Blacks in policing and organizational change: A comparison of departments’ participation in community oriented policing activities

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Nova Southeastern University
College of Arts, Humanities and Social Sciences
Department of Justice and Human Services

Blacks in policing and organizational change: A comparison of departments’ participation in community oriented policing activities

by

David P. Taylor
A Dissertation Proposal Presented to the Department of Justice and Human Services Of Nova Southeastern University In Partial Fulfillment of the Requirement for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy

Nova Southeastern University
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Acknowledgments

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This dissertation was submitted by, David P. Taylor, under the direction of the persons listed below. It was submitted to the Department of Justice and Human Services and approved in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy at Nova Southeastern University.

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Abstract

Blacks in policing and organizational change: A comparison of departments’ participation in community oriented policing activities. David P. Taylor, 2018: Dissertation, Nova Southeastern University, College of Arts, Humanities and Social Sciences, Department of Justice and Human Services. Descriptors: Black police chief, Black officers, organizational change theory, community oriented policing, LEMAS,

Civil unrest in the1960s pitted Black citizens and police officers against each other (Kerner Commission, 1968). The Kerner Commission examined race relations and recommended the hiring of more Black officers to patrol Black neighborhoods. Recent shooting deaths of unarmed Black males primarily by White officers has led to renewed calls for police reform (Scholsser, Cha-Jua, Valgoi & Neville, 2015). This quantitative secondary analysis study utilizes data from the 2013 LEMAS survey to compare local police departments from three states (N=184) to examine whether police departments with a Black chief and/or a higher rate of Black officers reported more participation in community oriented policing activities than police departments led by Whites. The study’s hypothesis is that local police departments led by a Black chief and departments with a high rate of Black officers will report greater participation in community oriented policing activities.

Descriptive data along with results from Pearson’s correlation, ANOVA and multiple regression analysis indicate there are some benefits to appointing Blacks as police chief along with hiring more Black officers. In this study, the race of the chief had a positive but not significant impact on the number of reported COP activities. The presence of more Black officers was positively correlated at a significant level with reports of higher rates of COP activities.
# Table of Contents

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Chapter</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Chapter 1: Introduction</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Introduction</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Purpose and Hypotheses</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Background and Significance</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Barriers and Issues</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Definitions of Terms</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chapter 2: Literature Review</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Police Chief</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Blacks Appointed Police Chief</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Role Orientation</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Transformational Leadership</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Increasing Blacks in Policing</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Importance of Hiring Black Officers</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Barriers to Hiring Blacks</td>
<td>29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Strategies to Increase Blacks in Policing</td>
<td>32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Theoretical Framework: Organizational Change Theory</td>
<td>34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Internal Organizational Changes</td>
<td>34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>External Organizational Changes</td>
<td>36</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Research Questions</td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chapter 3: Data and Methodology</td>
<td>41</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Participants</td>
<td>41</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Instruments</td>
<td>42</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dependent Variable</td>
<td>44</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Independent Variables</td>
<td>45</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Control Variables</td>
<td>46</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Research Design and Methodology</td>
<td>47</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Data Analysis</td>
<td>49</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chapter 4: Results</td>
<td>51</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Descriptive Data</td>
<td>51</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Correlational Data</td>
<td>52</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ANOVA Data</td>
<td>53</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Multiple Regression Analysis</td>
<td>57</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chapter 5: Discussion</td>
<td>60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Overview of findings</td>
<td>60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Black Police Chief and COP Activities</td>
<td>61</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Black Officers and COP Activities</td>
<td>63</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Black Chief, Black officers and COP Activities</td>
<td>65</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Conclusion and Summary</td>
<td>67</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Limitations</td>
<td>72</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Implications and Future Research</td>
<td>73</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
References........................................................................................................................................79

Appendices
   A  Letter of Request for Information .................................................................88
   B  Police Demographic Survey.................................................................89

Tables
   1 Descriptive Data on Race of Police Chief.............................................52
   2 Pearson Correlations.............................................................................53
   3 ANOVA Descriptive Data.................................................................54
   4 Descriptive Data on Race of Officers.................................................55
   5 ANOVA Between-Subjects Effects on Reported COP Activities.......56
   6 Regression Model Summary Table.....................................................57
   7 Summary of Simple Regression Analysis for Variables Predicting
      COP Activities ....................................................................................58

Figure
   1 Regression beta scores on reported COP activities.........................59
Chapter 1: Introduction

Introduction

The shooting death of Michael Brown, an unarmed Black male, in 2014 by Officer Darren Wilson, a White officer employed by the Ferguson, Missouri Police Department, sparked a media frenzy that has led to intense scrutiny of law enforcement agencies nationwide. Since Brown’s death, there have been numerous incidents covered by the media involving the death of Blacks after being encountered by local police officers (Scholsser, Cha-Jua, Valgoi & Neville, 2015). The lack of criminal prosecutions of police officers in some of these cases has led to public demonstrations, vocal debates, and renewed calls for criminal justice reforms (Hall, Hall, & Perry, 2016).

Some Black leaders assert that criminal justice reform is necessary considering the wide racial disparities that exist throughout the system. For example, Carson (2014) noted that in 2013, 37 percent of men in prison were Black men compared to 32 percent of White men. The percentage of Black men in prison exceeds their overall 13 percent of the population in the United States. Black men are six times more likely to be imprisoned in comparison to White men, and Black men represent the highest incarceration rate among all groups (Carson, 2014). There are more White women in prison than Black women, 49 percent compared to 22 percent, respectively, yet Black women are incarcerated at two times the rate of White women. In short, Blacks are negatively and disproportionately represented throughout the criminal justice system than other racial/ethnic groups in the United States.

Contact with police officers is the gateway into the criminal justice system. Several studies (Brunson & Miller, 2006a; Brunson, & Miller, 2006b; Gau & Brunson,
2010) have concluded that Blacks are more likely than Whites to have involuntary and negative encounters with police officers that in many instances leads to an arrest. Blacks have a long history of negative encounters with police officers. During the 1950s and 1960s, Blacks regularly clashed with police officers during civil rights marches, public sit-ins at lunch counters, and in attempts to register to vote (United States National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorder, 1988). Throughout the 1960s, Blacks met stiff resistance from police officers that contributed to the formation of what the Kerner Commission (1988) called militant anti-white organizations groups such as the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee, the Black Panthers and the Black Liberation Army. Blacks and police officers often clashed during nonviolent marches and the assignation of Martin Luther King, Medgar Evers, along John Kennedy, all champions of the Civil Rights Movement, led to riots in many cities throughout the United States (United States National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorder, 1988).

Civil disturbances and riots in inner city neighborhoods throughout the 1960s led to President Lyndon B. Johnson appointing the National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorder to investigate causes for these disorders and recommended responses (Brown & Frank, 2006). One key finding from the investigation was that there existed “deep hostility between police and ghetto communities,” and the relationship between the police and minority communities has been a major source of grievance, tension, and ultimately disorder. One of the proposed remedies to this “deep hostility” was the recruitment of Black officers and the assignment of these officers to Black neighborhoods.

Over the past 50 years there has been an increase in the number of Blacks serving as police officers. The United States Department of Justice (DOJ) reports that
approximately 130,000 minority officers were employed in local police departments in 2013 (United States Department of Justice, 2015a). Blacks made up approximately 12 percent of local police officers in 2013, which was up from the 9 percent in 1987. In large cities with populations over 250,000, 20 percent of sworn officers were Black. In some major cities such as Detroit, and Washington D. C., White officers are minorities. Skalansky (2006) noted that in the top 10 largest police departments in the United States, there have been dramatic increases not only in the percentage of minority officers but also increases in the ratio of minority citizens living in cities.

The increase number of Blacks and other minorities in policing is a significant change from when police departments in the United States consisted primarily of White men (Haar & Morash, 1999; Schlosser, Cha-Jua, Valgoi, & Neville, 2015; Zhao, He, & Lovrich, 2005). Skalansky (2006) noted that diversifying local police departments is part of police reform. Diversity in law enforcement allows police departments to take advantage of special competencies Blacks and other minority officers have that were absent when police departments consisted mostly of White men (Skalansky, 2006).

In smaller cities with a population less than 1000,000 people, the trend of hiring Blacks has not kept pace with that of larger cities (Wilson & Wilson, 2014). Demographic disparities between police officers and populations have contributed to unrest, public demonstrations, and greater scrutiny of police departments. The DOJ concluded in their investigation of the Ferguson Police Department after the death of Michael Brown that racial disparity and unethical patterned behaviors by the police and courts contributed to citizens’ distrust of the entire local criminal justice system (Department of Justice, 2015). The DOJ also stated that at the time of Michael Brown’s
death, only 4 of the 54 (7 percent) sworn officers serving on the Ferguson Police Department were Black.

Just as in the 1960s when riots broke out between Blacks and the police, similar conditions over the past five years have contributed to massive public demonstrations in cities across the United States. Bent-Godley and Smith (2017) asserts that new advocacy groups such as Black Lives Matters have been boisterous in their call for criminal justice reform. Black social activists, political leaders, members of the clergy, and citizens at-large have called for officers to receive better training related to issues that plague the Black neighborhoods they patrol. Some Black leaders have also called for officers to undergo racial sensitivity training to help non-Black officers develop a better understanding of the Black culture (Wilson & Wilson, 2014). Additionally, Black citizens have called for greater representation in command positions in local police departments along with the hiring of more Black officers in general (Gustafson, 2008). Finally, Black leaders have called for police departments to evaluate their policing strategies and seek to expand the community oriented policing model (Bent-Godley & Smith, 2017).

The community oriented policing model has been around for several decades, yet it cannot be characterized by a single narrow definition. A review of the literature indicates that researchers have used a wide variety of definitions to illustrate what is COP. For example, Cornder (1995), Maguire and Katz (2002), along with others, assert that COP is a philosophy rather than a program. Carter and Sapp (1998) posit that COP consists of a proactive, decentralized approach that is designed to reduce crime. The DOJ defines COP as a philosophy that promotes organizational strategies that supports the systemic use of partnerships and problem solving techniques to address conditions that
give rise to public safety issues such as crime, social disorder, and fear of crime. The DOJ’s definition of COP allows for local police departments to develop programs and activities at the organizational or department levels.

Despite the varying definitions used by researchers and practitioners, Cordner (1995) stated that COP consists of four dimensions: the philosophical, strategic, tactical and organizational. The philosophical dimension consists of citizen input, the broad functioning of policing to include not merely enforcing the law, but also personal service that seeks to enhance quality of life measures. In the strategic dimension, the focus is on operational measures that attempt to reorient operations to have local police departments move away from traditional policing strategies that are reactive and center around fighting crime to proactively addressing crime through prevention. Police officers are strategically and permanently placed in neighborhoods to patrol. Cordner noted that the tactical dimension consists of three important elements: positive interaction with citizens, establishing partnerships with agencies and businesses, and solving problems in the community. Finally, the organizational dimension consists of the concepts structure, management, and information. Embracing the COP model requires the restructuring of the police department to decentralize decision making whereby patrol officers have more autonomy (Corisianos, 2011). To make improvements in the community, patrol officers must gather useful information whereby they can initiate actions to make improvements.

Adoption of the COP model requires a paradigm shift. Kuhn (1996) defines a paradigm as a collection of theories, beliefs, and practices that members of a scientific community come to accept as being able to identify problems and solutions in a field. Kuhn asserts that a paradigm will remain in place until new paradigms gains status;
because it is more successful than competitor paradigms in solving problems that practitioners have come to recognize as acute. Such is the case as police departments transition from the traditional model of policing to the COP model. Appointing more Blacks to leadership positions in policing where they can shape policies and implement COP strategies is part of shifts in paradigms.

Bent-Goodley and Smith (2017) propose an African-centered approach to COP. The COP model requires organizational changes and according to the researchers, the African centered COP paradigm requires additional changes. The goal is to decrease the number of unlawful detainments, arrests, and deaths. Bent-Goodley and Smith posit that by incorporating the eight principles (interconnectedness, self-reliance, fundamental goodness, language and oral tradition, thought and practice, spirituality, communalism, and self-knowledge) of the African-centered approach, this could lead to improved relationships between Blacks and police officers.

**Purpose and hypotheses**

The purpose of this study is to compare local police departments from the state of Florida, Virginia and New York that participated in the 2013 Law Enforcement Management and Administrative Statistics (LEMAS) survey on their participation in COP activities as listed in the survey. The researcher examines whether the presence of a Black chief and departments with higher percentages of Black officers report a higher number of COP activities compared to those with a White chief and departments with lower percentages of Black officers.
Research Hypotheses

H1: Police departments with a Black chief will report participation and/or engagement in a high number of COP activities.

H2: Police departments with higher percentages of Black officers will report participation and/or engagement in a high number of COP activities.

H3: Police departments with both a Black chief and a high percentage of Black officers will report participation and/or engagement in a higher number of COP activities.

Background and significance

Because of numerous violent racial disorder incidents in American cities, in 1967 President Lyndon B. Johnson established the National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorder. The Commission was charged with examining recent violent incidents between Black citizens and police officers. President Johnson directed the commission to answer three questions; what happened, why did it happen, and what can be done to prevent it from happening again (Kerner Commission, 1968).

The Commission consisted of politicians, business leaders, scholars, and civil rights advocates. A comprehensive examination of contributing factors to Blacks engaging in civil disorder was scrutinized. The Commission investigated a wide range of issues to include economic, educational, social, and political conditions that impacted the lives and futures of Blacks. Researchers in cities throughout the United States conducted more than 1,500 personal interviews of eyewitnesses and key persons. The overarching finding from the study was that American society was moving towards two societies; one Black, one White, separate and unequal.
For each specific area examined, specific recommendations were provided. Regarding Blacks-police interactions, the Commission called for police departments to intensify their efforts to recruit more Blacks, that police departments review promotion policies to ensure Blacks have opportunities to be rapidly and fairly promoted, and that a new community service officer program be established (Kerner Commission, 1968).

Since the publishing of the Kerner Commission’s report, there have been some major changes in law enforcement. Police departments are more diverse than ever but Blacks remain heavily populated in lower ranks (Sklansky, 2006). Very few Blacks penetrate supervisory and command ranks. Haddad, Giglio, Keller, and Lim (2012) note that like the military, police departments operate as a closed-personnel system, meaning that to be in a leadership position a person must work their way up through the ranks. Given the low number of Blacks hired and serving as police officers in comparison to Whites, only a small percentage of Blacks are promoted to supervisory or command positions and even fewer Blacks are appointed chief (Sklansky, 2006).

Thompson (2006) points out that Blacks that do move up to supervisory positions in police departments sometimes experience social isolation from various support and reference groups, such as subordinate personnel of both races. Black officers that remain in policing until they reach the supervisory level often experience what Thompson describes as “double marginality.” The term “double marginality” relates to a psychological isolation felt by people who are not accepted by those in the workforce and members of their primary groups. A Black police chief may experience isolation and alienation from a host of people to include White chiefs, subordinate personnel of the
opposite and same race, from family members, friends and citizens in the Black community.

Like their White counterparts, Black police chiefs are positioned to facilitate organizational changes to include the hiring of more Blacks and adoption of the COP model. The presence of a Black chief is one of the leading factors that contribute to an increase in Blacks becoming police officers (Zhao, He, and Loverich, 2005). Additionally, the presence of a Black chief, the hiring of more Black officers, and a transition to the COP model can serve as starting points to improve relationships between members of the Black community and local police departments. Allen and Parker (2013) point towards the relationships between Black men and police officers in urban communities as potentially one of the most explosive social situations in American society. The researchers assert that police-community relationship can have long-term implications for the quality of life for Blacks and the communities patrolled by officers. The presence of a Black chief and more Black officers can make police departments seem more legitimate to Black citizens. The presence of more Blacks in policing may also allow for more partnerships with community organizations in Black neighborhoods to address crime (Matthies, Keller, & Lim, 2012).

Sklansky (2006) posits that the continuing diversification of the police workforce weakens the traditional culture of police departments that has contributed to a separation of officers from the citizens they serve. Officers trained in the traditional policing model may resist efforts to hire more Blacks and/or oppose the COP model because it does not align with their idea of fighting crime. Paoline, Myers, and Worden (2000) exemplify this notion in their study where surveyed officers asserted that traditional policing tactics
equal “real police work,” whereas policing under the COP model is not real police work. Increased diversity in policing makes it more likely that departments will be able to take advantage of the special competencies of Black officers that can help the department better understand the culture of others (Paoline, Myers, & Worden, 2000).

Crime continues to be a significant problem in Black neighborhoods. The PEW Foundation (2008) reported that as of January 1, 2008, one in 18 Black men 18 or older were in jail and one in nine Black men between the ages of 20-24 were incarcerated. In response to high crime rates in “hot spot” communities, police departments have intensified the use of traditional policing tactics that consist of aggressive paramilitary tactics. Several studies (Braga, Hureau & Papachristos, 2014; Engel Tillyer & Corsaro, 2013; Koper, 2014; Ratcliffe & Taniguchi, 2011; Telep, Mitchell & Weisburd, 2014) have examined the use and effectiveness of traditional policing tactics. Among these, the consensus supports the use of traditional tactics in some situations; however, traditional policing does not produce long-term reductions in crime. The COP model is proactive and Solzer (2000) note that the COP model allows for more effective use of police resources, increase quality of police services, and contributes to officers experiencing greater job satisfaction.

This study is significant because it addresses an issue that has been understudied by researchers. The researcher examines whether the presence of a Black chief and more Black officers on the police force relates to local police departments reporting a higher number of participation in COP activities. Differences between Black and White officers in how they perform their duties, interact with citizens, and participate in COP activities can have a significant impact on officer-citizen relationships.
Results from this study can support feasible actions by stakeholders in localities to appoint more Blacks to serve as a police chief and to develop strategies to hire more Black officers. The presence of more Blacks at every rank in local police departments may be an important factor in developing better relationships with Black citizens. Local police departments led by a Black chief and with a high number of Black officers may be better suited to adopt the community-policing model. As a result, Black citizens may come to trust police officers more thereby creating opportunities for police officers to participate in more community oriented activities in Black neighborhoods.

**Barriers & Issues**

Conversations regarding the connections between race, ethnicity, and policing are some of the most controversial topics currently at the forefront of media debates – whether it be discussed in the media, in town hall meetings or at family dinner tables. Researchers and leaders in the law enforcement community appear to experience problems addressing the issues too. Given the fragile intersection of race and policing that has led to conflicts and misunderstandings between citizens and police officers, the topic can stir up emotions and defense mechanisms from advocates on both sides of the discussion. Despite the sensitivity of the matter, it is paramount that these issues are studied from a scientific viewpoint and that the findings are shared and discussed within both the academic and practitioner communities.

In the beginning stages of this study, attempts by the researcher to secure permission and access to seven local police departments in the Hampton Roads area of Virginia to administer a survey, interview officers, and participate to “ride-along” with officers to observe their engagement with citizens and participation in COP activities was
rejected. Police chiefs, both Black and White, indicated that administering a survey along with interviewing officers as they performed their duties would be disruptive. In fact, two police chiefs suggested the researcher secure data for this study from one of many national datasets. As a result, the researcher had to utilize another method to gather data for this study.

**Definition of Terms**

**Black** – the term is used instead of African American because Black refers to differences in skin color and other physical traits that are overtly obvious. African American is generally associated with ethnicity which can be ambiguous surrounding the difference between race, ethnicity and nationality. Black skin has historically been the premise for discrimination and Black can refer to any group of people in the Americas, Caribbean, Europe, Asia and Africa.

**Police chief** - the highest-ranking person in a police department

**Double marginality** - a psychological isolation felt by a Black chief and/or supervisor that feels rejected by White superiors, White supervisory peers, subordinate personnel of the opposite race, subordinate personnel of the same race, the Black community, and family and friends.

**Organizational change theory** – is a macro level approach to studying organizations. The theory is used to describe and explain difference and changes (internal and external) in structures and practices.
Chapter 2: Literature Review

Police Chief

A review of the literature indicates that very few studies have been completed that focuses specifically on the Black police chief. The scarcity of studies is not surprising because as Wilson and Wilson (2014) noted, prior to the 1960s policing was generally a bastion of White male employment. Over the past 50 years Blacks in policing have become more visible yet, Bolton and Feagin (2004) remark that White researchers have generally ignored their impact. Most of the studies regarding Blacks in policing have focused on increasing diversity (Gustafon, 2013; Department of Justice, 2016; Wilson, Wilson, Luthar, & Bridges, 2012; Zhao, et al., 2005), barriers to hiring Blacks, (Matthies, Keller, & Lim, 2012; Wilson, Wilson, & Gwann, 2016;) and differences between Black and White officers (Brown & Frank, 2006; Sun & Payne, 2004) among other topics.

Blacks Appointed Police Chief

Several factors paved the way for Blacks to be appointed as chief of police. The 1964 Civil Rights Act, Executive Order 11246 in 1965, and the 1972 Equal Employment Opportunity Act served as major catalysts for changes in policing and served as the foundation for affirmative action programs and subsequent legal challenges (Kringen, 2016). Newly implemented legislations and laws required agencies in federal, state and local governments to demonstrate good faith efforts to remove barriers that impeded minorities’ progress; whereby historical victims of discrimination had better chances of entering the public workforce. Affirmative action laws led to legal challenges in a variety of workplaces (Kringren, 2016). Because of affirmative action laws, consent decrees were established that required agencies to change their hiring procedures (Kringren,
Although affirmative action programs had a strong early effect on the hiring of Blacks in policing, Reaves (2010) asserts that evidence suggests this effect has plateaued. Despite efforts to increase the hiring of Blacks, some researchers (Gustafson, 2013; Kringen, 2016; Wilson & Wilson, 2014) report that efforts by police departments to recruit Blacks has not been successful. Nevertheless, official reports show that there are more Blacks serving as chief today than over the past five decades.

The development of the civil service system also played a major role in creating opportunities for Blacks to lead police departments. Kringen (2016) notes that the federal government was the first to use the civil service system, which is a personnel system used to make important decisions about hiring, firing, and promotions. Enactment of the Pendleton Act paved the way for the creation of the first merit based system in the United States (Kringen, 2016). Hiring individuals based on merits allowed for agencies to develop competitive examinations and prohibited the firing of employees for political reasons. Shortly after the federal government adopted the merit system, state and local jurisdictions followed suit.

Many local police departments followed the civil service model. The merit-based program ideally removes bias from the hiring, firing, and promotional processes but some Black leaders argue the civil service exams are bias against minorities. Because of legal challenges, some changes have been made to the civil service exam (Kringen, 2016). Nevertheless, the civil service merit system is another factor that facilitated Blacks being hired as police officers and ultimately facilitated appointments to become chief of police.

President Clinton’s signing of the Violent Crime Control and Law Enforcement Act (known as the 1994 Crime Bill) was another factor that provided opportunities for
Blacks to become a police chief. Because of the bill, the Community Oriented Policing Services (COPS) was created within the DOJ. The national COPS Office is responsible for approving grant applications submitted by local police departments to support COP efforts. Chappell (2009) asserts that throughout the 1990s, the federal government provided funding to hire more than 100,000 new local community-policing officers. The funds were also used to conduct research, provide training and to purchase new equipment.

Some researchers assert that having more officers on the street can lead to reductions in crime (Sampson & Chen, 1988; Sherman, 1989; Wilson & Boland, 1978), while other researchers (Blumstein et al., 2000; Braga et al., 1999; MacDonald, 2002) disagree. Perhaps more importantly, researchers believe that having more Blacks on the force can help improve relationships with the Black community (Rembert, Watson, & Hill, 2016). Skalansky (2006) notes that the virtually all-White, all-men police departments of the 1950s and 1960s have given way to departments with large numbers of minorities, females, and college-educated officers. A 2015 DOJ report indicates that in 2013, the percentage of police officers that were members of a minority group nearly doubled that of the late 1980s (Department of Justice, 2015). The report indicates that minorities accounted for 27 percent of local police officers in 2013. That represents a slight increase from 25 percent in 2007; and up from about 15 percent in 1987.

Several researchers (Chamlin & Sanders, 2009; Trochmann & Gover, 2016) have found there is a linear relationship between the percentage of Blacks in the population and the presence of a Black police chief. Chamlin and Sanders (2009) suggest that as the relative population size of Blacks increase in a city, Blacks can translate their numerical
advantage into political power, which in turn can result in securing coveted positions in 
the local police department. The researchers states that employment in urban police 
departments is perceived to be a highly-valued commodity and any advantages that could 
be used to secure more jobs in law enforcement is important. Zhao et al. (2005) came to a 
similar conclusion. In their study of police departments serving populations of 25,000- 
plus residents across the United States in 1993, 1996 and 2000, the researchers concluded 
that the presence of a substantial minority population was among the most important 
predictors of a city having a Black mayor and the appointment of a Black police chief.

There are more Blacks serving as police chief today than in the past. Thompson 
states (2006) that some Blacks who joined police departments decades ago were 
marginalized by peers in predominately-White police departments, as well as by their 
family members who viewed them as “sell outs” or “tokens.” Years later, these same 
Black officers may now serve in executive, command, and supervisory positions in some 
of the nation’s largest and influential law enforcement agencies (Gustafson, 2008; 
Stroshine & Brandl, 2011). In his 2006 study of Blacks holding executive policing 
positions who were members of the National Organization of Black Law Enforcement 
Executives (NOBLE), Thompson hypothesized that as Blacks move up in rank they 
experience social isolation from various support and reference groups. Contrary to 
Thompson’s hypothesis, findings from the study demonstrated that with limited 
exception, a Black police chief, commander, and supervisor did not experience 
widespread social isolation. Wilson and Wilson (2014) study of smaller police 
departments did not yield similar findings. In fact, their study suggests that in smaller 
police departments Blacks serving in both senior and lower positions continue to find
themselves victims of racial indifference, hostile work environments, and that agencies
do little to improve diversity.

**Role Orientation**

The chief’s “role orientation” plays a significant part in shaping policies, developing the workplace culture, and fostering positive relationships with citizens. The presence of a Black chief represents a change from what many in policing and society have come to view as the norm. Weitzer, Tuch, and Skogan (2016) states that a Black person is more likely to be appointed chief in cities with a majority Black population. This is an important point because a high percentage of crimes are concentrated in Black neighborhoods, and the role orientation of a Black police chief can have a significant impact on officer-citizen relationships.

According to Sun (2003), an officer’s “role orientation” impacts their attitudes and behavior. Role orientation refers to an officer’s attitude toward the proper and legitimate scope of police work. Sun points out that there are three types of role orientations. A “crime fighter” role orientation is where under the leadership of the police chief, officers aggressively enforce quality of life crimes which some argue contributes to reducing petty and violent crimes. The primary function of a “crime fighter” is to fight crime and enforce the law. Police chiefs that exhibit the “professional” role orientation views the order maintenance or service function as part of legitimate police business but they still regard law enforcement as the paramount function of the police. The final role orientation is the chief who is “service oriented.” A chief operating in this role orientation takes on the role of a social worker and do not consider enforcement to be the essence of policing. A “service oriented” chief believes the police should be involved in problem
solving more so than enforcing laws. One key conclusion drawn by Sun from his comparison study of Black and White officers’ attitude towards their role orientation is that Blacks are more likely to display attitudes that are consistent with the underlying principles of community policing.

In his seminal study of Black officers in New York City, Alex (1969) suggested that a Black officer’s behavior and attitudinal propensities are influenced by the officer’s primary identification as either a police officer or a Black in policing. If a Black officer, Alex noted, sees him or herself first as a police officer, they often vigorously enforce laws against Black citizens and the officers does little to improve officer citizen relationships. Conversely, Black officers who see themselves as Black first and a police officer second, tend to show sympathy toward Black citizens in their struggle for social and legal equality (Sun & Payne, 2004). It is important that Black chiefs seeking to improve relationships with citizens in Black neighborhoods who historically have held negative views about law enforcement demonstrate a “role orientation” and leadership style that can effectively manage internal and external changes, situations and crises.

Given the lack of studies directly examining Blacks in the role as police chief, limited inferences can be deduced from studies comparing the behaviors and attitudes of Black and White officers. For example, Sun (2003) conducted a study on Black and White police officers to examine how they differ in job related attitudes. The researcher focused on officers’ attitudes towards their police role, selective enforcement, legal restrictions, and departmental problem-solving efforts. Results indicate that Black and White officers differ in their attitudes toward police work and their role. In comparison to their White counterparts, Black officers tend to have a broader role orientation, be less
selective, and have positive attitudes toward legal restrictions and departmental problem-solving efforts. Black officers are more likely than White officers to be assigned to highly disadvantaged neighborhoods (Sun, 2003). This is an important finding because Black officers may feel more connected to residents in disadvantaged neighborhoods and thereby they are more willing to provide a wide range of police functions and activities, including community oriented policing.

In a follow-up study examining the behavioral differences between Black and White officers, Sun and Payne (2004) concluded there are differences between how the officers behave. The researchers assert that Black officers are more active than their White counterparts in resolving conflicts. According to the article, Black officers are more likely to conduct coercive actions, yet they are also more likely to engage in supportive actions in predominately Black neighborhoods.

Some important implications can be drawn from Sun and Payne’s study. For example, according to the researchers, since White officers are less likely than Black officers to provide supportive efforts in disadvantaged neighborhoods, efforts should be made to increase supportive activities among White officers in Black neighborhoods. Traditionally, Black police officers have been given the task of improving relations between the police and members of the Black community (Brown & Frank, 2006). It is critical to examine whether supportive police activities can influence Black citizens’ perception of the police department. These implications are important because some researchers assume that Black officers are more prone to providing supportive functions in Black neighborhoods because they have a better understanding of the community, its history, overriding values, beliefs and customs, all of which White officers may not
understand. Brown and Frank (2006) also found evidence from their study on the impact of race on officers’ decisions to arrest that there is a difference between Black and White officers’ decision to arrest. Per the researchers, police suspect encounters involving White officers are, all else being equal, significantly more likely to result in an arrest.

The idea of assigning Black officers to Black neighborhoods has gained support from many researchers, but some studies state that some Black citizens view a Black chief, and Black officers in general, like White officers (Weitzer, Tuch, & Skogan, 2008). Black citizens frustrated with the criminal justice system assert that the nature of police work socializes Blacks to behave like their White counterparts (Hall, Hall, & Perry, 2016). Weitzer et al. (2008) concluded from their examination of police-community relations in Washington, D. C., a majority-Black city according to the Bureau of Justice Statistics (2004), that Black citizens, more so than White citizens, still perceive there was a high level of police misconduct in the city despite the fact the chief was Black and majority of the officers were Black. Moreover, Black citizens living in neighborhoods that were reportedly rife with crime and disorder held more negative views of the police.

These research findings provide support for this study’s hypotheses. Local police departments historically have consisted of White men who to some Black citizens symbolizes the entire system of law enforcement and criminal justice that in many of their eyes has treated Blacks unfairly (Kerner Commission, 1968). Local police departments led by a Black chief with high rates of Black officers represents a significant change that in some ways can begin to build trusting relationships with Blacks who are disproportionately arrested, processed through the courts, and incarcerated (Alexander, 2010).
It is important that local police departments move away from what Wilson and Wilson (2014) called tokenism, the hiring of Blacks and other minorities to fill a quota. Sustained efforts to increase the number of Blacks holding positions from patrol, to supervisory and command levels is important because as stated by some researchers there are many benefits. Studies (Lurigio & Skogan, 2000; Wilson & Wilson, 2014) show that Black officers are significantly more optimistic about community policing programs. Additionally, more Blacks in policing may present new perspectives and opportunities to transform Black citizens’ negative views of police officers into positive working relationships.

**Transformational Leadership**

As more Blacks are promoted and secure command positions, subordinates and citizens expect a different leadership style and a departure from the traditional policing culture that has historically pervaded police departments. The chief of police is instrumental in identifying operational and administrative priorities and bears primary responsibility for ensuring a positive working relationship with other law enforcement entities, government agencies, and all elements of the community.

Ljungholm (2014) explains that it is important that people in leadership roles understand how their actions impact the socialization process of subordinates and their overall impact on the organization. Ljungholm concluded from the study of transformational leaders’ behavior in public sector organizations that there is a relationship between their actions/behaviors and the actions/behaviors of those that follow them. As police departments continue to contend with changes in personnel, procedures and policing tactics to address situations in the community, the behaviors and
actions of a Black police chief may be highly scrutinized by both Black and White subordinates in the department, by peer counterparts and citizens.

Northhouse (2013, p. 186) defines transformational leadership as a “process whereby a person engages with others and creates a connection that raises the level of motivation and morality in both the leader and followers.” Peters (2014) posits that transformational leadership promotes performance information use by increasing organizational goal clarity and encouraging a supportive organizational culture. Transformational leaders ask followers to look beyond self-interest and to consider the needs of the organization and to focus on achieving collective outcomes. Transformational leadership is concern with improving the performance of followers and developing followers to their fullest potential (Bass & Avolio, 1990). Kuhnert (1994) asserts that people who exhibit transformational leadership often have a strong set of internal values and ideals, and they are effective at motivating followers to act in ways that supports the greater good of the organization.

A Black police chief who seeks to address identified issues or who is concerned with implementing policy changes must understand how difficult it may be to reorient officers who have become accustomed to the traditional police culture. Kotter (1996) outlined eight steps that must occur for an organization to successfully undergo organizational change. Those steps include: establishing a sense of urgency, creating the guiding coalition, developing a vision and strategy, communicating the change vision, empowering broad-based action, generating short-term wins, consolidating and producing more change, and anchoring new approaches in the culture. Managing changes in
policing is a difficult task particularly when a leader attempts to make changes that go against the traditional policing culture.

A Black chief may face resistance as the department undergoes personnel and organizational changes. This resistance may be more evident as a Black chief seeks to implement changes to policies, procedures, and policing tactics that differ from the training officers received in the academy or from the long-standing culture that existed in the department. Shim, Jo, and Hoover (2015) examined whether police transformational leadership and officers’ commitment to organizational changes is mediated by organizational culture. The researchers concluded that a transformational leader might experience resistance and a lack of commitment by some officers to organizational changes because of their commitment to the traditional organizational culture.

Luriogio and Skogan (1994) assert that resistance to change could be exceptionally acute when police departments seek to implement the COP model. Their work found that many trained in the traditional model of policing were ambivalent to certain COP aspects. Luriogio and Skogan justify the importance of winning the hearts of patrol officers as departments attempt to implement the COP model. Patrol officers serve as ambassadors for local police departments. They are in the community interacting with citizens - and their actions and behaviors can either support or undermine the efforts developed to improve relationships with the citizens they serve. Moon (2005) adds that it is crucial to gain line officers’ active support of the COP model because their resistance can become one of the major obstacles in implementing the COP model and increasing officers’ participation in COP activities.
As police departments move towards the COP model, the training of new and old officers becomes pertinent (Muchemi, Wambua, & Bett, 2015; Ndili, Schlosser, Cha-Jua, Valgoi, & Neville, 2015; Shim, Jo, & Hoover, 2015;). The COP model seeks to redress the separation of officers from the citizens they serve (Mastrofski, Worden, & Snopes, 1995). Pelfrey (2004) notes that one of the objectives of the COP model is to transform officers from specialists to generalists with the idea that officers will collaborate with citizens to address the multitude of problems that impact communities. By participating in more COP activities, officers and citizens are provided opportunities to develop partnerships in hopes to eradicate criminogenic conditions that contribute to crime and disorder.

**Increasing Blacks in Policing**

Since the 1960s, police departments have been attempting to increase the number of Blacks in policing (Gustafson, 2008; United States Department of Justice, 2015a). Numerous reports by federal agencies have called for the hiring of Blacks and other minorities to reduce racial disparity in policing (United States Department of Justice, 2016a; United States Department of Justice, 2016b; United States Department of Justice, 2015a). Again, the Kerner Commission’s report in 1968 concluded the United States was “moving towards two societies, one Black, one White, separate and unequal” (Kerner Commission, 1968). Unless conditions were remedied, the Commission warned, the country faced a “system of ‘apartheid’ in its major cities. In the final report of President Obama’s Task Force on 21st Century Policing, it was strongly recommended that police departments throughout the country increase the number of Blacks and other minorities serving as police officers (United States Department of Justice, 2015c).
The Importance of Hiring Black Officers

Many researchers (Brown & Frank, 2006; Lee & Gibbs, 2015) point out that the hiring of Black officers and assigning them to patrol Black neighborhoods seems like a good fit because it is theorized the presence of Black officers has the potential to destroy stereotypes and can help with the perception of legitimizing police departments. Given the ongoing conflict between some in the Black community and police officers, the presence of more Black officers could improve officer citizen relationships. Hall, Hall, and Perry (2016) state that officers’ encounters with Black men could be precarious. Recent shooting deaths of unarmed Black men have deepened Blacks’ distrust of White police officers, and in some cases the entire criminal justice system (Schlosser et al., 2015). Recent research suggests that since Black men expect to be negatively stereotyped by police, they also demonstrate greater anxiety and self-regulatory efforts during police encounters- and consequently, may be more likely to engage in behaviors that is perceived as suspicious by police officers (i.e. avoid eye contact, appear jittery, or make gestures White officers perceive as threatening) (Najdowski, Bottoms, & Goff, 2015).

In their study of the effect of gender and minority status in policing diverse communities, Black and Kari (2010) concluded that Black officers were more likely to adapt to community policing than White officers and Black officers were best able to interact with diverse cultural groups. Sklansky (2006) found that there are studies that have concluded that Black officers get more cooperation than White officers from Black citizens, that Black officers are less prejudice against Black citizens and know more about the community, and that Black officers are more likely to arrest White suspects and less likely to arrest Black suspects. Moreover, Sklansky posits (2006) that Black officers’
ability to understand the culture of Black neighborhoods is another important reason for diversifying police departments.

The inability of some White officers to effectively communicate with Blacks in low income and violent neighborhoods is another reason noted by Schneider (1999) for hiring more Black officers. Studies by Kubrin & Weitzer (2003), MacDonald (2002), Ratcliffe, Taniguchi, Groff, & Wood (2011) and other researchers points out that a high percentage of violent crimes occur in “hotspot” neighborhoods that are highly populated with young Black men. In his study of overcoming barriers to communicate between police officers and residents of socially disadvantage neighborhoods, Schneider (1999) indicated communication appears to be one way. Police officers often speak to people, particularly Black men, in an authoritative manner. Schneider noted that police officers often speak from a position of power that sometimes contributes to verbal, physical, and sometimes deadly confrontations. Schneider concluded that communication problems limits the success of policing Black communities and perpetuates the asymmetrical relationships between residents of socially disadvantage neighborhoods.

By hiring more Black officers, Gibbs and Lee (2015), Gustafson (2013) and Jones and Penn (2015) asserts that police departments can close the “social gap” that exists between police officers and residents in Black neighborhoods. Gibbs and Lee note that social distance is a subjective perception or experience of distance from another person or other persons. For residents in Black neighborhoods, many often feel great social distance between themselves and White police officers. Social distance is a by-product of differential social experiences. Gibbs and Lee posit that a person’s social distance to the police can improve or deteriorate based on the magnitude of informal interaction.
Some studies have examined the impact of officers living in communities they patrol to assess the relationships between officers and residents. This is a significant concern for Black citizens because as noted by Allen and Parker (2013), White officers who patrol Black neighborhoods usually reside outside of the neighborhood. Allen and Parker noted in their study that the general perception among urban Blacks is that White officers carry out acts of misconduct and demonstrate aggressive behaviors with impunity.

This line of thinking may be supported by recent questionable deaths of Black men at the hands of White police officers who are rarely prosecuted; and when charged with a crime, are often acquitted or found guilty of lesser offenses. For example, In September 2016, Terrance Crutcher, an unarmed Black man, was shot and killed by Betty Jo Shelby, a White female police officer in Tulsa, Oklahoma. Officer Shelby was charged with first-degree manslaughter but ultimately a jury found her not guilty.

In another controversial police shooting, on July 6, 2016, Philando Castile was shot and killed while he sat in a car with his girlfriend and her small child. Reports indicate that Castile informed the officer that he had a legal firearm in the car. The officer instructed Castile to not pull out the gun and after a short period of time, the officer shot Castile seven times. Castile’s girlfriend streamed his death live on Facebook. The officer was charged with second-degree manslaughter and two counts of dangerous discharge of a firearm. During the trial the officer stated Castile made a sudden move and that is why he shot him but the girlfriend testified that Castile was retrieving his identification as instructed by the officer. A jury acquitted the officer of all charges.
The questionable death of Alton Sterling who was shot at close range by Baton Rouge Police officers outside a convenient store led to large demonstrations in the city. Reports show the police were called because they received a report about a Black male possessing a gun selling illegal CDs in front of the store. Shortly after encountering Sterling, a struggle ensued and an officer shot Sterling several times. Although there was no indications or eyewitness statements that Sterling pulled out his gun, the officers indicated they used deadly force because Sterling had a gun in his pocket. Both the United States Department of Justice and Louisiana Attorney General Office decided no charges would be filed against the involved officers.

Since 2014, there have been numerous incidents like Terrence Crutcher, Philando Castile, and Alton Sterling. Anderson (1990) asserts that in many instances White police officers live outside the communities they patrol and their presence make Blacks feel like an “occupying force” is controlling them. Improving the relationship between Black citizens and police officers can be beneficial for both parties. Brown and Frank (2006) asserts that some Blacks living in urban neighborhoods view police officers living in the community as a demonstration of a commitment to protect and serve residents fairly. The presence of more Black officers in the community can help reduce the perceived social distance felt by Black citizens.

As part of criminal justice reform, educational programs that focuses on cultural diversity can play a pivotal role in addressing barriers that have contributed to conflicts between Black citizens and police officers. Researchers at the University of Illinois implemented a diversity education program that is designed to promote fair and equitable policing practices (Scholsser et al., 2015). The program emphasized increasing racial
literacy and cultural empathy. The objective of the program was to increase officers’ awareness of their own social identities and racial beliefs, acquire knowledge about theory and research related to police misconduct and the socio-historical experiences of racial minority communities, and develop efficacy to apply the communication and basic policing skills learned at the Police Training Institute in a culturally informed way.

**Barriers to Hiring Blacks**

The challenge of recruiting, hiring, and retaining Blacks in policing remains an urgent problem. Police officers fulfill a fundamental role in society and in many ways police officers are the public face to local government. It is crucial that police departments recruit, hire, and retain people that reflect the communities they serve. Studies have shown a representative police force of people in the community make police departments more open to reform, more willing to initiate organizational, cultural, and systemic change, and more responsive to the citizens they serve (Lasley, Larsen, Kelso, & Brown, 2011). A reflective and open-minded culture in a police department can help drive reform and expanded involvement in COP activities. However, several studies have identified numerous barriers to increasing the number of Blacks in policing.

The U.S. Department of Justice Equal Employment Opportunity Commission (2016) listed several barriers to increasing diversity in the areas of recruiting, hiring, and retaining minority candidates. Related to Blacks and recruitment, there have been a history of strained relationships and a lack of trust of police officers that deter Blacks from applying; in addition to the use of aggressive tactical methods that dissuade Blacks from seeking a career as a police officer.
Regarding the hiring process, many local police departments rely on examinations as part of the screening process, which can be lengthy and complex. Some Black applicants become deterred from applying to be a police officer because the application process can become very costly (Perrot, 1999; Wilson, Wilson, & Gwann, 2016). Police departments’ limited ability to modify or adjust the hiring and selection criteria (drug use, legal convictions, and poor credit rating can disqualify Black candidates) are also factors that contribute to Blacks not pursuing employment as a police officer (Matthies, Keller, & Lim, 2012). Retaining Black officers is also a challenge because of problems some Blacks face adjusting to the traditional policing organizational culture and difficulties they experience in the promotion process due to a perceived lack of transparency about the process, the scarcity of role models, mentoring relationships, and professional development opportunities (Lasley et al., 2011).

Wilson, Wilson, and Gwann (2016) examined minority-hiring practices in the state of Rhode Island. The researchers mailed a survey to law enforcement agencies in the state to request information related to the number of candidates of color who applied for the police academy, how many were hired and retained and those released prior to the end of the probationary periods. Additionally, the researchers requested information regarding methods used to communicate to minority communities.

Overall, Blacks made up 5.89 percent of sworn positions, while Whites made up approximately 75.67 percent of the actual police force. Retention of Blacks after hire also appeared to be an issue. Blacks made up 12.7 percent (1,174) of the overall 9,249 that applied to become a police officer, but only 11.07 percent (N=32) of the Blacks that applied were hired and 11.76 percent (N=28) were retained after the probationary period.
Blacks were also released prior to the end of their probationary periods at higher rates than other groups. The researchers’ findings indicate that there were: low levels of information distributed to-and contact with communities of color, a low presence of supervisory personnel among officers of color, low levels of minority hires, and issues related to the selection process for police officers.

Findings from a study by Matthies, Keller, and Lim (2012) mirror that of Wilson et al. (2016). In their analysis, Matthies et al. (2012) posits that three factors contribute to recruitment barriers: minorities are disproportionately unaware of opportunities, they are unqualified, and they are uninterested. Blacks experience barriers during the hiring process because they often do not meet the educational requirements, they experience problems passing physical fitness tests, they have medical issues, and some cannot overcome other background requirements that include a sufficient criminal history and credit checks (Matthies et al., 2012). Blacks also have high attrition rates because if they are hired many are not promoted to higher ranks.

Per the United States Bureau of Justice Statistics and Kasdan (2006), law enforcement agencies utilize several different recruiting methods designed to reach a broad range of applicants. The BJS report states that local police departments in the U. S. advertise vacancies on agencies websites (78 percent), in newspapers (71 percent), at job fairs (70 percent), on employment websites (62 percent), or via special events (56 percent). Nevertheless, local police departments and other law enforcement agencies continue to have problems attracting, hiring, and retaining a pool of applicants that reflects the community they serve. In their study to test representative bureaucracy theory, a finding by Lasley et al. (2011) supports the argument concerning the importance
of increasing racial diversity in policing. Results from the researchers’ 15-year longitudinal study demonstrates that during the study’s time frame, Black and Latino officers significantly increased their desire to engage in active representation or partnerships with the community. For the same time-period, White officers held significantly lower desires for community interaction than Black and Latino officers in the study. Overall, the study findings support representative bureaucracy theory’s general assumption that establishing racial parity between officers and citizens may increase the willingness of officers to represent the interest of others with similar demographic backgrounds.

**Strategies to Increase Blacks in Policing**

Some police departments have succeeded at recruiting Blacks and other minorities (Sklansky, 2006). Police departments across the country engage in a variety of community outreach activities in hopes of increasing its number of minority applicants (Bureau of Justice, 2015). At community engagement events, the presence of Black officers is a major marketing tool used to attract an applicant pool that is not only qualified, but also reflective of the community they serve. Below is a list of actions taken by local police departments across the United State to attract minority applicants (Bureau of Justice, 2011).

- The Miami-Dade (Florida) Police Department engage in community-oriented programs such as “meet and greet” where the department places emphasis on having a designated officer of racial and ethnic groups available to speak to potential recruits.

- The Sacramento (California) Police Department engage with community members and recruits by hosting free hiring workshops throughout the year, to include workshops facilitated with community-based organizations tailored specifically for Black, Asian American, and Latino applicants.
Police departments across the United States have partnered with local educational institutions to encourage youths to consider careers in policing. This outreach approach allows students to build relationships with local police departments. These opportunities provide students from racial and ethnic minority groups to interact with the police outside of an enforcement context.

The Detroit (Michigan) Police Department participate in a variety of outreach activities that involves working with racial and ethnic minority students to build relationships with them in the classroom and outside of an enforcement context. Through elective classes and mentoring programs in high school, the department work to address negative perceptions about the police in urban neighborhoods.

The Oakland (California) Police Department partnered with a local college to develop an 13-week course to help prepare students for careers in law enforcement. Blacks and Latinos are encouraged to apply to the police academy.

Candidates applying to become a police officer go through an extensive vetting process. There are many barriers candidates must overcome that can prevent them from being a police officer. Some police departments have re-evaluated their hiring procedures to identified barriers. Below are two examples where departments made changes to their selection criteria.

Colorado’s Peace Officer Standards and Training Board (POST) allow candidates previously arrested for criminal convictions to apply for exemptions to become certified to work in policing.

The St. Paul (Minnesota) Police Department concluded from an internal study that the entrance test process had a significant harmful impact on pass rates for Black, Latino, and Asian American applicants. Racial and ethnic minorities scored worse on situational and written tests but they did better than Whites during the in-person interviews. Therefore, the department re-evaluated its hiring criteria whereby greater focus was placed on the candidate’s personal history and community engagement.
Theoretical framework: Organizational Change Theory

Organization change theory has been utilized in numerous studies (Adams, Rohe, & Arcury, 2002; Ndili et. al, 2015; Schuck, 2017) to explain changes in policing. Beginning in the 1970s up through the 2000s, police departments have grappled with how to adjust to numerous organizational changes. Social and environmental factors have led to internal and external changes that have impacted the way departments perform their duties and interact with citizens (Ndili et al., 2015). Giblin (2017, p. 2) state “organizational change theory researchers are interested in describing and explaining differences across organizations, especially in their structure and practices, using organizational and environmental predictors.”

Internal Organizational Changes

Changes to the racial composition of police departments challenges the past ways police departments conduct business (Eitle, Stolzenberg, & Alessio, 2005). Paoline (2003, p. 208) argue “as the number of Blacks in policing increases, the traditional policing culture may be affected in the sense that diverse experiences may collectively begin to challenge traditional ways of interpreting the world around them and racial differences among police officers can affect the socialization patterns.” Thus, to reiterate the purpose of the current study, the presence of a Black chief and more Black officers within a police department may begin to erode traditional core values and orientations that have historically negatively stereotyped the Black community.

Socialization into the traditional police culture is intense and begins for both Black and White officers in the academy. Sun and Payne (2004) points out that the socialization process experienced by a Black officer is so intensive that any ethnic
identity the officer had may be lost. The traditional police culture is characterized as officers being hardnosed, aggressive macho-men that place priority on law enforcement and crime fighting (Paoline, Myers, & Worden, 2000). Terrill, et al. notes that the concept of “police culture” is loosely defined in the literature. The researchers purports that within the traditional organizational environment, officers must cope with the strains of supervisors who endorse ambiguous role orientations and who embraces a crime fighter role orientation. The presence of a Black chief and an increase in Black officers in the department weakens the traditional police culture, particularly if the service orientation is preferred (Sun, 2003).

There is no right formula for the management of organizational changes. How leaders manage change is dependent upon the context in which that change is taking place. Ndili, Muchemi, Wambua, and Bett (2015) asserts that internal determinants includes the time available for change, the scope of the change required, the need and degree of preservation of certain aspects of the organization, the nature and extent of diversity in the organization, the capability in managing change, the capacity for change, degree of readiness for change and lastly, the amount of power wielded by leaders to lead change in the organization. To the degree that a police department have the necessary resources, funding, support and personnel to change, a Black police chief can serve as an influential change agent. As the policing environment remains increasingly turbulent and complex, incorporating innovative measures may become common practice (Hushion, 1999).

In his study, Hage (1999), as well as later researchers (Weisburd, Telep, & Lawton, 2014), examined the impact of organizational innovation on producing
organizational change. Hage defined organizational innovation as the adoption of an idea or behavior that is new to the organization. The presence of Black officers is not a new concept or an innovative measure, but the appointment of more Blacks to serve as police chief may be an innovative step taken by local police departments given the recent number of high profile cases that have resulted in deaths.

Adoption of the COP model also contributes to several internal organizational changes that differ from the traditional policing model. Adam, Rohe, and Arcury (2002) indicate that the traditional policing model has a hierarchical structure likened to the military, which has a mechanistic model that emphasizes crime control through law enforcement and hyper-masculinity. Conversely, the COP model of policing view crime control as the product of the combined efforts of both the police department and the citizens they serve. Corsianos (2011) state that the COP model calls for a flatter power structure within the police organization that empowers front-line officers by encouraging them to engage in critical thinking and problem solving. Every member of the police department is a team player and possesses knowledge valuable to the department. Emphasis is placed on shared responsibility to address internal organizational problems. These noted changes in the COP model are the antithesis to the traditional policing culture that models the paramilitary structure with obedience to a chain of command and fixed rigid operating system.

**External Organizational Changes**

A Black police chief and increases in the number of Black officers can lead to improved relationships with the community. Guajardo (2014) and Black and Kari (2010) both note that minorities base their confidence and trust in police departments based on
their direct and vicarious experiences with police officers. Gau (2010) concluded from her longitudinal analysis of citizens’ attitudes about police that people who were subjected to what they felt to be an unjustified stop manifested lower levels of trust in police officers’ ability to keep their neighborhoods safe. Brunson and Miller (2006b) espouse that Black men have more negative and involuntary contact with police officers than individuals from other groups. Weitzer (2015) asserts that in disadvantaged neighborhoods police officers are less likely to show respect towards residents. The researcher states that in disadvantage neighborhoods some residents engage in unconventional survival practices, such as selling drugs, loose cigarettes, or snacks from their home without a license that contributes to aggressive law enforcement stops that are essentially fishing expeditions for more serious crimes. Additionally, Weitzer (2015) state that in some cases minor infractions can lead to deadly results such as in the case of Eric Garner.

In July 2014, New York Police Department officers in Staten Island, New York choked Eric Garner to death. Reports indicates that police officers approached Garner to question him about selling single cigarettes from packs without legal tax stamps. Garner resisted when police officers attempted to arrest him, which led to a confrontation and the eventual choking death of Garner. The district attorney presented information to a grand jury and a no true bill was returned.

Vicarious experiences also contribute to Blacks distrust of police officers (Weitzer, 2015). Narratives of family members, friends, neighbors and images portrayed in the media of negative encounters experienced by Blacks with police officers also contribute to the breakdown in relationships between Blacks and police officers. The
1968 Supreme Court’s ruling in the Terry v. Ohio (1968) played a pivotal role in shaping encounters between Blacks and police officers. The ruling significantly lowered the standards by which police officers could stop an individual for “suspicion” of a crime and conduct a “pat down” of their outer garments. For decades, Blacks have asserted that perceived procedural injustices violated their 4th Amendment rights (Rengifo & Slocum, 2016).

The presence of a Black police chief and more Black officers throughout all ranks of the police department can facilitate other external organizational changes. For example, Cochran and Warren (2012) asserts that increases in diversity can possibly lessen the “racial threat hypothesis” which proposes that perceptions of threat held by some Whites work to invoke reactions through social control. This includes disparate arrest practices and greater police presence in areas where Blacks pose the perceived threat is high. Similarly, changes in the racial composition of policing can not only improve communication with Blacks in high crime neighborhoods, but some studies believe the presence of more Blacks in policing can quell accusations of racial bias (Sun, 2003; Weitzer & Tuch, 2005) and reduce the number of complaints made by Blacks regarding police misconduct (Weitzer, 2015).

The COP model also facilitates other external organizational changes. The COP model requires police officers to interact more with citizens and to participate in community activities. The police chief can initiate changes in policing strategies, but as noted by Corsianos (2011), front-line officers play a central role in the success of the COP model. Lower ranking officers are the ones who are in constant contact with citizens in the community forming partnerships and acquiring information to be taken back to
upper management and command staff. Information gathered by line officers from citizens can lead to substantive action plans to address crime in neighborhoods.

Numerous studies have examined how the COP model has contributed to police officers’ direct participation in COP activities. For example, Price (2016) examined a partnership between civilian conflict analysis and resolution researchers and two police departments to develop and pilot “Insight Policing,” a community-based, problem solving policing strategy that integrates insight conflict resolution skills with policing skills to help reduce retaliatory violence and enhance police legitimacy during times of law enforcement. Additionally, Kang (2015) examined participation in community social control and neighborhood watch groups, while Sagar (2004), and Randol and Gaffney (2014) studied the impact of street and block watch groups, and numerous studies have examined the impact sporting programs have on reducing crime. For example, in their study of housing segregation in America, Massey and Denton (1993) points out that many low-income Blacks live in “hyper-segregated” neighborhoods that are cut off from mainstream society. In these isolated neighborhoods, Black youth (and men) and police officers sometimes engage in explosive encounters. To narrow the social gap, some urban police departments have development late-night basketball leagues funded by local stakeholders. Woodland (2008) concluded that sporting activities are important for Blacks who face difficult conditions in their communities. Sporting activities can provide constructive and safe environments that protect at-risk Black youth during the time when deviance and crime are at their peak.

Organizational change theory continues to be a leading theory in explaining changes in policing. Changes in the racial composition of police departments can
facilitate internal and external changes that can impact how departments operate and interact with the citizens. As police departments continue to adapt to the dynamic nature of policing and the uncertain circumstances in the environment police officers perform their duties, it is important that leaders in policing and other stakeholders effectively evaluate and understand how organizational changes impact the nature of police work.

A review of the literature indicates that only a few studies have been completed that examined the relationship between a local police department having a Black chief and/or a high rate of Black officers and the department’s involvement in community oriented activities. Most previous studies focused on differences in Black and White officers’ “role orientation,” interaction with citizens, and officers’ acceptance of the community-policing model (Alex, 1969; Brown & Frank, 2006; Sun, 2003; Sun & Payne, 2004). Black and Kari (2010).

Research Questions

The present study compares local police departments from the state of Florida, Virginia, and New York that participated in the 2013 LEMAS survey. Specifically, it examines each department’s survey results regarding their participation in COP activities. The researcher seeks to examine the following research questions:

1. Do police departments led by a Black chief participate in more COP activities than police departments whose chief is White?

2. Do police departments with higher percentages of Black officers participate in more COP activities than police departments with lower percentages of Black officers?

3. Does the presence of both Black chiefs and additional Black officers contribute to police departments participating in a higher number of COP activities?
Chapter 3: Data and Methodology

Participants

Police departments in the state of Florida, Virginia and New York that completed the 2013 LEMAS survey were included in this study. These three states were selected because of their geographic location on the East Coast (Florida-Southeast, Virginia-Mid-Atlantic, and New York-Northeast). Sheriff departments were excluded from this study because in most states the sheriff is elected to the position and serves a four-year term. State police departments were also excluded from the study because in general state police officers’ duties consist mostly of enforcing traffic laws on highways and providing security to state properties. On occasions, state police officers assist local police departments to conduct law enforcement and criminal investigations. Local police departments typically fall under the purview of the local governments and the mayor or city council typically appoints the police chief.

Police departments from Florida, New York and Virginia that participated in the LEMAS 2012 survey were included in this study. Police departments that failed to respond to a demographic survey requesting information regarding the race/ethnic of its police chief during the calendar year of 2012 were excluded from the study. The demographic survey (see Appendix B) asked respondents to provide information regarding the race of their police chief during the specified period. The closed-ended questions limited responses to: White, non-Hispanic, Black or African American, non-Hispanic, Hispanic or Latino, American Indian or Alaskan Native, non-Hispanic, Asian, non-Hispanic, Native Hawaiian or other Pacific Islander, non-Hispanic, two or more
races, and not know. A brief description of the study (Appendix A) was attached to the
survey to provide some context for the requested information.

A total of 271 emails were sent out to local police departments in Florida,
Virginia, and New York. After researching each agency online, the researcher sent out a
follow up email along with making phone contact with those departments that failed to
respond to the initial email. Follow up contact was made with police departments via a
phone call and/or another email. Only police departments that reported having a Black or
White chief were included in the study.

To verify information provided by the contacted police departments, the
researcher conducted an exhaustive Internet search of the final police departments
included in the study. As public safety agencies, information related local police
departments are readily available online. Aeris-Perreten, Domínguez-Berjon, Esteban-C-Vasallo, and García-Riolobos (2015) pointed out several benefits of online surveys such
as easy access to respondents, the ease to carry out when surveys are directed to
professionals, and the ability to utilize “response inducement techniques” to overcome
low response rates. In their study, Aeris-Perreten et al. concluded that varied reminder
techniques (e.g. follow-up emails and phone calls) serve to increase response rates.

**Instruments**

Data was taken from the 2013 LEMAS survey to examine one independent
variable on the dependent variable. To collect data for the second independent variable,
the researcher used data captured in the demographic survey (see Appendix B). A short
statement that summarized the study was attached to the survey (Appendix A). The
questions gathered data regarding the race of the police chief during the period of January
1, 2012 through December 31, 2012. Questions in the LEMAS survey used January 1, 2013 as the end of the reference period so for that reason the survey title used the year 2013. Since the requested demographic data is for the 12-months in 2012, the researcher verified the information by conducting an Internet search of each local police department.

The researcher conducted an Internet search of all the local police departments from Florida, New York, and Virginia that responded to questions in the 2013 LEMAS survey. Utilizing the Google search engine, the researcher reviewed each local police department’s website and examined the agency’s history to gather information about the current and past chief of police. To follow up on information provided in the surveys, the researcher examined social media profiles (LinkedIn, Facebook, Instagram, etc.) of the police chief and consulted local newspapers to verify information regarding the race of the police chief.

For example, to research the police chief of Alachua Police Department in Florida, the researcher entered the name of the police department in the Address Search Bar of the computer. Once the local police department’s webpage was accessed, the researcher reviewed all information, to include pictures, regarding the current and past police chief. The police chief’s name was entered in the Address Search Bar of the computer to access all social media profiles and newspaper articles that could provide additional information related to the length of time the chief held the position and his or her race.

If the initial web searches produced information to support data provided in the demographic survey, then the researcher ended the search for that specific department and followed the same procedure for the next police department included in the study. If
the Internet search was inconclusive, the researcher called the police department to get additional information or sent an email to the point of contact to confirm the data. These additional steps were taken because the requested demographic data required police departments to go back in time to ascertain the requested information.

**Dependent Variable**

The dependent variable (DV), the participation in COP activities, was measured by creating a scale, which combined 10 questions listed in the 2013 LEMAS survey (Section E: Community Policing, Questions E1-E9) that all related to COP strategies, practices or tactics. The local police departments responded to five yes or no closed-ended questions, three closed-ended questions that listed multiple response options, and two open-ended questions that called for a numerical response. The researcher tallied the affirmative responses provided by respondents for the eight closed-ended questions that indicated some form of participation in a COP activity. The more affirmative responses suggested a high level of participation in COP activities than a police department with a lower number of tallies. The open-ended numerical questions indicated strength (number of officers) involved in a specific COP activity. The 10 LEMAS survey questions used for the creation of the DV in the current study are as follows:

E1. As of January 1, 2013, what best describes your agency’s written mission statement?

E2. During the 12-month period, what proportion of full-time sworn personnel received at least 8 hours of training on community policing issues (e.g., problem solving, SARA, and community partnerships)?

a. Recruit training
b. In-service training

E3. During the 12 month-period, did your agency actively encourage patrol officers to engage in SARA-type problem solving projects?

E4. During the 12-month period, how many patrol officers were engaged in SARA-type problem solving projects?

E5. Did your agency include collaborative problem-solving projects in the evaluation criteria of patrol officers?

E6. During the 12-month period, did your agency have a problem-solving partnership or written agreement with any local civic, business, or governmental organization?

E7. During the 12-month period, did your agency regularly assign the same patrol officers primary responsibility for a particular area or beat within your agency’s jurisdiction?

E8. How many patrol officers were regularly given primary or exclusive responsibility for particular areas or beats?

E9. During the 12-month period, did your agency utilize information from a survey of local residents about crime, fear of crime, or satisfaction with law enforcement?

**Independent Variables**

The two independent variables (IV) for this study consisted of the race of the police chief (IV1), coded 0 for Black and 1 for White, and the percentage of Black officers in the department (IV2). IV1 was measured by using data from the survey regarding the race of the police chief along information gathered from the Internet search of the local police
department. The state in which local police department was located was coded as 0 for New York, 1 for Florida and 2 for Virginia. IV2 was measured using information provided from Section A: Personnel, Question A2 from the 2013 LEMAS survey (Appendix D). The question is as follows:

A2. How many full-time sworn personnel were there in each of the following racial/ethnic categories?

a. White, non-Hispanic
b. Black or African American, non-Hispanic
c. Hispanic or Latino
d. American Indian or Alaskan Native, non-Hispanic
e. Asian, non-Hispanic
f. Native Hawaiian or other Pacific Islander non-Hispanic
g. two or more races
h. Not known

The percentage of police officers was determined by dividing the number of police officers in each racial group by the total number of police officers in the department. The total number of officers was determined by summing the responses from Question A2 a-h.

**Control Variables**

Two important control variables, percentage of female officers and the size of the police force, was included in the multiple regression analysis. Previous studies (Black & Kari, 2010; Corianos, 2011; Schuck, 2017) concluded that the presence of female officers lends to organizational changes that impact the implementation of community oriented
policing. The increased number of female officers has been recognized as a change factor in police departments’ acceptance of nontraditional tactics, such as community policing (Schuck, 2017). The percent of female officers for each department was determined by dividing the number of full-time female officers by the total number of officers reported on the force.

Other researchers (Chamlin & Sanders, 2009; Falcone, Wells, & Weisheit, 2002; Wilson & Wilson, 2014) examined how the size of the police department can influence the implementation and officers’ acceptance of the community oriented policing model. Falcone et al. pointed out that approximately 80 percent of local police departments in the United States consist of less than 25 officers. The increased number of female officers and the size of the police department are two of the many variables that can impact the implementation and acceptance of the COP model by officers. Based on the dataset for this study, the decision was made to include only these two control variables.

**Research Design and Methodology**

The researcher conducted a quantitative secondary analysis of the 2013 LEMAS data along with capturing demographic data via a survey and/or Internet search of participants in the study. Fielding and Fielding (2000) acknowledged that secondary analysis is a well-established method in quantitative research. The current study is modeled after Schuck’s (2017) study that utilized the secondary analysis method to evaluate data from the 1997 and 2007 LEMAS surveys to examine the temporal relationship between gender diversity and the adoption of community policing. Schuck’s study focused on whether gender diversity was a strong temporal predictor. The findings from the study highlighted the importance of gender diversity on organizational change.
Theoretically, Schuck found that by increasing the number of female officers, police departments might experience greater organizational agility through the creation of an alternative cultural ethos. For the current study, the researcher utilized the secondary analysis method to investigate whether the presence of a Black chief and more Black officers resulted in organizational changes evident by police departments reporting more participation in COP activities.

Secondary data analysis is the use of existing data to test new hypotheses or answer new research questions (Hicks & Knollman, 2014; Fielding & Fielding, 2000). There are several benefits to utilizing the secondary analysis method. Clark and Maynard (1998) asserted that using archived datasets is an unobtrusive method of study. The researchers stated that surveys run the risk of contaminating the population and sample. Moreover, studies of subjects may cause changes in the phenomena in question or make people reluctant to cooperate with the study. Researchers may conduct a secondary analysis of data because it requires less time and monetary resources, and the datasets are typically readily available. Doolan and Froelicher (2009) pointed out that secondary analysis offers a prudent approach to research in that primary researchers typically collect more data. Moreover, secondary datasets often contain large sample sizes and longitudinal data that allows for comparisons. Finally, secondary analysis may be the best option for some research because rich datasets may not be able to be collected by a single researcher. However, one of the chief limitations of secondary data analysis is that the data may be dated because of a lag time between data collection and the proposed secondary analysis.
Data for this study came primarily from the 2013 LEMAS survey. As a supplemental source, the researcher emailed a survey to the participants to collect demographic data. An Internet search of each police department was conducted to buttress information provided in the survey. The survey and Internet search were used to gather demographic data about the police chief from January 1, 2012 through December 31, 2012. Per the DOJ, the 2013 LEMAS sample design called for the survey to be sent to 3,336 state and local law enforcement agencies including 2,353 local police departments, 933 sheriff’s offices, and the 50-primary state law enforcement agencies. The design called for all agencies employing 100 sworn personnel to be included and for smaller agencies to be sampled from strata based on the number of officers employed. A total of 3,272 agencies received the 2013 LEMAS survey to include 2,327 local police departments, 895 sheriffs' offices, and the 50 state agencies (United States Department of Justice, 2013D).

A total of 2,822 agencies responded to the 2013 LEMAS questionnaire for a response rate of 86 percent. The final database included responses from 2,059 local police departments, 717 sheriffs’ offices, and 46 state law enforcement agencies. The overall response rate for local police departments was 88 percent; for sheriffs’ offices, 80 percent; and for state law enforcement agencies, 92 percent.

**Data Analysis**

Statistical Packaging for Social Sciences (SPSS) version 22 was utilized to run all analyses. SPSS is a software product that is designed to process numerical data input to the program to produce outcome data whereby the researcher can identify trends and to
also make comparisons between the groups. Pertinent descriptive statistical data was reported.

Results from the analysis of variables was provided. Basic descriptive data was provided along with results from bivariate correlations. Fields (2013) noted that bivariate correlation measures the strength of relationships between variables along with the direction of the correlation. Specifically, the Pearson correlation coefficient was used to examine the relationship between all relevant continuous variables in the study. The researcher performed an ANOVA to test the hypotheses for factors concerning the variance among the groups. A multiple regression analysis was conducted to assess the ability of the two independent variables to predict changes in the dependent variable among police departments in the three states included in the study. The control variables, gender of officers and size of the police force, were added to the multiple regression analysis.
Chapter 4: Results

The researcher used SPSS version 22 to conduct all analyses. Prior to any analysis, data was reviewed to ensure the accuracy of values included and reported to address the three research questions: Do police departments led by a Black chief participate in more COP activities than police departments whose chief is White; Do police departments with higher percentages of Black officers participate in more COP activities than police departments with lower percentages of Black officers; Does the presence of both a Black chief and more Black officers contributes to police departments participating in a higher number of COP activities?

Ten police departments led by a Hispanic police chief were eliminated from the study (the focus of this study was to compare police departments led by a Black and White chief). Analysis includes the following: demographic data; correlations among variables; 2 x 2 factorial analysis; multiple regression analysis.

Descriptive Data

Results in Table 1 show a White police chief led most of the police departments in this study (89.1 percent) in comparison to police departments led by a Black chief (10.87 percent). This pattern is consistent with previous studies (Skalansky, 2006, Haar & Morash, 1999; Schlosser et al., 2015) and statistical data (United States Department of Justice, 2015a). Among the three states used for comparison in this study, Florida had the most police departments with a Black chief (n=9), followed by Virginia (n=6) and New York (n=4).
Table 1

*Descriptive Data on Race of Police Chief*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Race of Chief</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Percent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Black</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>10.87</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>White</td>
<td>164</td>
<td>89.13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>184</strong></td>
<td><strong>100.00</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Correlation Data**

Pearson correlation coefficients were used to test the relationship between variables. The correlation matrix in Table 2 indicates the variable race of police chief was significantly related to several other variables. The race of the chief and percentage of White officers had a moderate negative relationship \((r = -.324)\) at \(p = < .001\); the percent of Black officers had a positive medium-high relation \((r = .462)\) at \(p = < .001\); and in relation to the number of reported COP activities there was a positive low relationship \((r = .155)\) at \(p = < .05\). The data suggests the race of the chief plays more of a significant role in increasing the percentage of Black police officers in the department than the percentage of White officers. The opposite effect occurs on the percentage of White officers in departments. The race of police chief produces a decline in the percentage of White officers. When correlated with the state in which a police department is located, the race of the chief has a medium influence. The two variables were non-significant.

An examination of the race of police officers revealed the percentage of White officers had a weak positive effect \((r = .179)\) on the state where the police department was located. This relationship was significant at \(p = < .05\). There was a non-significant negative relationship between the percentage of White officers and the number of reported COP activities, \(r = -.248\). The percentage of Black officers in the department had a medium positive relationship \((r = .314)\) on the number of reported COP activities.
Table 2

Pearson Correlations

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Race of chief activities</th>
<th>% of White officers</th>
<th>% of Black officers</th>
<th>State</th>
<th># COP</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Race of chief</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>-.324**</td>
<td>.462**</td>
<td>.031</td>
<td>.155*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>% of White Officers</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>-.751</td>
<td>.179*</td>
<td></td>
<td>-.248</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>% of Black Officers</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>.005</td>
<td>.314**</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>State</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>.074</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td># of COP activities</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*p < .05. **p < .01.

ANOVA Data

Table 3 shows differences in mean scores and standard deviations of police departments based on the state the department was located, as well as the race of the police chief related to the number of reported COP activities. Within each state, the means and standard deviations were similar. For example, police departments led by either a Black or White chief in Virginia were separated by the highest range score difference of .86 and a standard deviation difference of .855. In each of the three states, police departments with a Black chief reported more COP activities (Virginia, M = 6.80, Florida, M = 5.67, New York, M = 4.40) than departments in each state led by a White chief. Mean scores by race by state show that police departments with a Black chief had an overall higher mean (M = 5.63) than police departments led by a White chief (M = 4.63).
Table 3
ANOVA Descriptive Data

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>State</th>
<th>Race of Chief</th>
<th>M</th>
<th>SD</th>
<th>N</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Florida</td>
<td>Black</td>
<td>5.67</td>
<td>1.803</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>White</td>
<td>5.01</td>
<td>1.881</td>
<td>68</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Total</td>
<td>5.09</td>
<td>1.872</td>
<td>77</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>New York</td>
<td>Black</td>
<td>4.40</td>
<td>1.673</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>White</td>
<td>3.57</td>
<td>1.711</td>
<td>63</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Total</td>
<td>3.63</td>
<td>1.710</td>
<td>68</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Virginia</td>
<td>Black</td>
<td>6.80</td>
<td>0.837</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>White</td>
<td>5.94</td>
<td>1.692</td>
<td>31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Total</td>
<td>6.06</td>
<td>1.620</td>
<td>36</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>Black</td>
<td>5.63</td>
<td>1.739</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>White</td>
<td>4.63</td>
<td>1.990</td>
<td>162</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Total</td>
<td>4.73</td>
<td>1.985</td>
<td>181</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note. There are 3 missing cases in the total N column because the police department did not provide information on the dependent variable COP activities.

The number of White police chiefs significantly outnumber the number of Black police chiefs in this study (See Table 3). The likelihood of a police chief being White instead of Black was 7 times greater in Florida, 12 times greater in New York and 6 times greater in Virginia. The data show that Blacks represented 11.6% of police chiefs in Florida, 7.3% in New York and 13.8% in Virginia. Police departments in the southern states in this study had a higher percentage of Black police chiefs than the state of New York. Regardless of the race of the chief, police departments in New York reported a lower total mean score for reported COP activities than police departments in both Florida and Virginia. New York’s total mean score was 3.63; while Florida’s total mean score was 5.09 and Virginia’s total mean score was 6.06.
Table 4 shows the difference between the number and percentage of White and Black officers. In each of the three states, the number of White officers significantly outnumber the number of Black officers. The likelihood of a police officer being White instead of Black was 6.3 times greater in Florida, 4.4 times greater in New York and 6.4 times greater in Virginia. New York had the highest percentage of Black officers (18.6%). This is due in part to the high number of Black officers (5,557) in the urban areas of New York City.

Table 4

*Descriptive Data on Race of Officers*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>State</th>
<th>Race of Officers</th>
<th>N</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Florida</td>
<td>White officers</td>
<td>7,229</td>
<td>86.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Black Officers</td>
<td>1,142</td>
<td>13.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Total</td>
<td>8,371</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>New York</td>
<td>White Officers</td>
<td>27,546</td>
<td>81.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Black Officers</td>
<td>6,315</td>
<td>18.6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Total</td>
<td>33,861</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Virginia</td>
<td>White Officers</td>
<td>7,169</td>
<td>86.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Black Officers</td>
<td>1,125</td>
<td>13.6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Total</td>
<td>8,294</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Grand Total</td>
<td>50,526</td>
<td>100.0%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note. Only officers identified as White or Black were included in this table.
Results from a two-way (state x race of chief) factorial ANOVA (see Table 5) show a significant main effect for state, $F(2,175) = 8.258, p < .001$. The strength of the relationship was strong, as indexed by an eta-square of .08. The race of the police chief resulted in a main effect that was non-significant, $F(1,180) = 3.081, p > .081$. The strength of the effect was weak, as indexed by the eta-square of .02. There was a non-significant state-by-race of chief interaction $F(2,175) = .026, p > .974$, with an eta square of .000. Tukey HSD pairwise comparison of states revealed that regardless of race, police departments in New York reported fewer COP activities ($M = 3.63$) than Florida ($M = 5.09$) and Virginia ($M = 6.06$).

Table 5
ANOVA Between-Subjects Effects on Reported COP Activities

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Source</th>
<th>SS</th>
<th>df</th>
<th>Mean Square</th>
<th>F</th>
<th>Sig.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Intercept</td>
<td>1716.574</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1716.574</td>
<td>551.918</td>
<td>.000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>State</td>
<td>51.371</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>25.685</td>
<td>8.258</td>
<td>.000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Race of Chief</td>
<td>9.581</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>9.581</td>
<td>3.081</td>
<td>.081</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>State *Race of Chief</td>
<td>.161</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>.081</td>
<td>.026</td>
<td>.974</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Error</td>
<td>544.285</td>
<td>175</td>
<td>3.110</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>4767.000</td>
<td>181</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Corrected Total</td>
<td>709.271</td>
<td>180</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

a. R Squared = .233
*p < .05.
Multiple Regression Analysis

Table 6
*Regression Model Summary*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>SS</th>
<th>df</th>
<th>Mean square</th>
<th>F</th>
<th>Sig.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Regression</td>
<td>92.647</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>23.162</td>
<td>6.074</td>
<td>.000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Residual</td>
<td>671.121</td>
<td>176</td>
<td>3.813</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>763.768</td>
<td>180</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note. Dependent variable: Number of reported COP activities. Independent variables: % of Black Police Officers, Race of Police Chief. Control variables: % of Female Officers and Total Number of Sworn Officers

Results from the simultaneous multiple regression analysis in Table 6 show that with the percentage of Black officers and race of the police chief as predictor variables, reported COP activities can be significantly predicted, \( F(4,176) = 6.074, p = < .01 \). In Table 7, the data show that the percentage of Black officers (\( \beta = .279, p = .01 \)), but not the race of the chief (\( \beta = -.040, p = .62 \)), significantly contributed to the predictions made with both factors included in the regression equation. The bivariate correlation between the percentage of Black officers and the number of reported COP activities resulted in a positive moderate correlation (.316). The bivariate correlation between the race of the chief and the number of reported COP activities resulted in a positive low correlation (.11). Based on the correlational analysis and Beta scores, it can be concluded that the percentage of Black officers is a better predictor for the criterion variable, number of COP activities. The percentage of Black officers accounted for 28 percent of the variance of the number of COP activities index.
Table 7  
*Summary of Simple Regression Analysis for Variables Predicting COP Activities*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Variables</th>
<th>B</th>
<th>SE B</th>
<th>β</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Race of Chief</td>
<td>-.267</td>
<td>.531</td>
<td>-.040</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>% of Black Officers</td>
<td>.065</td>
<td>-.020</td>
<td>.279**</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>% of Female Officers</td>
<td>.047</td>
<td>.024</td>
<td>.152*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total # of Sworn Officer</td>
<td>-.2.172</td>
<td>.000</td>
<td>-.003</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note. Criterion Variable: Number of reported COP activities. Predictor Variables: % of Black Police Officers, Race of Police Chief. Control variables: % of Female Officers and Total Number of Sworn Officers

*p < .05, **p < .01

Figure 1 show the beta scores for the predictor and control variables entered in the regression analysis. Only one control variable, the percentage of female officers (β = .152, p = .047), provided a significant contribution to the regression model. The second control variable, size of the department (β = -.003, p = .970), had a non-significant predictive value.
Figure 1

Regression beta scores on reported COP activities

Race of Police Chief

% of Black Officers

% of Female Officers

Total # of Sworn Officers

# Reported COP Activities

$B = .152, p < .047$

$B = .279, p < .001$

$B = -.040, p > .616$

$B = -.003, p > .970$
Chapter 5: Discussion

This study compared local police departments from the states of Florida, Virginia and New York to determine if the presence of a Black chief and a higher percentage of Black officers contributed to a report of a higher number of COP activities compared to police departments with a White chief and lower percentages of Black officers. The researcher presented three hypotheses: H1: Police departments with a Black chief will report participation and/or engagement in a higher number of COP activities; H2: Police departments with higher percentages of Black officers will report participation and/or engagement in a higher number of COP activities; H3: Police departments with both a Black chief and a higher percentage of Black officers will report participation and/or engagement in a higher number of COP activities.

Overview of Findings

Findings from this study suggest the presence of a Black police chief did have some impact on the number of COP activities reported by local police departments. The data also indicated police departments with a Black chief were more likely to have a higher percentage of Black officers than departments led by a White chief. This finding is important because previous studies concluded that Black officers are more receptive than White officers to adopting the COP model. The level of participation by a police department in COP activities included in the 2013 LEMAS survey can provide an indication into how active local police departments are in other community events.

More Blacks in policing at every level and the adoption of the COP model are organizational changes that contribute to reshaping the traditional policing norms. The traditional policing model is characterized as officers demonstrating aggressive and
invasive tactics that citizens, particularly in the Black community, assert have contributed to a breakdown in relationships and trust that police officers can effectively and evenly enforce laws. Organizational changes in policing from the standpoint of Blacks holding leadership positions, to diversifying personnel (patrol officers) and the implementation of non-traditional policing strategies can foster a sense of legitimacy among Black citizens, particularly in those areas with high crime rates, which can lead to better relationships.

**Black Police Chief and COP Activities**

\[ H^1: \] Police departments with a Black chief will report participation and/or engagement in a higher number of COP activities.

Findings from this study support the hypothesis. Black police chiefs led only 10.8 percent of the police departments in this study in comparison to White chiefs who led 89.1 percent of the departments. However, the data shows that police departments in Florida, New York and Virginia led by a Black chief consistently reported higher numbers of participation and/or engagement in COP activities. Sun (2003) reported a similar finding in his study of attitude differences between Black and White officers. Sun concluded the role orientations of Black officers are more consistent to the principles of community police than the attitudes of White officers.

Differences in role orientation (Alex, 1969; Sun, 2003) impact the way Black and White police chiefs carry out their duties, shape policies and interact with the public. A Black or White chief’s role orientation can be attributed to the ties the chief has with the community. Findings from this study that police departments led by a Black chief reported more COP activities could be the result of many factors, but the cultural connections between a Black chief and the communities they serve is noteworthy. To assert that a White chief does not have cultural connections to the community is
inaccurate, but given the elevated police presence in disadvantaged neighborhoods, previous studies (Sun & Payne, 2004) concluded that Black citizens appear to trust Blacks in policing more than Whites. Moreover, Sun and Payne pointed out that Blacks in policing are more inclined than Whites to provide supportive efforts to disadvantaged neighborhoods because many grew up in those types of neighborhoods and still have family members living in low-income areas.

The presence of a Black chief signifies changes in law enforcement. Sklansky (2006) and reports by the Department of Justice (2015a) pointed out that the number Blacks serving as police chief and in supervisory roles has increased since the 1960s, when policing was primarily a White male profession. Over the past 20 years, Black police chiefs have played significant roles in some high-profile cases. For example, during his tenure with the Montgomery County Department of Police, Charles A. Moose, who is Black, served as the primary official in charge of efforts to apprehend the Washington D.C. snipers in October 2002. Working closely with the community, the Montgomery County Police Department received thousands of tips which ultimately led to the arrest of Lee Malvo and John Allen Muhammad. Philadelphia police chief, Charles Ramsey, who is Black, has been a champion of the COP model – which resulted in the city’s homicide rate dropping by 37 percent and violent crime by 31 percent. Given this, a Black chief’s connection to citizens in disadvantaged neighborhoods with high crime rates may be invaluable.

Findings from this study show that police departments led by a Black chief scored higher on many individual questions related to COP activities, which resulted in an overall higher mean score than departments led by a White chief. Based on this finding,
the researcher posits that the appointment of a Black chief may, in fact, contribute to more engagement and participation community events. Several factors, such as the small sample size and low number of departments led by a Black chief included in this study, could have impacted the mean statistic. However, findings from this study are in line with conclusions reported by Lurigio and Skogan (2000) as well as Wilson and Wilson (2014) that Blacks in policing appears to be significantly more optimistic and receptive to the COP model which results in Blacks being more involved in activities in disadvantaged neighborhoods.

The race of the chief may have more of a direct influence on the hiring and promotional practices of a department. Findings from this study are consistent with results from other studies (Novak et al., 2003; Lurigio & Skogan, 1994) that indicate patrol officers who interact with citizens daily are the driving force behind the effectiveness of any COP initiatives. The police chief, along with senior officers, create policies to lead the department, but patrol officers who are in the community interacting with citizens are participating in COP activities.

**Black Officers and COP Activities**

*H₁: Police departments with higher percentages of Black officers will report participation and/or engagement in a higher number of COP activities*

Result findings support this hypothesis. Data showed that the percentage of Black officers in departments was significantly correlated to an increase in the number of COP activities. It can be concluded that as a police department increases its percentage of Black officers, the police department may be more willing to participate in community policing. Conder (1995), Maguire and Katz (2002), and the DOJ asserted that community policing is a philosophy that promotes organizational changes and supports partnerships
with the community to address crime. Under the COP model, police departments have a great deal of latitude to develop a wide range of programs, activities, and events to get the community involved to combat crime, social disorder and the fear of crime.

Pearson correlation results showed that for variables included in this study, the percentage of Black officers and the number of reported COP activities had the highest correlation index (.31). The percentage of White officers and the number of reported COP activities had a negative correlation (-.24), which suggests the percentage of White officers had little impact on a department’s level of participation in COP activities. This finding is consistent with findings by Sun and Payne (2004). Moreover, this finding suggests that as the percentage of Black officers’ increases, there is a greater likelihood that police departments will become more involved in activities in the community. The possibility of developing more partnerships with citizens and organizations is a demarked change from the traditional policing model that many researchers (Chamlin & Sanders, 2009; Skalansky, 2006; Wilson & Wilson, 2014) stated consisted of mostly White males who aggressively enforced laws and contributed to a breakdown in officer-citizens’ relationships.

Results from the multiple regression analysis further support the hypothesis. Bivariate correlations between the predictor variables and COP activities showed that only the percentage of Black officers resulted in a significant positive correlation (see Table 6). Conversely, the percentage of White officers and the number of reported COP activities resulted in a negative correlation. The data supports recommendations listed in reports by the Kerner Commission (1968) and the DOJ after investigating the practices of the Ferguson Police Department and Baltimore Police Department to increase the number
of Black officers. Findings in this study are also consistent with Black and Kari (2010) conclusion that Black officers more so than White officers are best able to interact with diverse cultural groups.

**Black Chief, Black Officers and COP Activities**

$H^3$: *Police departments with both a Black chief and a higher percentage of Black officers will report participation and/or engagement in a higher number of COP activities.*

Findings partially support this hypothesis. Results are consistent with Zhoa et al., (2005) and Alexander (2010) conclusions that the presence of a Black chief is one of the leading factors that contribute to an increase in Blacks becoming a police officer. The data indicated that the race of the chief is significantly related to positive increases in the percentage of Black officers and has a negative impact on the percentage of White officers (see Table 2). In each of the states included in this study, police departments with a Black police chief had a higher mean score related to the number of reported COP activities than departments led by a White Chief. Because of these findings, inferences can be made that the race of the chief combined with higher percentages of Black officers can contribute to more COP activities.

Results listed in Table 5 showed findings that partially support the hypothesis. The two predictors together contributed to the regression model being significant, but the individual beta scores make it clear that the percentage of Black officers more so than the race of the chief is the stronger predictor variable. Previous researchers have posited that the presence of a Black chief (Zhoa et al. 2005; Alexander, 2010) and the presence of Black officers (Black & Kari, 2010; Brown & Frank, 2006, and Sklansky (2006) are more receptive to the COP model. Results from this study suggest the combination of two
variables together would produce greater numbers of COP activities. However, additional research needs to be conducted in this area. In future research studies, the researcher proposes revising the methodology to ensure data is collected to directly test this hypothesis.

Results from this study may influence existing literature by demonstrating the benefits of appointing more Blacks as chief of police. Affirmative action decrees along with political movements during the 1970s opened the door for many Blacks to enter the policing profession (Kringren, 2016). Information from this study is consistent with previous peer-reviewed articles that concluded differences in COP activities may be attributed to the race of the chief and the percentage of Black officers in the department. Higher levels of participation in community activities can help build relationships with Black citizens, who may have distrusted police officers in the past and refused to participate in addressing crime in their communities. As American society continues to become more diverse and Blacks become more prevalent in policing, it is important to study the impact Blacks have on the profession.

Data from this study show that the presence of more Black officers significantly increased the number of reported COP activities. Results from this study support findings provided in the literature that point out numerous benefits to having more Black officers. Some of the benefits are a breakdown of stereotypes (Lee & Gibb, 2015), improvement of officer-citizen relationships (Hall et al., 2016), effective lines of communication with Black citizens (Schneider, 1999), and the closing of the social gap (Jones & Peen, 2015). Bent-Goodley and Smith (2017) proposed implementing community policing from an
African-centered approach that consists of eight principles that could significantly reduce negative contact between officer and Black citizens.

This study does not serve to cast a negative shadow on police departments led by a White chief or those departments with a low percentage of Black officers. Rather, information from this study can be used to examine how police departments with a Black chief and a high percentage of Black officers can contribute to improving relationships with members of the Black community.

**Conclusions and Summary**

This study aimed to compare local police departments based on three hypotheses to assess factors that could contribute to a report of higher number of COP activities. Police departments in Florida, New York and Virginia were compared based on whether the police chief was Black or White, the percentage of Black officers in the department, and whether the presence of both a Black chief and higher percentage of Black officers resulted in an even higher number of COP activities being reported. Examining police departments’ involvement in community activities is one of many ways to assess the strength of officer-citizen relationships, which is essential to addressing crime in communities.

Based on the findings in this study, the researcher concludes there are some benefits to appointing a Black police chief and the hiring of more Black police officers. Findings suggest the race of the chief have some impact on the number of reported COP activities. Police departments led by a Black chief in Florida, New York, and Virginia all had a higher mean score on the reported number of COP activities than departments led by a White chief. Despite a lack of significance difference, the results highlight the
potential importance of appointing more Blacks as chief of police. As many police
departments across the country struggle to improve relationships with Black citizens in
some of the most dangerous neighborhoods in large and small cities, the presence of a
Black chief may contribute to a renewing of relationships with Black citizens who have
been vocal in calling for criminal justice reform.

In 2016, Delish Moss, a Black man, was appointed chief of the Ferguson Police
Department. The appointment of Chief Moss followed riots and a scathing DOJ report
following an investigation into the Ferguson Police Department’s practices. At the time
of Michael Brown’s death, there were only 4 Black officers in the department. The
number of Blacks officers in the Ferguson Police Department has remained relatively
unchanged, but the appointment of the first Black as chief represents a significant
organizational change.

Appointing Black Executives as chiefs of police is just one small step toward
diversifying police departments. Results from this study also suggest many benefits
associated with hiring more Black police officers. It is significant to note that findings
from this study align with previous studies that suggest Blacks in policing appear to be
more receptive to the COP model; and participate in community activities at a higher rate
than Whites. Black officers in this study had a higher correlation rate and predictive
index related to COP activities than White officers. Officers spending more time in
communities interacting with citizens, particularly in low-income Black neighborhoods
that typically have high crime rates, lends creditability to police departments and can
foster better relationships to address crime.
The adoption of the COP model is strongly related to internal and external organizational changes. The presence of a Black chief, more Black officers and adoption of the COP model counters the traditional policing model that dominated the policing profession since its inception in the United States during the 1830s. Riots and social conflicts during the 1960s and 1970s led to calls for more Blacks in policing and changes in policing strategies. The Kerner Commission (1968) made the initial call for more Blacks in policing. Additionally, recent shooting deaths of unarmed Black males, primarily by White officers in cities throughout the United States, have contributed to intense scrutiny of policing practices.

The theoretical and practical implications of this study can have an impact on future studies regarding Blacks in policing. Organizational change theory examines policing from the both the micro-level and macro-level to help researchers and practitioners understand how major changes effect police departments. For a long period of time, Blacks were not highly represented in policing, but since the 1970s, the number of Blacks in policing has steadily increased but the numbers continue to lag in comparison to Whites.

Many in the Black community believe racism, individual and institutional, continues to play a major role in keeping Blacks out of the police profession. Racism can be defined as the subordination of any individual or group because of skin color or other distinctive physical characteristics. Racism is reflected in both individual and institutional acts, decisions, habits, procedures and policies that neglect, overlook, exploit, subjugate or maintain the subordination of an individual or group.
Prior to legal battles won during the 1970s, Blacks often experienced implicit and explicit racism that consisted of both overt and covert acts. Overt racism relates to racial prejudice and discriminative actions such as racist jokes, expletives and marginalization because of skin color or other physical characteristics. Overt racism can become a permanent reality of a police culture in which members of the marginalized group (i.e. Blacks, females, members of LGBTQ) are blamed for ills in the department and society. In the 21st century, overt racism appears to have largely disappeared and has been replaced with covert racism otherwise considered institutional racism.

Institutional racism is the process of making decisions based on skill levels, residential location, income, education and all factors that are considered racially neutral. Moreover, institutional racism is structured into political and social institutions that discriminates either deliberately or indirectly against certain groups of people to limit their rights. Institutional racism reflects the cultural assumptions of the dominate group, in policing that happens to be White males, so that practices of that group are the norm to which other groups of people (Blacks) in the organization should conform.

Institutional racism is more subtle than individual racism. Institutional racism is less visible and identifiable, it is embedded in policies and procedures, but it results in unequal treatment for Blacks in the policing profession. Institutional racism is covert racism that gets into the bloodstream of police departments that makes it hard to bring about changes. Both individual and institutional racism significantly impacts the recruiting, hiring, and retention of Black officers.

Recent shooting deaths of unarmed Black males and negative encounters between Black citizens and police officers captured on cell phone videos and streamed on social
media platforms continues to fuel discontent and animosity for police officers. Blacks, old and young, male and female, have taken to the streets in many urban cities (Baltimore, Chicago, etc.) to protest what they perceive as police brutality and unequal law enforcement tactics. In a pop-culture society where civil disobedience has become a rallying cry, leaders of anti-demonstration groups are using social media to increase their memberships and to promote agendas to address paramilitary police actions that has contributed to a further breakdown in relationships between police officers and Blacks. As a result, many potential Black police candidates find it socially, and in some cases financially, detrimental to become a police officer.

The presence of more Blacks in policing is important and contributes to philosophical changes and the chipping away of negative stereotypes that in the past have complicated relationships between police departments and citizens in the Black community. The practical implications from this study can serve as a springboard for leaders in the policing profession to examine in greater detail the importance of developing more robust COP programs whereby Black and White officers can participate in community activities. Because the policing profession is still dominated by White males, more Blacks in policing can facilitate both Black and White officers learning from each other on how to better interact and serve the diverse communities they work in.

Police chiefs and local government officials that overseer police departments must model and support a culture that promotes openness, ensure internal and external fairness, and promote ethical practices. These measures can be sustained through initial and ongoing training at all levels regarding the fair treatment of people along with the importance and benefits of diversity. It is also important that local police departments
engage in outreach activities not only in local colleges to recruit Blacks but that local police departments participate in career day activities in elementary, middle and high schools so Black students can learn more about police work and interact with police officers in a non-law enforcement situation.

Limitations

The researcher used secondary data collected by the DOJ to conduct this study. Gathering data from primary sources is the ideal way to collect information for research studies however given the nature of this study, access to primary sources was unavailable so analyzing secondary data provided the researcher opportunities to examine the research questions and test the hypotheses. Issues concerning validity are typically a concern when using secondary data but for this study the threat was minimal. The dataset used in this study was made available by the DOJ, which is an established national criminal justice agency in the United States that consistently publishes valid and reliable data that provides researchers with a plethora of information related to law enforcement agencies and crime trends (see methods section for detailed discussion related to sampling process for LEMAS 2013 survey).

The use of secondary analysis can be problematic because of the lag between when the original data was collected and when it becomes available to researchers. Data in this study was collected in 2012 and made available by the DOJ in the winter 2015. A major shortcoming is that the information may not be as accurate in reflecting the current state of Blacks in policing in 2018 or police departments utilization of the COP model. Results from the 2016 LEMAS is not scheduled to be release by the DOJ until spring 2019 and even that data will be three years old before it is available to researchers.
Although the information for this study was taken from a national sample, the analysis did not make a distinction between large and small departments or urban and rural departments. Other factors impacting diversity in policing such as gender was not included in the main analysis. These are some factors that should be considered in future research studies.

Findings of this study are limited in its generalizability given the nature of the study. Results from this study can be used to devise additional research questions and studies utilizing a larger sample size and primary sources. A quantitative study such as this secondary analysis study can yield important information but qualitative studies may be able to provide richer and more intimate details regarding local police departments relationships with citizens and participation in community programs and activities.

**Implications and Future Research**

Diversity (race, ethnic, gender, sexuality, etc.) in American society is a fact of daily life. People of diverse backgrounds interact with increasing frequency more today than they did during the turbulent times of the 1960s. The multicultural society of 2018 requires a representative police force that represents the diverse citizens they serve. Over the past 50-years, the number of minorities in policing has steadily increased. The DOJ noted that between 1987 and 2013, the percentage of local police officers who were from a racial or ethnic minority group nearly doubled. Should the trend continue, it is possible the next generation will experience even higher percentages of individuals from a minority or ethnic group entering the policing profession.

This study and others like it can play a pivotal role in examining how the presence of a Black chief and more Black officers can foster better relationships between police
departments and diverse communities. By participating and engaging in activities in not only middle-class White neighborhoods but also in lower-class Black neighborhoods, police officers can begin to eradicate ethnocentric barriers, dispel stereotypes and reduce the social gap that have contributed to a long history of Blacks and other ethnic minority citizens’ distrust of police officers.

Future research studies should examine the incorporation of foundational multiculturalism studies into training. The professionalization of policing that began in the early 1900s continues to be a major focus of police departments today. Recruiting highly qualified candidates such as those with a college degree or some college credits has become common practice. Having some college credits or a degree has become a requirement in many local police departments for an officer to be considered for a promotion to positions above the rank of patrol officer. Police departments cannot rely on candidates’ or veteran officers’ academic training to provide a foundation in multiculturalism. Police academies and police departments should consult with local colleges and universities to provide rudimentary education in multiculturalism to new recruits and veteran officers. The training should consist of pre-and-post-training assessments to evaluate whether new and veteran officers can effectively utilize learned information to interact, communicate and effectively de-escalate situations involving citizens from the racially and ethnically diverse communities they patrol.

Anti-racism training should also be a required for new recruits going through the academy and as part of annual training for veteran officers. Racism permeates our everyday lives and it exists in the policing profession. The American Public Health Association (APHA) noted in a 1998 policy statement that racialized policing is a public
health concern but to date explicit conversations about racism remains absent from mainstream public health discourse.

The APHA define racialization as the process by which meaning and value are ascribed to socially determined racial categories, and each category occupies a different position in the social hierarchy. This ideology may be a contributing factor to White officers shooting to death unarmed Black males. The subjective perception of some White officers that Blacks are inferior and the fear of Blacks involvement in crime lends to White officers using aggressive policing tactics as means of social control. Black activists have called for enhanced training of White officers whom they assert have bought into the racial-threat hypothesis which many Black citizens believe is evident by the number of police shooting deaths of unarmed Black males. The non-indictment, charging White officers with lessor offenses and acquittal of White officers involved in controversial deaths of Black males exemplifies what Hughey (2010) called hegemonic whiteness. Hughey offered a concise explanation of hegemonic whiteness as a social phenomenon:

By building upon the concept of “hegemonic whiteness,” I argue that meaningful racial identity for whites is produced vis-à-vis the reproduction of, and appeal to, racist, essentialist, and reactionary inter-and-intra-racial distinctions: 1. through positioning those marked as “White” as essentially different from and superior to those marked as “non-White,” and 2. through marginalizing practices of being White that fails to exemplify dominate ideals. (Hughey, 2010, pp.1292)
Anti-racism training calls for collective efforts from practitioners in policing and the mental health professions along with members of academia to directly confront racism to evoke social change. Implementation of anti-racism training requires a multipronged, multilevel and interdisciplinary approach. The training curricular should be based on the principles of social justice. Moreover, the curricula should include models, theories and methodologies that explicitly recognize racial injustices.

Anti-racism training should examine the nature of how ideologies, institutions, interests, identities and interactions are intertwined in race and inequality. The longstanding traditional policing culture that consisted of White males’ domination of the policing profession allowed for the transmission of anti-Black views from one generation to the next generation through a socialization process that for a long time went unchecked. As more Blacks enter the policing profession, it is important that ant-racism training address negative stereotypes about Blacks (specifically Black males) perpetuated by all forms of media that continue to circulate images of Black males as being prone to criminal and violent behaviors. The viewing of Blacks as less than equal humans is one of many arguments asserted by members of the Black community to explain why White officers more so than Black officers use aggressive tactics to include deadly force when encountering Black males in public places.

Results from this study will be disseminated to local police departments included in this study. The researcher will also provide results from this study to local police departments in the Hampton Roads section of Virginia where the researcher resides to provide information regarding the benefits of hiring more Black officers as noted in the study. Increasing the number of Blacks in policing (and members from other
marginalized groups) is an essential part of criminal justice reform. To gather more statistical data on increases in diversity, the DOJ added new questions regarding the race/ethnicity and gender of the police chief and officers to the 2016 LEMAS survey. Once the DOJ releases the dataset for the 2016 LEMAS survey, a follow up study will be conducted.

Despite increases in the number of Blacks serving as police chief and the presence of more Black officers, the overall number of Blacks in policing is still significantly less than the number of Whites in policing. In this study, the police chief was 8 times more likely to be White than Black. A similar pattern existed regarding lower ranking officers. The likelihood of an officer being White in Virginia and Florida was 6 times greater than the chance of the officer being Black. In New York the chances were 4 times greater that an officer would be White instead of Black. Future studies should investigate this trend to identify root causes for such widespread racial disparities among patrol officers.

Future studies should also examine racial disparities at the supervisory levels of policing. This issue is significant because immediate supervisors such as sergeants, lieutenants and captains will be responsible for providing direct supervision for newly hired Black officers who for the most part will spend the bulk of their policing career at the patrol officer rank. First line supervisors also play an essential role in managing organizational changes to include the implementation of the COP model. The introduction of new policing models along with the presence of more Black officers can conflict with the traditional normative culture of some local police departments that may be resistant to change.
Increasing racial and ethnic diversity in the policing profession is significantly related to organizational changes. The addition of more Blacks in policing bring in people from different backgrounds who have had different experiences and that can have a major impact on the policing profession. Future studies should examine the impact of racial/ethnic diversity on altering the traditional police culture, socialization patterns and the attitudes of officers in the racially charged environment that exist in the 21st century.

As many local police departments seek to adopt or expand aspects of the COP model as part of criminal justice reform, future studies can extend elements of this study to assess whether police departments with a Black chief and a high percentage of Black officers experience greater success regarding adoption and implementation of the COP model along with increasing participation in COP activities in diverse communities.

One major critic of the COP model has been that it does not adequately address violent crimes (McDonald, 2002). In theory, the COP model may not be designed to address violent crimes. McDonald points out that proactive policing methods related to aggressive enforcement may be the most effective law enforcement resource to prevent violent crimes but the COP model can be used to effectively to address less serious forms of crimes. Finally, future studies should examine the relationship between the presence of more Black officers that patrol in Black neighborhoods and whether that has an impact on reducing crime rates in those neighborhoods. This was one of the main recommendations listed in the 1968 Kerner report.
References


Department of Justice. (2013). *Percentage of local police officers who were racial or ethnic minorities nearly doubled between 1987-2013*. Retrieved from [https://www.justice.gov/tribal/pr/percentage-local-police-officers-who-were-racial-or-ethnic-minorities-nearly-double](https://www.justice.gov/tribal/pr/percentage-local-police-officers-who-were-racial-or-ethnic-minorities-nearly-double).


Appendix A

Letter of request for information

Dear Mr./Ms.:

My name is David P. Taylor and I am a doctoral candidate in the Criminal Justice Program at Nova Southeastern University located in Fort Lauderdale, Florida. I am in the dissertation of phase of my studies and would like to request your agency’s participation in providing demographic data regarding the chief of police during January 1, 2012 and December 31, 2012. Specifically, I would like to request information related to the race and/or ethnicity of the chief of police. The name and gender of the chief of police is irrelevant for my study.

To provide an overview of the study, the title of the dissertation is: Blacks in policing and organizational change: A comparison of departments’ participation in community oriented policing activities. The purpose of the study is to compare local police departments from the state of Florida, Virginia, and New York that participated in the 2013 Law Enforcement Management and Administrative Statistics (LEMAS) survey on their participation in community oriented policing activities as listed in the survey. Specifically, the aim of the study is to examine whether local police departments’ level of participation in community oriented policing activities is different between local police departments led by a Black or White chief, and whether police departments with higher rates of Black officers participated in more community oriented policing activities.

The bulk of my data will be extracted from responses provided by local police departments in the state of Florida, New York and Virginia on the 2013 LEMAS survey. However, information regarding a key independent variable, the race and/or ethnicity of the chief of police, is not directly addressed in the 2013 LEMAS survey. Therefore, I am contacting your agency to request that specific information via completing a short survey.

In closing, your participation by responding to the questions listed in the attached short survey is essential to my study. Should you have any questions or need further clarification, you can contact me via email at dphamptonroads@yahoo.com or my work email, which is dptaylor@bryantstratton.edu. I can also be reached by phone at 757-896-6001, ext. 309.

Best regards,

David P. Taylor, ABD, MA
Doctoral candidate
Nova Southeastern University
Appendix B

Nova Southeastern University
College of Arts, Humanities and Social Sciences
Department of Justice and Human Services

Blacks in policing and organizational change: A comparison of departments’ participation in community oriented policing activities

Police Demographic Survey

Nova Southeastern University
2018
Please provide the information requested below:

Name of agency ______________________________________
Name and title of person to contact_____________________
Person to contact phone number_____________________
Person to contact email_____________________________

During January 1, 2012 through December 31, 2012, please enter the Race and Hispanic Origin of the chief executive (e.g., Chief of Police, Sheriff, Commissioner) for the pay period listed in the above date?

Race and Hispanic Origin
___ White, non-Hispanic
___ Black or African American, non-Hispanic
___ Hispanic or Latino
___ American Indian or Alaskan Native
___ Asian, non-Hispanic
___ Native Hawaiian or other Pacific Islander, non-Hispanic
___ Two or more races
___ Not known