating a source of revenue on an already vulnerable population and making it even more difficult for individuals to end their homelessness if or when they want to. This consequently reduces the ability for outreach workers to do their job because they cannot communicate with members of the community who are constantly under the influence of drugs.

Reiterating the policy implication above, one way to achieve this balance is by creating a stronger line of communication between outreach workers and police officers. This could be done through co-responding units, or a task force of outreach workers and police officers. Regardless of the way in which it is achieved, police departments would benefit from focusing on ways to harness the voice of outreach workers in responding to and identifying areas that would benefit from targeted crime reduction efforts. However, in doing this it would be important that law enforcement creates innovative solutions that reduce issues such as drug crime for the long-term. Otherwise, simply citing, arresting, and incarcerating may only exacerbate issues by making individuals more vulnerable to homelessness in the long run.

Limitations

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The findings of this project are not without limitations. For one, Study 1 uses an experimental vignette design to identify if officer's decisions vary according to housing status and in the presence of a mental health clinician. It could be argued that this study only captures anticipated responses that may not accurately represent an officer's behavior if the situation was real. However, Azjen (1991) finds that anticipated self-reported behavior is oftentimes reflective of actual behavior. An additional concern is that of generalizability. It could be argued that the scenarios given to participants do not generalize to their reality, and it could also be the case that the findings of this study may be less generalizable if the crime type was more serious. The nature of the vignette is not too concerning given a vast majority of participants responded to close-ended questions that it was realistic and that they were able to imagine it. These responses were reinforced by open-ended responses describing the scenarios as a common call. In terms of crime type, it is certainly the case that these findings and officer responses would vary for crimes that are more serious, particularly because the application of the law becomes a bit less gray in more serious crimes or when there is a victim.

A final concern is the generalizability of both the survey and outreach worker sample. Indeed, the qualitative work of this study on its own is not entirely generalizable outside of Maricopa County, Arizona. The outreach workers are engaging with a population that is on the rise in their state and they are also working with officers who may feel a different type of pressure in responding to homelessness given Phoenix Police Department's recent Department of Justice investigation related to the violation of the first-amendment rights of individuals experiencing homelessness (The U.S. Department

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of Justice, 2021). Further, the survey participants in this study were often recruited through connections with agencies participating in some degree of research. As such, these participants may have different perspectives on responding to issues of homelessness than other law enforcement officers.

Future Research

Implementation and Evaluation of Co-Created Guides, Training, and Responses

In the spirit of the policy implications of this dissertation, the first area for future research is working with the outreach workers involved in this project to enhance their connections with their local police agency. Both outreach work groups already have specialty units they work with, but these ties can be enhanced through ongoing coordination to create training guides, training events, and co-response units where appropriate. An important aspect of these policies would be identifying over time how these connections reinforce stronger responses to issues of homelessness and support longer-term solutions. To do this, I hope to compare data from police agencies (e.g., official call log data) and outreach workers (e.g., official housing data) to identify how and if creating training and connections between these groups enhances responses overtime. Moreover, a survey can be distributed to both groups and interviews or focus groups can be conducted to get a sense from the individuals involved on how this policy has impacted their work. Importantly, much of this work could be supported through a grant that could help support overhead costs (e.g., paying for the salary of more employees) related to the project. The findings from this potential future research could

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be used as a starting point for other agencies involved with the original police decision-making survey.

Incorporating the Views of Additional Groups

There are several avenues for future research given the findings and limitations of this dissertation. While every effort has been made to include the voices of individuals directly involved in responding to and addressing issues of homelessness, there are certainly other stakeholders that should be involved in this research. First, exploring perceptions related to outreach and policing through the lens of individuals experiencing homelessness would be an important next step. Because any policy implications have a direct impact on communities experiencing homelessness, it is important that their voice is incorporated in this research. Second, and relatedly, an additional way to advance this work is by engaging in participatory action research (PAR). PAR "involves participants actively in the research process, often with an overall intent to solve a practical problem in one's own situation or community." (Creswell & Planko-Clark, 2022, p.123) Because outreach workers have created such a strong relationship with their clientele, advancing a project that is co-created and designed to address challenges they face would push the needle forward on research and organization partnerships, while centering the needs of the participants in this process.

Finally, an additional study incorporating ride-alongs with police officers who respond to issues of homelessness would help expand the results of this study. Because Study 1 relies on survey data, it does not contain the real-world observations of interactions between law enforcement, outreach workers, and individuals experiencing

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homelessness. Engaging in a study of this nature would make the results more well-rounded.

Exploring Additional Survey Measures and Ethnographic Findings

The police-decision making survey incorporated a wide-range of additional measures. For instance, after reading the experimental vignette officers were asked to share their agreement with a range of emotionality variables (e.g., suspicion, trustworthiness, fear) that could help explain the outcomes in multivariate regression models. Moreover, officers were asked about their own experience with training at their agency, which could be explored to identify gaps in training for certain agencies. Participants were also asked in an open-ended question to share how the ongoing COVID-19 pandemic has impacted their responses to issues of homelessness. Exploring these additional survey measures extends the findings of this dissertation by enhancing our understanding of how discretionary decision making is used by the police in encounters with individuals experiencing homelessness.

There were additional findings from the ethnographic study that were not discussed in this dissertation. For instance, there was consensus among outreach workers that certain populations, such as seniors who have fixed income, are more challenging to house in Maricopa County. These findings, and others, can be explored to help inform feasible policy that can enhance housing options for these groups in Maricopa County. An additional avenue for future research would be to engage in one-on-one interviews and focus groups with these outreach workers to ascertain what the findings of this dissertation mean and what the implications are for them. In addition to these findings,

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ongoing conversations are being held between the research team and outreach workers to explore next steps. Future research and policy implications should be co-created with the research team and outreach workers, which is in progress through ongoing conversations and the triangulation of results.

Conclusion

The findings of this dissertation have highlighted the incredibly complex nature of responding to and addressing issues of homelessness. For both outreach workers and police officers, navigating this work involves strategic decision making to address the needs of individuals experiencing homelessness. Homelessness in and of itself is a multifaceted problem that necessitates dynamic responses involving the outreach workers, the police, mental health clinicians, and other groups. When needs go unmet and the relationships between these groups and communities experiencing homelessness become strained there are real world consequences for the well-being of individuals in these communities. Tapping into this issue one officer responded to an open-ended question (i.e., "What do view as the role of law enforcement in responding to and addressing issues of homelessness?") in Study 1 with the following statement:

> "Last week I led an investigation that involved the death of an occupant of an encampment. That occupant was placed in her shopping cart, wheeled out of the encampment and left in an alcove. The investigation proved she came from the encampment. However, this was not a homicide. The investigation proved that she died from an overdose. She was removed from the encampment by other occupants of the encampment to avoid a police investigation into the

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encampment. That thought process created an unnecessary homicide investigation and deprived the victim of her dignity in death. We will not be pursuing a charge of unlawful disposal of human remains due to the clear indication of overdose proven by the autopsy and evidence obtained. It was made clear to the occupants of the encampment that our priority is to protect them and we need them to come forward next time; we also made it clear that if this happens again, we will pursue charges. Especially, if the evidence doesn't clearly disprove homicide. Social services were provided. The problems with these encampments are real and complicated."

Without improving responses to issues of homelessness these communities are left in fear of connecting with resources when they need them most— not just for themselves, but for the individuals around them as well. Understanding the roles of and relationships between the police and outreach workers is important because they both have frequent interactions with communities experiencing homelessness and can function as a gateway to services for many individuals. Advancing policy and practices that employ both law enforcement and outreach workers has the potential to enhance the lives of individuals living in places like the Neighborhood and the jobs of these groups that are trying to help them.

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APPENDIX A

EXPERIMENTAL VIGNETTES

Homelessness Stimulus

Housed

   You are dispatched to a call where someone has reported a suspicious person trespassing in a construction zone. The dispatcher provides a description and notes that the man seemed to be *talking to himself*. When you arrive at the construction zone you see a man who fits the description sitting on the ground near the entrance of the building. When you arrive at the construction zone you see a man who fits the description sitting on the ground near the entrance of the building. You approach him and ask if he knows that he is trespassing. The *man blinks and mutters something to himself* you cannot discern. The man stands up and says, "*Sorry I was just walking home from the baseball game downtown.*" You ask if you can see his license and he responds, "*I don't have my wallet, I think it's lost. I was just walking home, I live a couple blocks away.*"

Unhoused

   You are dispatched to a call where someone has reported a suspicious person trespassing in a construction zone. The dispatcher provides a description and notes that the man appeared to be *homeless* and *talking to himself*. When you arrive at the construction zone you see a man who fits the description sitting on the ground near the entrance of the building. You approach him ask if he knows he is trespassing. The *man blinks and mutters something to himself* you cannot discern. The man stands up and says, "*Sorry I just went for a walk.*" You ask if you can see his license and he responds, *"I'm homeless. I have no license or ID. My stuff is at the park because the shelters are too far away from here."*

Mental Health Clinician Stimulus

Housed

   You are dispatched to a call where someone has reported a suspicious person trespassing in a construction zone. The dispatcher provides a description and notes that the man seemed to be *talking to himself*. Your agency recently signed a contract with the local county health department for mutual-aid assistance and y*ou ask dispatch to coordinate with them to have a mental health clinician meet you at the construction zone.* When you arrive you meet up with the clinician, and the two of you walk towards a man who fits the description sitting on the ground near the entrance of the building. You approach him and ask if he knows that he is trespassing. *The individual blinks and mutters to himself s*omething you cannot discern. The man stands up and says, "*Sorry I was just walking home from the baseball game downtown.*" You ask if you can see his license and he responds, "*I don't have my wallet, I think it's lost. I was just walking home, I live a couple blocks away.*"

Unhoused

   You are dispatched to a call where someone has reported a suspicious person trespassing in a construction zone. The dispatcher provides a description and notes that the man appeared to be *homeless* and *talking to himself*. Your agency recently signed a contract with the local county health department for mutual-aid assistance and y*ou ask dispatch to coordinate with them to have a mental health clinician meet you at the*

construction zone. When you arrive you meet up with the clinician, and the two of you walk towards a man who fits the description sitting on the ground near the entrance of the building. You approach him and ask if he knows that he is trespassing. The *individual blinks and mutters to himself* something you cannot discern. The man stands up and says, "*Sorry I just went for a walk.*" You ask if you can see his license and he responds, *"I am homeless. I have no license or ID. My stuff is at the park because the shelters are too far away from here.*"

APPENDIX B

RESEARCH QUESTION 1 CHI-SQUARED TESTS

Chi-Squared Tests for Individual-Level Characteristics and Agreement with: "Homelessness is a Choice"

	Homelessness is a Choice %			
	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Agree	Strongly Agree
Age Group				
18-29	4.46	37.50	45.54	12.50
30-39	5.07	39.40	46.27	9.25
40-49	6.44	34.66	52.45	6.44
50 or older	5.09	40.36	47.64	6.91
x^2	8.93			
p-value	0.44			
n	1048			
Education				
Less than a Bachelor's Degree	6.35	41.88	44.67	7.11
Bachelor's Degree	4.53	32.72	52.88	9.88
Graduate Degree	5.78	43.93	43.93	6.36
x^2	14.91			
p-value	0.02			
n	1053			
Gender				
Man Officer	5.61	37.40	48.62	8.36
Woman Officer	4.41	41.91	48.53	5.15
x^2	2.48			
p-value	0.48			
n	1045			
Race				
White	4.76	38.66	49.15	7.44
Hispanic	6.38	50.00	35.11	8.51
Black	18.92	37.84	35.14	8.11
Other	6.74	22.47	57.30	13.48
x^2	42.35			
p-value	0.00			
n	1040			
Rank				
Patrol officer and detective	5.85	36.59	47.15	10.41
Sergeant	4.23	37.56	52.11	6.10
Leadership (Chief, Deputy Chief, Lieutenant, etc.)	4.61	38.82	51.32	5.26
Other	8.00	45.33	44.00	2.67
x^2	13.76			
p-value	0.13			
n	1055			
Specialty Homeless Unit Experience				
No	5.42	37.53	48.67	8.38
Yes	4.88	41.46	48.78	4.88
x^2	1.50			
p-value	0.68			
n	1060			
Tenure/Length of Service				
10 years or less	5.29	37.05	47.08	10.58

		Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Agree	Strongly Agree
11-20 years		4.75	39.47	49.55	6.23
More than 20		6.34	36.91	49.31	7.44
	x^2 5.86				
	p-value 0.44				
	n 1059				
Veteran					
Civilian		5.64	38.06	47.51	8.79
Veteran		4.48	37.59	51.72	6.21
	x^2 3.05				
	p-value 0.38				
	n 1052				

Chi-Squared Tests for Agency-Level Characteristics and Agreement with:
"Homelessness is a Choice"

		Homelessness is a Choice %			
		Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Agree	Strongly Agree
Agency Homeless Policy					
No		5.90	39.34	47.05	7.70
Yes		4.70	35.57	50.78	8.95
	x^2 2.89				
	p-value 0.41				
	n 1057				
Agency Size					
Small: 25 or Less Officers		7.24	45.39	43.42	3.95
Medium: 26-100 Officers		7.32	37.07	46.83	8.78
Large: More than 100 Officers		4.26	36.60	50.50	8.65
	x^2 11.85				
	p-value 0.07				
	n 1062				
Agency Type					
Local Police Department		4.11	36.21	50.66	9.02
Sheriff Department		5.22	46.27	41.04	7.46
University Police Department		14.71	33.82	45.59	5.88
Tribal, State, and Federal Departments		8.85	40.71	46.02	4.42
	x^2 24.88				
	p-value 0.00				
	n 1069				
Region					
South, NE, MW		5.78	43.43	43.96	6.83
West		4.48	30.70	54.80	10.02
	x^2 21.27				
	p-value 0.00				
	n 1040				

Chi-Squared Tests for Individual-Level Characteristics and Agreement with:
"Homelessness is a Housing Issue"

	Homeless is a Housing Issue %			
	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Agree	Strongly Agree
Age Group				
18-29	13.39	29.46	50.89	6.25
30-39	14.29	35.71	42.56	7.44
40-49	21.71	39.76	32.11	6.42
50 or older	10.75	45.52	35.84	7.89
x^2	29.96			
p-value	0.00			
n	1054			
Education				
Less than a Bachelor's Degree	16.92	39.65	36.11	7.32
Bachelor's degree	15.95	40.29	38.65	5.11
Graduate Degree	12.64	33.33	42.53	11.49
x^2	12.01			
p-value	0.06			
n	1053			
Gender				
Man Officer	15.88	39.76	37.68	6.68
Woman Officer	11.68	32.85	45.99	9.49
x^2	6.29			
p-value	0.09			
n	1050			
Race				
White	15.39	40.00	37.58	7.03
Hispanic	7.45	43.62	42.55	6.38
Black	8.11	27.03	54.05	10.81
Other	28.89	26.67	37.78	6.67
x^2	24.90			
p-value	0.00			
n	1046			
Rank				
Patrol officer and detective	16.67	36.25	39.81	7.28
Sergeant	18.78	42.72	31.92	6.57
Leadership (Chief, Deputy Chief, Lieutenant, etc.)	10.97	41.94	38.71	8.39
Other	10.67	44.00	40.00	5.33
x^2	11.29			
p-value	0.26			
n	1061			
Specialty Homeless Unit Experience				
No	15.27	39.31	38.39	7.03
Yes	22.62	32.14	36.90	8.33
x^2	3.89			
p-value	0.27			
n	1066			
Tenure/Length of Service				
10 years or less	14.40	33.52	45.15	6.93

11-20 years	18.10	40.65	33.53	7.72
More than 20	15.26	42.23	35.69	6.81
x^2	12.97			
p-value	0.04			
n	1065			

Veteran

Civilian	15.67	37.86	39.30	7.18
Veteran	16.10	40.75	36.30	6.85
x^2	1.01			
p-value	0.80			
n	1058			

Chi-Squared Tests for Individual-Level Characteristics and Agreement with:
"Homelessness is a Policing Problem"

	Homelessness is a Policing Problem %			
	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Agree	Strongly Agree
Age Group				
18-29	22.12	48.67	26.55	2.65
30-39	30.45	40.90	25.97	2.69
40-49	28.75	39.45	27.83	3.98
50 or older	25.09	45.88	25.81	3.23
x^2	6.96			
p-value	0.64			
n	1054			
Education				
Less than a Bachelor's Degree	27.53	42.42	26.77	3.28
Bachelor's Degree	28.22	44.38	24.95	2.45
Graduate Degree	25.86	39.08	29.89	5.17
x^2	5.29			
p-value	0.51			
n	1045			
Gender				
Man Officer	28.88	41.79	25.60	3.72
Woman Officer	17.52	49.64	32.85	0.00
x^2	14.78			
p-value	0.00			
n	1051			
Race				
White	26.88	42.37	27.85	2.91
Hispanic	23.40	51.06	23.40	2.13
Black	27.03	51.35	16.22	5.41
Other	37.78	32.22	24.44	5.56
x^2	13.88			
p-value	0.12			
n	1047			
Rank				
Patrol officer and detective	29.29	42.39	24.76	3.56
Sergeant	25.35	44.13	28.64	1.88
Leadership (Chief, Deputy Chief, Lieutenant, etc.)	28.39	42.58	25.16	3.87
Other	20.00	40.00	37.33	2.67
x^2	9.06			
p-value	0.43			
n	1061			
Specialty Homeless Unit Experience				
No	26.58	43.18	26.88	3.36
Yes	38.10	39.29	21.43	1.19
x^2	6.02			
p-value	0.11			
n	1060			
Tenure/Length of Service				
10 years or less	5.29	37.05	47.08	10.58

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		4.75	39.47	49.55	6.23
11-20 years					
More than 20		6.34	36.91	49.31	7.44
x^2	5.86				
p-value	0.44				
n	1059				

Veteran

Civilian		5.64	38.06	47.51	8.79
Veteran		4.48	37.59	51.72	6.21
x^2	3.05				
p-value	0.38				
n	1052				

Chi-Squared Tests for Individual-Level Characteristics and Agreement with:
"I want to help get unhoused individuals into appropriate services"

	Want to Help %			
	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Agree	Strongly Agree
Age Group				
18-29	0.88	11.50	72.57	15.04
30-39	3.29	14.67	62.87	19.16
40-49	3.37	14.11	64.42	18.10
50 or older	1.44	11.19	66.43	20.94
x^2	8.88			
p-value	0.45			
n	1050			
Education				
Less than a Bachelor's Degree	1.78	11.70	67.43	19.08
Bachelor's Degree	3.28	14.75	64.55	17.42
Graduate Degree	2.87	13.79	61.49	21.84
x^2	5.47			
p-value	0.49			
n	1055			
Gender				
Man Officer	2.75	13.74	65.16	18.35
Woman Officer	1.47	11.76	64.71	22.06
x^2	1.96			
p-value	0.42			
n	1046			
Race				
White	2.20	13.66	66.34	17.80
Hispanic	3.23	12.90	62.37	21.51
Black	2.63	5.26	55.26	36.84
Other	5.49	14.29	61.54	18.68
x^2	13.96			
p-value	0.12			
n	1042			
Rank				
Patrol officer and detective	3.57	12.97	65.80	17.67
Sergeant	1.42	16.04	65.57	16.98
Leadership (Chief, Deputy Chief, Lieutenant, etc.)	1.30	10.39	63.64	24.68
Other	1.35	13.51	63.51	21.62
x^2	11.00			
p-value	0.28			
n	1057			
Specialty Homeless Unit Experience				
No	2.66	13.50	66.36	17.48
Yes	1.19	13.10	53.57	32.14
x^2	11.52			
p-value	0.01			
n	1062			
Tenure/Length of Service				
Less than 10 years	2.78	13.61	66.39	17.22

			2.98	13.69	66.67	16.67
	11-20 years		2.98	13.69	66.67	16.67
	More than 20		2.19	12.88	62.74	22.19
	x^2	4.61				
	p-value	0.59				
	n	1061				
Veteran						
	Civilian		2.62	14.02	63.70	19.66
	Veteran		2.41	11.68	69.42	16.49
	x^2	3.08				
	p-value	0.38				
	n	1054				

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Chi-Squared Tests for Individual-Level Characteristics and Agreement with:
"Law Enforcement Officers are Effective Agents in Homelessness Prevention"

		LEO Effective Agents %		
	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Agree	Strongly Agree
Age Group				
18-29	32.46	53.51	11.40	2.63
30-39	37.91	48.36	11.94	1.79
40-49	38.53	48.32	11.31	1.83
50 or older	30.22	55.76	13.67	0.36
x^2	10.73			
p-value	0.30			
n	1054			
Education				
Less than a Bachelor's Degree	33.84	53.54	11.62	1.01
Bachelor's Degree	36.61	49.49	12.68	1.23
Graduate Degree	37.36	47.70	11.49	3.45
x^2	7.21			
p-value	0.30			
n	1059			
Gender				
Man Officer	36.47	50.16	11.83	1.53
Woman Officer	29.20	55.47	13.87	1.46
x^2	2.85			
p-value	0.41			
n	1050			
Race				
White	34.91	51.15	12.73	1.21
Hispanic	35.11	53.19	8.51	3.19
Black	32.43	48.65	13.51	5.41
Other	42.22	45.56	11.11	1.11
x^2	9.33			
p-value	0.41			
n	1046			
Rank				
Patrol officer and detective	35.11	50.81	12.30	1.78
Sergeant	38.50	49.30	11.27	0.94
Leadership (Chief, Deputy Chief, Lieutenant, etc.)	40.00	49.03	9.68	1.29
Other	22.67	58.67	17.33	1.33
x^2	9.43			
p-value	0.40			
n	1061			
Specialty Homeless Unit Experience				
No	35.95	51.32	11.41	1.32
Yes	32.14	46.43	17.86	3.57
x^2	5.99			
p-value	0.11			
n	1066			
Tenure/Length of Service				
10 years or less	36.46	49.17	12.43	1.93

11-20 years		35.01	51.93	11.28	1.78
More than 20		35.79	51.09	12.30	0.82
x^2	2.37				
p-value	0.88				
n	1065				

Veteran

Civilian		36.03	49.74	12.79	1.44
Veteran		34.93	53.77	9.93	1.37
x^2	2.20				
p-value	0.53				
n	1055				

Chi-Squared Tests for Agency-Level Characteristics and Agreement with:
"Homelessness is a: Housing Issue, Policing Problem"

	Homelessness is a Housing Issue %			
	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Agree	Strongly Agree
Agency Homeless Policy				
No	12.38	41.21	39.90	6.51
Yes	20.71	35.63	36.08	7.57
x^2	14.81			
p-value	0.00			
n	1063			
Agency Size				
Small: 25 orfewer Officers	10.46	37.91	45.75	5.88
Medium: 26-100 Officers	11.65	37.86	41.75	8.74
Large: More than 100 Officers	17.77	39.63	35.68	6.91
x^2	12.26			
p-value	0.06			
n	1068			
Agency Type				
Local Police Department	18.42	37.89	36.45	7.24
Sheriff Department	6.72	46.27	41.79	5.22
University Police Department	8.82	36.76	47.06	7.35
Tribal, State, and Federal Departments	13.27	38.94	39.82	7.96
x^2	18.34			
p-value	0.03			
n	1075			
Region				
South, NE, MW	10.99	41.71	39.44	7.85
West	21.78	35.94	36.15	6.13
x^2	23.01			
p-value	0.00			
n	1046			

	Policing Problem %			
	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Agree	Strongly Agree
Agency Homeless Policy				
No	25.45	45.84	26.26	2.45
Yes	30.22	38.89	26.67	4.22
x^2	7.65			
p-value	0.05			
n	1063			
Agency Size				
Small: 25 or fewer Officers	22.22	42.48	33.33	1.96
Medium: 26-100 Officers	21.84	47.57	25.73	4.85
Large: More than 100 Officers	30.04	42.03	24.96	2.96
x^2	12.81			
p-value	0.05			
N	1068			
Agency Type				
Local Police Department	29.21	42.11	25.53	3.16
Sheriff Department	21.64	47.76	28.36	2.24

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University Police Department	26.47	45.59	23.53	4.41
Tribal, State, and Federal Departments	23.01	42.48	30.97	3.54
x^2	6.57			
p-value	0.68			
n	1075			
Region				
South, NE, MW	22.82	45.82	28.57	2.79
West	33.90	39.19	23.31	3.60
x^2	17.36			
p-value	0.00			
n	1046			

Chi-Squared Tests for Agency-Level Characteristics and Agreement with:
"I want to help get unhoused individuals into appropriate services," and "Law enforcement officers are effective agents in homelessness prevention"

	Want to Help %			
	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Agree	Strongly Agree
Agency Homeless Policy				
No	2.30	11.49	68.31	17.90
Yes	3.10	16.15	61.28	19.47
x^2	7.11			
p-value	0.07			
n	1061			
Agency Size				
Small: 25 or fewer Officers	1.32	16.45	62.50	19.74
Medium: 26-100 Officers	0.50	10.89	69.80	18.81
Large: More than 100 Officers	3.39	13.54	64.60	18.48
x^2	9.19			
p-value	0.16			
n	1063			
Agency Type				
Local Police Department	3.16	12.52	64.82	19.50
Sheriff Department	1.53	18.32	69.47	10.69
University Police Department	1.47	13.24	60.29	25.00
Tribal, State, and Federal Departments	0.89	15.18	65.18	18.75
x^2	12.93			
p-value	0.17			
n	1070			
Region				
South, NE, MW	2.11	14.59	65.38	17.93
West	3.39	12.71	63.56	20.34
x^2	3.16			
p-value	0.37			
n	1041			

	LEO Effective Agents %			
	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Agree	Strongly Agree
Agency Homeless Policy				
No	35.73	51.55	11.75	0.99
Yes	35.63	50.11	12.25	2.00
x^2	2.09			
p-value	0.55			
n	1062			
Agency Size				
Small: 25 or Less Officers	28.10	51.63	18.30	1.96
Medium: 26-100 Officers	33.17	52.20	12.68	1.95
Large: More than 100 Officers	38.31	50.14	10.28	1.27
x^2	12.02			
p-value	0.06			
N	1068			
Agency Type				
Local Police Department	36.45	50.66	11.18	1.71

Sheriff Department	38.35	49.62	11.28	0.75
University Police Department	32.35	47.06	19.12	1.47
Tribal, State, and Federal Departments	30.70	54.39	14.04	0.88
x^2	6.66			
p-value	0.67			
n	1075			

Region

South, NE, MW	34.03	50.61	13.79	1.57
West	38.69	50.11	9.73	1.48
x^2	5.16			
p-value	0.16			
n	1046			

Chi-Squared Tests for Individual-Level Characteristics and Agreement with:
"The community does not understand law enforcement's role in responding to issues of homelessness"

	Community Understanding %			
	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Agree	Strongly Agree
Age Group				
18-29	0.88	5.31	45.13	48.67
30-39	0.00	5.34	47.77	46.88
40-49	0.00	4.57	49.70	45.73
50 or older	0.72	3.23	56.63	39.43
x^2	12.69			
p-value	0.18			
n	1057			
Education				
Less than a Bachelor's Degree	0.25	3.54	54.80	41.41
Bachelor's Degree	0.00	5.70	47.25	47.05
Graduate Degree	1.14	3.43	50.86	44.57
x^2	12.84			
p-value	0.05			
n	1062			
Gender				
Man Officer	0.11	3.93	50.49	45.46
Woman Officer	1.45	8.70	51.45	38.41
x^2	14.88			
p-value	0.00			
n	1053			
Race				
White	0.12	4.60	50.97	44.31
Hispanic	0.00	3.19	57.45	39.36
Black	2.63	10.53	52.63	34.21
Other	1.10	3.30	37.36	58.24
x^2	23.51			
p-value	0.01			
n	1049			
Rank				
Patrol officer and detective	0.32	5.15	49.76	44.77
Sergeant	0.47	2.82	52.58	44.13
Leadership (Chief, Deputy Chief, Lieutenant, etc.)	0.00	3.23	46.45	50.32
Other	0.00	6.67	60.00	33.33
x^2	9.59			
p-value	0.39			
n	1064			
Specialty Homeless Unit Experience				
No	0.30	4.26	51.57	43.86
Yes	0.00	7.14	40.48	52.38
x^2	4.83			
p-value	0.18			
n	1069			
Tenure/Length of Service				
10 years or less	0.28	5.23	46.28	48.21

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			0.00	3.25	55.03	41.72
11-20 years			0.00	3.25	55.03	41.72
More than 20			0.54	4.90	50.68	43.87
x^2	7.98					
p-value	0.24					
n	1068					

Veteran

Civilian			0.26	5.07	48.89	45.77
Veteran			0.34	2.74	54.45	42.47
x^2	4.46					
p-value	0.22					
n	1061					

Chi-Squared Tests for Individual-Level Characteristics and Agreement with:
"There are too many individuals experiencing homelessness in my jurisdiction for law enforcement to handle alone"

	Too Many to Handle %			
	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Agree	Strongly Agree
Age Group				
18-29	7.08	16.81	34.51	41.59
30-39	9.82	19.05	30.65	40.48
40-49	8.23	20.43	35.06	36.28
50 or older	4.33	23.47	37.18	35.02
x^2	12.45			
p-value	0.19			
n	1054			
Education				
Less than a Bachelor's Degree	9.39	23.10	35.03	32.49
Bachelor's Degree	6.33	17.55	34.08	42.04
Graduate Degree	6.29	21.71	33.71	38.29
x^2	12.01			
p-value	0.06			
n	1059			
Gender				
Man Officer	7.68	20.94	34.43	36.95
Woman Officer	7.25	17.39	32.61	42.75
x^2	1.95			
p-value	0.58			
n	1050			
Race				
White	7.04	22.09	33.13	37.74
Hispanic	8.60	21.51	46.24	23.66
Black	13.16	13.16	44.74	28.95
Other	8.79	8.79	27.47	54.95
x^2	29.78			
p-value	0.00			
n	1046			
Rank				
Patrol officer and detective	6.46	18.26	32.63	42.65
Sergeant	6.10	21.13	35.68	37.09
Leadership (Chief, Deputy Chief, Lieutenant, etc.)	11.04	24.03	33.12	31.82
Other	13.33	26.67	44.00	16.00
x^2	28.66			
p-value	0.00			
n	1061			
Specialty Homeless Unit Experience				
No	7.74	20.26	34.32	37.68
Yes	4.76	17.86	35.71	41.67
x^2	1.51			
p-value	0.68			
n	1066			
Tenure/Length of Service				

10 years or less	9.67	18.23	31.22	40.88
11-20 years	9.20	18.99	35.91	35.91
More than 20	3.83	23.22	35.79	37.16
x^2	15.48			
p-value	0.02			
n	1065			

Veteran

Civilian	7.69	18.90	35.98	37.42
Veteran	6.87	23.37	30.24	39.52
x^2	4.54			
p-value	0.21			
n	1058			

Chi-Squared Tests for Individual-Level Characteristics and Agreement with:
"To more effectively respond to calls related to homelessness, law enforcement agencies need: A designated officer or specialty unit for homelessness-related calls"

	Specialty Homelessness Unit %			
	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Agree	Strongly Agree
Age Group				
18-29	7.96	29.20	36.28	26.55
30-39	7.12	27.30	38.28	27.30
40-49	12.54	25.69	34.56	27.22
50 or older	8.99	21.58	39.21	30.22
x^2	10.06			
p-value	0.35			
n	1055			
Education				
Less than a Bachelor's Degree	7.36	26.14	38.32	28.17
Bachelor's Degree	11.20	24.03	38.90	25.87
Graduate Degree	8.00	29.14	30.86	32.00
x^2	9.39			
p-value	0.15			
n	1060			
Gender				
Man Officer	10.07	25.27	37.20	27.46
Woman Officer	3.62	27.54	38.41	30.43
x^2	6.06			
p-value	0.11			
n	1052			
Race				
White	8.61	28.24	37.58	25.58
Hispanic	8.51	10.64	41.49	39.36
Black	7.89	13.16	31.58	47.37
Other	17.78	18.89	33.33	30.00
x^2	34.42			
p-value	0.00			
n	1047			
Rank				
Patrol officer and detective	8.56	23.42	38.77	29.24
Sergeant	9.39	25.82	40.85	23.94
Leadership (Chief, Deputy Chief, Lieutenant, etc.)	11.61	30.32	29.03	29.03
Other	12.00	32.00	30.67	25.33
x^2	12.17			
p-value	0.20			
n	1062			
Specialty Homeless Unit Experience				
No	9.05	25.84	36.72	28.38
Yes	11.90	21.43	42.86	23.81
x^2	2.63			
p-value	0.45			
n	1067			
Tenure/Length of Service				

	10 years or less	7.16	28.10	37.74	27.00
	11-20 years	10.68	25.22	35.91	28.19
	More than 20	10.38	23.22	37.98	28.42
	x^2	5.01			
	p-value	0.54			
	n	1066			
Veteran					
	Civilian	8.97	25.62	38.49	26.92
	Veteran	10.34	25.17	33.45	31.03
	x^2	3.16			
	p-value	0.37			
	n	1059			

Chi-Squared Tests for Individual-Level Characteristics and Agreement with:
 "To more effectively respond to calls related to homelessness, law enforcement agencies need: Formal policies detailing how officers should respond to issues of homelessness"

	Formal Policy%			
	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Agree	Strongly Agree
Age Group				
18-29	15.04	39.82	32.74	12.39
30-39	11.57	36.50	34.42	17.51
40-49	13.76	33.03	37.61	15.60
50 or older	6.47	28.42	45.68	19.42
x^2	22.37			
p-value	0.01			
n	1055			
Education				
Less than a Bachelor's Degree	8.38	30.46	41.88	19.29
Bachelor's Degree	13.85	37.68	35.44	13.03
Graduate Degree	10.86	32.00	36.00	21.14
x^2	19.63			
p-value	0.00			
n	1060			
Gender				
Man Officer	11.71	33.15	38.95	16.19
Woman Officer	6.52	39.13	33.33	21.01
x^2	6.83			
p-value	0.08			
n	1052			
Race				
White	10.55	36.61	37.45	15.39
Hispanic	5.32	26.60	44.68	23.40
Black	13.16	23.68	31.58	31.58
Other	21.11	20.00	38.89	20.00
x^2	31.23			
p-value	0.00			
n	1047			
Rank				
Patrol officer and detective	12.28	34.41	37.32	15.99
Sergeant	11.74	34.27	36.62	17.37
Leadership (Chief, Deputy Chief, Lieutenant, etc.)	7.74	32.90	41.94	17.42
Other	10.67	29.33	40.00	20.00
x^2	4.52			
p-value	0.87			
n	1062			
Specialty Homeless Unit Experience				
No	10.89	33.67	38.66	16.79
Yes	14.29	38.10	30.95	16.67
x^2	2.46			
p-value	0.48			
n	1067			
Tenure/Length of Service				

10 years or less	13.77	36.09	35.26	14.88
11-20 years	11.28	33.53	37.69	17.51
More than 20	9.02	32.24	40.71	18.03
x^2	7.12			
p-value	0.31			
n	1066			

Veteran

Civilian	10.79	35.50	36.80	16.91
Veteran	12.07	30.00	41.03	16.90
x^2	3.18			
p-value	0.37			
n	1059			

Chi-Squared Tests for Agency-Level Characteristics and Agreement with:
"The community does not understand law enforcement's role in responding to issues of homelessness" and
"There are too many individuals experiencing homelessness in my jurisdiction for law enforcement to
handle alone"

	Community Understanding %			
	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Agree	Strongly Agree
Agency Homeless Policy				
No	0.33	3.91	52.93	42.83
Yes	0.22	5.31	47.57	46.90
x^2	3.68			
p-value	0.30			
n	1066			
Agency Size				
Small: 25 or Less Officers	0.00	5.88	57.52	36.60
Medium: 26-100 Officers	0.00	2.93	56.10	40.98
Large: More than 100 Officers	0.42	4.63	47.89	47.05
x^2	10.76			
p-value	0.10			
n	1070			
Agency Type				
Local Police Department	0.26	5.24	48.49	46.00
Sheriff Department	0.75	2.26	51.13	45.86
University Police Department	0.00	1.47	58.82	39.71
Tribal, State, and Federal Departments	0.00	3.54	61.95	34.51
x^2	13.41			
p-value	0.14			
n	1077			
Region				
South, NE, MW	0.17	4.88	55.23	39.72
West	0.42	4.01	45.99	49.58
x^2	11.04			
p-value	0.01			
n	1048			
	Too Many Individuals %			
	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Agree	Strongly Agree
Agency Homeless Policy				
No	9.95	26.43	34.42	29.20
Yes	4.20	11.73	34.29	49.78
x^2	68.34			
p-value	0.00			
n	1065			
Agency Size				
Small: 25 or fewer Officers	18.95	38.56	26.80	15.69
Medium: 26-100 Officers	10.29	27.94	38.73	23.04
Large: More than 100 Officers	4.23	14.08	34.79	46.90
x^2	134.43			
p-value	0.00			
N	1067			
Agency Type				

Local Police Department	5.91	17.06	33.60	43.44
Sheriff Department	13.64	31.82	34.09	20.45
University Police Department	10.29	16.18	44.12	29.41
Tribal, State, and Federal Departments	8.93	30.36	34.82	25.89
x^2	53.43			
p-value	0.00			
n	1074			
Region				
South, NE, MW	11.21	27.50	33.80	27.50
West	2.53	10.55	35.86	51.05
x^2	102.33			
p-value	0.00			
n	1045			

Chi-Squared Tests for Agency-Level Characteristics and Agreement with:
"To more effectively respond to calls related to homelessness, law enforcement agencies need: A designated officer or specialty unit for homelessness-related calls, and Formal policies detailing how officers should respond to issues of homelessness"

	Specialty Homelessness Unit %			
	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Agree	Strongly Agree
Agency Homeless Policy				
No	8.65	28.87	37.36	25.12
Yes	9.98	20.84	37.25	31.93
x^2	11.38			
p-value	0.01			
n	1064			
Agency Size				
Small: 25 or Less Officers	7.10	32.90	31.61	28.39
Medium: 26-100 Officers	7.25	31.40	37.20	24.15
Large: More than 100 Officers	10.53	22.05	38.34	29.07
x^2	15.32			
p-value	0.02			
n	1074			
Agency Type				
Local Police Department	9.95	25.26	35.99	28.80
Sheriff Department	8.96	25.37	43.28	22.39
University Police Department	5.80	34.78	27.54	31.88
Tribal, State, and Federal Departments	8.77	21.05	42.98	27.19
x^2	10.98			
p-value	0.28			
n	1081			
Region				
South, NE, MW	8.32	28.08	35.70	27.90
West	10.74	21.68	38.53	29.05
x^2	6.53			
p-value	0.09			
n	1052			
	Formal Policies %			
	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Agree	Strongly Agree
Agency Homeless Policy				
No	11.26	34.58	37.03	17.13
Yes	11.75	32.82	39.47	15.96
x^2	0.91			
p-value	0.82			
n	1064			
Agency Size				
Small: 25 or Less Officers	7.10	31.61	41.29	20.00
Medium: 26-100 Officers	9.66	34.30	39.61	16.43
Large: More than 100 Officers	12.78	34.41	36.94	15.87
x^2	6.68			
p-value	0.35			
N	1074			
Agency Type				

Local Police Department	12.96	34.29	36.65	16.10
Sheriff Department	8.21	37.31	41.79	12.69
University Police Department	8.70	42.03	28.99	20.29
Tribal, State, and Federal Departments	6.14	22.81	49.12	21.93
x^2	21.93			
p-value	0.01			
n	1081			
Region				
South, NE, MW	8.15	31.54	42.11	18.20
West	15.37	36.21	33.26	15.16
x^2	20.39			
p-value	0.00			
n	1052			

Chi-Squared Tests for Individual-Level Characteristics and Agreement with:
"To more effectively respond to calls related to homelessness, law enforcement agencies need: More information on the resources in my jurisdiction that are available for individuals experiencing homelessness"

	More Information on Resources %			
	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Agree	Strongly Agree
Age Group				
18-29	2.65	22.12	46.02	29.20
30-39	3.26	19.29	48.66	28.78
40-49	7.34	18.35	44.34	29.97
50 or older	2.89	17.69	52.35	27.08
x^2	13.19			
p-value	0.15			
n	1054			
Education				
Less than a Bachelor's Degree	3.05	14.76	51.15	31.04
Bachelor's Degree	5.30	22.61	45.42	26.68
Graduate Degree	4.00	20.00	46.86	29.14
x^2	12.65			
p-value	0.05			
n	1059			
Gender				
Man Officer	4.49	19.28	48.52	27.71
Woman Officer	2.90	16.67	45.65	34.78
x^2	3.44			
p-value	0.33			
n	1051			
Race				
White	3.52	19.78	48.91	27.79
Hispanic	3.19	11.70	50.00	35.11
Black	2.63	15.79	44.74	36.84
Other	13.33	18.89	40.00	27.78
x^2	25.85			
p-value	0.00			
n	1046			
Rank				
Patrol officer and detective	3.40	21.36	49.19	26.05
Sergeant	5.63	16.90	46.48	30.99
Leadership (Chief, Deputy Chief, Lieutenant, etc.)	4.52	16.13	48.39	30.97
Other	8.00	13.33	38.67	40.00
x^2	15.77			
p-value	0.07			
n	1061			
Specialty Homeless Unit Experience				
No	4.38	18.43	48.68	28.51
Yes	3.57	27.38	40.48	28.57
x^2	4.44			
p-value	0.22			
n	1066			

Tenure/Length of Service					
10 years or less		3.58	20.11	47.93	28.37
11-20 years		4.45	18.40	45.70	31.45
More than 20		4.93	18.90	49.59	26.58
x^2	3.11				
p-value	0.80				
n	1065				
Veteran					
Civilian		4.16	19.51	47.33	29.00
Veteran		4.84	17.99	49.13	28.03
x^2	0.69				
p-value	0.88				
n	1058				

Chi-Squared Tests for Individual-Level Characteristics and Agreement with:
"To more effectively respond to calls related to homelessness, law enforcement agencies need: Resources after hours (i.e., 1700-0900)"

	Resources After Hours %			
	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Agree	Strongly Agree
Age Group				
18-29	0.88	6.19	21.24	71.68
30-39	0.89	6.23	31.16	61.72
40-49	4.31	4.00	36.92	54.77
50 or older	0.72	2.16	38.13	58.99
x^2	33.71			
p-value	0.00			
n	1053			
Education				
Less than a Bachelor's Degree	0.51	3.55	34.01	61.93
Bachelor's Degree	2.86	5.52	33.95	57.67
Graduate Degree	2.29	4.00	33.71	60.00
x^2	9.24			
p-value	0.16			
n	1058			
Gender				
Man Officer	1.97	4.50	34.21	59.32
Woman Officer	0.72	4.35	31.16	63.77
x^2	1.77			
p-value	0.62			
n	1050			
Race				
White	1.34	4.86	34.51	59.30
Hispanic	0.00	3.19	35.11	61.70
Black	0.00	2.63	31.58	65.79
Other	10.00	3.33	25.56	61.11
x^2	38.25			
p-value	0.00			
n	1045			
Rank				
Patrol officer and detective	2.27	5.66	35.11	56.96
Sergeant	0.94	3.76	30.52	64.79
Leadership (Chief, Deputy Chief, Lieutenant, etc.)	1.95	0.65	31.17	66.23
Other	2.67	5.33	38.67	53.33
x^2	14.01			
p-value	0.12			
n	1060			
Specialty Homeless Unit Experience				
No	1.83	4.49	34.15	59.53
Yes	2.38	4.76	32.14	60.71
x^2	0.25			
p-value	0.97			
n	1065			
Tenure/Length of Service				

10 years or less		1.10	5.51	30.30	63.09
11-20 years		1.79	5.65	36.90	55.65
More than 20		3.01	2.47	34.25	60.27
x^2	12.55				
p-value	0.05				
n	1064				

Veteran

Civilian		1.69	4.17	34.77	59.38
Veteran		2.42	4.84	31.14	61.59
x^2	1.80				
p-value	0.61				
n	1057				

Chi-Squared Tests for Agency-Level Characteristics and Agreement with:
"To more effectively respond to calls related to homelessness, law enforcement agencies need: More information on the resources in my jurisdiction that are available for individuals experiencing homelessness and Resources after hours (i.e., 1700-0900)"

	More Information on Resources %			
	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Agree	Strongly Agree
Agency Homeless Policy				
No	3.10	14.19	51.55	31.16
Yes	6.00	25.78	43.33	24.89
x^2	30.51			
p-value	0.00			
n	1063			
Agency Size				
Small: 25 or Less Officers	3.23	10.32	51.61	34.84
Medium: 26-100 Officers	1.46	15.53	48.54	34.47
Large: More than 100 Officers	5.20	22.47	46.91	25.42
x^2	25.11			
p-value	0.00			
n	1073			
Agency Type				
Local Police Department	5.24	21.76	47.31	25.69
Sheriff Department	2.24	12.69	49.25	35.82
University Police Department	1.45	18.84	37.68	42.03
Tribal, State, and Federal Departments	1.75	11.40	56.14	30.70
x^2	27.55			
p-value	0.00			
n	1080			
Region				
South, NE, MW	2.26	15.28	51.91	30.56
West	6.53	24.63	42.11	26.74
x^2	29.60			
p-value	0.00			
n	1051			

	Resources After Hours %			
	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Agree	Strongly Agree
Agency Homeless Policy				
No	1.31	3.60	34.21	60.80
Yes	2.88	5.76	33.70	57.65
x^2	6.41			
p-value	0.09			
n	1062			
Agency Size				
Small: 25 or fewer Officers	3.27	3.27	35.29	58.17
Medium: 26-100 Officers	0.00	3.86	29.47	66.67
Large: More than 100 Officers	2.11	5.06	35.25	57.58
x^2	10.77			
p-value	0.10			
N	1072			
Agency Type				

Local Police Department	2.36	5.24	33.16	59.24
Sheriff Department	0.75	2.99	36.57	59.70
University Police Department	1.45	4.35	28.99	65.22
Tribal, State, and Federal Departments	0.88	3.54	40.71	54.87
x^2	7.25			
p-value	0.61			
n	1079			
Region				
South, NE, MW	1.22	3.99	32.81	61.98
West	2.74	5.27	35.86	56.12
x^2	6.33			
p-value	0.10			
n	1050			

Chi-Squared Tests for Individual-Level Characteristics and Agreement with:
"To more effectively respond to calls related to homelessness, law enforcement agencies need better access to: Local Emergency Shelters"

	Emergency Shelters %			
	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Agree	Strongly Agree
Age Group				
18-29	0.88	8.85	48.67	41.59
30-39	1.19	13.35	42.43	43.03
40-49	4.89	12.54	43.43	39.14
50 or older	1.08	7.91	44.96	46.04
x^2	22.04			
p-value	0.01			
n	1055			
Education				
Less than a Bachelor's Degree	1.78	10.41	45.43	42.39
Bachelor's Degree	2.85	12.22	45.82	39.10
Graduate Degree	1.71	10.86	37.71	49.71
x^2	7.62			
p-value	0.27			
n	1060			
Gender				
Man Officer	2.41	11.27	44.75	41.58
Woman Officer	0.72	9.42	42.75	47.10
x^2	2.90			
p-value	0.41			
n	1052			
Race				
White	1.45	11.64	44.00	42.91
Hispanic	2.13	8.51	52.13	37.23
Black	0.00	5.26	42.11	52.63
Other	10.00	10.00	40.00	40.00
x^2	33.34			
p-value	0.00			
n	1047			
Rank				
Patrol officer and detective	2.75	13.09	45.56	38.61
Sergeant	1.41	12.68	43.66	42.25
Leadership (Chief, Deputy Chief, Lieutenant, etc.)	1.94	5.81	40.65	51.61
Other	2.67	5.33	41.33	50.67
x^2	17.17			
p-value	0.05			
n	1062			
Specialty Homeless Unit Experience				
No	2.14	11.60	43.85	42.42
Yes	3.57	8.33	50.00	38.10
x^2	2.44			
p-value	0.49			
n	1067			
Tenure/Length of Service				

10 years or less		1.38	11.85	44.90	41.87
11-20 years		2.08	13.35	43.92	40.65
More than 20		3.55	8.74	43.99	43.72
x^2	7.75				
p-value	0.26				
n	1066				

Veteran

Civilian		2.08	11.18	45.25	41.48
Veteran		2.76	11.38	41.72	44.14
x^2	1.38				
p-value	0.71				
n	1059				

Chi-Squared Tests for Individual-Level Characteristics and Agreement with:
"To more effectively respond to calls related to homelessness, law enforcement agencies need better access to: Local Substance Abuse Facilities"

	Local Substance Abuse Facilities %			
	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Agree	Strongly Agree
Age Group				
18-29	0.89	5.36	51.79	41.96
30-39	2.08	10.98	42.14	44.81
40-49	4.89	8.56	44.65	41.90
50 or older	0.72	6.83	43.88	48.56
x^2	20.68			
p-value	0.01			
n	1054			
Education				
Less than a Bachelor's Degree	2.28	8.12	44.16	45.43
Bachelor's Degree	2.86	8.78	47.96	40.41
Graduate Degree	1.71	8.00	37.14	53.14
x^2	9.20			
p-value	0.16			
n	1059			
Gender				
Man Officer	2.63	8.98	44.69	43.70
Woman Officer	0.72	5.07	44.20	50.00
x^2	5.06			
p-value	0.17			
n	1051			
Race				
White	2.06	8.13	44.54	45.27
Hispanic	1.06	10.64	51.06	37.23
Black	0.00	0.00	47.37	52.63
Other	7.78	10.00	37.78	44.44
x^2	20.69			
p-value	0.01			
n	1046			
Rank				
Patrol officer and detective	2.91	9.71	47.09	40.29
Sergeant	2.35	10.80	43.66	43.19
Leadership (Chief, Deputy Chief, Lieutenant, etc.)	1.94	3.87	36.13	58.06
Other	1.33	2.67	44.00	52.00
x^2	23.56			
p-value	0.01			
n	1061			
Specialty Homeless Unit Experience				
No	2.44	8.55	44.81	44.20
Yes	2.38	8.33	41.67	47.62
x^2	0.38			
p-value	0.94			
n	1066			
Tenure/Length of Service				

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10 years or less		1.66	9.12	48.34	40.88
11-20 years		2.97	10.39	41.84	44.81
More than 20		3.01	6.28	43.17	47.54
x^2	9.05				
p-value	0.17				
n	1065				

Veteran

Civilian		2.21	8.20	45.57	44.01
Veteran		3.10	9.66	41.38	45.86
x^2	2.19				
p-value	0.53				
n	1058				

Chi-Squared Tests for Individual-Level Characteristics and Agreement with:
"To more effectively respond to calls related to homelessness, law enforcement agencies need better access to: Medical Care Facilities"

	Medical Care Facilities %			
	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Agree	Strongly Agree
Age Group				
18-29	1.77	21.24	46.90	30.09
30-39	3.26	20.47	45.10	31.16
40-49	6.42	20.80	41.90	30.89
50 or older	1.08	14.44	45.49	38.99
x^2	22.65			
p-value	0.01			
n	1054			
Education				
Less than a Bachelor's Degree	3.30	15.23	46.70	34.77
Bachelor's Degree	3.88	23.67	43.06	29.39
Graduate Degree	2.86	17.14	42.86	37.14
x^2	13.02			
p-value	0.04			
n	1059			
Gender				
Man Officer	3.50	18.93	44.86	32.71
Woman Officer	2.19	20.44	43.07	34.31
x^2	0.93			
p-value	0.82			
n	1051			
Race				
White	2.79	20.51	44.30	32.40
Hispanic	3.19	13.83	53.19	29.79
Black	2.63	13.16	28.95	55.26
Other	8.89	11.11	46.67	33.33
x^2	24.87			
p-value	0.00			
n	1046			
Rank				
Patrol officer and detective	3.56	23.30	44.50	28.64
Sergeant	2.82	17.37	42.72	37.09
Leadership (Chief, Deputy Chief, Lieutenant, etc.)	3.87	11.61	43.87	40.65
Other	5.33	8.00	48.00	38.67
x^2	24.77			
p-value	0.00			
n	1061			
Specialty Homeless Unit Experience				
No	3.56	19.55	44.40	32.48
Yes	2.38	16.67	44.05	36.90
x^2	1.11			
p-value	0.78			
n	1066			
Tenure/Length of Service				

10 years or less		2.75	21.76	45.18	30.30
11-20 years		4.15	20.47	43.62	31.75
More than 20		3.84	15.62	44.11	36.44
x^2	7.40				
p-value	0.29				
n	1065				
Veteran					
Civilian		3.39	19.27	45.44	31.90
Veteran		3.79	18.97	41.38	35.86
x^2	1.90				
p-value	0.59				
n	1058				

Chi-Squared Tests for Individual-Level Characteristics and Agreement with:
"To more effectively respond to calls related to homelessness, law enforcement agencies need better access to: Mental Health Clinicians"

	Mental Health Clinicians %			
	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Agree	Strongly Agree
Age Group				
18-29	0.88	11.50	52.21	35.40
30-39	2.37	13.35	41.84	42.43
40-49	5.50	11.01	44.34	39.14
50 or older	0.72	6.83	42.81	49.64
x^2	28.71			
p-value	0.00			
n	1055			
Education				
Less than a Bachelor's Degree	2.79	10.15	47.21	39.85
Bachelor's Degree	2.85	12.22	44.60	40.33
Graduate Degree	2.29	9.14	35.43	53.14
x^2	11.39			
p-value	0.08			
n	1060 ;			
Gender				
Man Officer	3.06	10.61	43.76	42.56
Woman Officer	0.72	10.87	46.38	42.03
x^2	2.58			
p-value	0.19			
n	1052			
Race				
White	2.06	10.67	44.12	43.15
Hispanic	1.06	8.51	50.00	40.43
Black	2.63	10.53	39.47	47.37
Other	8.89	12.22	38.89	40.00
x^2	18.19			
p-value	0.03			
n	1047			
Rank				
Patrol officer and detective	3.07	12.44	47.33	37.16
Sergeant	2.35	11.27	42.72	43.66
Leadership (Chief, Deputy Chief, Lieutenant, etc.)	2.58	4.52	34.84	58.06
Other	2.67	10.67	38.67	48.00
x^2	26.24			
p-value	0.00			
n	1062			
Specialty Homeless Unit Experience				
No	2.85	10.89	44.15	42.12
Yes	1.19	10.71	41.67	46.43
x^2	1.23			
p-value	0.75			
n	1067			
Tenure/Length of Service				

10 years or less		1.93	12.67	46.56	38.84
11-20 years		3.86	12.46	43.32	40.36
More than 20		2.73	7.65	41.80	47.81
x^2	12.60				
p-value	0.05				
n	1066				
Veteran					
Civilian		1.79	2.34	10.79	44.86
Veteran		4.21	3.79	11.03	41.03
x^2	2.56				
p-value	0.46				
n	1059				

Chi-Squared Tests for Agency-Level Characteristics and Agreement with:
"To more effectively respond to calls related to homelessness, law enforcement agencies need better access to: Emergency Shelters and Local Substance Abuse Facilities"

	Emergency Shelters %			
	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Agree	Strongly Agree
Agency Homeless Policy				
No	0.98	7.99	46.17	44.86
Yes	4.21	15.96	41.69	38.14
x^2	30.06			
p-value	0.00			
n	1064			
Agency Size				
Small: 25 or fewer Officers	1.29	3.87	48.39	46.45
Medium: 26-100 Officers	0.00	5.31	49.28	45.41
Large: More than 100 Officers	3.23	15.17	41.99	39.61
x^2	35.66			
p-value	0.00			
n	1074			
Agency Type				
Local Police Department	3.14	13.87	42.28	40.71
Sheriff Department	0.00	4.48	47.76	47.76
University Police Department	1.45	10.14	39.13	49.28
Tribal, State, and Federal Departments	0.88	5.26	56.14	37.72
x^2	27.53			
p-value	0.00			
n	1081			
Region				
South, NE, MW	1.39	8.67	46.27	43.67
West	3.79	15.37	41.68	39.16
x^2	18.62			
p-value	0.00			
n	1052			
	Local Substance Abuse Facilities %			
	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Agree	Strongly Agree
Agency Homeless Policy				
No	1.47	5.87	48.29	44.37
Yes	4.00	11.78	39.78	44.44
x^2	21.56			
p-value	0.00			
n	1063			
Agency Size				
Small: 25 or fewer Officers	1.29	3.87	47.74	47.10
Medium: 26-100 Officers	0.48	5.31	46.86	47.34
Large: More than 100 Officers	3.23	10.97	42.76	43.04
x^2	18.90			
p-value	0.00			
N	1073			
Agency Type				
Local Police Department	3.28	9.44	42.33	44.95

Sheriff Department	0.00	7.46	47.01	45.52
University Police Department	1.45	8.70	46.38	43.48
Tribal, State, and Federal Departments	0.88	6.14	52.63	40.35
x^2	11.51			
p-value	0.24			
n	1080			
Region				
South, NE, MW	1.39	7.63	45.58	45.41
West	4.01	10.34	42.62	43.04
x^2	9.97			
p-value	0.02			
n	1051			

Chi-Squared Tests for Agency-Level Characteristics and Agreement with:
"To more effectively respond to calls related to homelessness, law enforcement agencies need better access to Medical Care Facilities, and Mental Health Clinicians"

	Medical Care Facilities %			
	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Agree	Strongly Agree
Agency Homeless Policy	2.28	16.15	48.94	32.63
No	5.33	23.56	38.67	32.44
Yes	20.27			
x^2	0.00			
p-value	1063			
n				
Agency Size				
Small: 25 or fewer Officers	1.94	10.32	50.97	36.77
Medium: 26-100 Officers	1.45	12.56	51.69	34.30
Large: More than 100 Officers	4.36	23.49	40.93	31.22
x^2	30.10			
p-value	0.00			
n	1073			
Agency Type				
Local Police Department	4.46	22.15	41.02	32.37
Sheriff Department	0.00	13.43	50.75	35.82
University Police Department	2.90	15.94	43.48	37.68
Tribal, State, and Federal Departments	1.75	10.53	58.77	28.95
x^2	28.11			
p-value	0.00			
n	1080			
Region				
South, NE, MW	2.08	15.45	48.44	34.03
West	5.47	24.42	38.74	31.37
x^2	25.14			
p-value	0.00			
n	1051			

	Mental Health Clinicians %			
	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Agree	Strongly Agree
Agency Homeless Policy				
No	1.79	2.34	10.79	44.86
Yes	4.21	3.79	11.03	41.03
x^2	2.56			
p-value	0.46			
n	1064			
Agency Size				
Small: 25 or fewer Officers	1.94	3.23	49.03	45.81
Medium: 26-100 Officers	0.97	7.25	46.38	45.41
Large: More than 100 Officers	3.51	14.04	41.85	40.59
x^2	23.43			
p-value	0.00			
N	1074			
Agency Type				
Local Police Department	3.40	12.17	42.41	42.02

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Sheriff Department	2.24	8.21	44.03	45.52
University Police Department	1.45	10.14	44.93	43.48
Tribal, State, and Federal Departments	0.88	7.89	51.75	39.47
x^2	8.51			
p-value	0.48			
n	1081			
Region				
South, NE, MW	1.73	9.36	42.98	45.93
West	4.42	13.26	43.79	38.53
x^2	13.35			
p-value	0.00			
n	1052			

APPENDIX C

SERVICE COORDINATION DESCRIPTIVE STATISTICS

Descriptive Statistics for Experimental Measures Capturing Criminal Justice and Service Coordination Outcomes

	Mean	SD	Min	Max	N
How likely is it that this call will resolve…?					
By connecting the man to emergency shelter services (*Emergency shelter coordination*)	0.561	0.497	0	1	1011
By connecting the man to mental health services (*Mental health service coordination*)	0.751	0.432	0	1	1142
By facilitating transportation to the man's identified area of living (*Facilitate transportation*)	0.492	0.500	0	1	1143
By personally providing transportation to the man's identified area of living (*Provide transportation*)	0.389	0.488	0	1	1140

Note. () indicates variable name.

APPENDIX D

JOB APPLICABILITY MEASURES

Descriptive Statistics for Measures Capturing Participant Perceptions on Job Sentiment after reading their Randomly Assigned Vignette

	Mean	SD	Min	Max	N
These types of calls…					
Are real police work (*Real police work*)	0.821	0.384	0	1	1126
Make me feel satisfied with my job (*Satisfied*)	0.625	0.484	0	1	1122
Make my job feel meaningful (*Meaningful*)	0.617	0.486	0	1	1120
Please select your level of agreement with the following statements.					
It is my job to respond to these kinds of calls. (*My job*)	0.932	0.252	0	1	1143

Note. () indicates variable name.

APPENDIX E

RESEARCH QUESTION 2 CHI-SQUARED TESTS

Chi-Squared Tests for Individual-Level Characteristics and Randomly Assigned Vignette

	Randomly Assigned Vignette						
	Homeless	Housed	Homeless & Mental Health Clinician	Housed and Mental Health Clinician	x^2	p-value	N
Individual-Level Characteristics							
Age Group					15.55	0.08	1044
18-29	12.59	13.01	8.30	9.13			
30-39	32.22	26.83	36.60	30.80			
40-49	27.78	37.80	29.81	30.42			
50 or older	27.41	22.36	25.28	29.66			
Education					3.52	0.74	1049
Less than a Bachelor's Degree	37.17	37.10	37.08	39.25			
Bachelor's Degree	46.47	46.37	43.82	47.55			
Graduate Degree	16.36	16.53	19.10	13.21			
Experience on a Specialty Homelessness Unit					0.38	0.94	1056
No	92.99	91.57	92.22	92.48			
Yes	7.01	8.43	7.78	7.52			
Gender					5.80	0.21	1040
Male Officer	89.89	89.39	84.53	84.79			
Female Officer	10.11	10.61	15.47	15.21			
Race					11.97	0.21	1036
White	80.30	76.13	82.82	75.19			
Hispanic	6.32	10.29	7.25	11.83			
Black	3.35	4.53	1.91	4.96			
Other	10.04	9.05	8.02	8.02			
Rank					15.29	0.08	1050
Patrol officer and detective	65.43	59.27	55.39	52.27			
Sergeant	15.99	21.37	22.68	20.45			
Leadership	13.38	12.50	15.61	17.05			
Other	5.20	6.85	6.32	10.23			
Tenure/Length of Service					8.39	0.21	1055
10 years or less	37.41	32.93	30.48	34.83			
11-20 years	31.11	32.53	36.43	26.59			
More than 20	31.48	34.54	33.09	38.58			
Veteran					3.64	0.30	1048
No	74.07	69.23	70.41	75.76			
Yes	25.93	30.77	29.59	24.24			
Agency-Level Characteristics							
Agency Homeless Policy					0.99	0.80	1051
No	57.62	58.63	58.96	55.09			
Yes	42.38	41.37	41.04	44.91			
Agency Size					4.34	0.63	1141
Small: 25 or fewer Officers	15.57	14.87	15.36	13.45			

Medium: 26-100 Officers	18.34	20.82	15.36	21.03			
Large: More than 100 Officers	66.09	64.31	69.28	65.52			
Agency Type					3.24	0.95	1148
Local Police Department	75.64	73.11	71.38	71.99			
Sheriff Department	11.64	13.64	13.78	14.89			
University Police Department	6.55	7.20	6.71	5.67			
Tribal, State, and Federal Departments	6.18	6.06	8.13	7.45			
Region					10.04	1.00	1118
South, NE, MW	56.29	56.11	56.84	56.14			
West	43.71	43.89	43.16	43.86			

APPENDIX F

LOGISTIC REGRESSION ESTIMATES

Logistic Regression Models Estimating the Effect of Experimental
Stimuli and Covariates on Likeliness of Emergency Shelter Service Coordination

	Sub-Sample: Homelessness Stimuli	
	Model 1A (s.e.)	Model 1B (s.e.)
Emergency Shelter Coordination		
Homelessness Stimulus	1.899***	1.867**
	(0.345)	(0.358)
Experience on a Specialty Homelessness Unit		2.565*
		(1.084)
Formal Policy on Homelessness		0.641*
		(0.125)
Observations	499	460
Likelihood-Ratio Chi^2	12.428***	17.763***

	Sub-Sample: Mental Health Clinician Stimuli	
	Model 2A (s.e.)	Model 2B (s.e.)
Homeless and Mental Health Clinician Stimuli	1.673**	1.717**
	(0.305)	(0.331)
Experience on a Specialty Homelessness Unit		1.243
		(0.481)
Formal Policy on Homelessness		1.228
		(0.245)
Observations	512	466
Likelihood-Ratio Chi^2	7.977**	9.275**

	Full Sample	
	Model 3A (s.e.)	Model 3A (s.e.)
Homelessness Stimulus	1.783***	1.775***
	(0.229)	(0.240)
Mental Health Clinician Stimuli	1.330*	1.400*
	(0.171)	(0.189)
Experience on a Specialty Homelessness Unit		1.850*
		(0.529)
Formal Policy on Homelessness		0.877
		(0.121)
Observations	1011	926
Likelihood-Ratio Chi^2	24.376***	27.985***

Note. Entries are odds ratios and robust standard errors (SE). Threshold values
indicating cut points in latent variables were estimated for the ordinal logistic models
but are not presented in the table. ***<.001, **<.01, *<.05

Logistic Regression Models Estimating the Effect of Experimental
Stimuli and Covariates on Likeliness of Mental Health Service Coordination

	Sub-Sample: Homelessness Stimuli	
	Model 1A (s.e.)	Model 1B (s.e.)
Mental Health Coordination		
Homelessness Stimulus	1.354 (0.247)	1.325 (0.253)
Experience on a Specialty Homelessness Unit		1.691 (0.677)
Formal Policy on Homelessness		0.823 (0.158)
Observations	560	514
Likelihood-Ratio Chi^2	2.767	4.315

	Sub-Sample: Mental Health Clinician Stimuli	
	Model 2A (s.e.)	Model 2B (s.e.)
Homeless and Mental Health Clinician Stimuli	1.431 (0.310)	1.448 (0.339)
Experience on a Specialty Homelessness Unit		4.299 (3.257)
Formal Policy on Homelessness		0.889 (0.212)
Observations	582	528
Likelihood-Ratio Chi^2	2.735	5.406

	Full Sample	
	Model 3A (s.e.)	Model 3A (s.e.)
Homelessness Stimulus	1.385* (0.193)	1.375* (0.203)
Mental Health Clinician Stimuli	2.108*** (0.297)	2.288*** (0.343)
Experience on a Specialty Homelessness Unit		2.221* (0.754)
Formal Policy on Homelessness		0.854 (0.127)
Observations	1142	1042
Likelihood-Ratio Chi^2	32.807***	40.054***

Note. Entries are odds ratios and robust standard errors (SE). Threshold values indicating cut points in latent variables were estimated for the ordinal logistic models but are not presented in the table. ***<.001, **<.01, *<.05

Logistic Regression Models Estimating the Effect of Experimental
Stimuli and Covariates on Likeliness of Facilitating Transportation

	Sub-Sample: Homelessness Stimuli	
	Model 1A (s.e.)	Model 1B (s.e.)
Facilitate Transportation		
Homelessness Stimulus	0.932 (0.158)	0.735 (0.129)
Experience on a Specialty Homelessness Unit		1.436 (0.504)
Formal Policy on Homelessness		0.677* (0.123)
Observations	561	515
Likelihood-Ratio Chi^2	0.172	19.020***

	Sub-Sample: Mental Health Clinician Stimuli	
	Model 2A (s.e.)	Model 2B (s.e.)
Homeless and Mental Health Clinician Stimuli	1.431 (0.310)	1.448 (0.339)
Experience on a Specialty Homelessness Unit		4.299 (3.257)
Formal Policy on Homelessness		0.889 (0.212)
Observations	582	528
Likelihood-Ratio Chi^2	3.064	7.528

	Full Sample	
	Model 3A (s.e.)	Model 3A (s.e.)
Homelessness Stimulus	0.833 (0.099)	0.830 (0.104)
Mental Health Clinician Stimuli	1.230 (0.146)	1.238 (0.155)
Experience on a Specialty Homelessness Unit		1.351 (0.333)
Formal Policy on Homelessness		0.557*** (0.072)
Observations	1142	1043
Likelihood-Ratio Chi^2	5.433	25.625***

Note. Entries are odds ratios and robust standard errors (SE). Threshold values indicating cut points in latent variables were estimated for the ordinal logistic models but are not presented in the table. ***<.001, **<.01, *<.05

Logistic Regression Models Estimating the Effect of Experimental Stimuli and
Covariates on Likeliness of Personally Provide Transportation

	Sub-Sample: Homelessness Stimuli	
	Model 1A (s.e.)	Model 1B (s.e.)
Personally Provide Transportation		
Homelessness Stimulus	0.929 (0.161)	0.942 (0.172)
Experience on a Specialty Homelessness Unit		0.967 (0.346)
Formal Policy on Homelessness		0.499*** (0.093)
Observations	560	514
Likelihood-Ratio Chi^2	0.184	14.071**

	Sub-Sample: Mental Health Clinician Stimuli	
	Model 2A (s.e.)	Model 2B (s.e.)
Homeless and Mental Health Clinician Stimuli	0.851 (0.146)	0.853 (0.156)
Experience on a Specialty Homelessness Unit		1.045 (0.383)
Formal Policy on Homelessness		0.540** (0.103)
Observations	580	526
Likelihood-Ratio Chi^2	0.890	11.191**

	Full Sample	
	Model 3A (s.e.)	Model 3A (s.e.)
Homelessness Stimulus	0.888 (0.108)	0.896 (0.115)
Mental Health Clinician Stimuli	0.922 (0.112)	0.852 (0.110)
Experience on a Specialty Homelessness Unit		1.006 (0.258)
Formal Policy on Homelessness		0.520*** (0.069)
Observations	1140	1040
Likelihood-Ratio Chi^2	1.378	26.437***

Note. Entries are odds ratios and robust standard errors (SE). Threshold values
indicating cut points in latent variables were estimated for the ordinal logistic models
but are not presented in the table. ***<.001, **<.01, *<.05

Logistic Regression Models Estimating the Effect of Experimental Stimuli and Covariates on Meaningful

	Sub-Sample: Homelessness Stimuli	
	Model 1A (s.e.)	Model 1B (s.e.)
Meaningful		
Homelessness Stimulus	0.745 (0.131)	0.788 (0.146)
Experience on a Specialty Homelessness Unit		2.334* (0.883)
Formal Policy on Homelessness		0.607** (0.112)
Observations	550	509
Likelihood-Ratio Chi^2	2.818	14.368**

	Sub-Sample: Mental Health Clinician Stimuli	
	Model 2A (s.e.)	Model 2B (s.e.)
Homeless and Mental Health Clinician Stimuli	0.856 (0.150)	0.762 (0.141)
Experience on a Specialty Homelessness Unit		0.881 (0.309)
Formal Policy on Homelessness		0.610** (0.115)
Observations	572	526
Likelihood-Ratio Chi^2	0.787	9.413*

	Full Sample	
	Model 3A (s.e.)	Model 3A (s.e.)
Homelessness Stimulus	0.799 (0.099)	0.772* (0.101)
Mental Health Clinician Stimuli	1.191 (0.147)	1.136 (0.148)
Experience on a Specialty Homelessness Unit		1.396 (0.350)
Formal Policy on Homelessness		0.601*** (0.079)
Observations	1122	1035
Likelihood-Ratio Chi^2	5.288	20.227***

Note. Entries are odds ratios and robust standard errors (SE). Threshold values indicating cut points in latent variables were estimated for the ordinal logistic models but are not presented in the table. ***<.001, **<.01, *<.05

Logistic Regression Models Estimating the Effect of Experimental Stimuli and Covariates on Satisfied

	Sub-Sample: Homelessness Stimuli	
	Model 1A (s.e.)	Model 1B (s.e.)
Satisfied		
Homelessness Stimulus	0.678*	0.728
	(0.120)	(0.136)
Experience on a Specialty Homelessness Unit		1.594
		(0.571)
Formal Policy on Homelessness		0.672*
		(0.125)
Observations	549	508
Likelihood-Ratio Chi^2	4.830*	9.415*

	Sub-Sample: Mental Health Clinician Stimuli	
	Model 2A (s.e.)	Model 2B (s.e.)
Homeless and Mental Health Clinician Stimuli	0.883	0.852
	(0.153)	(0.156)
Experience on a Specialty Homelessness Unit		0.798
		(0.279)
Formal Policy on Homelessness		0.557**
		(0.104)
Observations	571	525
Likelihood-Ratio Chi^2	0.516	11.950**

	Full Sample	
	Model 3A (s.e.)	Model 3A (s.e.)
Homelessness Stimulus	0.776*	0.788
	(0.096)	(0.103)
Mental Health Clinician Stimuli	1.022	0.967
	(0.126)	(0.126)
Experience on a Specialty Homelessness Unit		1.104
		(0.268)
Formal Policy on Homelessness		0.603***
		(0.079)
Observations	1120	1033
Likelihood-Ratio Chi^2	4.256	17.780***

Note. Entries are odds ratios and robust standard errors (SE). Threshold values indicating cut points in latent variables were estimated for the ordinal logistic models but are not presented in the table. ***<.001, **<.01, *<.05

Logistic Regression Models Estimating the Effect of Experimental Stimuli and Covariates on Real Police Work

	Sub-Sample: Homelessness Stimuli	
	Model 1A (s.e.)	Model 1B (s.e.)
Real Police Work		
Homelessness Stimulus	0.694 (0.163)	0.668 (0.170)
Experience on a Specialty Homelessness Unit		0.498 (0.194)
Formal Policy on Homelessness		0.629 (0.156)
Observations	552	511
Likelihood-Ratio Chi^2	2.408	8.537*

	Sub-Sample: Mental Health Clinician Stimuli	
	Model 2A (s.e.)	Model 2B (s.e.)
Homeless and Mental Health Clinician Stimuli	0.841 (0.177)	0.795 (0.175)
Experience on a Specialty Homelessness Unit		0.777 (0.301)
Formal Policy on Homelessness		0.725 (0.161)
Observations	574	527
Likelihood-Ratio Chi^2	0.672	4.137

	Full Sample	
	Model 3A (s.e.)	Model 3A (s.e.)
Homelessness Stimulus	0.772 (0.121)	0.739 (0.122)
Mental Health Clinician Stimuli	0.781 (0.122)	0.729 (0.121)
Experience on a Specialty Homelessness Unit		0.637 (0.176)
Formal Policy on Homelessness		0.686* (0.113)
Observations	1126	1038
Likelihood-Ratio Chi^2	5.295	15.918**

Note. Entries are odds ratios and robust standard errors (SE). Threshold values indicating cut points in latent variables were estimated for the ordinal logistic models but are not presented in the table. ***<.001, **<.01, *<.05

Logistic Regression Models Estimating the Effect of Experimental Stimuli and Covariates on My Job

	Sub-Sample: Homelessness Stimuli	
	Model 1A (s.e.)	Model 1B (s.e.)
My Job		
Homelessness Stimulus	1.601	1.145
	(0.593)	(0.481)
Experience on a Specialty Homelessness Unit		0.307*
		(0.167)
Formal Policy on Homelessness		0.828
		(0.344)
Observations	560	516
Likelihood-Ratio Chi^2	1.611	6.380

	Sub-Sample: Mental Health Clinician Stimuli	
	Model 2A (s.e.)	Model 2B (s.e.)
Homeless and Mental Health Clinician Stimuli	0.843	0.618
	(0.260)	(0.220)
Experience on a Specialty Homelessness Unit		0.674
		(0.405)
Formal Policy on Homelessness		0.764
		(0.285)
Observations	583	531
Likelihood-Ratio Chi^2	0.306	2.913

	Full Sample	
	Model 3A (s.e.)	Model 3A (s.e.)
Homelessness Stimulus	1.099	0.807
	(0.259)	(0.217)
Mental Health Clinician Stimuli	0.708	0.699
	(0.169)	(0.188)
Experience on a Specialty Homelessness Unit		0.454*
		(0.181)
Formal Policy on Homelessness		0.814
		(0.223)
Observations	1143	1047
Likelihood-Ratio Chi^2	2.472	8.109

Note. Entries are odds ratios and robust standard errors (SE). Threshold values indicating cut points in latent variables were estimated for the ordinal logistic models but are not presented in the table. ***<.001, **<.01, *<.05

APPENDIX G
IRB APPROVAL LETTERS

EXEMPTION GRANTED

Cody Telep
WATTS-CCJ: Criminology and Criminal Justice, School of
602/496-1295
Cody.Telep@asu.edu

Dear Cody Telep:

On 10/28/2022 the ASU IRB reviewed the following protocol:

Type of Review:	Initial Study
Title:	The Function of the Police in Encounters with Individuals Experiencing Homelessness
Investigator:	Cody Telep
IRB ID:	STUDY00015974
Funding:	Name: Graduate College (GRAD); Name: National Science Foundation (NSF), Grant Office ID: The Law and Science Dissertation Grant is funded through NSF and given directly to the researcher. Thus, we do not have an ERA number.
Grant Title:	The Law and Science Dissertation Grant is funded through NSF and given directly to the researcher. Thus, we do not have an ERA number. ;
Grant ID:	The Law and Science Dissertation Grant is funded through NSF and given directly to the researcher. Thus, we do not have an ERA number. ;
Documents Reviewed:	• Consent Document, Category: Consent Form; • Email from B. Bornstein Awarding LSDG, Category: Sponsor Attachment; • Email from B. Bornstein Confirming Award, Category: Sponsor Attachment; • Email from K. Brown Accepting LSDG Award, Category: Sponsor Attachment; • GPSA Research Grant, Category: Sponsor Attachment; • GPSA/GradCollege Research Award Acceptance, Category: Sponsor Attachment;

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	• Grant Application Budget Justification, Category: Sponsor Attachment; • Grant Application Supplemental Info, Category: Sponsor Attachment; • Grant Data Management Plan, Category: Sponsor Attachment; • Grant Proposal, Category: Sponsor Attachment; • IRB Final, Category: IRB Protocol; • Recruitment Email - Initial Ask, Category: Recruitment Materials; • Recruitment Email - Officer Ask, Category: Recruitment Materials; • Survey Instrument, Category: Measures (Survey questions/Interview questions /interview guides/focus group questions);

The IRB determined that the protocol is considered exempt pursuant to Federal Regulations 45CFR46 (2)(ii) Tests, surveys, interviews, or observation (low risk) on 10/26/2022.

In conducting this protocol you are required to follow the requirements listed in the INVESTIGATOR MANUAL (HRP-103).

If any changes are made to the study, the IRB must be notified at research.integrity@asu.edu to determine if additional reviews/approvals are required. Changes may include but not limited to revisions to data collection, survey and/or interview questions, and vulnerable populations, etc.

Sincerely,

IRB Administrator

cc: Katharine Brown
        Katharine Brown

APPROVAL: MODIFICATION

Cody Telep
WATTS-CCJ: Criminology and Criminal Justice, School of
602/496-1295
Cody.Telep@asu.edu

Dear Cody Telep:

On 12/20/2022 the ASU IRB reviewed the following protocol:

Type of Review:	Modification / Update
Title:	The Function of the Police in Encounters with Individuals Experiencing Homelessness
Investigator:	Cody Telep
IRB ID:	STUDY00017113
Funding:	Name: Graduate College (GRAD); Name: National Science Foundation, Grant Office ID: The Law and Science Dissertation Grant is funded through NSF and given directly to the researcher. Thus, we do not have an ERA number.
Grant Title:	None
Grant ID:	None
Documents Reviewed:	• Dissertation Ride Along Protocol, Category: IRB Protocol; • HOPE Written Confirmation, Category: Other; • Written confirmation from HOPE that they will do ride alongs with me., Category: Other;

The IRB approved the modification.

When consent is appropriate, you must use final, watermarked versions available under the "Documents" tab in ERA-IRB.

In conducting this protocol you are required to follow the requirements listed in the INVESTIGATOR MANUAL (HRP-103).

Sincerely,

IRB Administrator

cc: Katharine Brown
        Katharine Brown