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A Thin Blue Line and the Great Black Divide: The Inter and Intra Departmental Conflict Among Black Police Officers, Their Agencies, and the Communities in which They Work Regarding Police Use of Force Perception By Black Americans in a Southwestern State

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By

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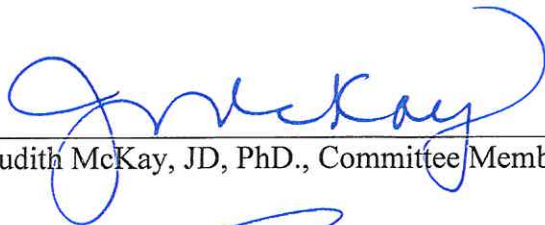
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List of Abbreviations

PO — Participant Officer

SP — Student Participant

SSOS — Shared Sense of Self

Abstract

This study explores the relationship between Black police officers, Black citizens, and their external environment using a group of 30 police officers and citizens to establish the connection between police officer race and perceptions by same race citizens within the context of police use of force. I use the term Black to be inclusive of African Americans as well as others of African descent without regard to their ethnicity or national origin. Criminal justice means system application whereas criminology is the study of criminal behavior. In America, there exists a history of volatility between the police and Black communities. While I recognize that many Blacks may have no direct interaction with police, in order to facilitate this research, I rely on a well-known and controversial topic, which is the use of police force within Black communities. The participants involved in the study are employees of one of three large municipal police agencies or enrolled in an institution of higher education within a southwestern state. All participants self-identify as Black or African American. I employ qualitative methods by incorporating in-depth interviews in my research approach. At the conclusion of the study, the two groups' perception about race, police use of force, and policing are compared, using common themes to develop a shared phenomenon of what it means to be a Black police officer and the Black officer's relationship with the Black community. I suggest that because Black police officers experience a racial/professional dynamic; their twin identification causes them to believe that the Black community and non-Black officers question their racial and professional loyalty. I also suggest that the perception of Black police officers and Black citizens and the degree of support they enjoy or lack within their respective departments and communities affects their disposition regarding race and policing.

Typically, researchers treat police as a homogenous racial group. This study is important because Black officers are neglected within the literature on police use of force and Black citizens are seldom asked about citizen-police relations involving Black officers. In addition, this project examines how the roles of professional and racial subcultures influence perceptions.

Chapter 1: Introduction/Background

Introduction

Words have meaning in that they symbolize experiential and imaginative ideas of how we view the world (Pennebaker, Mehl, & Niederhoffer, 2003). Random House (2001) offers 35 definitions for the word black, of which 10 connote negativity inescapable from the title. Among the less mystical descriptions, are the terms "dangerous, harmful, hostile, and illegal" with black also being used as an adjective to describe people of African descent (pp. 215-216). Within this work, the more specific term of African American denotes the preference of a cited author, while I use *Black* and capitalize it because its use is representative of racial and ethnic groups. By contrast, the word police means "regulation and control" and the government body responsible for maintaining the same (Random House, 2001, p. 1496). Given the strength of the above definitions, any combination of the words black and police could lead one to believe there is a high probability of conflict when they are mixed. Such conflict has in fact occurred on a routine basis, yet some well noted instances have been sensational enough to polarize policing and race along lines at a higher degree than in other segments of society. Regardless of race or occupation, nearly every American has an opinion on police use of force and Blacks (Weitzer & Tuch, 2004).

This research project seeks to advance emerging scholarship regarding the significance of police use of force and race. Only a couple of researchers have found a significant correlation between an officer's race and an officer's decision to use force (Cohen & Chaiken, 1972). This is not surprising because much scholarly inquiry concerning police use of force and race has been built on previous research of the 1960s.

Nonwhites did not make significant inroads into policing until the 1970s and one possible reason for the early omission of Black officers within the literature on police use of force can be attributed to their absence in the field and later through tokenism; the process by which police departments hire a few numbers of Blacks in order to avoid negative media and federal attention (Dulaney, 1996; Gardner, 2012). Racial quota filling, however, is currently a less plausible explanation for the exclusion of Black officers being mentioned in academia (Shusta, Levine, Wong, Olson, & Harris, 2011; Sklansky, 2006). According to Dulaney (1996), Blacks have served in some of the most prominent positions in the nation's largest police agencies. In addition, Mastro and Robinson (2000) claim that African American police are becoming more visible to the point where they are overrepresented on television.

In a 2013 government report on municipal police, researchers found that "about 1 in 4 officers were members of a racial or ethnic minority in 2007, compared to 1 in 6 officers in 1987" ("Bureau of Justice," 2013, p.1). In addition, some scholars believe that the most remarkable change in policing since the 1960s has been in diversity (Shusta et al., 2011; Sklansky, 2006). No prior study, however, has studied the perception of how officer race influences attitudes among Black citizens and Black officers in a use of force context. I distinguish police use of force as *legitimate*, which is the minimum amount of necessary force to accomplish a lawful police objective, *excessive*, which is force that exceeds the necessary minimum, and *police brutality*, which has no lawful basis and is motivated by an officer's personal agenda. My definition of police use of force ranges from verbal threats and coercion to simple physical and even lethal actions by police officers. In defining the appropriateness of police use of force, I consider the

International Association of Chiefs of Police (IACP) (2001) recommendation that departmental administrative policy and legal statutes (state and federal), be used in conjunction, but I add situational factors because police discretion is rarely codified and is especially difficult to monitor regarding racial bias (Mastrofski, 2004).

The strength of this study rests in the neglect by the academic eye to keep pace with the changing demographics of policing. In reviewing the striking changes experienced within policing, Sklanksy (2006) comments, "workforce diversity is at once the most dramatic and the least scrutinized major change that American policing has undergone over the past several decades" (p. 1210). While scholars give extensive attention to policing, police use of force, and race, existing studies examine each topic separately or in a dyadic system, which excludes police officer race. The literature is lacking a body of work that connects the three mechanisms using police officers and citizens of the same race.

The title of this dissertation was conceived in part on the idea of three different conflict types based on the concept of the thin blue line. In law enforcement lore, the thin blue line represents the balance police maintain between order and chaos (Kelling & Stewart, 1988; Westmarland, 2005). It is at once symbolic of the police role to distinguish the law abider from the law breaker and represents the separation of the police from society. The line also represents the tenuous position that police hold in maintaining stability and it is fluid. Law breakers are at times law abiders and vice versa. A person can move between roles, but does not occupy both roles at once. At times, both law abiders and breakers are in conflict with the police. The conflict may be directly related to the official police function as when the law is violated or based on the officer's belief

that their position is disrespected (Alpert & MacDonald, 2001). The thin blue line is also thought to protect the police from accountability (Bandes, 2001). The more universally accepted notion as expressed in the master narrative, however, references the thin blue line as the police control mechanism for deviant/illegal behavior.

Within the literature, some people are said to be criminalized despite behavior (Russell-Brown, 2009). The assumption is that race is just as important as behavior in identifying who and what is considered criminal. The second conception of the thin blue line is that it also represents the bond and recognition of a shared purpose that unites police officers (Westmarland, 2005). Different race police officers share occupational bonds, but these ties can be strained when racial issues arise. This representation illustrates that occupational culture is a thin, but unifying element in spite of racial tension. This relationship is said to be static because removal from the police service changes the relationship.

My title specifically speaks to the third and previously unexplored conceptualization of the thin blue line with regard to race, the influence the police occupation has on same race connection or separation. In particular, I look at the occupational separation of Black officers from Black citizens (see Figure 1). This sectionalized research could not be explored without understanding the master narrative.

This study attempts to reveal the relationship between police officer race and citizen perception. My primary objectives are to (1) explore the phenomenon experienced by Black officers and citizens regarding their perception on police use of force; (2) attempt to discover what can be learned through studying the police demographic change in an intra-racial context; and (3) share my results with police practitioners,

criminologists, criminal justice students, and any other interested parties through future publications and academic and professional conferences. The dissertation manuscript format is data analytic beginning with an introduction followed by the literature review and methodology chapters. After defense of the proposal and IRB approval, I began field research, collected and interpreted data, and added the results chapter. The dissertation closes with a discussion where I present conclusions and recommendations for future related research.

Background

This phenomenology addresses the perception and experience of living within, and perhaps even on, the boundaries of two subcultures. Akin to many researchers, I did not arrive at my dissertation topic by happenstance and its background begins with me. At a very young age, I knew I wanted to be a police officer. Children fantasize and my early assertions were entertained and never discouraged, but as I aged, people would pause, look at me in a peculiar way, or question my affinity for policing. I am Black, many of the people that thought my desired field was strange were Black, and I cannot recall a White person ever questioning me about my desire to enter policing. It was not until I reached high school that I consciously became aware of the perceived conflict regarding my race and policing, which was in part revealed by a deeper personal study of the Civil Rights movement of the 1960s accompanied by the 1991 Rodney King beating in Los Angles. A series of police brutality incidents followed the King beating, and the most high profile cases involved Blacks, causing me to question if policing and Blackness were reconcilable.

The foundation of this topic is based on my personal experiences and exposure to the related experience of others. I followed my dream and recall pinning on my badge as one of the proudest moments of my life. Years after I was to become a police officer, my father related that while walking as a child of about 8 years old in the south during the 1950s, a White motorist stopped him one evening, burned his arm with a lit cigarette, and pushed him in a ditch for apparently no reason. His parents did not report the incident to the police for fear that it would only make matters worse. Hearing this story caused me to question the perception of change regarding race and policing and the old questions that never went away resurfaced. Being a Black police officer gave me a unique perspective on contemporary policing issues of police force and race and I began to take mental notes of the often barely concealed unease between Blacks and police during their interactions. A certain tension seemed to exist despite the class or economic status of Blacks during their interaction with police. I found that I did not personally become anxious around Blacks on-duty nor fear or resent police officers while off-duty. I attribute my attitude to my racial and professional stratification, but in addressing the experience of Blackness and policing, I have several unanswered inquiries that could only be explained through the collective voices of others.

The police institution and the Black community historically share an adversarial relationship rooted in slavery, the Civil War Reconstruction Era, and in the discriminatory laws against Blacks that followed (Reichel, 1988). To understand better the evolution of the policing-Black community dichotomy, Williams and Murphy (1990) suggest:

There is a strong argument to be made that the first American modern-style policing occurred in the 'slave patrols,' developed by the white slave owners as a means of dealing with runaway slaves. Believing that their militia was not capable of dealing with the perceived threat, the colonial State governments of the South enacted slave patrol legislation during the 1740's. (p. 3)

In addition, Reichel (1988) asserts the function of early slave patrollers has transitioned into modern police patrols. Conventional accounts of the origins of American policing omit implications that the police institution is a product of social oppression based initially on class in England and later race in the U.S. Instead, the formation of the police system in the U.S. is attributed as a model of professional law enforcement adopted from the English system implemented in the late 1820s, and this incomplete viewpoint continues to be taught to modern police recruits as the premise for American policing (Oliver & Hilgenberg, 2006;Roberg, Novak, & Cordner, 2005; Turner, Giacopassi, & Vandiver, 2006).

In 1829, Sir Robert Peel did establish the first organized police force, but he did so under the assumption that the police would be responsible for controlling street crime (Oliver &Hilgenberg, 2006; Roberg et al., 2005). Originally, the police were under the command of government, which represented the upper class, and Parliament, and were never designed to police them. Scholars generally agree that the police force created by Peel was the forerunner for modern day police and while they embrace positive aspects of the policing process, they conveniently overlook others. There is convincing evidence that many modern American police agencies still use policing tactics adopted by the Metropolitan Police Force of London. Unfortunately, contemporary police inherited the

inability to effectively police privileged members of society through traditional means (Russell-Brown, 2009).

Historically, police have focused on criminal justice at the expense of marginalized populations, which has included Blacks and various segments of newcomer immigrants and the police domain has been one of controlling territory as opposed to equitable treatment (Bass, 2001; Oliver &Hilgenberg, 2006). As a part of organized government, regulatory agencies including police have relied on what Tifft, Maruna, and Elliot (2006) refer to as the "unquestioned acceptance of state definitions of crime" (p. 388). This realization leaves little doubt as to why police are slow to reform their strategies and in the absence of a presented alternative, police perpetuate the status quo. Police understanding of the origin and context of crime policy and its modern application is an essentiality if the police are to ever truly be a representative government body and this must be done in addition to hiring minorities.

Any thesis on the background of American policing that ignores the founding principles of class and race is problematic for three distinct reasons. First, it promotes the idea that the police were designed (and continue) to address specific behavior, not people, and that the heavy police presence in Black communities is a response to historical Black criminality; second, it ignores conditions, which have led to less than favorable attitudes by police and Blacks regarding each other; and third, it continues to mis-educate future generations of police practitioners and scholars that have a stake in improving relationships between police and Black communities. Despite race based policing predating Peelian police reform by approximately 80 years, many prominent criminologists and criminal justice scholars do not report this fact and focus instead on

the much later policing eras citing political, professional, and community paradigms instead of incorporating a racial model to explain police practice (Williams& Murphy, 1990).

Just as policing scholarship generally fails to address the association between the creation of Black criminality and the justification for targeted policing in Black communities, it has equally neglected the role that Black police officers play in this conflict. From their beginning, Black police have represented figures encased in a cultural dilemma. On the one hand, early police establishments showed no interest in shielding Blacks from the criminal acts of Whites or even other Blacks. Gatewood (2000) also explains that even the most sophisticated, educated, and economically secure Blacks were subject to discriminatory racial police practices. Given the racial separatism that divided America, the installation of Black officers in the Black community seems inevitable.

The inclusion of Blacks to the police ranks simultaneously provided the White power structure with a monitoring mechanism in Black communities and afforded members of the Black community with a measure of protection from at least the Black criminal element, as early Black officers had no arrest authority over Whites (Dulaney, 1996). It is also quite logical to believe that Black police would be fairer in their communities when compared to their White counterparts if for no other reason than self-interest. As a product of racial segregation, early Black police officers lived in the communities they policed and would not run the risk of damaging their community relationships outside policing by abusing or otherwise unnecessarily alienating members of their community (Alex, 1969; Berlin, 2010; Dulaney, 1996).

Police in a democracy wield an enormous amount of power relative to most other government officials (Samaha, 2012).Historically, however, society stripped Black officers of their authority outside Black communities and they became professionally invisible and powerless. Bolton and Feagin (2004) have noted, "that a person is often either a black person or a police officer, but not both. In many discussions of policing, all the law enforcement officers are, implicitly or explicitly, taken to be white" (p. 2). Realizing their precarious position, Black officers commonly focused their role within a narrow policing sphere and self-identify as defenders and advocates for justice within Black communities (Alex, 1969; Dulaney, 1996; Gardner, 2012). Despite an initial plea for same race officers, some Black citizens began to resent Black police after considering that Black police only had access to the coercive power of the state to the extent that they could apply it against other Blacks (Dulaney, 1996). Arguably, this dynamic set the stage for first the marginalization and later the anonymity of Black Police within their departments and communities. Before conceptualizing and tackling the issue of blending Black police identity, Black perception regarding same race police, and police use of force, it is necessary to step back and get a panoramic view of all three subtopics as experienced in America.

I artificially divide the categories below because it is virtually impossible to discuss Black police officers without the inclusion of the Black community, yet the reverse has been true. It is also unrealistic to expect a police presence to function in any community without the use of some coercive police force regardless of race. Rather than provide bright lines of distinction among the areas under discussion, I demonstrate how

failure to analyze their overlap continues to be problematic for scholars interested in race

relations between Blacks and the police regarding police use of force (See Figure 2).

Chaos—Crime

Police ⟷ Fluid

Order—Maintenance

Black Police

Divided by Race/Shared Occupation ⟷ Static

White Police

Black Citizen

Division by Occupation/Shared Race ⟷ Situational
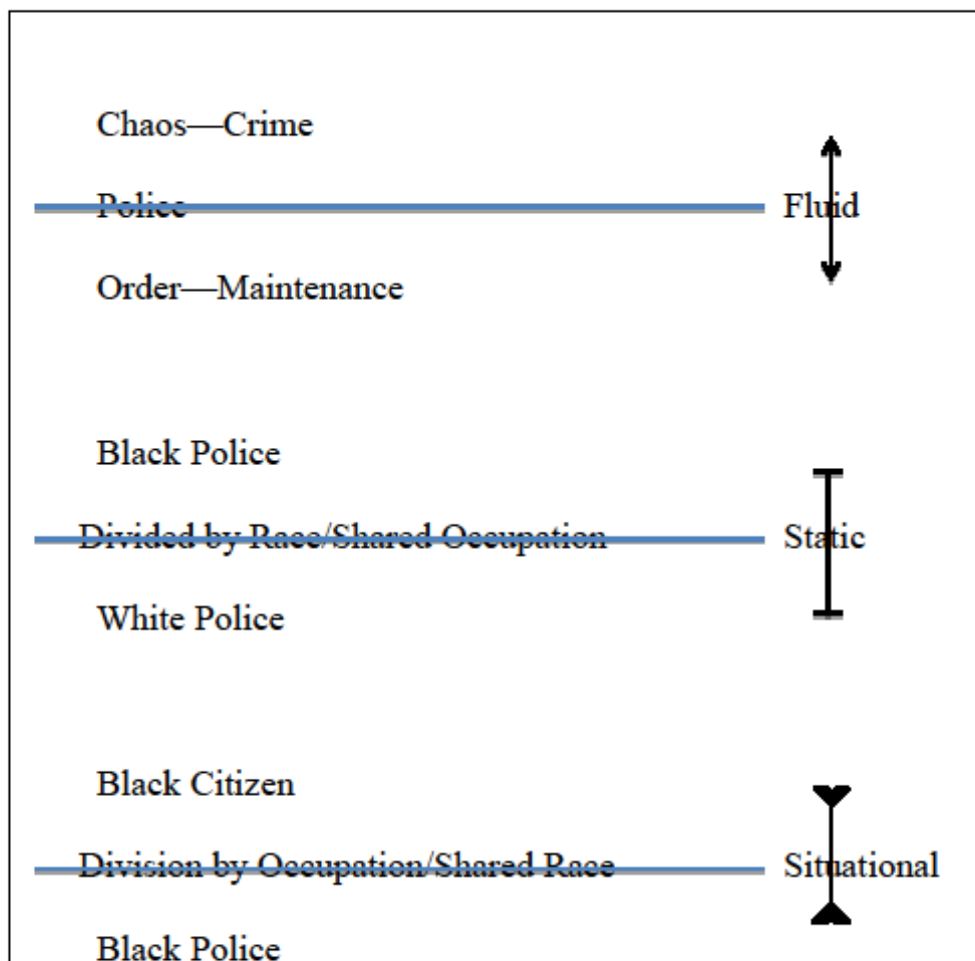
Black Police

Figure 1.Thin Blue Line Representation among Differing Groups.

Black Police

Black
Community

Public
Interest

Police Use of
Force
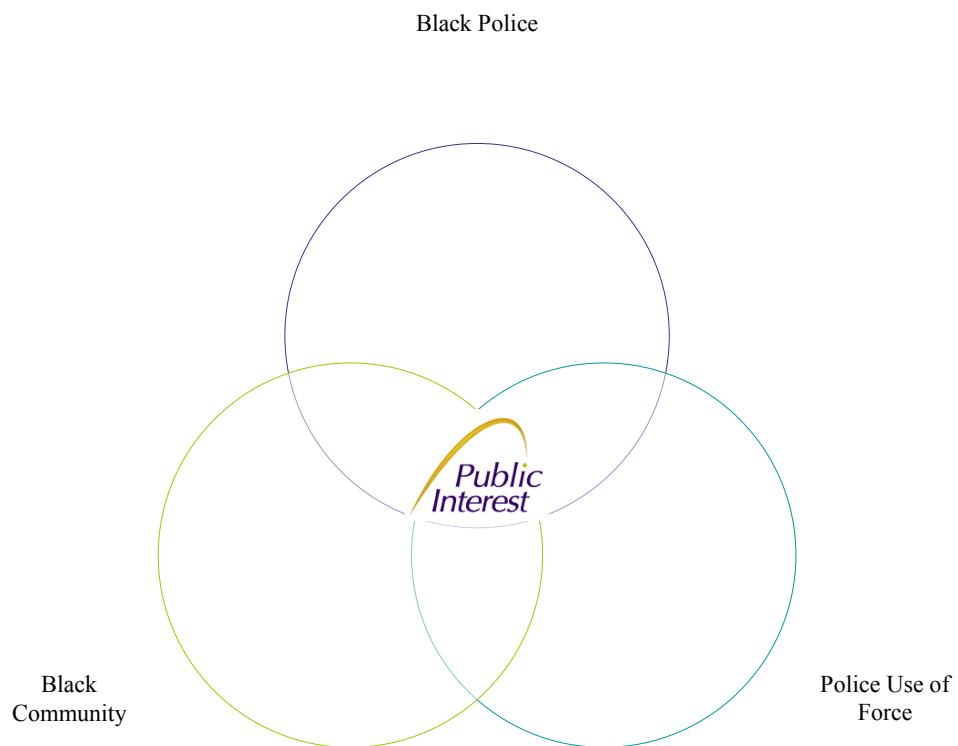
Figure 2. Venn Diagram of Subject Matter Overlap.

Chapter 2: Literature Review

Black Police

"The real servant of the people, then, will give more attention to those to be served than to the use that somebody may want to make of them" (Woodson, 1933, p. 201)

The epitome of the police occupation is the socialization process that distinguishes the police officer from other members of society. In the main, the police officer is conditioned to believe that by virtue of appointment, other citizens will accept the police role only to the degree that they reject alternatives that are more objectionable. In general, police view themselves as a closed system and society reinforces this belief (Roberg et al., 2005). The culture of policing is one that resents outside influence, scrutiny, and oversight with police believing that external interference hampers their ability to do police work (Samaha, 2012; Schmalleger, 2007; Swanson, Territo, & Taylor, 2012).

Police have gone through great lengths to protect their professional autonomy through litigation and the formation of labor groups, with the latter also serving to reinforce the police culture (Roberg et al., 2005; Swanson et al., 2012). Alex (1969) contends that Black officers tend to share similar professional concerns along with other police in general. However, because Blacks exist to a lesser degree in policing and continue to remain on the periphery of society's awareness of them, Black officers cope with two specific opposing ideologies not experienced by White officers.

Black officers' colleagues first see them as Black whereas members of their racial group primarily identify them as police (Leinen, 1984). Some White police officers

expect Black officers to deny their racial identity and ties to the Black community based on their occupation while some Black citizens would have them forfeit their professionalism based on race. According to Bolton and Feagin (2004), White police officers have historically used violent force to control Black communities. Further, they opine that "many white officers fear black officers' unity with black communities and seem to feel that black officers can only be 'real' police officers to the extent that they do not identify with those communities" (p. 202).

Likewise, Blacks tend to express embitterment toward Black officers for their representation of a historically oppressive force within Black communities, but also expect leniency from Black officers based on shared race (Alex, 1969; Moskos, 2008; Slonaker, Wendt, & Kemper, 2001; Walker, 1983). Considering the above, Black police officers exist in a paradoxical state and at best, it appears they can only experience a conditional acceptance within their professional and racial groups. In spite of the thousands of Blacks currently employed in law enforcement, they remain absent from the academic eye and largely neglected within the literature of police use of force. An overview and interpretation of the existing literature regarding Black officers in the atmosphere of their police role identifies their exposure to one of three elements, which are overt, subtle & symbolic, and vicarious racism. I define racism as discriminatory and prejudicial behavior that includes an offensive reaction because of race. In addition, within this study, racism amounts to more than an ideology, but the intentional or even subconscious proclivity to have a negative effect on others of different race.

Overt racism.

Some scholars have argued that the creation of the police institution, which in this country, was designed to strictly monitor and control the activities of Blacks, has historically operated in Black communities with the intent of intimidation (Turner et al., 2006). This police attempt to control Blacks became especially important between the Postbellum period when Blacks gained liberty and the pre-Civil Rights Era when Blacks began to exercise rights (Free, 2004). No longer bound by slave codes, Blacks were able to compete (at least theoretically) for resources previously only available to Whites. The Reconstruction Era takes on dual meaning as the police institution devised new methods to control free Black populations, which often depended on violence.

As the focus of disproportionate police attention, Blacks sought greater control within their communities and one of the driving forces behind Black officers gaining employment in police agencies is due to overt discrimination, which included excessive force against Black suspects and neglect of Black crime victims (Dulaney, 1996). The aforementioned unconcealed prejudiced police practices in Black communities provoked Blacks to demand the hiring of same race officers they believed would treat them fairly and without the influence of racial motivation. Black officers provided an alternative to a tradition of White police strictly controlling the activity of Blacks and more currently, Howell, Perry, and Vile (2004) explain that Blacks in cities with a majority Black population and representative police force report greater satisfaction with police services.

Despite assuming the role of regulators and protectors within Black communities, Black officers have also been the victims of overt racism, both internally within policing and more generally in society. Within the police organization, overt racism takes two

forms, which are institutional and personal (Leinen, 1984). As mentioned above, prior to the changes that began to be implemented before the Civil Rights Movement, in many instances police departments made and kept Black officers impotent by denying them arrest authority over Whites, assigning them only to Black neighborhoods, denying their participation in labor unions, and in the extreme, preventing them from exercising any police powers. Palmiotto, Birzer, and Smith-Mahdi (2005) relate that early Blacks hired as officers in some cities were generally assigned to custodial duties. Delaney (1996) also notes that in most instances, Black officers were denied equal pay.

More recently because of federal mandates and civil litigation, police departments have enacted policy that prohibits racial discrimination making organizational race based disparate treatment less apparent. Overt structural racism has all but disappeared, yet has been replaced by interpersonal prejudiced action (Bolton & Feagin, 2004). This transition from organizational to individual racism is not as pervasive, but offensive nonetheless. An example of individual overt racism is a group of White officers making explicit disparaging remarks regarding Black officers and their suitability for police work in the presence of Black officers (Bolton & Feagin, 2004). Other officers have engaged in less direct, but still insensitive attacks and harassment through racial slurs, jokes, and stereotypical and exaggerated caricatures of Black officers (Bolton, 2003). In some instances, White officers have refused to partner with Black officers because of their race (Haarr, 1997).

Another form of overt racism occurred when Black officers were not afforded the protection offered by clear identification as a police officer. Early Black officers were not allowed to wear a police uniform or in some rare instances were only authorized to wear

a modified version (Dulaney, 1996). The failure by police departments to convey this minimal representative status to Black officers placed them in precarious positions when they attempted to exercise police authority (Dulaney, 1996). More recently, many officers consider non-uniformed assignments more prestigious than uniformed duties (Alex, 1969; Leinen, 1984), but Black officers assigned to a plainclothes detail or detective assignment face a special danger when they have cause to interact with other police officers. Black officers assigned to non-uniformed assignments have reported being handled physically, assaulted, and questioned even after providing credentials that establish their identity as police officers and after justifying their presence at the scene of certain events (Alex, 1969; Leinen, 1984). In addition to the challenges faced at the workplace with coworkers, some White members of the public have repeatedly subjected Black officers to overt disrespect and discrimination in the form of racial slurs, race-based disobedience of police authority, and the refusal to acknowledge Blacks as legitimate police representatives (Alex, 1969; Bolton & Feagin, 2004; Dulaney, 1996). In example, Bolton and Feagin (2004) recount an incident where a White citizen taunted a Black officer for his entire tour by following him around daily with a sign displaying racial epithets and criticizing his effectiveness as a police officer.

Subtle & symbolic racism.

Unlike overt racism, subtle & symbolic forms are difficult to identify and prove, causing some scholars to question their ideological existence (Sniderman, Piazza, Tetlock, & Kendrick, 1991). Nelson, Sanbonmatsu, and McClerking (2007) studied differential perception based on race, politics, and class, discussing the issue of certain groups playing the race card, but also acknowledging cloaked acts of racism. Subtle

racism occurs when an act is perpetuated based on race and intended to harm, discredit, or make the target uncomfortable without their awareness of the racist act (Nelson et al., 2007; Sniderman et al., 1991). Symbolic racism takes place when a negative action is taken because of race, but is justified through some non-racial perceived failing or undesirable characteristic of the recipient(s) (Henry & Sears, 2002).

Despite claims by some scholars (Sidanius, Devereaux, & Pratto, 1992) that symbolic racism is a tautological concept, which manifests itself more in the minds of those affected than in substance, Tarman and Sears (2005) found the theory of symbolic racism as a practiced belief system to be empirically sound. Some of these less detectable elements of subtle and symbolic racism concerning Black officers manifest in rumors, inadequate training, failure to assist Black officers on calls, greater rigorous critique of Black officer performance, disparate discipline, inferior assignments, generalizations about Black officers, and limited promotional opportunity (Bolton, 2003; Bolton & Feagin, 2004). A milder combined form of subtle & symbolic racism occurs through personal race based alienation that signifies a lack of support, but is unaccompanied by other action related to the profession (Haarr, 1997; Leinen, 1984).

Bolton (2003) takes a divergent approach from some theorists on the issue and makes a point that subtle racism may even escape the awareness of the perpetrator. He comments, "much racism is not conscious and intentional but rather unconscious and unintentional, not accompanied by the actor's intent to harm or disadvantage a particular Black officer" (p. 390). Seemingly, contradictory, Bolton's assertion strengthens the argument for insidious racism because it emphasizes the reflexive over the premeditated, with many officers denying the latter (Whitehead, 2011).

Psychological research supports the concept of a subconscious racial bias that influences decision making. According to Baron and Banaji (2006) White children as young as six years old display a racial bias against Blacks that continues into adulthood. Ironically, Baron and Banaji held that existing research did not indicate a similar bias among Black children that could be traced to Black adults. In discussing this anti-Black sentiment of research participants older than six, Baron and Banaji relate, "In 10-year-olds and adults, the same magnitude of implicit race bias was observed, although self-reported race attitudes became substantially less biased in older children and vanished entirely in adults, who self-reported equally favorable attitudes toward Whites and Blacks" (p. 53). The implication is that harbored negative racial biases exist subconsciously and influence actions, but society teaches it is inappropriate to acknowledge them.

Although researchers have expressed several different viewpoints regarding hidden marginalization within police institutions, historically, Black officers seeking to exercise internal authority through the promotional process has been an especially contentious topic regarding subtle racism (Alex, 1969; Cohen & Chaiken, 1972; Leinen, 1984). Anson and Knight (1982) relate that Black officers generally feel promotional policies are designed to limit their upward mobility. Although this perception is mirrored in different studies (Alex, 1969; Bolton, 2003; Bolton & Feagin, 2004; Haarr, 1997; Leinen, 1984), some are notably dated and others involve a wide range of officers. Thompson (2006) conducted a more current and nuanced study surveying 126 Black law enforcement executives (lieutenant through chief) and measured their self-reported relationships between peers, subordinates, superiors, and citizens of all race. Despite

previous implications, Thompson (2006) found no indication that Black executive officers commonly suffered from differential treatment not experienced by White executive officers.

In furtherance of earlier research, Jollevet (2008) conducted a study using a methodology similar to Thompson's process. Jollevet (2008) carried out surveys and interviews that focused only on Black officers that reached the executive levels (lieutenant through chief) of their organizations. Within a pool of 224 respondents, only two executives reported not experiencing racial discrimination with one asserting that race was not a factor while over 80% of Jollevet's respondents felt their superiors blocked past promotions because of their race.

Jollevet's study is important for three reasons. First, it is more recent than similar studies and will help refute claims that racism no longer has debilitating effects on Black officers. Second, it is representative of successful promoted Black officers and dispels the sour grapes notion that could be associated with lower ranking Black officers not selected for promotion. Third, it is the largest undertaking to glean the opinions of Black executive officers. In addition, an officer's status conferred by rank does not preclude subtle and symbolic racism from peers and Black officers are more likely to feel disparaged by equals and superiors for exercising discretion and authority commensurate with other officers (Dowler, 2005).

The variation in responses obtained by Thompson (2006) and Jollevet (2008) are not easily explained. Perhaps Jollevet's dual affiliation as Black and a law enforcement officer facilitated relaxation and better communication in line with in-group acceptance (Pruitt & Kim, 2004) or it could be that both groups of respondents did not share similar

experiences due to chance or some undisclosed third variable, which exists in addition to race and occupation. Regardless, many actions concerning Blacks will undoubtedly remain open to interpretation, however, longstanding racism has left imprints on the collective American psyche, of which police institutions are a part. If meaningful dialogue on perception and race is to continue to take place, scholars must understand intraracial and interracial relationships within this context. One final point on subtle and symbolic racism is that within the literature, theorists have generally analyzed the concept more from a policy perspective and less from a micro level outlook on individuals within organizations (Nelson et al., 2007; Sidanius et al., 1992; Sniderman et al., 1991).

Vicarious racism.

Brown (2005) asserts that Americans generally, and police specifically, associate Blackness and criminality as interchangeable. In the event that certain factions of police accept Black officers, they are thought of as different from most Blacks as a condition of their police service (Bolton & Feagin, 2004; Dulaney, 1996). A form of racism that negatively affects Black officers is vicarious racism or racism not directed towards them, but that they experience because of their race. This third party racial suffering is unique in that it encompasses both overt and subtle and symbolic forms of racism.

Overtly, Black officers may be informed by their colleagues that Blacks in general are criminogenic, inferior, or otherwise defective, but that they (the Black officer) are not labeled as such because they have proven themselves to be unlike typical Blacks (Bolton & Feagin, 2004). Other forms of overt vicarious racism include the use of racial slurs to describe Black citizens and direct molestation of Blacks to include harassment

and physical force, but because Black officers are less likely to tolerate vicarious racism in these severe forms, subtle and symbolic vicarious racism are likely to occur more frequently (Brown & Frank, 2006; Dulaney, 1996). Subtle and symbolic vicarious racism limits the degree to which Black officers can articulate the mistreatment of Blacks through racially biased policing, but is widely discussed within the literature.

Black officers feel it necessary to train other Blacks on how to respond to the police to prevent them from being unjustifiably injured or killed (Free, 2004) and are especially sensitive on educating family and friends on how race and racial profiling influences policing (Barlow & Barlow, 2002). Likewise, Black officers have complained of witnessing racial differential behavior by White officers in the absence of any articulable reason (Barlow & Barlow, 2002; Bolton & Feagin, 2004; Wilkins & Williams, 2008). Moskos (2008) explains the action of White officers in Black neighborhoods may be predominately born of negative cultural-racial beliefs associated with Blacks in general and Wilkins and Williams (2008) note that police productivity is often used to disguise racist behavior. Black officers are keenly aware of and collaterally affected by what they perceive as overeager efforts on the part of their colleagues to police Blacks (Bolton & Feagin, 2004; Dulaney, 1996; Leinen, 1984) and aggressive police actions within Black communities cause division among racial lines within police departments.

Mentality of the Black cop.

Although there is an identifiable need for diversity and Black police officers, given their tenuous role, the motivation of individual Blacks to become police officers requires exploration. Some officers give accounts directly linked to race and experience (Bolton & Feagin, 2004), while others (as to be expected) follow a more general service

orientation toward police work (Holton, 2008). Still, other individuals are drawn to policing by ideas of class advancement and economic incentive (Alex, 1969; Leinen, 1984; Palmer, 1973). The difference in attraction and reasoning for Blacks entering policing serves to account for both dissimilar opinion and as a point of convergence in understanding the phenomenon of being a Black police officer.

Alex (1969) provides two broad reasons for Black self-selection as police officers, which are civil service orientation and police orientation. According to Alex, civil service oriented officers choose policing because it offers financial stability and improves the socioeconomic status of Blacks entering the field. Civil service oriented Blacks are not partial to policing, likely applied for other civil service jobs, and would readily leave policing if a better opportunity presented itself. A trend among civil service oriented Black officers is that they often feel forced into policing for lack of better options, that it is simply a job, and that they are rewarded by the fringe benefits such as paid leave and a guaranteed pension plan (Alex, 1969). In short, the civil service oriented police officer that Alex describes is principally motivated by self-interest.

Police oriented officers differ from civil service minded officers in that they see policing as a noble endeavor, the reward is public service, and they believe police officers are capable of making a difference in peoples' lives (Alex, 1969). Many of these Black officers identify with the traditional police ethos of service and protection and view policing as a high calling. In discussing this type of Black officer, Bolton and Feagin (2004) relate they choose "policing not just to succeed as individuals but also to make a difference for their communities" (p. 5). The primary difference between civil service

oriented officers and police oriented officers is the polarizing fixation with individualistic versus collectivist identification of the police role.

Palmer (1973) does not distinguish between Black officer types, but argues that by virtue of their improved financial condition, many Black officers adopt a negative attitude toward other Blacks and insulate themselves from circumstances that affect the Black community by embracing mainstream cultural norms. DuBois (1903) argues that Black acceptance of other and denial of self is a fluctuating and chimerical reaction to societal demands, which he describes as a double consciousness. Double consciousness is the product of living in two worlds and serves as a protection mechanism from harmful elements in both (Du Bois, 1903). Part of this self-protection on the part of the Black officer involves sometimes removing oneself geographically from the minority community, but most often ideologically (Brown, 2005; Palmer, 1973).

Although Palmer (1973) comments that Black officers physically distance themselves from their communities by relocating after hiring and Wood (1999) stresses the importance of studying police residency with regard to race, virtually no research identifies Black officer residency. There is, however, a broader concern that working class and middle class Blacks (which police are a part of) are fleeing urban communities dominated by low-income minorities and mainly other Blacks (Bass, 2001; Berlin, 2010; Pattillo, 2005). Much like White Flight, where White community members abandon neighborhoods that experience a minority increase (Boustan, 2010), *Black Flight* results when Blacks seek improved quality of living by relocating to communities that are more affluent (Attewell, 2012).

Black Flight takes one of two forms with Blacks seeking integration into White Communities or less commonly, establishing middle class Black communities (Attewell, 2012; Cashin, 2001; Gatewood, 2000; Pattillo, 2005). Both practices have potentially damaging results for Blacks of all classes, but for now, I will focus on the consequence for Black police officers. Palmer (1973) warns that Black officers that leave their communities after taking jobs as police officers risk alienation from their community and miss an opportunity to improve conditions instead of escaping them. One of the criticisms of police is that they behave as an occupying force with no stake in the Black community beyond enforcement (Weitzer, 2000) and Black officers residing in the community can help improve this perception (Dulaney, 1996).

Alex (1969) and Leinen (1984) argue that in addition to shared race, Black officers have a vested interest in Black communities because many of them live there or have family that live there and issues that affect other residents are just as likely to affect them. They make the claim that Black officers living in Black communities can enhance police legitimacy. Furthermore, Palmer (1973) suggests that some Black officers that relocate see themselves as better than even the non-criminal population of the Black lower class, which will lead to confrontations not differenced from those experienced by White officers. In addition, Black officers may feel comfortable in the presence of other middle class Blacks because they interact less with them professionally (Alex, 1969; Weitzer, 2000).

Ideologically, self-rejection occurs through identity manipulation and in the eyes of some theorists; control of the Black officer is control of the Black community. Engel, Calnon, and Bernard (2002) explain that such "race based decision making reflects racial

prejudice, either overt or covert, by individual police officers and administrators, including unconscious racism internalized as a form of self-hatred by black police officers" (p. 250). Five decades of separation after the Civil Rights Movement has not removed the notion that Black officers are merely exploited subordinates of the police power structure. Scholars critical of the motivation behind hiring Black officers comment "the police department realizes that control is more absolute if done by a member of the community being controlled" (Palmer, 1973, p. 21) and "the employment of Black officers was designed to fulfill the White majority's interest in containing racial tension in order to maintain law and order in Black communities" (Brown, 2005, p. 769). As quoted above, both Brown (2005) and Palmer (1973) take the approach that the Black officer is commonly used as a tool against and not in favor of the Black community. Alex (1969) described the effects of seemingly competing interests and pressures of occupation and race as doubly marginalizing the Black officer and thereby alienating him from both groups.

Not all scholars take the above approach and Campbell (1980) argues that Black officers have more fully integrated in their departments and communities due to comfort in their respective roles. In addition, Johnson (2006) adds that while the early recruitment (1960s and 1970s) of Black police officers was geared almost entirely toward race, currently police agencies are more selective and choose Blacks they feel will complement the department in other areas beyond racial diversity. Even accomplished Black police practitioners such as Holton (2008) downplay the negative effects of race in favor of the contributions that Blacks make as police officers.

Regardless of their initial individual attraction to policing, many Black police have sought to improve their condition in relation to their profession and the community by bridging the existing gaps through professional-racial police associations. Early Black officers were confronted with the normal (and even an increased) stigma associated with police, but because these officers were denied membership in fraternal police organizations and were alienated "as members of two subgroups in American society, black police officers often had no choice but to associate and socialize with each other" (Dulaney, 1996, p. 65). Unlike most other unionization trends focused primarily on wages and benefits, Black officers form member associations out of a sense of needing professional recognition coupled with an allegiance that connects them to an even greater marginalized segment of society; the Black community (Bolton & Feagin, 2004; Dulaney, 1996).

The most prominent example of Black police solidarity is the National Black Police Association (NBPA), which represents Black officers from each of the 50 states and the District of Columbia. The mission statement of the NBPA is "to increase the awareness of the community, to be the conscious of the Criminal Justice System, and to enhance the quality of life in the African American Community" (NBPA, 2013, p. 1). Despite an influx of Blacks into policing over the past 50 years and the creation of a national Black organization spearheaded by Black officers to improve police-community relations, currently there is insufficient literature that addresses Blacks' attitudes concerning Black police officers and vice versa.

The Black Community

"But the chief problem in any community cursed with crime is not the punishment of the criminals, but the preventing of the young from being trained to crime" *(Du Bois 1903, p. 116)*

The police are the government's internal enforcement arm for control within America and are in a unique position because they can choose to ignore some laws, while strictly enforcing others. More importantly perhaps, police can choose which people they will target for law enforcement action. In citing a previous study by Young and Sulton (1991), Russell (1992) explains, "that many explanations of black crime are based on myths and misconceptions about the black community" (p. 678). Russell-Brown (2009) refers to 92 race based crime hoaxes with over two-thirds (62) involving fabricated crimes by Whites against Blacks and in 25% of all cases, police questioned, detained, or arrested alleged suspects. Arguably, such instances are likely to increase unease and suspicion between Blacks and police.

In addition to police misunderstandings, Black communities have a culturally collective memory worth reviewing because the idea of community extends beyond geographic location and encompasses socioeconomic, political, religious, and racial arenas (Mannarini & Fedi, 2009). Bass (2001) proposes that the historical social isolation of Blacks encouraged an idea of racial culture that transcends other ties, which are often perceived as secondary because such ties were insufficient to remove the stigma of race regarding the Black community. Folger, Poole, and Stutman (2001) identify *expectancy violations* as behavior based on expectations of the other party and in essence, the role of the Black police officer is expected to be aligned with the needs of the Black community.

However, in times of departmental-community conflict, the police occupation subordinates race (Alex, 1969; Dulaney, 1996).

According to Pruitt and Kim (2004), attempting to resolve a conflict without a historical foundation of party interaction is counterproductive and Berlin (2010) contends that social identity is rooted in the past. More specifically, Turner, Giacopassi, and Vandiver (2006) stress, "That historicism and multiculturalism are essential to understanding contemporary criminal justice law and practice" (p. 181). Just as important as the historical narrative is from whose perception it is being told.

Historical revisionism is a useful approach when considering the phenomenon of Black communities and Black police. Revisionist historians view past events differently from the mainstream or accepted schools of thought and seek to explain current societies through their revision. Revisionists both manipulate and exclude known events to mislead or include previously unavailable facts to enlighten (Thompson & Austin, 2011). On the one hand, we can romanticize that historically, the separation between Black officers and their community (if indeed one exists), is the disconnect between the law abider and the lawbreaker. Under this premise, neither slavery nor the subsequent Jim Crow laws were devastating enough to have a crippling effect on contemporary Blacks and police have long since vilified such discriminatory practices. The modern translation is that in most cases, police officers behave appropriately against criminals without regard to race, with a small percentage of police officers conducting rogue and improper practices in Black communities.

Revisionist history, through a different lens, illustrates the early practice of placing Black officers in a position to police only other Blacks created an atmosphere of

distrust between Black communities and Black officers. In addition, because Black police officers were impotent to stop racialized violence against Blacks, they either ignored or justified errant uses of police force in Black communities (Bolton & Feagin, 2004). In effect, the Black community came to view Black police officers as overseers of the Black population for the White power institution, which kept all Blacks marginalized. A meaningful dialogue between Black officers and the Black community has not happened because the police culture revises the Black officers' perception of their racial and professional historical roles. Police institutions gloss over inequalities and replace them with the promotion and acceptance of the police culture, which stresses the historical nobility of policing. Regardless of which revisionist view we take, the historical context of any conflict is important because it influences how conflict parties engage and essential to any conflict is a real or perceived opposing interest between parties (Pruitt & Kim, 2004).

Although early Black officers may have sympathized with the Black community on certain issues, in the interest of their employment, they were professionally duty bound to enforce laws that disadvantaged them racially and this duplicitous behavior was not lost on other Blacks (Alex, 1969; Brown, 2005; Dulaney, 1996; Leinen, 1984). Alex (1969) recounts that Black officers, in order to keep their jobs, policed other Blacks protesting for civil rights, although they knew such demonstrations were necessary for racial equality. Policing is perhaps the one occupation, which causes Blacks to question the Blackness of police officers because of employment. Black correctional officers and other Black criminal justice employees are likely to be less vilified or so considered because of limited exposure to most Blacks (Maclin, 1991).

Particularly, since the 1960s, the media has portrayed and even sensationalized events regarding the Black community and the police. During the above period, televised physical altercations between Blacks and the police exposed their violent confrontations on an unprecedented (albeit previously undocumented) scale (Brown, 2005; Dulaney, 1996). Although Black-police relations are not as strained as they were in the 60s, nationally, and despite greater diversity in police agencies, Blacks still report higher dissatisfaction with police when compared to other races (Bass, 2001; Birzer, 2008; Maclin, 1991; Roberg et al., 2005; Thompson & Lee, 2004). This Black dissatisfaction is a product of distrust of police procedure, not police inability to control crime. Ackerman et al. (2001) found "National polls indicate that most Americans are satisfied with police honesty and ethics. However, when we control for ethnicity, minorities rate the honesty and ethical standards of police officers much lower than do White Americans" (p. 43).

Prior to the reform ushered in by the Civil Rights era, the representation of Blacks in law enforcement was virtually nonexistent and absent during most Black-police clashes was the presence of a Black police officer, who could have helped deescalate volatile situations (Dulaney, 1996; Roberg et al., 2005; Sun & Payne, 2004). After the 1960s when Blacks started to pursue law enforcement careers, policing scholars tended to gloss over or even ignore the Black police-community experience in regard to Black officers. Experts formed habits of examining the police and Black communities as two entirely separate structures without overlap and failed to address the influence of the Black community on Black police officers. As a result, there is currently insufficient data that informs the topic of Blacks' relationships with Black police officers, but a plethora of information identifying a contentious Black/police dynamic.

Revolving scholarship& Black youth.

Much has changed since the 1960s and while the days of the police unleashing K-9s on Black demonstrators or authorizing fire departments to spray them with water hoses are gone, the complaint of excessive use of force by police against Blacks is still a controversial subject. The Rodney King, Sean Bell, and Abner Louima incidents are just a few contemporary cases that have made national news (Russell-Brown, 2009). In one study, researchers found that police in Memphis were 15 times more likely to shoot a Black who had committed the exact crime as a White offender (Roberg et al., 2005). The researchers, however, again failed to control for race among the officers polled, treating police officers as a homogeneous racial group. The alleged higher rate of violent criminality among Blacks, along with purported disparagement in treatment by police, continues to exacerbate the police use of force issue without regard to officer race.

In 2007, Brunson interviewed 40 Black males about their assumptions and expectations regarding police, but race was not included as a factor (Brunson, 2007). Birzer conducted a similar research project in 2008 when he examined a Midwestern Black community about desirable police officer characteristics, but again the officers' race was ignored (Birzer, 2008). Alex (1969) studied the social strain experienced by Black officers in one police department and identified their collective condition regarding race and policing as dual marginalization. Alex did not, however, study the influence Black police have on their communities or the expectation and perception that Black citizens have of Black police.

Only a few studies specifically address the viewpoints of Black citizens regarding Black officers with one involving West Indians living in England (Bishton, & Homer,

1980). Bishton and Homer found that the Black community and specifically youth were ambivalent about Black police. During the interviews, some respondents mirrored their American counterparts by claiming that Black officers are no different from other police or that they are used to pit Blacks against Blacks. The study is distinctive in scope, but the location, historical difference between the development of American and English Blacks, and the evolving roles of Blacks and police in the U.S. make it difficult to generalize the study to an American population. Levin and Thomas (1997) conducted another unique study, which involved an experiment about police use of force perception by race. Interestingly, they found that Whites and Blacks perceive arrest activity by White officers against Black subjects as more violent and inappropriate when compared to the exact performance of a Black officer involving a Black suspect.

The above two studies contrast officer behavior with officer features in relation to Blacks, but are exceptions because while several criminal justice researchers and sociologists have contributed immensely to the discussion on race and policing, the majority has not extended their research to capture the sentiment of Blacks regarding Black officers. According to Gabbidon (1996) the argument has been made that mainstream theorists are concerned more with the policing process than the perceptions by those affected by said process and Russell (1992) calls for the creation of a subset of criminology, which focuses on Black criminal behavior. Most crime scholars analyze Black behavior from a position of Black representation within the criminal justice system, but fail to question the causes for Black criminal exposure (Gabbidon, 1996; Russell, 1992). The result is that emphasis is placed on regulation as opposed to comprehension of the Black community and criminality (Young & Sulton, 1991).

Even scholars that attempt to understand or improve Black-police community relations typically do so in one of two ways, which are professionally and academically oriented. Theorists such as Walker (1983) and Free (2004) encourage the inclusion of more Blacks in the police ranks. According to Walker, Black officers are more liberal in their thinking, making them more adjusted to the needs of the communities they police. Walker specifically found that Black officers share greater values with the Black community than the values of White officers when compared with White communities.

Regardless of any specific qualification, some scholars believe the general attitudes of Black officers make them better attuned to the needs of the Black community (Free, 2004; Walker, 1983). Smith (2003) claims that even if Blacks possess no special qualities, their employment will help expose Whites to other cultural norms. The benefit in cross-racial occupation familiarizing may carry over to sensitization with citizens. One notable exception is Lott (2000), who argues that increasing the numbers of Blacks within the police force may negatively affect the Black and greater community. Lott contends that targeted selection of Blacks for employment as police officers has shown to increase crime because police departments overlook other desirable traits in favor of race.

Other intellectuals, such as Gabbidon (1996) and Russell (1992) speak on influencing Black-police relationships through the academy. They contend that the additional hiring of Blacks as officers is a step in the right direction, but without a theoretical underpinning, such practices may be akin to a cosmetic solution for a much deeper issue. Academically, three intertwined factors help explain the perceived conflict and lack of documented discourse between Black communities and Black police officers.

The first dynamic is a theory on loyalty and Sklansky (2006) posits that indoctrination into the police culture is a rite of passage that causes officers to minimize and even forsake past relationships. Palmer (1973) made a similar reflection with regard to Black police officers specifically.

Bolton and Feagin (2004) describe identity, which I include as the second aspect, and they claim there is an expectation that Black officers assimilate into the culture by professing a police identity that transcends any conflicting relationships to include race. Dulaney (1996) chronicles the origins of Black representation within American policing and uncovers two relevant issues on identity. Post slavery, many laws were specifically implemented to control the newly free Black population and the police were the vehicle for that control. Next, when Black police were first hired, they were restricted to policing members of their race only (Dulaney, 1996) and logically they became acquainted with so-called Black criminality (Russell-Brown, 2009). In addition, social identity theory suggests the mere presence of a perceived collective difference is enough to promote group bias (Pruitt & Kim, 2004).

The third element of academic orientation to understand the relationship between Blacks and Black police officers is the turning of academic attention inwardly to study the lack of scholarship on the issue by academicians. Not attempting to incorporate a diverse position that includes a narrative from a Black perspective is counterintuitive to the progression of criminal justice and criminology as respected disciplines (Gabbidon (1996; Russell, 1992). Free (2004) proposes that crime disciplines mirror conservative practices instead of embracing liberal thinking, which is the purpose of higher education. Academic conservatism marginalizes criminal justice and criminology programs while

also relegating them as moneymaking endeavors with scarce opportunity for improving conditions within the Black community (Free, 2004).

Ironically, universities market criminal justice to Black athletes unsure of their major as they pursue grand athletic dreams, but many of these students never graduate let alone attend graduate school or play sports professionally (Calhoun, 2012). Meggyesy (2000) further questions the utility of degrees such as criminal justice for students that have no desire for the field. Interestingly, historically Black colleges and universities (HBCUs) that could potentially have a tremendous effect on Black scholarship in the field lag behind other universities in offering terminal degrees in criminal justice and criminology (Gabbidon, Greene, & Wilder, 2004). While the idea of a Black criminology does not require Black scholars per say, the lack of Black theorists trained and promoted in the academy is a reflection of conditions within the criminal justice system (Free, 2004; Russell, 1992). Edwards, White, Bennett, and Pezzella (1999) present a more positive reflection and contend that although Black crime scholars are underrepresented; their scholarly contributions signify an improvement in diverse publication.

The factors of loyalty, identity, and perhaps, most importantly, absent and lacking scholarship are crucial in understanding how Black officers and Black citizens generally view each other. Because Black police have been historically visible in Black communities, there is a suggestion that their presence has created ambivalence among residents of Black communities. While there was probably no racial motivation involved in their police actions, Black officers faced contempt for acting as monitors for their communities, and for not enjoying privileges on par with their White handlers. Perhaps the most recent vocal element of the Black community concerning Black police has been

the communication of open disdain expressed for Black police officers in the lyrics of prominent rap artists, which include such titles as the *Sound of Da Police*, *Black Cop*, *"F" The Police,* and *Crooked Officer* (Jenkins, Wilson, Mao, Alvarez, & Rollins, 1999). Within each song is a message directed toward Black police officers that stresses they are still Black, yet behave in a brainwashed fashion when dealing with other Blacks.

Baxter and Marina (2008) further explain that "artists such as Ice-T and NWA challenged police authority in the revolutionary nationalist tradition of The Black Panther Party, even describing conditions under which they would kill a police officer before that officer could kill them" (p. 101). Rap artists identify Black officers for special criticism, but otherwise give them no reprieve from animosity for police. Rap music is said to be the voice of the youth with a special attraction for Black adolescents and Sullivan (2003) states "not only are rap music and hip-hop culture a potential form of resistance, they may also have broad-reaching implications for identity development and maintenance" (p. 16).

The findings by Baxter and Marina (2008) and Sullivan (2003) are significant in that the greatest opposition to solidarity between Black officers and Black communities has been the age-old contentious relationships between the police and Black youths (Alex 1969). "Many black males, especially teenagers, still view police officers as oppressors and part of a system designed to keep them in their place. These negative attitudes even extend to minority officers" (Maclin, 1991, p. 271). This phenomenon has remained consistent with regard to Black officer reporting (Gardner, 2012) and accounts from Black youth (Brunson, 2007).

Three conditions explain enhanced conflict among Black police and Black youths with the first being that as a group, juveniles are subject to more monitoring and restrictions than adults and police exercise greater discretion because juveniles enjoy fewer freedoms (Hurst, Frank, &Browning, 2000). Agnew and Brezina (2012) claim that Black juveniles are more likely to live in or frequent criminogenic areas than even lower class Whites making negative police contact more probable. Free (2004) argues however, that greater deviance among Black youths does not account for disproportionate police intervention because much police action does not result in formal criminal process, which accounts for statistics. Akers and Sellers (2009) describe labeling theory, which is aptly named because individuals are first labeled, then stigmatized because of some identifying characteristic. Labeling theory is important in understanding behavior because the labeled adopts then acts out the expectations of the labelers.

In the case of Black youths, Barlow and Barlow (1995) and Russell-Brown (2009) surmise that the invention of Blackness as criminality is the label and that skin color is the identifying characteristic. Russell-Brown also uses the moniker "criminalblackman" as symbolic that all Black men embody a criminal threat until they prove otherwise (p. 133) and this label is especially powerful for Blacks that have negative police experiences early in life. Blacks that do not conform to the image of the criminal are thought of as exceptions, not the rule (Maclin, 1991). Some attitudinal anomalies exist and Frank, Brandl, Cullen, & Stichman (1996) claim that under certain conditions, the feelings of Blacks may be more favorable to police than Whites. According to Frank et al. this transition in community thought occurs when Blacks begin to achieve political growth and development.

Instead of the deleterious aftermath, that often accompanies White and Black

Flight; influential Blacks remain and occupy positions of political and economic stability

that staves off community decay. Civil service employment is one means by which

Blacks advance in society (Alex, 1969; Berlin, 2010) and the primary predictor of Black

police employment is determined by the size of the Black population (Zhao & Lovrich,

1998). Howell et al. (2004) refer to social dominance theory and group struggle that

explains the resistance to subordination and how group subordination is reversed through

increased numbers of Blacks in policing.

Using a single city study, Brown and Frank (2006) found that Black officers were

more likely than Whites to arrest Black suspects. However, Donohue and Levitt (2001)

conducted research involving 114 cities with populations greater than 100,000 and

established that increased hiring of Black police officers leads to greater arrests of

Whites. Although Frank et al. (1996) describe favorable attitudes by Blacks toward police

that occur after the tipping point of social dominance is inverted in favor of Blacks, those

instances represent minority occurrences (in densely populated urban areas) and it may be

more useful to explore the period of perceived growth that threatens the majority and

causes conflict.

Minority threat.

Critical criminology theorists argue that the government encourages crime

through biased policing and selective enforcement (Cullen & Agnew, 2006). Critical

theorists also explain that the preferential treatment of different classes and the degree of

government involvement in social oppression can be predicted by race and economics.

Weisburd and Braga (2006) contend that minority and poorer communities become the

focus of minor violations that are ignored in other neighborhoods. Under critical theory, police strength and regulation by default, are focused on certain lower and racial classes, but distinctively increases with the growth of specific minority populations (Sever, 2001). This concept, which is known as *minority threat*, presents a problem within the context of police-community relations because police officers will be overrepresented in predominantly Black communities (Sever, 2001; Weitzer, 2000). One aspect of the problem is that the public mistakenly believes that most Blacks are impoverished and that Black and socioeconomically disadvantaged have synonymous meanings (Barlow & Barlow, 1995).

Although scholars have often viewed the topic of minority representation from a political and criminological position regarding general crime policy (Frank et al., 1996; Schafer, Huebner, & Bynum, 2003), much less is known about the specific role the growth of minority populations plays in police staffing and deployment. Lastly, only a few academicians, such as Kent and Jacobs (2005) and Sever (2001) seem to be concerned with the issue. An in-depth study of minority threat will help scholars, police departments, citizens, and policy makers, understand better the influence race has on the addition of police officers in a given jurisdiction. Mears (2010) holds that a more scientific approach in evaluating crime would reduce both the politicization and irrational behavior by criminal justice policy makers and I discuss an example of such irrationality below.

Criminologists generally give two reasons for enhanced numbers of police in comparison to minority groups. The first is that the elite wish to protect their interests and use the police as a control mechanism with the second being the need to provide greater

social services to disadvantaged minority populations (Sever, 2001). Russell-Brown (2009) warns that in referencing race, people often use the word minority as a code for Blacks, and Holmes (2000) states that Americans tend to ignore other races in favor of a false White-Black only dichotomy. Furthermore, according to Russell-Brown (2009), society forces non-Whites and non-Blacks into membership on either racial side or otherwise treats them as invisible.

In applying critical and conflict theories, which credit racialized power as one avenue for control, other non-Black minority groups are theoretically susceptible to disproportionate policing (Akers & Sellers, 2009; Holmes, 2000). Non-White racial groups and even some specific White minority ethnic groups experience biased treatment by the White majority (Bass, 2001; Sever, 2001). However, in a study that included Asian Americans, Hispanics, Native Americans, and Blacks as minority groups, Sever found that the Black population most influenced police strength. Controlling for economic status, Sever also demonstrated that cities with greater numbers of impoverished non-Black minority populations would have less police than cities with middle class and affluent Black populations. In some instances, the mean Black income rivaled or even surpassed White income .In the case of Blacks at least, public control and not public assistance appear to be the purpose of augmented police strength.

Given that socioeconomic status is a better predictor than race for street crime for which the police are responsible (Akers & Sellers, 2009; Kent & Jacobs, 2005), but more police are assigned on account of large Black populations regardless of financial condition, other non-Black minorities do not appear as marginalized in regard to police control. In one example, Kent and Jacobs (2005) found only a weak correlation between

police strength and the Hispanic population. Again, in a study focused specifically on the Hispanic population and minority threat, Holmes, Smith, Freng, and Munoz (2008) found that despite Blacks being substantially fewer in number, they had a greater effect on police expenditures than Hispanics in southwestern states. Even in border towns in proximity to points of entry for illegal immigration, the Hispanic population did not have any statistically significant influence on police staffing whereas the reverse holds true for the Black population. Holmes et al. (2008) comments:

> Although it may surprise some that percent Black had such robust effects in a region where Hispanics are at the forefront of public discourse about crime and immigration, here we are reminded of the salience of Blacks' racial identity in popular images of crime and minority threat. (p. 146)

Despite the strength of the indicators above, such documentation within the literature should be viewed with caution. Minority threat is a concept, which addresses local police strength to control minorities. In the case of Hispanics, an emphasis may be placed on illegal immigration and resources at the federal level. Unless otherwise stated, the term Hispanic is a generalization and does not specifically address the racially fragmented, yet growing ethnic Hispanic population, which includes Black and White members (Holmes, 2000). In addition, state and federal reporting agencies are inconsistent in their use of the term (Donohue & Levitt, 2001), but Rastogi, Johnson, Hoeffel, and Drewery (2011) report that only 3% of Blacks identify as Hispanic. Notwithstanding ethnicity, Kent and Jacobs (2005) and Sever (2001) explain that Blacks as the largest singular minority racial group pose a perceived immediate threat to the

economic and political security of Whites and that the typical response to that threat is through enlarged police numbers.

Geographically, the nation is divided into four distinct regions of Northeast, South, Midwest, & West (U.S. Census Bureau, 2013). Kent and Jacobs (2005) theorize that southern cities, which have historical racial markers of segregation between Black and White communities, will experience less minority threat because the fear of interracial crime is significantly reduced. If the theory made by Kent and Jacobs is correct, one would expect southern cities to have fewer police officers than other cities with comparable Black percentages. Pertaining to region only, a 2011 report from the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) illustrated 2.6 officers per 1000 inhabitants in the Northeast, 2.1 in the Midwest, 2.6 in the South, and 1.6 in the West. In the same report, cities with populations over 250,000 showed a marked difference with the Northeast reporting 4.1, the Midwest 3.1, the South 2.5, and the West 1.9 police officers per 1000 inhabitants (FBI, 2011). Interestingly, as other regions increased their numbers of police officers based on city growth, the South was the only region to experience a decrease in police officers when the population exceeded 250,000.

The federal report conducted in 2011 provides a broad snapshot of police staffing and illustrates that geographically, the Northeast and South have mirror numbers of police officers per capita (2.6) when only region is considered. The report is more illuminating when measured against the actual percentage of Blacks within each large urban area by region because the Northeast clearly leads the other regions in police officer employment by racial comparison. A cross reference of U.S. Census data regarding the percentage of Blacks within the four geographical regions illustrates that

the South region held the greatest Black representation at approximately 20% of the population (55% of all Blacks) in 2010 (Rastogi, Johnson, Hoeffel, & Drewery, 2011). The other regions had significant less Black percentages with"17.1 percent in the Northeast, 18.1 percent in the Midwest, and 9.8 percent in the West" (Rastogi et al., 2011, p.7). The U.S. Census data can be interpreted to provide loose support for Kent and Jacobs (2005) regarding minority threat, segregation, and police employment because the desegregated areas of the Northeast have a higher concentration of police when the Black variable is considered.

Other scholars maintain that segregation is less important in gauging minority threat because even cities that experience racial segregation have disproportionate police numbers when compared to other cities with fewer Blacks (Holmes, 2000; Sever, 2001). The argument regarding minority threat is not one of existence, but in which form is it most detectable. Regardless of which theoretical endorsement one assumes regarding racial dispersion or segregation, a mutual consequence of greater numbers of police in response to Black populations and neighborhoods is the increased opportunity for police-Black citizen clashes that end in a police use of force. Scholars describe the overdependence of police force, which is both symbolic and physical as a continuing divisive wedge between the police and Black communities (Brunson, 2007; Whitehead, 2011).

In consideration of the above, Rastogi et al. (2011) found that in 2010, the ten places with the greatest number of Blacks in the U.S. were cities with populations that exceed 600,000. As of 2008, eight of the ten cities ("New York, Los Angeles, Chicago, Philadelphia, Houston, Washington D.C., Dallas, and the Baltimore" police departments)

also represented the ten largest municipal police agencies within the U.S. (Reaves, 2011, p. 17). Of the ten places most populated by Blacks, the four regions contained the following cities: Northeast—Philadelphia &New York (2); South—Baltimore, Dallas, Houston, Memphis, and Washington D.C. (5); Midwest—Chicago & Detroit (2); and West—Los Angeles (1). The population development of the above cities is important historically and contemporarily in the dialogue on Black police, the Black community, and police use of force (Trotter, 2002).

In the sixty-year period between 1910 and 1970 termed as the *Great Migration*, Blacks began to flee the south in search of a more equitable social system, but at the end of the 1930s, nearly 80% of Blacks still lived in the south, with approximately 50% of that number living in rural areas (Lemann, 1992; Trotter, 2002; Vigdor, 2002). After 1940, an estimated four to five million Blacks migrated northward for better job opportunity and hopeful that they would find less oppressive race based practices outside the south (Boustan, 2010; Lemann, 1992; Trotter, 2002). The Black exodus north coincided with increased racial tensions in the south, and Collins and Margo (2007) claim that the civil urban unrest of the 1960s was preceded by rural aggressive acts committed by Whites against Blacks in the years leading up to the 1940s. Furthermore, Stovel (2001) relates that the extreme practice of racialized violence up until the 1930s was the extra-legal mob killings of Blacks also known as lynching.

Depending on their region of origin in the south, Blacks relocated to specific parts of the north, Midwest, and west, following family members or friends, and hoping to establish a higher quality of living with the support of those that had gone before them (Berlin, 2010). According to Trotter (2002) many Blacks were unwilling or unable to

relocate to the north and settled for residency in southern cities, but Vigdor (2002) argues that younger and better educated Blacks were less tolerant of racial discrimination and more likely to migrate north and westward. Berlin (2010) reports that migrants from the south were idealistic and four times more likely to have obtained a high school diploma than their peers that remained in the south.

According to Collins and Margo (2007), the influx of newly migrated Blacks in the north and west set the stage for subsequent police confrontations in those regions. One reason which led to conflict was that newcomer migrated Blacks in the north established social, political, and economical networks that challenged the status quo (Trotter, 2002). Another factor was that Blacks believed the south was a haven for bigotry and racism, but the north represented a chance to be free of Jim Crow laws that dominated the south (Lemann, 1992; Trotter, 2002). In some instances, Black organization evolved into Black militancy and later, Black criminality (Alex, 1969). Less important than the specific form such resistance took, was the transitional theme from flight to fight, which placed both peaceful and more forceful groups of Blacks into direct conflict with the representative force of the power structure, the police.

Police Use of Force

"Police officers must be trained for war, but prepared for peace" (Bayley & Garofalo, 1989, p. 21).

The characteristic that most distinguishes police from the greater public is their ability to routinely harness the coercive power of the state as an occupational byproduct (Alpert & MacDonald, 2001). Smith (2003) explains that people perceive this coercive power as both the discriminatory exertion of social control and as a response to the

collapse of social order. These competing descriptions of police use of force conceptualize the space between a perceived minority threat and a reaction to community violence, but neither negates police dependency on coercive power.

Coercive police power extends to police presence, intimidating language, and physical action to include lethal force (Adams, 1999). While seemingly trivial, verbal commands as force are included because police possess the legal authority to seize, restrict, and control citizens' movement through voice action alone (Samaha, 2012). Levels of police force differ by propensity for harm, but force is justifiable when it does not exceed the minimum and reasonable amount necessary to gain lawful compliance (Adams, 1999; Terrill, 2005). Instances in which police seek compliance through force may not always be a matter of public safety or a legitimate law enforcement objective, but a mechanism of individual officer self-motivation as when an officer perceives that a citizen is being disrespectful of police authority and deserves punishment (Alpert & MacDonald, 2001; Paoline & Terrill, 2007). Terrill (2005) identifies police use of force as inappropriate when it is based on impertinence alone because citizens have no legal obligation to respect police.

Police transgressions regarding their use of force serve as media highlights and as a continual source of scholarly inquiry, but widely publicized accounts of inappropriate police force belie the fact that most police-citizen encounters end peaceably (Adams, 1999). Hickman, Piquero, & Garner (2008) "estimate that the police use or threaten to use force in 1.7% of all contacts and in 20.0% of all arrests" (p. 563). Although police uses of force may be infrequent, they are the focal point of media and citizen attention when they occur and scholars continue to discuss whether a few extreme cases of police

use of force are indicative of rogue officers or the police structure itself (Thompson & Lee, 2004). In explaining the seemingly obsession with police uses of force, Alpert and MacDonald (2001) suggest lopsided police-citizen power coupled with citizen ignorance of the police function is partially responsible. Others maintain that any violation by representatives of such a powerful body, no matter how intermittent, must be publicly scrutinized because civil liberties are at stake and police derive their authority from the public (Thompson & Lee, 2004).

Theorists have conducted numerous studies into police use of force to understand the nature of the phenomenon. Wilson (1968) described three basic law enforcement types he thought categorized police departments and labeled them as legalistic, service-style or watchman agencies. Wilson hypothesized that officers in watchman style agencies would resort to more force than in the other two types of police departments because they policed deteriorating urban environments. Police officers working in legalistic agencies would follow use of force guidelines more closely based on exposure to populations that are more heterogeneous, and officers in service-style departments would concentrate more on public service and less on law enforcement. Police officers that work in watchman style agencies also exercise a great deal of law enforcement discretion when compared to officers in legalistic and service-style departments.

Wilson's (1968) seminal work suggests that community demographics along with citizen expectation greatly influence the type of law enforcement officer citizens in a given locale can expect to encounter. It also places a great deal of responsibility on the citizens and in turn on agencies in controlling officer behavior. Building on the thesis devised by Wilson, Alpert and MacDonald (2001) maintain police agencies can facilitate

appropriate use of force by their level of administrative review. They found that use of force incidents increase for police agencies when supervisors are not required to evaluate uses of force and determine their acceptability. In these departments, officer use of force may or may not be justified and police officers that have disproportionate uses of force are not subject to immediate counseling, discipline, or training, which likely results in continued behavior and repeat instances of force. Alternatively, Hickman and Piquero (2009) report that police agencies with designated organizational branches to investigate misconduct report higher uses of police force, which may be explainable by the availability of a formal complaint function (Worrall, 2002).

Paoline (2004) further develops the nexus of police culture and officer behavior, but places more emphasis on the individual officer. Rather than focus on the type of agency, Paoline generalizes that any given police department employs one of seven types of officers, which he describes as "Lay-Lows, Old Pros, Traditionalists, Anti-Organizational Street Cops, Dirty Harry Enforcers, Peacekeepers, and Law Enforcers" (p. 220). Similar to Wilson (1968), and Alpert and MacDonald (2001), Paoline found that discretion was a recurring factor in citizen violations and that Dirty Harry Enforcers were most likely to perform aggressive policing and tended to violate citizen rights.

Paoline and Terrill (2007) focused their attention more specifically on individual officer characteristics regarding education and experience. They determined that some college reduces the amount of verbal coercion employed by officers, but that only a four-year degree significantly influences a reduction in police physical use of force. They also found that officers with more than ten years of service were less likely to use force than their less tenured peers, but that combined education (baccalaureate) and experience (10

plus years) did not result in any significant reduction of police force greater than either category alone.

In a study that addressed officer race in a use of force context, Hickman and Piquero (2009) assert that police officer race is a less significant factor in predicting inappropriate force when compared to the aforementioned organizational and individual police characteristics of department type, education, and experience. Garner, Maxwell, and Heraux (2002) and McElvain and Kposowa (2008) found officer race to be inconsequential regarding use of force frequency. Adams (1999) explains that existing research has not connected police officer race and use of force, but calls for additional studies in this area. Levin and Thomas (1997) inquired into citizen perception of officer behavior through race, but the only study to directly contradict the above findings is a comparatively older study by Cohen and Chaiken (1972), which found Black officers to use less force than their White counterparts.

Where the influence of officer race is ambiguous, suspect race has almost an opposite influence concerning police use of force. Terrill and Reisig (2003) determined that police used force more frequently in impoverished Black communities. Particularly, police use significantly higher levels of force against Blacks and Hispanic males not in custody when compared to Whites regardless of offense or level of resistance (Schuck, 2004). Schuck offers that officers may use significantly more force against Blacks and Hispanics they do not arrest because they do not have to explain visible prisoner injuries to superiors or otherwise account for their actions. Interestingly, Parker, MacDonald, Jennings, and Alpert (2005) report that complaints lodged by Blacks of inappropriate police force are dismissed quicker than when complaints are generated by Hispanics and

Whites. In the most recent and recurring federal report of its kind to measure police-citizen contact, analysts relay, "Blacks were more likely than whites or Hispanics to experience use or threat of force in 2008" (Eith, & Durose, 2011, p. 12). According to Eith and Durose, the findings for 2008 remain consistent for the two prior reporting periods of 2002 and 2005 indicating that citizen race in relation to police force has cross-sectional as well as longitudinal relevance.

Holmes (2000) determined that municipal police departments received more excessive force complaints than both sheriff and state police agencies with Blacks being overrepresented among the number of complainants. In a study that focuses on one sheriff's department, and incorporates many of the factors from studies on municipal police, Williams and Hester (2003) established that use of force reporting was more common among White male officers with less than 13 years tenure, but did not identify the involved citizen's race. While Williams and Hester make an argument for further research on sheriff's departments being included in the police use of force discussion, they admit that their particular study is not generalizable.

Researchers also tend to focus on city police departments because of the organizational differences between sheriff's offices and police departments (Mastrofski, 2004; William & Hester, 2003). One stark difference is each organization's degree of contact between free citizens and confined persons. Municipal agencies normally place a strong emphasis on patrol whereas county law enforcement agencies usually devote more resources to inmate confinement (Schmalleger, 2007). Stojkovic, Kalinich, & Klofas (2012) also relate that job design influences employee socialization, which later affects

behavior. Mastrofski (2004) suggests that by studying different types of agencies, researchers can uncover differing situational factors, which influence officer activity.

Individual and organizational police characteristics cannot alone explain the decisions police officers make when considering the use of force (Garner, Maxwell, & Heraux, 2002). Because police use of force does not occur in a vacuum, the nature of the police-citizen interaction coupled with location and citizen behavior are all contributing factors. Bayley and Garofalo (1989) advise that police are willing to use greater force when they encounter overt conflict and violence happening between citizens as opposed to routine police-citizen contacts, where police force is usually used to a lesser degree.

MacDonald, Manz, Alpert, and Dunham (2003) focused on citizen calls for service to measure police use of force. They discovered that police used disproportionate force on calls that were considered low priority in terms of danger posed to the officer(s). They also found that citizen cooperation was more important in the police decision to use force than the type of police call. MacDonald et al. propose that on more threatening calls, police respond with a heightened alertness, which prepares them and the citizen for a potential use of force. According to MacDonald et al., police preparedness to use violence ironically facilitates a reduction of force compared to less dangerous calls where the use of force potential is more uncertain.

Some researchers believe a strong predictor of police officer force is citizen behavior (McElvain & Kposowa, 2008; Terrill, 2003, 2005; Terrill & Reisig, 2003). Citizens can choose to obey police or engage in one or more forms of resistance. Opposition to police direction includes verbal antagonism, fleeing or escape, passive disregard by failing to follow instructions, continuing activity prior to police arrival,

physically struggling, or attempting to assault or injure the officer or a third party (Garner et al., 2002; MacDonald et al., 2003; Paoline & Terrill, 2007; Terrill, 2003, 2005; Terrill &Mastrofski, 2002;Terrill & Reisig, 2003). Procedurally, each type of failure to comply elicits a different police response and Terrill (2003, 2005) describes guidelines for police known as the use of force continuum, which officers are expected to follow in most cases. The use of force continuum is designed to promote police consistency regarding when and which levels of force police should use under similar resistance circumstances (Terrill, 2003, 2005). The lowest levels of force involve verbal commands, and graduate to grabbing, restraining, striking, and end at the highest level; deadly force (Bayley & Garofalo, 1989; Garner et al., 2002; Terrill, 2003).

The killing of a person is the most serious event in which a police officer will engage and in a society of laws, such an act must be justified by the behavior of the deceased (Smith, 2003; Waegel, 1984). Contrarily, conflict scholars charge that police individually and structurally participate in racialized killings. According to some theorists, if minority threat is the fear of Blacks, and increased police presence is the response to that fear, then police use of force is the result (Jacobs & O'Brien, 1998; Kent& Jacobs, 2005; Lee, 2004; Sever, 2001). Jacobs and O'Brien found "that the change in the percentage of blacks in a city's population is positively associated with police killings of blacks after other factors are controlled" (p. 858).

Looking beyond purely academic analysis, police use of force in a racial context is historically and contemporarily significant due to extralegal and social inferences. Between the years of 1920 and 1932, police officers were reportedly responsible for more than half the murders of all Black citizens living in the United States at that time (Myrdal,

1944). Between the years of 1995 and 2000, 44% of all police use of force incidents involved force by White officers against Black citizens (IACP, 2001). During the turmoil of the 1960s, police were nine times more likely to kill a Black than a White (Waegel, 1984). Although police use of force is not confined to a particular era or area, for over 50 years, police use of force has been concentrated in Black communities. Some of the most notable incidents of police use of force in a racialized context have occurred within the past twenty years in large cities with dense Black populations. Some highly publicized post-Civil Rights Movement police use of force accounts include the Rodney King (Los Angeles, CA, 1991), Abner Louima (New York, NY, 1997), and Malice Green (Detroit, Michigan, 1995) cases to name a few (Barlow & Barlow, 1995; Brown, 2005; Moskos, 2008; Nelson et al., 2007; Thompson & Lee, 2004).

In explaining police use of force, some scholars have attempted to do so through considering the mentality of the police. A police viewpoint is important within the literature because it may serve to counter, balance, or even confirm the express concern that police apply differing practices based on race. The police have both legal (procedural) and cultural (occupational) understandings of when and to what degree their use of force is appropriate (Waegel, 1984). Cultural and legal manifestations of police use of force may be at odds. Theoretically, a submissive, but serial pedophile would not warrant any greater force during the arrest process than a similarly submissive onetime shoplifter. The shared police understanding, however, is that greater force against the felon is justified by that person's transgressions (Waegel, 1984). Under this premise, the police use force to punish, not control.

Dick (2005) argues that because police see themselves as tainted and as having a dirty job, they are more likely to justify coercive behavior through association. In addition, because police use of force is inherent to police work, police choose to celebrate rather than condemn their use of force, even when it may be questionable. Dick suggests that police and other like professions experience a discomfort when they feel required to act in ways contrary to their occupational roles. The core functions of policing, which are law enforcement and social order maintenance are ultimately subordinate to the police ability and willingness to use force. The police use of force at once contradicts and fulfills the peacekeeping role of the police.

In both of the above explanations by Waegel (1984) and Dick (2005), the police self-reinforce their right to use violence for punishment or as a condition of their exposure to life's more sinister aspects. The implication is that force, even when unjustified through policy or behavior, is morally acceptable because justice dispensed on the street is preferable to no justice at all (Waegel, 1984). In a sense, the police harm their credibility in terms of justified uses of force because they have a cultural tendency to avoid responsibility when use of force is unnecessary or extreme. Dick warns that until society and their representative police redefine their conceptions of dirty occupations, the police will continue to personalize the police use of force. Regardless of cause, the overdependence on police use of force (both excessive and police brutality) causes instability in an already ambiguous role.

Chapter 3: Methodology

Participants

I hoped to capture the life experience of two specific groups, which were Black police officers and members of the Black community. Creswell (2007) defines phenomenology as "the meaning for several individuals of their *lived experiences* of a concept or phenomenon" (p. 57). Phenomenology was the best qualitative fit for my research topic because it is fundamentally a methodology of perspective, not empirics. One need not reference a statistician to understand that they have experienced discrimination nor would such an approach measure the person's perception of the event.

I desired to obtain the Black citizen sample by visiting an institution of higher education within a southwestern state by interviewing students that attended that institution. Prior to beginning any research activities, on October 22, 2013, an academic dean granted a site permission letter pending the approval of my home university and the visited university's institutional review boards (IRB). On April 3, 2014, the Nova Southeastern University IRB approved my research. In addition, I emailed requests and a copy of my research proposal to be evaluated by the visited university's administrators with the authority to allow me to conduct research on that campus. On June 28, 2014, I received my second IRB approval. Once both universities granted permission, flyers were posted describing the research, which included my email and mobile phone number.

The visited institution was a state funded university and I selected this type of institution for primarily three reasons. Within the literature, it is reported that Black youth and police share a contentious relationship. While some non-traditional aged students attend universities, I expected to encounter a greater number of potential participants with

no more than seven years post-graduation time from high school. The ideal range of student ages was 18-25.

In addition, while this study is neither dependent on state of residence nor ethnicity, private four-year universities also enroll out of state and international students at larger percentages than state funded universities, which attract greater numbers of in-state residents (Bound & Turner, 2007). The idea was to interview not only Black participants, but those who have some familiarity with the local environment. Of the 15 students interviewed, only one was not a native of the state. Finally, I expected Black youth pursuing higher education to have a greater appreciation for academic research and think more critically about social issues when compared to a less specific sample of Black youth. I interviewed 15 Black students with 3 being graduate students while the rest were at the undergraduate level. As agreed, each student was compensated with $25 after the interview concluded.

I contacted full time Black police officers that work within municipal police agencies through professional police associations. The main reason for this decision is that municipal police departments account for the majority of American law enforcement agencies .Local police are more than four times as prevalent as the next most common branch of government law enforcement (county) and Blacks are more likely to be employed in city than other law enforcement agencies in higher government ("Bureau of Justice," 2004; Schmalleger, 2007; Stojkovic, Kalinich, & Klofas, 2012).

The contacted police departments consisted of three large agencies with primary jurisdiction within their cities. Large denotes a department of at least 500 sworn police officers. Black police association presidents were sent a link directing them to a secure

internet site where the participant questions were saved. The selected persons were asked to review the participant questions and forward my contact information, which included my email and mobile telephone number to their respective association members and any other interested parties, but only if they were sworn personnel, Black or African American, and employed by the member agency. The site was encrypted and prevented anyone other than the association president from forwarding the email. As I began to receive a few inquiries from potential participants I started to question the practicality of this approach.

After contacting the three Black presidents through email the results were disheartening, but should have been predictable. In addition to their roles as presidents, each had full time assignments within the department and personal obligations. I was informed that many association members do not regularly check or respond to email contact. Also, instead of contacting me, some potential participants were contacting the association presidents with requests for more information. A few officers that did respond directly expressed a willingness to participate, but were hesitant to give a specific location, date, or time. Some that did commit called later to postpone. In addition, because the three Black professional police associations are fraternal and serve a relatively small population when compared to the dominant police associations with regard to size, only one Black association had a permanent physical location for coordination purposes. For this reason, no site permission letter was requested.

Interviews with Black police officers occurred at places and times of their convenience. The majority of officers seemed to have a preference for being interviewed on-duty during breaks when the interview was least likely to disrupt their personal lives.

During these scheduled interview sessions a few other officers became interested and asked to be allowed to participate. In some instances, participants referred me to others they thought might want to be interviewed. Finally, I solicited participation from Black municipal officers that I met formally and informally if they were employed by one of the agencies mentioned above.

Convenience/snowball sampling allowed for a judicious use of time and proved realistic in determining which officers were willing to speak with me. A total of 15 police officers were interviewed. Seven of the interviewees did not have college degrees, five were educated at the baccalaureate level, and three held master's degrees. Nine worked in a patrol capacity, five in an investigative function, and one held a non-enforcement/investigation administrative position. The ranks spanned from police officer to deputy chief with a combined total of over 170 years law enforcement experience and each participant had a minimum of 4 years of experience. Eleven of the participants were natives of the state.

Measures

I used the participant questions to assess the perceptions of each respondent by asking non-identifying questions about their experiences and exposure to the experience of others concerning Blacks and policing. The participant questions were designed to expose attitudinal perceptions through structured close end and open ended questions designed to stimulate dialogue. I visited all departments and the campus where I conducted research and no follow-up interviews were necessary. All of the interviews were completed in less than one hour.

Race was determined by self-identification with each potential participant being asked if they considered themselves Black or African American. Research participants were interviewed in person. After the university IRB granted approval, data collection began. Each respondent was promised anonymity (in person interviews), and confidentiality (via email contact) with all personal identifying information being altered and unrecognizable, to include place of employment. For simplicity of tracking purposes, participants were coded with an alphabetical character to signify their status as a citizen or police officer and corresponding number to designate their sequence in the number of interviews. Respondents were free to terminate participation at their leisure and all related documentation has been stored in a locked safe, which will only be accessed for legitimate research reasons. I will be the only person with access to the data. The collected information will be archived for three years before being destroyed.

Procedure (Data Collection)

This research project involved a qualitative process in the form of interviews. Determining which individuals and departments were contacted was accomplished by utilizing a purposive method. The purposive method targets a particular group of people because of some characteristic or knowledge (Creswell, 2003). In this case, I tapped the experience of Black municipal police officers and Black citizens because they possess information directly linked to the research. In doing so, I relied on the three largest municipal police departments in the region and a public university because each organization provides access to research participants that met the criteria for this research project.

The participant questions were first designed as a Word document, but later duplicated via email and forwarded to a campus dean and Black police association presidents. I expected several benefits from using email communication as support. By using email, time and expense associated with physical travel were reduced and gatekeepers were able to review my request at their leisure. The email format also reduced undue influence or bias that may have taken place in personal solicitation only. In the case of police departments, I chose each organization for email contact, but had no control over which members of a particular department received the forwarded copy.

Each research participant was required to acknowledge their involvement via voluntary written informed consent and verbal confirmation. By agreeing to participate, participants agreed that neither reward nor punishment was a factor in their decision to take part in the research. Failure by any participant to confirm that they understood the nature of their involvement in the research resulted in them being unable to proceed with an interview. The informed consent was completed in my presence before any interview took place. All interviews were audio recorded for later interpretation.

Data Management & Organization

I developed 14 personal interview questions applicable to police officers and community members, which are: (1) Is there a relationship between perception on police use of force and race? (2) Are Black police officers change agents or perpetrators of the status quo? (3) Should Black police officers have greater responsibilities to Black communities than other police officers do? (4) Do members of the Black community expect differential treatment from Black officers? (5) How do Black police officer attitudes complicate or complement their law enforcement role? (6) Are Black police

officers more loyal in their departments or communities? (7) Is there a conflict of interest or role disparity in being Black and being a police officer? (8) Does the number of Blacks employed by the police department reflect the number of resident Blacks? Does this influence the quality of police service? Why or why not? (9) Does the presence of Black officers during the arrest process of Black suspects mitigate the use of police force? Why or why not? (10) What has been your experience with Black police officers and the Black community? (11) Does an officer's race play a role in the decision to use force? How so? (12) What are the most important factors in gaining support from the Black community? From Black officers? (13) How has this issue affected you? (14) What particular experience do you have with this topic?

I hold that the interview questions are designed below the high school level in terms of readability and are appropriate for the study I plan to undertake. The Flesch-Kincaid Grade Level/grammatical checker within Word 2003 rates the readability of the interview questions at grade 8.4. As a condition of employment, state law mandates each police officer to have obtained a high school diploma or equivalent. In addition, any student attending an institution of higher education within the state must have also obtained a high school diploma or equivalent. I solely conducted the interviews and did not foresee any difficulty with interpretation, but provided clarification should the need arise.

Although I conducted a comprehensive search and could not find a tested and appropriate qualitative instrument to duplicate, the questions I constructed are uniquely meritorious. Questions 1 through 12 guide the participant to explore their contextual understanding of the topic in a broad framework, while questions 13 and 14 embrace the

foundations of phenomenology and encourage the participant to focus and personalize their beliefs (Creswell, 2007; Moustakas, 1994). All of the questions mirror Moustakas' advice on capturing both experience and the influence of experience on participant belief. Less important to my research was determining the probable merit of statements made by the participants. Each question was general enough to allow the participant to provide a variety of responses, but follow-up questions probed personal experience and individualized beliefs specifically.

Two branches of phenomenology exist within the literature. The first branch is hermeneutical phenomenology or interpretive phenomenology, which requires the researcher to interpret and translate the lived experiences of the participants into an essential and central component that underlies their collective experience (Creswell, 2007; Moustakas, 1994). The second form is transcendental phenomenology. Of the two branches, transcendental phenomenology is thought to be the more objective approach (Creswell, 2007). Developed by Husserl in 1913, transcendental phenomenology requires the researcher to rule out his/her experience (Plotka, 2010). Transcendental phenomenology is more applicable to my study. Although I am intimately connected to the topic, it was necessary to remove myself philosophically because I did not wish to bias the findings and thereby undermine the reason I sought to undertake the research.

I took consideration of my individual conceptions of the issues, but did not superimpose them over those of the participants. Moustakas (1994) refers to this technique as bracketing, which in theory, involves a philosophical self-removal from the event that provides the researcher with an unadulterated view of the phenomenon. Bracketing is a process by which the researcher is self-aware and knowledgeable

concerning preconceived notions, bias, etc. and lists/disregards preconceived notions so as not to be influenced by personal motivation or perception. Bracketing is a suspension of judgment during collection and interpretive phases of the research, not an attempt to erase personal experience. My application of this concept is especially relevant as being a student, police officer, and Black person; I share cross-sectional identification with the participants. In short, I approached the work as a scholar that draws on the experience of being a Black police officer as opposed to a Black police officer writing about academic theory.

Hermeneutical phenomenology is subjective, but I checked for errors in interpretation by consulting the parties individually in what Richardson (1996) refers to as "member validation" (p. 194). Moustakas (1994) pioneered hermeneutical phenomenology and it asks two broad questions, which are the experiences of the participant and the contexts of those experiences (Creswell, 2007). Epistemologically speaking, I as well as the participants have an idea of the issue, which at its base, is the attempt to clarify the meaning of being "Black" and reconciling it with the function of policing in a use of force context. Blackness is not simply the hue of a person's skin nor is the Black community something that can be identified by a zip code or by the number of any given Blacks in a particular neighborhood.

Applying ontology to the issue was an even more complex endeavor. For one, the connectedness that people share who self-identify as Black may be too complex to grasp, or furthermore may not even exist. For example, how does one know they are Black and who determines what types of behavior are acceptable or unacceptable for Blacks? Is Blackness a hereditary condition rooted in geographical ancestry, a social construction

for differential treatment, or an allegiance based on cultural expectations? Will the discovery or reinvention of Blackness lead to axiological increases or decreases in race based conflict? Whether Blackness is none of the above things, or simply a rhetorical term for them all, philosophical understanding remains the province of the interpreter.

After the informed consent documentation was completed virtually all of the interviews started with a pre-interview of the researcher by the participants. Many wanted to know why I chose this topic and after a brief personal introduction beyond the information included in the informed consents, the interviews began in earnest. All of the interviews were recorded verbatim and reduced to writing. Repetitive listening to each audio-recording allowed me to accurately record the experience of each research participant.

I developed a simple coding system whereby Black police officers were distinguished as 1A-15A and the citizen sample respectively 1B-15B. These specific codes were later substituted with pseudonyms for each of the research participants. Thirty separate Word document transcriptions were created and placed in different electronic folders classified as police and student interviews. By copying and pasting all of the participant responses for a particular question on one document, I developed 28 Word documents for questions 1-14. I then created two additional electronic folders, labeling them as police responses explored or student responses explored and inserted the collated responses for each question in their respective folder.

Highlighting was used to identify transcribed interviewee text as follows: green denoted supportive-positive responses in line with the majority opinion, red signified divergent-negative minority responses, blue indicated an explanation for the response,

and brown designated contradictory, uncommitted, or vague responses. In the cases where opinion evenly split, the text was probed for subtle meaning and explored within the framework of the interviewee's general interview. In the event that participants gave a similar response, but felt the perception was either appropriate or inappropriate, a plus or minus symbol was used to distinguish positive or negative feelings. Within the highlighted text, I used the control + f function in Word 2010 to find the number of times certain descriptive words were repeated among participants.

Using NVivo software, which is specifically designed for qualitative research, I further organized and filtered repeated phrases, like responses, and experiences in an attempt to contextualize Blackness and behavior in relation to policing. For example, the word "understand" and variants was found 110 times in the combined interviews. Participant officers were responsible for its use 94 times with student participants being responsible for the remaining 16 uses of the term. A query specifically designed for establishing patterns allowed me to confirm and disregard specific uses of this term and certain other words or phrases within or outside the context of the interviews. In this way, I was able to increase the speed and accuracy in establishing clusters of meaning.

By combining manual and computer based data analysis, I believe I was able to uncover greater meaning than by using any one method. Understanding context is a human trait that cannot be duplicated no matter how advanced or sophisticated a computer software analysis tool may be. Because technology simply reacts to data entry, which requires human understanding, technology was used to supplement not supplant my observations and interpretation. Likewise, NVivo software allowed me to reduce human error by not missing relevant information. Using both techniques, I was able to

pinpoint similarities and variation in participant experience that produced a more nuanced understanding of the phenomena. Emerging themes were validated as accurate representations of participant experience by checking each theme against collated participant responses. This was accomplished by reviewing the individual responses for each research question, finding similar responses among participants for the same question, and comparing those responses to similar responses regarding other research questions.

Data Analysis

I conducted the data analysis using the modified Steve-Kleen method presented by Moustakas (1994). The first step was the epoche, where I suspended my judgment and set aside prejudice regarding this topic. I did so by exploring and bracketing my assumptions, expectations, and experience. I assumed that I would encounter three types of participants: those that questioned the relevancy or need for my research, those that accepted that an issue existed, but felt that it could not or would not be changed, and those that recognized and issue and were willing to explore some measures for remedy or improvement. I expected that I would be able to gather some relevant information between the last two assumptions and be able to proceed with my research. If it were the case that participants recognized an issue, but felt that it would not or could not be altered, those reasons could be explored to develop themes. Likewise, different remedies could be studied to uncover the phenomenon. Finally as a Black male and career police officer, I needed to bracket out my personal and professional experience. I accomplished this by being mindful only to report relayed information and not to challenge or encourage the participants.

The next step involved accurate recording of the information. Moustakas (1994) refers to this process as horizontalization. In horizontalization, each statement is given equal value. Invariant responses are clustered to describe the situation reported by the participant. The textural description is a recording of what took place without an explanation for the occurrence. Phrases and terms that appear infrequently and that do not contribute to the shared experience are eliminated in what Moustakas calls reduction. I succeeded in horizontalization, textural descriptions, and reduction by recording the transcriptions verbatim and discarding irrelevant data so that emphasis might be placed on the context of experience.

Imaginative variation or structural description is how each participant viewed the unifying experiences on an individual level. Not just the what, but the how and why of the experience was uncovered through observation of body language, facial expression, and through memoing of verbal cues that indicated a change in the participant's tone of voice. Participants' voice pitch, speech rate, and hesitancy were documented when it appeared to noticeably change, as was genuineness or sarcasm that was demonstrated through the use of particular words thought to have an influence on meaning. This structural description was combined with the textural description for each response to a question by individual participants and repeated until saturation was achieved and themes emerged. The final step was to combine the textural-structural descriptions and themes for each participant to establish the essence of the phenomenon for the entire group (Moustakas, 1994).

Chapter 4: Results

This study began with a broad research question concerning the relationship between Black officers and citizens and the meaning of being a Black police officer using police force as a facilitative topic. This question was explored from the viewpoint of 30 Black police officers and Black citizens. In consideration of the question, two possible answers were formulated. One possible answer was that Black police officers would be received negatively by their racial and professional peers if they showed more allegiance to either group, while the second answer assumed they would not be treated differently. This research was conducted under the assumption that the first question was true and the findings demonstrate support for this viewpoint. The study also suggests that Black officer perception of acceptance or rejection is influenced more by their racial than professional relationships.

The primary purpose of this study was to facilitate a better understanding of the perceptions that Black police and Black citizens have of each other. A further aim was to begin a bridge over a gap in the literature regarding police race and police use of force within the Black community. So much media and as a result academic attention has been devoted to police-minority relations, but usually emphasis is focused within the parameters of legality concerning disproportionate arrest, traffic stops, or other incidents that are measured quantitatively and statistically. The impact these daily encounters have on individuals is lost because numbers cannot communicate experience, only people can. Although the stated aim of this study uses police force as a gelling concept, the police use of force is introduced as a dialogue stimulant about perception, not as the intended

research objective. I have no reason to believe that the participants were not sincere about their beliefs and experiences.

Conflict Typologies

The perception on three types of interpersonal conflict was studied within this research study (see Figure 1):

1. Racial—Black & White police officers

2. Professional/Racial—Black citizens & White police officers

3. Professional—Black Citizens & Black police officers

The interpersonal conflict typologies will be explained as each relates to this research in the order presented above. Participants responded to a series of questions designed to directly and indirectly capture their insight through their lived experience in relation to police race, use of force, and policing.

Racial conflict—Black & White police officers.

The findings suggest that conflict among Black and White police officers is not as conspicuous as other forms of conflict studied in this research. Only a small number of participants mentioned intra-departmental conflict based on race. Some participants did mention loyalty as a conflict motivator as related by this message: "The more you focus on the Black community, other officers that are not African American are going to take it as you're only catering to the African American community so in essence you're not trying to do the right thing" (Jackson, Personal Communication, April 17, 2014).

Another participant illustrated this point beyond a general sense of community and applied it specifically to police work:

In the police department we all see blue. You always have an officer's back, but also in the same sense you see that one race might talk bad or treat one race worse. When you step in, those coworkers who you went against and informed they were doing the wrong thing might cause you to suffer some consequences in the future. Alienation, disrespect, not coming to your assist on a hot call. (Darryl, Personal Communication, April 29, 2014)

In support of the above reflection, in describing departmental race relations, one participant stated:

The vast majority of those that work within our department or within our profession are Caucasian so you need to be mindful that is serves as a painful reminder that hey, although we are police officers, we are not the same as them on some levels. (Fred, Personal Communication, August, 7, 2014)

Much of the conflict mentioned, however, related to organizational placement and opportunity and most of the intra-departmental conflicts between police officers were described as disparate treatment within the department instead of direct officer conflict. "Black officers don't have a real voice in this department because the way it was founded, the establishment, and the guys who are pretty much sitting at the top, they control everything" (Jackson, Personal Communication, April, 17, 2014). Another participant spoke of the department hierarchy this way:

The department is majority White and the same people that run it at the top are the same people that came from the bottom. You know, you have chiefs, deputy chiefs or whatever who had never dealt with anybody Black until they put on the

badge and all the way up the chain it's the same. (Ray, Personal Communication, April 19, 2014)

Some of the criticisms regarding race relations were more concrete and participants spoke of documented negative impacts.

I see some White officers do a certain thing and they get praised for it and then I see a Black officer pretty much do the same thing and they're going up to you know, internal affairs or whatever so it is a difference. (Melvin, Personal Communication, April 27, 2014)

This sentiment was echoed by a different participant that related:

A lot of times the White officers or the White regime twist the general orders or policies and procedures to fit their needs but when we try to do the same thing then they come around on the back end and flip it around again. (Frank, Personal Communication, April 29, 2014)

Even when participants were not sure if treatment was designed to disparage them based on race, they asked "Is this about race or is this about policy? Which one is it? Are they using policy to go after race or to deal with racial frustration? Would they use policy to do that?" (John, Personal Communication, April 15, 2015). With regards to assignments in specialized units one participant advised, "People have a tendency to not understand the concept of Black people deserve an opportunity just like the White men deserve an opportunity" (Jimmy, Personal Communication, August, 3, 2014).

Professional/Racial—Black Citizens & White police officers.

Participants relayed that this dynamic presented the most contentious relationship of all the conflict typologies explored. One participant suggested that the potential for

violence was concerning because "Caucasian officers consider us as a threat, like we're going to do harm to them or something so we don't try to attract attention with them" (Jeremiah Personal communication, August 1, 2014). This type of avoidance occurs because White officers are thought to misinterpret behavior by Blacks. Another participant offered. "society has deemed Caucasian males to be somewhat superior and so White police officers feel like they need to exert that when they deal with other races" (Christopher, Personal Communication, August 1, 2014). "If it's a White officer and he sees a Black guy, he's going to use a lot of force just by the color" (Ann, Personal Communication, August 1, 2014).

Conflict did not always depend on the perception of mistreatment at the hands of White officers. It just as often appeared to develop as a result of a zero tolerance mindset by White officers regarding Black citizens. In referring to White officers, one participant stated, "You know they don't play. If you have a violation they're gonna cuff you and put you in jail" (Chad, Personal Communication, June 6, 2014). Similar comments included, "Officers that are Caucasian tend to think of things as an excuse rather than take the time to hear people out" (Jeremiah, Personal Communication, August 1, 2014).

Strict enforcement of the law was generally viewed as a lack of compassion. One participant recited how a routine traffic stop by a White officer of a Black motorist evolved:

> They see stuff on TV you know and when they get out here in real life, it's like automatically everybody Black is bad. So he sitting there, and it's, shoot, it's pretty much getting into winter time, it's like fall and he's sitting there and he's on the radio you know, he's calling for a wrecker. So I'm sitting there seeing this

lady and all the kids are standing outside and I go over there and was like eh man,

you know it's exceptions to it. I'm saying, young kids for example, and

how…who's coming to pick them up or whatever and she didn't have anybody.

You know long story short, he ended up canceling it, but he acted like he had no

discretion. (Melvin, Personal Communication, April 27, 2014)

Other participants did not cite discretion, but the tone and attitude of the officer as

reasons for conflict. "Caucasian officers sometimes are a little harder or blunt. I see that a

lot" (Ann, Personal Communication, August 1, 2014). Another typical statement

involving White officer attitudes was "We expect a Caucasian officer to be more I guess

hard or standoffish than a Black police officer" (Rick, Personal Communication, August

1, 2014).

Professional—Black citizens & Black police officers.

Conflict among these groups primarily involved both credibility and loyalty. One

participant shared that Black citizens tend to question decisions by Black officers in the

event that Black officer behavior conflicts with that of a White officer. In describing an

ongoing domestic property dispute where a White officer had responded first and offered

a different opinion, one participant recalled a citizen claiming:

The White cop, he'll come and you know he'll snatch her out and take the phone

and you know put her away or whatever. I talked to this one White cop you know,

he say y'all ain't doing y'all job (Melvin, Personal Communication, April, 27,

2014)

Another participant stated "Black officers are perceived to be less respected" (Cynthia,

Personal Communication, May 6, 2014). This sentiment was commonly expressed:

Sometimes you get into a situation as a Black officer dealing with a Black resident and that Black resident don't give that Black officer the respect, but when it's a White officer come along that Black person will give that White officer way more respect than he give the Black one. (Darryl, Personal Communication, April 29, 2014)

Other forms of conflict was situated in the Black officer's employment as seen by this comment "I've been told that we were dealing with people in a certain way because they were Black and that I was still. . . even though I am Black, I was still THE MAN" (Lloyd, Personal Communication, April 14, 2014). This conflict over Black officers' choice of profession was exemplified in the following statement:

A lot of Black folks just disrespect Black officers thinking it's not an actual profession. They think we should be in a more respected profession and they think that Blacks should be doing something else other than locking up other Blacks. (Darryl, Personal Communication, April 29, 2014)

Participants felt that on occasion, they were pulled between two competing interests. "Sometimes within our own community being a Black officer creates a conflict because as a Black officer, you want community trust, yet you are still going to do what's right" (Cynthia, Personal Communication, May 6, 2014). The idea that Black officers are perceived as pawns was illustrated by one participant who said, "You know they just be talking crazy saying you put the Black guy on the game" (Melvin, Personal Communication, April 27, 2014).

A sense of betrayal by Black citizens was commonly expressed, "Some people look at them like traitors because you know they are just like the quote unquote White

man and they're still throwing us in jail" (Chad, Personal Communication, June 6, 2014).

In describing how Blacks feel when they are the subject of Black police enforcement action, one participant relayed "They feel betrayed, I don't know why. They feel betrayed. Like, you're really going to do this to me? Why?!" (Devin, Personal Communication, August 1, 2014).

Themes

Based on an interpretation of the interviews, the seven themes of self-perception, perception of others, self-expectations, expectations of others, in-group experience, out-group experience and a shared sense of self (SSOS) emerged as dominant themes. Self-perception was how the participants saw themselves while the perception of others is how they thought they were viewed externally. Each participant also had self-expectations, which sometimes conflicted with their expectations from others. In-group experience describes treatment or actions that would only be experienced based on status as a Black citizen or position as a Black police officer, while out-group experience represented exclusion based on the same. SSOS differed from self-perception in that it included the perception of in and out-groups to create a unified identity. To eliminate redundancy, themes were furthered categorized by clustering specific relevant words and statements into broader groups of meaning which emerged as parallel themes for both groups. The final themes were experience, expectancy, and SSOS. Each theme is discussed in the order listed above.

> **Experience.**

According to Avruch (1998) experience allows us to individually and collectively learn about our social environment and to interpret present and future actions based on

past events. Our problem solving ability is thus rooted in our experience so we imagine that our actions will elicit certain reactions although they may be less important than who we are or how we are perceived. The nature of conflict between police officers and Black citizens stems from the Black experience with law enforcement in America, which has been for the most part negative.

From a citizen standpoint, the post-slavery racialized brand of policing used to enforce Jim Crow in the south and other discriminatory practices to include a failure to protect Blacks in the north, have historically placed Blacks at odds with police. The conflict supports the notion that police are not representative of Blacks. This in turn creates a sense of dissonance when Black citizens are confronted with the presence of the Black officer. "You either have the idea that it's a Black cop, my brother, or eh it's a Black cop, he's an Uncle Tom, he's just trying to keep us down like the White man" (Kenneth, Personal Communication, August 1, 2014).

For their part, Black officers view themselves as a double minority with respect to the Black community and police department. They also view themselves as being in the best position to bridge the gap between the two, but have only experienced marginal acceptance from both.

> The Black officer is a big part of it and you know if the department and the community would do more to support the Black officer and understand the struggles that come with that then both sides would be better off. (Ray, Personal Communication, April 19, 2014)

Expectancy.

Based on their experience, Black citizens believe that police generally may treat them more severely, but expect Black officers to be more lenient, compassionate, and fair in their dealings with them. Black officers want to be respected as police officers, but also included within the Black community and not shunned as outsiders. When expected behavior does not conform to or meet expectations, additional conflict beyond the initial perceived offending behavior occurs (Folger et al, 2001). "I think some Black police officers are in disappointment because you know when they're in the Black community and they see things that probably you know is against what they expect us to be doing, it's frustrating" (Ben, Personal Communication, August 1, 2014).

The bulk of the expectancy was placed on Black officers and one participant stated "Black police officers have it a little bit harder especially in the Black community because the Black community is expecting a lot more you know help from you know these Black officers" (Danielle, Personal Communication, August 1, 2014). The types of expectancy also differed among research participants. Black citizens felt greater expectancy because of racial loyalty as evidenced by "I believe that they expect a Black police officer to be more lenient, but just because they're Black" (Rick, Personal Communication, August 1, 2014).

Black police officers expected Blacks to conform to the rules of law. One participant illustrated this viewpoint by stating:

> You know we see them and some of them are trying to do what they need to even though they might have a certain type of record, but you know they're at least working, got a legitimate job you know what I mean, you know trying to do stuff

the legal way. And then the other times, we see the other ones and that's the problem. (Melvin, Personal Communication, April 27, 2014)

This expectation by Black officers that Black citizens adopt mainstream cultural norms may seem reasonable, but might actually be contradictory given their affiliation with the police power structure.

The minority community may also take umbrage at the fact that its neighborhood is heavily policed—in part because of the implicit association of minorities with criminality—which has implications for perceptions of legitimacy. This question of legitimacy in turn affects voluntary compliance with the law. Norms may even favor an alternative status system that is defined in opposition to mainstream norms. (Capers, 2009, pp. 56-57)

Differing expectations by Black officers and Black citizens will lead to increased conflict until such differences are reconciled.

Shared sense of self.

Ultimately we determine how we see ourselves, but our sense of self is not immune from external influence. Cottle (2002) explains that in achieving our self-image or more accurately discovering who we are, we rely on the narratives of others. With experience comes expectation and we establish a reinforced sense of self when our beliefs are confirmed through the stories we tell or are told by others.

When our stories contradict with the master narrative or when we disagree, our sense of self becomes unclear. "These conflicts need to be negotiated and reconciled at least in part if the individual is to achieve a coherent sense of self" (Handley, Sturdy, Fincham, & Clark, 2006, p. 642). When department goals and community needs conflict,

"you're kinda in that I don't know which category I'm supposed to fit in or I don't know

which group I'm going to be accepted in zone" (Lloyd, Personal Communication, April

14, 2014). Only when challenged with new experiences and expectations do we reshape

our view of the world and our sense of self within it and rarely do we have lone

experiences (Cottle, 2002). Participants made sense of their experience and expectancies

by self-identification with others concerning the topic. Community self-identification or a

shared sense of self is a more accurate term than identity because identity is a word

capable of being stolen, projected, and mislabeled, whereas a shared sense of self is

inherently an internal, yet communal concept.

Research Questions

Research question one.

The first question pertained to participants' perception about how force would be

used based on a police officer's and citizen's race. The first research question was: Is

there a relationship between perception on police use of force and race? Both POs and

SPs thought that race had a profound effect on how a Black person thought they would be

treated as indicated by the below typical statement:

> I would say yes. Being that a lot of Blacks feel as if when they encounter a White
>
> officer, they feel as if the potential for violence or the use of force is escalated.
>
> And my perception is the same based on White officers not knowing how to deal
>
> with Blacks. (Darryl, Personal Communication, April 19, 2014)

This perception that the police consider race and may physically violate Blacks during

interaction with them was often taken into context of how the police would treat other

races in similar situations. "Yeah, I mean yeah, I feel like definitely that White cops treat

Black individuals a lot more harsh than what they do other individuals out in the

community" (Mark, Personal Communication, August 1, 2014). The two above examples

demonstrate the types of frequent comments that participants made with regard to their

perception on race and police force.

Participants shared because Blacks feel they are at greater risk of being abused,

they typically shun White police officers and resent them when contact is made.

Black people usually are defensive when a White police officer is asking them

questions because they know it has the potential to get taken to that level. And

that's something you want to avoid at all costs, but on the other hand you are

defensive and you will try to protect yourself and it is often perceived as you were

resisting or something like that and it just goes downhill. (Devin, Personal

Communication, August 1, 2014)

I wanted to see if there was a similar perception regarding Black officers, but participants

gave responses such as, "If I see a Black police officer I don't think nothing"(Jasmine,

Personal Communication, July 25, 2014). Another common response was "African

American policemen they just question you, see where you been, and you're on your

way" (Rick, Personal Communication, August 1, 2014). Both SPs and POs tended to

share similar opinion on race as either a buffer or an irritant. "I think the citizen, if

they're Black are going to be more comfortable with the Black officer" (Frank, Personal

Communication, April 29, 2014). The findings indicate that White officers and Black

citizens are perceived as the most likely combination to experience interpersonal conflict

with regard to force.

Research question two.

The second question explored participants' perceptions on what they felt Black officers accomplished. Are Black police officers change agents or perpetrators of the status quo? The typical response was mixed, "There are some that could care less, but the majority of the officers that are in the Black associations are prime examples of change" (Jackson, Personal Communication, April 17, 2014). "I mean I see some that go along to get along and I see some that actually are there to try to make a difference in the community" (Melvin, Personal Communication, April 27, 2014). With this question, the POs had the vantage point compared to SPs that had limited contact with Black officers, but the responses remained similar:

> I think that could definitely be a factor with some police officers, but I would also like to say that, that you can't really categorize it because you know a lot of them that's just there trying to collect a check and a lot of them are trying to make an impact in the Black community. (Ben, Personal Communication, August 1, 2014)

Perceptions were mixed and participants generally linked Black officer motivations to organizational factors:

> I think in a situation where you work on a police department where there is a civil service process as opposed to an at-will police department; I think there is more opportunity for African American or minority officers to be agents of change and influence and impact policies and procedures because there is more accountability there from the aspect of a civilian review board or civilian entities that can impact decisions made by a chief or command staff. (Rick, Personal Communication, August 7, 2014)

The findings indicate that Black police officers do not operate in a vacuum and should be mindful of an organizational culture, which could place them in conflict with peers.

Research question three.

With the overwhelming majority of the participants believing that race affected police treatment, the third research question was posed to question the perception of obligation based on shared race. Should Black police officers have greater responsibilities to Black communities than non-Black police officers? The findings suggest that among Blacks, there is a familiar belief that Black officers have a greater responsibility to the Black community based on shared history and struggle. Common responses included "I would definitely say so not just to the play the Black and race card, but just because of the facts of our history and some things that go on now" (Ben, Personal Communication, August 1, 2014). Even participants that were opposed to the idea of an extra raced-based responsibility acknowledged that one might exist and remarked, "Unfortunately we feel a greater responsibility to the Black community because we have been mistreated so many times. We have to fill in the gap" (Jackson, Personal Communication, April17, 2014).

Research question four.

Whereas question three sought perception on responsibility, question four explored if individual Blacks would expect it to be operationalized. Do members of the Black community expect differential treatment from Black officers? The resounding response was that Blacks do expect favorable treatment from Black officers. One participant said "Absolutely. They feel like, hey man you know, you look like me. So how can you handle me this way or that way and so it's a balancing act" (Ray, Personal Communication, April 19, 2014). Another participant summed it up this way, "Yes they

do. They expect the…we're the same, the brother-sister mentality. You need to let me slide because we're Black. They expect special treatment" (Lloyd, Personal Communication, April 14, 2014).

When favorable treatment is not given, many participants explained the individual Black officer becomes labeled. This labeling occurs in one of three ways. The first is a personal attack on character, "He ain't real. He ain't down man. He ain't no true brother" (Jasmine, Personal Communication, July 25, 2014). Second, Black officers that refuse to show favoritism are often grouped with majority officers and ideologically placed outside the Black community. The inference is that the Black officer has turned his back on the community and does not deserve inclusion, "Oh you sellout, you ain't nothing, you still a pig" (Jeremiah, Personal Communication, August 1, 2014). The third and most common label is one of racial betrayal where the Black officer is blamed for existing negative conditions. "They call them Uncle Toms and all that other stuff and oh you just following the man, just doing what they supposed to do man, and you follow what they say, you they slave" (Cory, Personal Communication, August 1, 2014)

The findings indicated that when Black police officers do not show special treatment or behave in a manner acceptable to the Black community, they risk criticism and rejection. "When you don't get that you're like I guess he's not for us. He's not real" (Ann, Personal Communication, August1, 2014). One participant expressed that he felt it was a no win situation. "It should be a benefit that you have officers who are Black who are wearing a badge because okay you complain about me being Black and being a cop, but then you complain that your community is all White" (Ray, Personal Communication, April 19, 2014).

Research question five.

Based on question number four, research question number five was designed to seek the relevance of a Black officer's behavior. Given that greater Black community responsibility was generally expected and the perception is that individual favorable treatment is owed, I thought to contrast community expectations with departmental and larger societal expectations. How do Black officer attitudes complicate or complement their law enforcement role? If to avoid being stereotyped or out of some sense of loyalty Black officers bended rules for Blacks, participants had varying replies. One participant shared:

> It would complicate it because after you show people that you can get away with some stuff they're going to try to take that to another level thinking they can get away with anything and that's not the case and you don't want that to be the case. (Amber, Personal Communication, August 1, 2014)

In an opposing viewpoint, another participant that also considered the Black officer's action from a Black community standpoint made the following statement:

> From a citizen standpoint it doesn't really…hmm it doesn't really go against their job because at the end of the day people feel more compelled to tell an officer hey you're a great cop, you do such a good job when they do cut them those breaks. Let's say you were speeding and a cop says I'm going to let you go with a warning, ah you're so great man, you're so great. (Devin, Personal Communication, August 1, 2014)

Some participants did consider different constituencies as evidenced by the following responses, "It complicates it because it's their job description to follow and abide by the

laws" (Mark, Personal Communication August 15, 2014). One participant responded to the question considering expectations and the limits of discretion explaining that both citizens and police officers take an unrealistic approach to both:

> I think it complicates. Again I still think that there is that perception of the way that things work on television so a lot of times they look at you as like you're the Black officer, help me, help me, in this situation whereas you know even though we do understand the culture and stuff I mean there is certain situations where we can't help anybody out you know. Not to say that we are looking to help someone, but… (Frank, Personal Communication, April 29, 2014)

Research question six.

Given the responses to questions two through five, participants were asked if Black police officers were more loyal to their departments or communities. This question illustrated a sharp conflict of opinion. Remarks ranged from simple supporting matter of fact statements such as "I would say they are more loyal to their communities" (Ann, Personal Communication, August 1, 2014) to more critical analysis:

> I think maybe if they are by themselves or if they are with another brother, they will be loyal to the community, but if they standing next to a White man they are going to be loyal to the department. (Jasmine, Personal Communication, July 25, 2014)

Some participants provided responses that were unconditional and qualified them:

> I think Black police officers are always loyal to the department. What you're not loyal to is anything that is discriminatory, prejudicial, racist, unfair, without equity. Those are things that you're not loyal to, but you're loyal to the institution,

but you're not loyal to anything that is not fair that is distributed by the institution.

(Trey, Personal Communication, July 28, 2014)

Research question seven.

This question targeted the supposition that there might be something wrong or an inherent social clash with being a Black police officer. Unlike previous questions that focused on what the Black officer did, this question dealt with the existence of the role itself. Positive and negative responses were expressed. One participant stated, "From the Black community side, yeah. If you're Black and you're a cop, you're a sellout" (Ray, Personal Communication, April 19, 2014). This view of the Black police officer as an unacceptable abnormality or contradiction was supported by one participant who related:

In a way it's kind of like in a way it's ridiculous for a Black man to say I want to be a police officer after Rodney King and all that happened in Birmingham, Alabama. It's kind of hard, you want to be a Black police officer, it's kind of hard for people to believe. (Cory, Personal Communication, August 1, 2014)

Yet other participants disagreed with one saying, "No, not if you're doing what's right" (Cynthia, Personal Communication, May 6, 2014). Comparing policing to other occupations, one participant declared, "Nah, that's stupid in my opinion. That is just like telling someone oh you shouldn't be a doctor because you're Black" (Cliff, Personal Communication, July 25, 2014). Still, some participants were undecided with more than a few remarking with uncertainty "I don't think there is" (Lloyd, Personal Communication, April 14, 2014).

Research question eight.

This was the only question of its kind and participants were asked if the number of Black police officers on their local department reflected the number of Blacks in their community. They were then asked if the number of Black officers influenced the quality of police service in Black communities. The results reflected that both police officers and students felt strongly that the numbers of Black police officers did not match community demographics and that it decreased the quality of police service in Black communities. One participant experienced in police recruiting offered:

> Not at all. I don't think that we focus enough on those types of numbers. We focus on numbers in general as far as getting bodies in the classes, but don't look at the demographics in what we need to represent the different communities and nationalities that we have within the city and I think that that's a big disservice to those communities because at the end of the day they want someone that they can relate to, you know what I'm saying? And if you have a White male officer, he's not going to understand most African Americans. (Dawn, Personal Communication, August 11, 2014)

The idea that reflective racial representation is needed was expressed in a variety of ways. Some participants thought it would create better informal networks within the Black community for decreasing crime while others hoped it would cause more Blacks to gravitate towards policing as a career. Some participants simply expressed that it would make people feel better. "If you see an African American in the Black community you're gonna, naturally connect with him on a different level, but if it's a Caucasian officer,

you're going to think something different like he's not for your best interest" (Ann, Personal Communication, August 1, 2014).

Research question nine.

The ability of police officers to protect is essential to their role. Most often police are expected to protect citizens from each other, but on a few occasions this may include protection from other police. Does the presence of Black officers during the arrest process of Black arrestees mitigate the police use of force? Why or why not? In answering this question participants gave detailed reasons for why they felt Black police officers would or would not make a difference regarding police use of force. One participant explained how his presence would likely calm matters before he had to confront a fellow officer:

> Absolutely, I think and I've seen that Black officers there when the arrest goes down is less likely that a use of force will be used because as a Black man, I know what this guy whatever they're excited or yelling is not a threat that's just how we are, animated. If I'm there and I'm not taking…I'm not threatened by the guy's actions, White officers tend not to be so either. (Ray, Personal Communication, April 19, 2014)

Another participant did not think that a Black officer would be a deterrent against the use of force by other police officers and explained his rationale:

> Umm no, cause at the end of the day when you're in the service no matter if your partner is Black, White, Hispanic, you're going to back them up and if they're using excessive force, you're going to make sure, they're going to feel in their

mind that they're using excessive force for their own reasoning, for their own

protection. (Cory, Personal Communication, August 1, 2014)

Participants generally took a definitive stance either believing a Black police officer

would act as a deterrent or would not.

Research question ten.

A broad based question, question ten was designed to get an overall feel for Black

police officers' and citizens' perceptions of each other. Each group of participants framed

their experience in positive, negative, or mixed terms. On the part of citizens, the

experience was more likely to be framed as positive when enforcement action was taken,

but the dialogue was respectful as opposed to no enforcement and verbal abuse.

Often they seem genuine and very understanding and at the same time they're still

going to do their job, but they're going to make sure you know they are still going

to do right from wrong, they're not going to cut you any breaks because you're

the same skin color as them. (Jeremiah, Personal Communication, August 1,

2014)

Another participant stated:

My experience, I have had one experience and it was just horrible. When I was

younger me and my mom got pulled over because she made a mistake on the

road. It was an African American police officer and he was just so rude and like

he was just like the worst. He didn't write a ticket but he was using name calling

and everything and we should have just reported him, but we let it go. But we

were so surprised and it was just horrible. (Ann, Personal Communication, August

1, 2014)

The citizen experience was reported as most positive, when the Black officer could take enforcement action, but chose not to and took the time to explain the law or why compliance was needed. "You don't need to be doing this. You need to straighten up. You know what I mean?" (Cliff, Personal Communication, July 25, 2014). Another participant explained it this way:

If you do wrong they will explain to you how to correct it so there shouldn't be a next time and they normally do this rather than using some type of force or threatening arrest or. . . even though they can. That's more than fair. That is caring. (Jeremiah, Personal Communication, August 1, 2014)

The police officer experience seemed most positive when either the officer was accepted as an individual or able to feel that they made a difference. None of the participants stressed a crime fighter ethos and seemed more concerned with the service aspect of policing as demonstrated by the following response:

It has been welcoming. I believe as being a Black police officer I have been able to allow others to become more open minded. Also being a Black female police officer brings about questions that they have always wondered, but have not been comfortable in asking. Also as a police officer, I'm not high strung on my badge. I make the badge, the badge does not make me and I think a lot of people sense that in dealing with me daily. (Cynthia, Personal Communication, May 6, 2014)

Another participant explained that law enforcement is only a part of police work and one that should not be glorified over less glamorous but more important long term community goals. He shared:

My experience has been positive. The Black officer doesn't mind sitting on a

porch for 30 minutes drinking some lemonade with a resident. He doesn't mind

stepping inside a house talking with a kid about what life choices or decisions

they are making, and they don't mind when they have to take an arrestee to jail or

a suspect to jail, giving them a few lessons in life that will keep them out of jail.

(Trey, Personal Communication, July 28, 2014)

Research question eleven.

Each of the participants was asked how an officer's race plays a factor in the

decision to use force. Most participants rejected race as the sole motivator in the decision

to use force, but cited how cultural stereotypes based on race could increase force to

excess.

I don't think race plays a decision. I mean race is just race it's, the color of your

skin. I think really it's about your upbringing you know cause you could be

White, conservative, never been around Black people, your family's like Black

people are this and that, and you see the media and you see Black gangsters and

everything so your perception of Black people is negative. (Marvin, Personal

Communication, April 21, 2014)

Although most officers approached the question as a White person using force against a

Black, a couple of participants explained use of force from an intra-racial perspective. "I

don't know statistics but I can only speak for myself. I have never used use of force other

than open hand control against anybody my entire career and I don't know any Black

officers who have" (Ray, Personal Communication, April 19, 2014). Another stated "I

never really seen anything too drastic or brutal from Black or African American cops.

They are usually pretty calm and collective" (Willy, Personal Communication, July 25, 2014).

Research question twelve.

Participants were asked to provide the most important factors for gaining support from the Black community for police. The question was broadly framed and did not limit the responses to any certain number nor did it call for suggestions to be prioritized. One participant suggested, "It is often being open-minded and taking what they say, the feedback that they give you, taking it into consideration, and a lot of people feel as if their voices aren't heard and that's a main topic" (Devin, Personal Communication, August 1, 2014). Most of the responses were more general and included typical ideas that police should, "Give back to the community" (Gary, Personal Communication, August 1, 2014) but some were more specific and addressed direct behavior "be more positive in approaching Blacks instead of thinking that we are all criminals. Not categorizing us into one category and know that not all of us are not drug dealers or stuff like that" (Ann, Personal Communication, August 1, 2014) while others still called for mentoring, "Put more time into the schools and going and talking to children" (Cliff, Personal Communication, July 25, 2014).

No participants responded that police could continue current practice and expect better results, but a few did claim police should do their jobs better.

To gain support is basically, I guess, customer service like for example you go to a certain call and sometimes people are like, you know y'all took long enough and you know, just sometimes you be like you know, I apologize, it's busy out there

and we know you been waiting for a while…just little stuff like that and you

know they change their mind. (Melvin, Personal Communication, April 27, 2014)

Another participant felt that communities wanted to feel like they have a stake in what

happens to them and that departments and officers have to get into the habit of,

"Allowing people a voice to be heard, listening, being consistent, being fair. I think the

problem that most of us have in policing is that it's the way that we communicate with

the citizens" (Christopher, Personal Communication, June 5, 2014).

Research questions thirteen & fourteen.

The final two research questions were intertwined and ask specifically for

personal experience in the context of race, police, and police use of force. Participants

were told that no timeframe was necessary and they were to draw on their lifelong

experience. Some chose to focus on the general aspects as one participant recalled his

youth and stated:

Growing up in a Black community, I've seen officers take advantage of people's

ignorance and of their rights. Or taking a situation and basically using their

authority to bully a situation. So I've seen it, yes. I mean the specific use of

physical force, the use of inappropriate verbiage. (Lloyd, Personal

Communication, April 14, 2014)

Other participants selected specific use of force events that they remembered. "There are

always those situations where a police officer uses excessive force and it really wasn't

necessary, like this child is 12 years old and why does he need to be slammed to a car like

that you know?" (Danielle, Personal Communication, August 1, 2014). Another

participant recalled a recent event where he related:

I've seen officers inflict major force on a teenage boy, the officer was like a two

hundred and fifty pound muscle builder and the kid can't hurt you so why are you

doing all this when you know you're basically stronger than him but you're

inflicting so much force on him that he can barely breathe and it is things like that

we question. (Cory, Personal Communication, August 1, 2014)

Perhaps the most telling recollections were not those of police use of force, but of

everyday occurrences. Looking back over his career one participant reflected:

People are like you're not like some of the other experiences I've had or the other

people I've spoken with of color and they identify with you differently. But

particularly in the police world I don't think they've always had that experience

so you do end up being a person that is sharing different experiences and

enlightening people more often than you would like to or that you feel you should

have to, but you look as that as your role. You embrace it and you try to make the

most of it. (Christopher, Personal Communication, June 5, 2014)

One participant, in sharing his views on police officers, indicated that Blacks

should not challenge police on the street:

I feel like your rights don't really count until you're in court. So a police officer

can do whatever he wants to you up until a certain amount of time, but once

you're in court you can say okay my rights wasn't read, he just snatched me out

the car, he didn't ask no permission or something like that. So I just feel like our

rights really don't count until you in court. (Gabriel, Personal Communication,

July 25, 2014)

Perception of Police

       Participant officer experience.

       Questions six, ten, thirteen and fourteen were labeled as experience items. Experience was the first theme discussed because it was believed that the role of Black police officers would drive their understanding of this topic. Question six involved loyalty and effectiveness, and twelve of the fifteen POs interviewed expressed that they felt Black police officers were overwhelmingly more loyal to and effective in their communities when compared to their respective departments. They felt more accepted by their communities than their departments, stated community effectiveness equaled department effectiveness, were underutilized by the department, respected by the vast majority of the Black community, not relegated to a minority status by the community, and felt the community would advocate for them when the department would not. One PO was undecided and another PO felt that officers were more loyal to the community but the expression of that loyalty depended on how much job protection an officer was afforded. The opinion was that Black officers would conceal their true feelings and withhold community support if it meant they could avoid departmental repercussions. Only one PO believed that Black officers were more likely to be more loyal to department and less effective in the community. The PO cited fear of retaliation, being labeled as a radical, and lack of support as reasons why Black officers would not speak out or act against injustice.

       Ten POs reported that their experience with Black police officers and the Black community has been positive. They used words such as welcoming, rewarding, influential, and engaging to describe their feelings about their careers and the Black

community. They noted some challenges and pitfalls, but the most repeated phrase was that their experience was positive and that they took pride in being Black officers. Four POs said they had a mixed experience with peers and the community. Two of the four mentioned that the relationships largely depended on the socioeconomic level of a community, and two others stated they had about an equal share of dealings with supportive and selfish Black officers and community members. One PO expressed disappointment and attributed it to the lack of Black officers' willingness to unite and connect with the community. "We definitely need to step up, we need to be out in our communities and make our presence known and let them know that it's just not all about coming out and arresting" (Dawn, Personal Communication, August, 11, 2014).

The final two questions explored experience as it directly related to the topic. POs were asked to consider any personal or professional experience with police use of force they might have participated in, witnessed, or been informed about and how it affected them. Seven POs had some type of involvement with excessive force or reported excessive force, three others stated they witnessed majority officers try to needlessly escalate force, and five had no direct experience.

Four POs communicated that they had personally witnessed excessive force before and after becoming police officers. One stated growing up in a predominately Black community he saw excessive force repeatedly used and felt that the majority of White police officers engaged in bullying through physical intimidation and abusive language. The other three POs stated they witnessed excessive force on calls for service. Of the three, one intervened, but took no further action, while one intervened and later reported the behavior, which resulted in discipline. The PO that did not act advised that

the inappropriate force was a Taser deployment to an unarmed fleeing Black suspect and was of such a short duration that he did not have time to act. He stated he did not report the officer because the he felt fear, and not race was the motivating factor.

Three POs that had force reported to them held supervisory or command positions and stated their investigations into race based allegations of excessive force ranged in discipline from suspensions and termination to no action taken. When asked about the inconsistency, they blamed citizens' lack of understanding what types of force was acceptable, citizens maliciously trying to get officers in trouble and later being discredited, officers' expert ability to explain their use of force actions, and officers sometimes lying to cover inappropriate force. The impression was given that without extensive injury or an independent witness, it does not take a great deal of talent to explain away force and complaints often become a matter of speculation based on citizen's word against the officer's. POs in supervisory positions felt that they knew their officers and while some have reputations or receive disproportionate amount of complaints, absent substantial evidence, remedies were non-disciplinary in the form of assigning a partner, changing assignment, counseling, or remedial training.

Three POs shared that they witnessed White officers try to escalate the use of force through provoking and antagonizing behavior. In one instance, after a foot chase, a White supervisor admonished involved officers for not showing the suspect "some eastside loving" after he was apprehended. The PO stated the suspect only ran, but did not offer any physical resistance. The supervisor became angry and drove off when two of the White officers present told him too many neighbors were outside. The PO explained that eastside is the area in the city that is predominantly Black, but that this

incident occurred on a different side of town. He spoke of "loving" in a pejorative sense that means officers use physical force to subdue a suspect. (Jackson, Personal Communication, April, 17, 2014). In a different interview another PO stated that many White officers that work in Black areas "are ready to give you some love" at the slightest hint of verbal disrespect or physical resistance (Dawn, Personal Communication, August, 11, 2014).

Five POs had no direct or indirect involvement with excessive use of force and relayed they were aware of controversial use of force incidents, but their awareness was limited to peer gossip, media reports, or official department releases. None of the POs had ever been accused of excessive force and one related:

> I work a predominantly 90% plus Black community. I lead my team in stats, arrests, whatever and I'm working in a predominantly Black area. Never had a use of force in this area. White officer been here less time than me has had several uses of force complaints and whatever in the same area. (Ray, Personal Communication, April, 19, 2014)

One PO admitted that he's seen cases of justified and undeserved uses of forces, but that it really is all about perception. He recalls a Black citizen he knew from his area that complained about an excessive use of force by a White officer, but after listening to the citizen's story, he informed him the officer was justified in his reaction. He said he asked the citizen, "What did you think was going to happen?" (Melvin, Personal Communication, April 27, 2014).

Participant officer expectancy.

Questions one, three, four, nine, eleven, and twelve were labeled as expectancy items. According to Weeks (1992) conflict occurs in part due to "(1) *self*-perceptions, (2) perceptions of the *other party*, (3) differing perceptions of *situations*, and (4) perceptions of *threat*" (p. 42). In short, perception is simultaneously our mirror and window. It primarily influences our expectations and how we see ourselves, the world, and others. I applied Weeks' four perception typologies to Black police officer attitudes about race and policing.

Interviews with POs regarding question one revealed that every PO believed there was a definitive relationship between police force and race. POs expected White officers and Black citizens to have a more contentious relationship than any other police-racial combination. One commonly repeated phrase was that there was a lack of understanding. Misunderstanding was divided as police officers misunderstanding the culture of Blacks which leads to fear, but of Blacks also misunderstanding the police role, which leads to apprehensiveness. From the viewpoint of POs, cultural ignorance was described as majority officers attempting to interpret conduct in the Black community using White standards of normative behavior. An often repeated example was the loud or emotional Black person having unnecessary police force used against them because they were considered aggressive or threatening.

Most of the police department is Caucasian or White and a lot of the criminals or suspects are minorities, predominantly African Americans. And a lot of them haven't dealt with members of the Black community ever in their life growing up,

high school, college, or whatever until they put on the uniform. (Ray, Personal

Communication, April, 19, 2014)

And yet these same officers are expected to police communities that don't share their

cultural norms, but who they expect to conform to their standards of acceptability.

Another PO considered the citizens' role and shared "when you talk about the citizens'

perception, perception is based on what they understand about our job in terms of use of

force so somebody's perception could actually be negative based on their lack of

knowledge" (John, Personal Communication, April, 15, 2014).

And so the misunderstanding that creates fear among White officers engenders

resentment with Black citizens and leads to defense mechanisms in both that continues to

complicate and strain their interactions. When asked if Black officers react violently to

animated Blacks, the responses were emphatically negative. One PO pointedly stated:

When you have this individual out here yelling and acting crazy and belligerent, I

may assume he's just woofing, he's just trying to hold a scene, where the White

officer may think man; this guy wants to do something. And we can tell the

difference, we can see it. (Jimmy, Personal Communication, August, 3, 2014)

Based on the above responses and other similar comments that indicated a cultural

understanding by POs, it appears that many remedies to police-citizen conflict in the

Black community should be social first and legal second. Any measure of physical force

requires a standard of legal justification, whereas social intervention is the province of an

individual officer. The latter option involves a different action that may improve

expectations in police-citizen relations. Although POs felt that situations would generally

dictate the level of force, they felt under similar circumstances, Black citizens would be more likely to be the recipients of force compared to any other race.

In response to question three, POs were conflicted on whether they should have greater responsibilities to Black communities than other officers. Six POs gave an unconditional yes and cited a better understanding of the community, their leadership role, inattention by police departments beyond enforcement, and disparate historical practices. Six POs responded no and felt that having additional expectations placed on them was an unfair burden. Two POs thought that all officers should have an equal role regardless of race. Three POs said they were unsure. One of the uncertain POs commented that greater efforts in the Black community would not guarantee a change in behavior by Blacks while another claimed that some Black citizens were prone to respect White officers more. Nonetheless, all POs stated that whether they should or should not feel a greater accountability to Black communities, they do. While careful to explain that such an obligation was more moral than professional, they described doing things that other police officers either purposely or unintentionally fail to do in Black communities.

The type of community service that POs mentioned goes beyond departmental mandates and relates to a sense of kinship. Rather than adopt a legalistic approach to policing, the POs stated they wanted to be inclusive even during and after adversarial police-citizen encounters. This idea of inclusiveness involved taking the time to explain police action to the affected parties, but often to members of the community when time permitted. Despite tensions that emerge after traumatic incidents one PO related "we can emphasize with people on a different, deeper level than maybe some other people do because they don't see their inherent biases or perceptions" (Fred, Personal

Communication, August, 7, 2014). Another PO explained that Blacks having a voice with police is at the heart of the issue. "I feel like we understand the frustration at times. We may not agree with it, but we understand" (Jimmy, Personal Communication, August, 3, 2014).

Nine POs felt that Black citizens expected to be treated differently with regard to more leniency based on shared race. Some of the reasons given included a brother-sister mentality, shared culture, a Black officer understanding why they might break certain laws, ignorance of the limits on police discretion, wanting a handout, or even a lack of respect for the Black officer as a professional. Four POs denied that Blacks expected any favoritism from Black officers and two said that expectation based on race was situational.

A unifying factor in half of the responses whether POs responded yes or no was that Black citizens wished to be treated fairly. Fairness has no measurable standard and is relative to how the affected party expects to be treated or thinks others are being treated. In the case of officers and race, the POs' responses were telling. POs that responded that Black citizens expected differential treatment from Black officers and then elaborated on fairness perhaps unknowingly expressed their belief that White officers tend to treat Black citizens (differently) unfairly. In the event that some White officers treat Blacks worse because of race, it is inevitable that at least some Blacks will expect better treatment from Black officers for the same reason. POs that saw Black citizens as only wanting fair treatment from the start viewed fairness as police action without the consideration of race as a motivating factor.

With regard to differential treatment, POs felt that if Black citizens thought they were not being treated favorably or at least fairly that they would label the Black officer as an Uncle Tom or sellout. Most of the POs said they were desensitized to the terms and unaffected by them when they knew they were doing their jobs properly. A few POs expressed disappointment that some Black people considered them harmful to their race based on their occupation, while others still voiced the opinion that some Black officers were indeed disloyal and made life harder for Black citizens.

The dominant response from POs was that their presence alone does make a difference in deterring unnecessary police force. Ten of the fifteen POs felt that having a Black officer on scene would likely alter the level of force when Black citizens were involved. Some of the various reasons included the Black officer having a calming effect on citizens and White officers alike, White officers not wishing to appear overzealous in front of Black officers when dealing with Black citizens, fear of being reported for abuse, and the expectation that the Black officer should take the lead when dealing with upset or uncooperative Blacks. Five POs felt differently. Two POs explained that Black officer presence alone would be insufficient to deter physical force. One stated that only language would change because abusive language is more difficult to justify than force, which can be articulated based on interpretation of a citizen's action, while another felt that many police were too set in their ways to turn off aggression just because a Black officer happened to be on scene. Three POs offered that Black police officers would have a situational influence depending on the Black officer's reputation, experience, attitude about policing, and willingness to challenge fellow officers.

With the exception of one PO, race was not considered a factor in the decision to use force or said more simply officers were not believed to target a citizen as an object of force based on race. Rather, cultural missteps based on the officers' background and fears were given as more accurate indicators of why force is used disproportionately against Black citizens. The explanation was given that police officers might engage in conduct directed at Blacks, but would ignore or overlook similar behavior by Whites. Sensitivity to racial profiling leads to hostility on the part of Blacks, which encourages a reaction by citizens and police officers. One PO related that even when Blacks are doing something that warrants police intervention they may perceive it as harassment. "When a White officer shows up, they don't give them a chance. I had one Black guy out here tell me there is something wrong with that dude; I don't trust him, talking about a White officer" (Marvin, Personal Communication, April, 21, 2014). POs did not feel that Black citizens would intentionally escalate the use of force but that their resentment would be misinterpreted as aggression. The sole PO detractor felt that explaining force against Blacks without first looking at race was erroneous. "The person they use the force against is African American. So I think that plays a factor in your mindset, in your processes, in how you perceive a threat and how you address that threat" (Fred, Personal Communication, August, 7, 2014).

The opinions of gaining support from the Black community centered on community involvement and by officers demonstrating respect within the Black community. There was a sentiment that Black police officers are scattered throughout the police department and seldom come together to show the community they exist and are available as a community resource. This idea resonated and all of the POs stated they

wanted to be known in the community as people first and before being called on to act in any official capacity. POs felt that they should have a lead role in reaching out to the Black community because it is only a matter of time before some negative event galvanizes the Black community against the police department. When I probed this concept of inevitable conflict, POs responded that every day there is the potential for a large scale incident to occur, which may have consequences within or outside the affected jurisdiction. "They have to see you in more than arrest mode because most of the time when the community sees police it's during a negative interaction. You have to make sure you proactively provide the positive interaction" (Trey, Personal Communication, July, 28, 2014).

More than window dressing, adopting schools for mentorship, hosting functions such as scholarships, back to school fundraisers, initiating crime prevention fairs, participating in athletic programs, and promoting food and clothing drives were suggested as outreach programs that demonstrated the value that should be placed on the Black community and specifically Black youth. This attitude is ingenious in that the literature on police-race relations describes Black youth and police as having the most contentious interactions. If the suggestions are carried out, members of the Black community have meaningful and positive police interaction and the department gains credibility. Black officers act as a department-community buffer and recognize themselves a mechanism for positively leveraging both. The stated goal is that when the inescapable negative event does occur, the department and community can operate from a position of having an established relationship and each gives the other benefit of the doubt until proven otherwise. "Understand that I know that you need my help also. You

might not always want it, but you need my help" (Christopher, Personal Communication, June, 5, 2014).

Unfortunately, POs communicated that cooperation is a drastically different approach than what usually happens because both community and department leaders become defensive or accusatory when calamity strikes. POs also felt that they were not making enough progress within their communities to change this dynamic. One recurring reason that was given was Black officers were too busy contending with internal strife that minimized their effectiveness as police officers. Some POs felt that it would be hypocritical to encourage members of the Black community to trust a department they themselves did not trust while others argued that reaching out to the community was the best way to bring about departmental reform. In either case, the quoted changes for equity included transparency and respect in the forms of consistency in discipline, awarding assignments based on merit, diversifying the department, providing opportunity for advancement, and taking the time to explain personnel actions. Ultimately, POs felt Black citizens would never receive evenhanded treatment by the department if Black officers were not afforded the same.

Participant officer shared sense of self.

How Black officers see themselves in relation to their occupation and Black communities was a key part of this study. Questions two, five, seven, and eight dealt with what Gergen (1999) refer to as *identity politics* and what Du Bois (1903) calls the double consciousness. Gergen asserts that each of us belongs to more than just one group and we are known by the characteristics of our subcultures. We try to control how we present those subcultures and have both public and private selves. Du Bois maintained that

Blacks have not learned to develop a sense of self aside from how they are seen by the world and have an ongoing inner conflict on who they are supposed to be.

Four POs in this study shared that while Black officers might want to be change agents, they were hampered by organizational and societal pressures, which kept them marginalized within and outside the department. Three POs thought Black officers both accepted the status quo and promoted change depending on why they joined the department and how they felt about themselves and others. Five POs stated that most Black officers were status quo and went along to get along. They complained of Black officers not wanting to make waves, avoiding confrontation that might jeopardize their standing, and just wanting to collect a check and be left alone. Three POs felt that in their opinion, the majority of Black officers were by and large change agents. One acknowledged that things could always be better, but that it was the responsibility of more seasoned officers to remind newer Black officers entering policing of why they were needed in the first place. When asked if they themselves were change agents or status quo officers, all POs stated they wished to effect change.

Question five probed how Black officers perceive their ideologies about race and policing. It was framed to elicit a broad response or question that could then be focused on two specific attitudes. Black officers were thought to either identify with Black citizens and because of such identification to take extra steps in assisting them or to approach policing from a more detached role that acknowledged racial similarity, but did not consider it relevant in police action. Such behavior was expected to either alienate the Black officer from non-Black peer officers or ingratiate them with members of the Black community.

POs responded to the question with a focus on Black officer attitudes generally complicating or complementing their law enforcement role, but some did place emphasis on both possible outcomes. Four POs believed that Black officers that showed leniency because of race created a conflict because policing should not be about favoritism, but equitable treatment. One PO cautioned that certain people might come to expect favors while another claimed that you cannot help everyone and have to be strong enough to accept scorn when doing the right thing. Four POs communicated that at times it was appropriate to bend the rules or overlook minor infractions because it demonstrated humanity and compassion on the part of the officer. Seven POs stated that reaching out and taking the extra step to connect with Black communities did not equate with tolerating criminal conduct.

Each PO communicated a strong respect for the law, but of also enforcing it with a conscious as demonstrated by the following quotes. "You also have a job to do. You took an oath, a sworn oath to uphold the law and you have to do both of those things day in and day out" (Ray, Personal Communication, April, 19, 2014).

> You can do that without compromising your position as a police officer on the department. There's nothing wrong with explaining the law and making someone knowledgeable of the process you're doing with them and I think it is only fair. (Dawn, Personal Communication, August, 11, 2014)

The extra step taken based on shared race or culture might not be prohibited by departmental rules and regulations, but could be a holdover of directive instead of participative policing in Black communities. Only one PO mentioned possible negative

attention from White officers when Black officers take a greater interest in Black communities.

Question seven centered on how the POs felt about their role as police officers. Instead of refocusing them in a community context, if they so decided, this question allowed them to look internally and reflect on the reasons they chose policing, but also to explore if those feelings changed. In responding to the question, the POs primarily identified with what they felt were the sentiments from the Black community although some POs did address their personal convictions. Fewer still, mentioned the opinions of those outside the Black community.

Six POs said being a Black police officer was a conflict of interest. They said they were often looked at as sellouts, told they should have selected a different profession, stigmatized, or shunned by members of the Black community. One PO was internally conflicted about being Black and a police officer because he felt that all he ever did was lock up young Black males, while another PO expressed that role conflict came from White officers viewing Black officers as inferior and undeserving of the job. One PO relayed uncertainty in this area because she said there was also a perceived conflict based on her sex.

Eight POs gave an unconditional no response to role conflict. These POs stated they did not think it was a conflict of interest to be Black and a police officer, but that some people in the Black community would assume that it was. Based on what they thought the community wanted from them, four went on to explain how certain members in the Black community felt differently and viewed their position in a negative light. Failure to see the officer beyond the police role, angry anti-police youth, believing Black

officers are nothing more than tools, and the historical tensions between the police and Black communities were listed as contributing factors for Black disenchantment with Black police. Only one PO that responded no used a positive portrayal to support his viewpoint. He conveyed that there was not a conflict, but that the Black police officer represented a form of progress that was still being recognized. "This is what we've involved into. These are the things that our ancestors could not see. They would never imagine that they would dream of seeing a police department that would have a great diversity" (Trey, Personal Communication, July 28, 2014).

The final question referencing identity was a demographic question, which was asked to determine if Black officers felt they reflected the percentage of the Black community and if this had any influence on the quality of police service their departments provided. With respect to numerical representation, three POs were uncertain, eight said no, two said yes, and two believed that the numbers were close. Based on research to verify this opinion beforehand, with the exception of two POs, the better informed POs gave definitive responses and were able to provide actual or fairly accurate percentages of their departments and community (city).

All of the POs felt that having a representative police department was important. Thirteen POs felt citizens would be more supportive, receptive to police presence, it would be easier to establish and remain rapport, and most would appreciate and respond to people that looked like them. One PO stated that having representative numbers of Black police officers on the department would socialize officers of different races that were not familiar with Black people thereby having an indirect benefit. He pointed out that some shift patrol teams are almost entirely White and provide scarce racial

representation for the beats they police. Another PO stated community and departmental bias would be reduced. With regard to geographic assignments, all of the POs stated they had worked or were currently working in predominantly Black neighborhoods.

Citizen Perception of the Police

The themes of experience, expectancy, and identity remained the same for the student participant (SP) sample with the application of themes changing for questions two, five, and six. Question two (Are Black police officers change agents or perpetrators of the status quo?) and question five (How do Black officer attitudes complicate or complement their law enforcement role?) were labeled as identity questions for POs, but applied as expectancy questions for SPs. Likewise, question six (Are Black police officers more loyal to their departments or communities?) was listed as an experience question for POs, but as an expectancy question for SPs.

Student participant expectancy.

Questions one through six, nine, eleven, and twelve were categorized as expectancy items for the SPs. Expectancy was the first theme discussed because it constitutes the largest category of questions applicable to citizens. Also, SPs may not have had any experience with Black police or police in general and may have not considered their identity in relation to the same. Expectancy questions allowed SPs to formulate subconscious thoughts they may have never discussed or even verbalized.

In their comments on question one, thirteen of the fifteen SPs felt there was definitely a perception on police use of force and race. Several commented that White police viewed them as threatening, dangerous, and that they expected harsher treatment from White officers than Black or other minority officers. When asked what fueled this

perception, a few replied the media was responsible in two ways. First, young Blacks and especially Black males were widely reported as being criminals and second, the media constantly airs stories about police officers victimizing Blacks. Media underreporting crime and police force was rejected as a solution, but one SP did relay:

> It's usually a Black man being mistreated by a White cop and usually it's what we see and just being exposed to that, stuff of that nature, people usually are defensive when another race is asking them questions being a police officer because they know it has the potential to get taken to that level. And that's something you want to avoid at all costs. (Devin, Personal Communication, August, 1, 2014)

Generally, SPs communicated that in their opinions, White officers patrol Black communities with the expectation that they will have to use more frequent and greater levels of force. In describing his feeling to seeing White officers in his community one SP explains, "We tend to fear them more. We don't really feel like they protect us. We think like they more worried about what we doing than worried about how safe we are" (Gabriel, Personal Communication, July 25, 2014). Another SP shared that Blacks tend to avoid the police, but specifically White police and will take off running regardless of what they are doing. She stated she witnessed this on several occasions and it is a common occurrence even when Blacks were not committing crimes. Ironically, such behavior self-selects Blacks for greater police attention and is more likely to end in police use of force and charges such as evading and resisting arrest as shared by one SP.

A repeated notion was that SPs expected White officers would be more lenient on Black females. This question was probed and SPs of both sexes felt that Black females

were considered less threatening than Black males. Black officers were also thought to be less likely to use force and one SP pointed out that law abiding Blacks almost ignored Black police officers as a threat. She expressed that she had never been in trouble with the law, but still commented "If I see a Black police officer I don't think nothing, but if it's a White police officer I feel like they…may be racially profiling me" (Jasmine, Personal Communication, July 25, 2014). Two SPs stated that perception on force was situational depending on the race of officer and citizen.

In response to question two, three SPs felt that Black police officers were mostly change agents and wanted to benefit the community. They felt that Black police officers were really trying to make a difference in the community and would go that extra step to help out. One SP stated that Black police officers usually went into the field to make a difference because they could relate to some of the hardships Blacks experienced when dealing with representatives of the criminal justice system in any capacity. This particular SP admitted that a close family member was a law enforcement official and that experience and being around Black offices influenced his opinion. Another SP thought that Black officers could make a greater change in the community at large by showing that all Blacks are not criminals.

Nine SPs thought that Black officers were both change agents and perpetrators of the status quo. Within this group, seven communicated that as in all races there are intrinsically motivated people in professions and those that do enough to get by. This group did not condemn Black police officers, but felt that their role depended more on how they generally approached policing than on their race. Two other SPs responded Black officers were change agents or perpetrators of the status quo to the extent that their

jobs allowed change or supported existing conditions. They felt that Black officers played

a role in a rigid system, but should not be faulted for doing their jobs if that was their

motivation.

Only three SPs took an overall negative view of Black police officers regarding

this question and for different reasons. Tokenism was listed as a factor and one SP related

that hiring Black officers is not the same as hiring quality and conscientious Black

officers. His opinion was that departments parade Black officers when it is to their

advantage, but these same officers are otherwise invisible when it would benefit the

Black community. Another SP listed apathy and asserted. "They are mainly there just to

collect a check. You know just a daily 9 to 5 or whatever the typical schedule is. I guess

the job pay is good" (Willy, Personal Communication, July 25, 2014). The final SP in

this category listed job security as the primary factor and said he felt Black officers were

in a holding position because they would not jeopardize their position by helping people

that could not help them.

A slight majority (eight) SPs felt that Black officers should have greater

responsibilities to Black communities than other officers. They believed that Black

officers have better contacts within the Black community and should use these

relationships to address crime better than white officers that might not have such close

community ties. One SP also explained that Black officers should volunteer for more

assignments in the Black community. He reasoned that if Black officers are representing

and reflecting the Black community on the department then their greatest impact should

be in that community. Another SP stated because Blacks do not trust the police, it is the

responsibility of Black police officers to foster trust and break down that divisive wall.

"A Black police is likely to be a little bit more loyal, more of a confidant to those within the Black community" (Willy, Personal Communication, July 25, 2014).The overriding sentiment was that SPs that held high expectations of Black officers took pride and ownership in them coming from their community. One underlying perception that unified all responses in this group is that the Black police officer should have a greater responsibility in being a positive example for Black youth.

With the exception of one SP, the remaining SPs felt that Black officers should not have a greater responsibility to Black communities and that it should be equally shared among all police officers. One explanation was that police officers should act on the correctness and legality of situations, not based on skin color. Another outlook was that humanity should trump race based favoritism or intolerance. "No I think they should have equal responsibilities because we're humans, we all…that's just that, we all are human" (Amber, Personal Communication, August 1, 2014). Some SPs that thought Black officers should not have a greater responsibility stated they reached this conclusion because policing is a service for all. One SP belonging to this camp summarized it this way:

> Protect and serve. That's the general people, that's not just one particular community, the one you came from, the one somebody else came from. There has been more violence and negativity posed toward other ethnicities over the years and in the past, but that doesn't entitle one or another for better treatment than anybody else now. (Kenneth, Personal Communication, August 1, 2015)

Only one SP could not provide a clear response and stated he was undecided. He was conflicted because he felt that Black officers should and should not have a greater

responsibility to the Black community depending on the condition of that community and the make-up of the department.

Question four was designed to explore the core of perception about Black police-Black citizen relationships. One SP felt that Blacks did not really expect differential treatment from Black officers because Black officers were going to do their jobs anyway. All other SPs felt that members of the Black community by and large expected special treatment from Black officers. Because this almost unanimous response was atypical for SPs it was approached differently.

Although nearly all SPs agreed that Blacks expect different treatment from Black officers, they differed in their opinion of it being acceptable. Five thought it was not harmful, but cultural and based on shared race. One SP argued that Blacks were not the only race to expect preferential race-based treatment. Another SP said that Blacks were so accustomed to being mistreated that the differential treatment Blacks expected from Black officers was simply fairness. Three other SPs in this group shared that differential treatment was based on race alone, but that race signaled at least an automatic connection they would not otherwise share with a police officer. All SPs in this group used the inclusive and possessive term "we" to describe that they belonged to the category that would expect special treatment from a Black officer.

Two SPs did not see such an expectation as positive or negative, but just a matter of what is expected and used the word "people" to describe those wanting partial treatment. One of the two SPs did express he did not feel that way. The remaining SPs criticized the expectation as being detrimental because such entitlement eroded the trust others might have for Blacks in general. An SP that stated he was very opposed to the

idea said if he were to accept that concept, "I'm furthering the stereotype that you know we're not doing the right thing and that makes us look bad" (Gary, Personal Communication, August 1, 2014). Other SPs said they did not understand why someone thought race should be a shield from punishment. All of the SPs that assumed the position was wrong separated themselves by using the word "they" to identify Blacks that thought they deserved special treatment.

Question five was structured to build on the responses in question four. Whether or not Black officers were thought to approach the Black community from a greater professional or familial standpoint, SPs were asked explain how either attitude complemented or complicated the Black officers' role. A little less than half (seven) SPs thought Black officers expressing an enhanced affinity for the Black community would complicate their roles as law enforcement officers. They cited professional peer rejection, criminal elements within the Black community attempting to manipulate or take advantage of the Black officer (and Black community), Black officers becoming unwilling to take enforcement action against Blacks that deserve it, and unrealistic expectations and criticisms of other police officers that decided not to favor Blacks.

All other SPs felt that Black officers responding based on the expectations of the Black community was positive. Responses ranged from police officers in general gaining more credibility within the Black community to Blacks being more respectful and appreciative of law enforcement as more than just punishment oriented. None of the SPs advocated overlooking serious crimes that would hurt the Black community or society in general, but felt that small acts of compassion would make Blacks more tolerant of aggressive policing when needed, because it would not be assumed as the norm.

Two unique perspectives were offered by SPs with opposing ideas on the effects of officer attitudes. One SP that supported leniency by Black officers related that it would make the particular officer's job easier and the community more responsive, but burden other officers and the department unless they adopted a similar style. He referred to this as a win-lose situation. The other SP that was opposed to the practice conveyed that either mentality would attract negative attention for the Black officer and that it was a lose-lose situation, where at best, the Black officer would have to strive for a balance between being viewed negatively by the community or the department.

Question number six focused on Black officer loyalty to the extent it would be divided by service to the police department or Black community. Five SPs believed that Black officers would be more loyal to their departments. Three of the SPs gave reasons that were founded in rational choice and financial stability. They felt disloyalty to the department could cost the Black officer to lose employment. Two other SPs suggested that the fraternal nature of police work and personal working relationships would cause officers to develop significant bonds that would require loyalty greater than based on shared race with strangers.

Community loyalty, which was the minority of responses and given by two SPs were not justified beyond the reply that they just felt that way, but could not explain it. The majority of SPs felt that loyalty would be situational and dependent on the type of conflict experienced between the community and police department. Although three SPs felt that Black officers should normally select the community over the department, they did not think this would happen in most cases. One SP verbalized that Black officers would be loyal to the community to the degree that said loyalty would not be detected

and sanctioned. Another SP expressed that when the department mission reflected community service and was properly implemented, supporting the department would be supporting the community.

On issues of force and Black officers, five SPs believed that White officers that intended on using force would do so in the presence of a Black officer. Only one of these SPs stated that the Black officer would have to feel the force is justified. The other four felt that a Black officer would pretend the force was justified, ignore it, or if pressured, help cover it up. One mentioned the Rodney King beating and another stated regardless of race officers are going to back up their partners. A reflective response was given that while Black officers would not likely stop excessive force directed against a Black person, skin color should not be the basis of their intervention, but rather upholding the law and protecting each person's legal right not to be violated.

All other SPs felt that police officers would be cautious in using force they could not readily justify or explain if a Black officer was present. One SP related such action to cloaking behavior in that similar people are more comfortable doing certain things around each other. Another stated that White police officers might feel they are being scrutinized with a Black officer watching. Still another suggested that not wanting to offend the Black officer might be cause enough not to resort to force unless it was necessary. The majority of SPs felt that a Black officer would take some action to stop force that was not justified.

SPs were asked if an officer's race played a factor in the decision to use force. Six felt that it did and cited intimidation, stereotypes that Blacks are violent, the perception that Blacks respond better when threatened with force, and a lack of respect. This group

of SPs said behavior was less important than skin color when officers made the decision to focus on them. "I think that people feel intimidated by Black people so if it's a Black person they might feel like they need to use more force" (Jasmine, Personal Communication, July, 25, 2014).

When asked if they expected the same treatment from a Black officer, the response was no. One SP said he expected to receive the appropriate legal action for the violation and that was all. Another SP related a story where a White officer was using force on a Black woman, but stopped when a Black officer arrived on scene. One SP responded that Black officers might use more force on occasion out of frustration and disappointment with Blacks, but that White officers were more likely to use force out of habit.

Seven SPs felt that one's beliefs did not manifest based on skin color and occupation and communicated that White officers would engage in excessive force to the extent that they were raised with and accepted the belief that Black people were somehow different or less human. For these officers, cultural background played a greater role than an officer's race in the decision to use force. Two SPs said that although some rogue cops may use excessive force based on race or other factors, they generally felt most uses of force was predicated by a suspect's action and not an officer's desire to use force as punishment. Two SPs were uncertain if race currently played a role and stated they could not say for sure because of media distortion.

SPs were asked what police departments and Black officers specifically could do if anything to gain greater support from the Black community. Four mentioned implementing crime reduction strategies that work and improving response times to

Black communities, but the overwhelming majority wanted police and especially Black police to take an interest in the community beyond police enforcement. A number of SPs mentioned giving back to the community and suggested mentoring programs, listening to community concerns, being honest, being visible, showing that police care about Black communities and taking the time to come out when there is not a neighborhood problem. One SP went as far to say that police do not have to be over friendly if they choose not to be, but that they should recognize that most Black people are not criminals. Another stated that police do not have to "necessarily interact with the community but not be so oblivious to people just trying to have a good time, not being out there trying to harm the community so to say" (Mark, Personal Communication, August 1, 2014). The unifying voice from the majority of SPs was that they wanted a positive interactive police presence in Black communities, but they would settle for one that was not oppressive.

Student participant shared sense of self.

SPs were asked if being Black and a police officer was a conflict of interest. Three responded that it could be depending on the individual's support system and their expectation of acceptance by the Black police community and police culture. One SP volunteered that he had considered becoming a police officer once, but received mixed feelings. His immediate family was supportive, but his extended family was opposed based on their belief that they would not be able to trust him. To his knowledge they were law abiding but do not understand why a Black person would enter policing.

Four SPs felt there was no conflict of interest. One thought the idea of a conflict as stupid because he believed Blacks needed representation at all levels of government. Another SP explained that while he did not think becoming a Black police officer was a

common career path for Blacks, a conflict could exist outside someone's race. One SP said it should not be a conflict for someone that chose the job, but that others outside the field would view it that way based on limited knowledge. According to one SP, policing is an occupation where one is required to deal with constant conflict and while he understands the perception, he does not believe it to be valid today.

The eight SPs that reasoned it was a conflict of interest to be Black and a police officer generally felt that both roles made continuous demands on any conscientious Black person that chose a career in policing. One of the greatest listed impediments to role solidarity is the historical and contemporary portrayal of the police as not only other, but as an enemy. One SP described the conflict using community standards to explain how a set of norms are easily reversed.

> Absorbing that role and becoming that person kind of makes me go against some of the things that my community has taught me in the past or growing up and I'm basically being the deviant one and no one wants to be that person. (Gary, Personal Communication, August 1, 2014)

Not all conflicts were presented in such a way that put the Black officer at odds with the Black community. Black officers were thought to want to give more to the Black community than they were able, which would cause them personal stress and other SPs stated Black officers that identified with Black communities were likely to have workplace conflict should a controversial issue arise in the Black community.

Question eight was written to extract information about Black police representation in Black communities. One SP said he felt the numbers of Black police officers might match the number of citizens in the Black community where he grew up

percentage wise. Another SP responded his city police department tried to be racially reflective, but that the number of Black officers in his specific community were underrepresented because they were scattered across different functions citywide. All other SPs remarked that they did not feel their communities had adequate numbers of Black officers to reflect their community demographics. Two SPs said they hardly ever see Black cops and one stated she had never seen a Black cop in her community.

When asked if the numbers of Black officers influenced the quality of police service in the Black community, four SPs responded no. One said she did not know because she did not have enough experience with any officers, another SP stated no, but likely because she was a female. The other two SPs that responded no cited good White police officers in their community and never having to rely on the police as reasons for responding no. Eleven SPs thought having a reflective number of Black officers in the community increased comfort, established a dialogue with the police department, affected the general attitude toward police in a positive way, and decreased bias in enforcement. An SP that moved from a neighborhood policed predominantly by Blacks to one with a majority White patrol stated he did not realize how service oriented and relaxed Black officers were until the move. He explained that both communities were largely populated with Black residents.

Student participant experience.

Question 10 explored the experience of each SP with Black police officers in the Black community. The responses were varied with three SPs having no direct experience with Black officers. All three were female, but one admitted to a bad experience when a White police officer was called to her residence. Three reported having mixed

experiences with about half being negative and half being positive. Three SPs reported an entirely negative experience. One recounted a traffic stop where a Black officer yelled and called her mother names after she abruptly changed lanes. The SP described the Black officer as rude and the experience as horrible. Another SP said he was cautious around Black officers after two falsely arrested his sister and brother-in-law, and one explained that the Black officers he encountered were out of touch and had no connection to the Black community.

The interaction with Black officers as reported by the remaining six SPs was positive. They described the officers as cool, cordial, genuine, understanding, calm, helpful, mentors, and as good people. Despite the good and bad experiences of the SPs, they were asked if they thought their race attributed to their treatment by Black officers. A few with positive experiences said they thought Black officers wanted to see them succeed as Black people, but also took an interest in them as individuals. Interestingly, the SPs that reported negative experiences did not think that they were race based incidents. One SP that reported mixed experiences felt that a Black officer might react quicker than a White officer to prove he should be taken seriously while another SP that reported mixed experiences said he felt that a Black officer racially profiled him, but that Black officers were generally more lenient with him. Although not specifically asked, a different SP that shared mixed experiences with Black officers, shared what he thought was a racially motivated incident with a White officer. With the exception of the reported racial profiling incident by the Black officer, none of the SPs felt their race was a factor when being confronted by Black police.

The final two experience based questions were similar as to be combined and the SPs were questioned about what particular experience they had with this topic (policing, Black officers, police use for force) and how it affected them. Six SPs replied that they had no direct contact with police, but four of them either witnessed White police officers use force they felt was unnecessary or use profanity to address people they felt were not complying quickly enough. According to the SPs all of the citizens were Black or Hispanic, or sometimes White if they were in the company of Blacks or other minorities.

In responding to the combined questions, nine SPs related personal experiences that they felt were either racially motivated or racially charged. Seven of the incidents involved traffic stops and in four SPs reported that they were removed from their vehicles and searched. In three encounters the vehicles were also searched. In one case, an SP said he allegedly looked like a robber and in another, an SP reported being confused for a gang member. One of the SPs stated on his way back to college, he was stopped and accused of selling dope to some people at the house he had just left, which was actually his residence. Although none of the SPs stated they were arrested or even ticketed after the stops, they felt the potential for a police use of force was ever present. One SP relayed:

> Based on what we've been taught through media and all that, it makes it seem as if though White officers are going to come down on you no matter what. You could be getting a speeding ticket, and somehow you get in handcuffs and beat down, then you're in the back of the squad car. (Mark, Personal Communication, August 1, 2014)

The final two SPs that shared their experiences said because they are large men, they have been threatened by White police officers on a few occasions. Both said they had never been arrested, but one was put in handcuffs after helping a Black female up from the ground after she had issued a verbal challenge to an officer and had been kicked. The SP said there was a group of Black students gathered at the high school and he believed the officer thought they were going to riot because they were congregated and engaged in loud horseplay. The officer was alleged to have called for backup before the physical incident and several police cars arrived with lights and siren activated. Later the incident was reported as a potential gang fight.

Comparing Black Police & Citizen Views

To understand comparative responses between POs and SPs, individual questions were examined in numerical order. Later, these responses were grouped as themes and explained in the context of experience, expectancy, and identity. Similarities and differences by sample groups were established by taking a holistic approach.

Question one: Perception on force and race (expectancy for both groups).

Fifteen POs and thirteen SPs agreed that there was a relationship between perception and police use of force. Both groups felt that White officers would consider Blacks dangerous and be more likely to use force in comparison to other races. POs cited misunderstandings of Black culture by White police officers and misunderstandings of the police role by Black citizens. SPs primarily blamed negative depictions of Blacks as violent based on stereotyping and media reporting. A common element in both groups' belief was the impression that White officers and Black citizens feared each other. A

difference in opinion was responsibility. POs partially blamed uninformed Blacks, whereas SPs blamed biased media and police perceptions.

The divergence in PO and SP opinion on where responsibility rests corresponds with their social expectations. One SP related "From, where I'm from police officers aren't that respected. You see a police officer and you run. Even if you're not doing anything wrong" (Amber, Personal Communication, August 1, 2014). POs spoke of Black apprehension and the misunderstanding Blacks have of the police role. Most police officers are taught in training that they have the legal authority to detain a person using reasonable suspicion under certain circumstances. This right is granted to police officers under the Supreme Court decision in the 1968 Terry v. Ohio case (Samaha, 2012). A person fleeing at the sight of a police officer may cause reasonable suspicion to detain that person depending on other factors. A couple of POs related that Blacks draw attention to themselves even if they are not breaking the law.

Although police officers do not have the legal right to use force simply because a person runs away, the practice of doing so is almost legendary. In a witty message to Black people, comedian Chris Rock aired a 2000 video titled *How To Not Get Your Ass Kicked By The Police*. In this instructional video he stated "everybody knows, if the police have to come and get you, they're bringing an ass kicking with them" (Rock, 2000). This spoof of police practice has origins in reality. One PO recalled that a White supervisor was upset that a Black citizen was allowed to run and be apprehended without any "loving" which is terminology for police force. It is not debatable that police officers should not use excessive force, but because some do, POs felt that education could reduce chances of Blacks being victimized by abusive police. One PO said concerning the law

"if you're not educated perception is going to be based on your upbringing, your home bringing, and the things that you were taught" (John, Personal Communication, April 15, 2014).

Question two: Blacks as change agents (SSOS-PO, expectancy-SP).

Five POs stated that Black officers held their positions for selfish reasons and would not attempt to bring change while three thought Black officers were almost always agents of change. Seven POs felt that Black officers would be pulled either way depending on situational factors in their communities and departments. Three SPs responded that Black officers were change agents, nine felt Black officers could be both, and three remarked that Black officers were in it for self-serving interests.

Although the numbers of SPs and POs had basically matching perceptions for Black officers' motivations, POs were a bit more critical. This can be attributed to POs actually interacting with Black officers they felt were selfish opposed to SPs imagining that Black officers would be more concerned with their welfare. Levin and Thomas (1997) explain that "individuals often 'selectively perceive' a social situation to make it consistent with their stereotyped preconceptions" (p. 578). A few SPs communicated that apathetic behavior by White officers were perceived as racist, but the same behavior by Black officers was considered laziness.

Question three: Black officer responsibility (expectancy for both groups).

Six POs felt that Blacks should have a greater responsibility to Black communities, six said no, and three were uncertain. Comparatively, eight SPs thought Black officers should bear greater responsibility, seven said no, and one was undecided. It is clear that in answering this question, POs and SPs had different definitions of police

officer responsibility. Although some SPs did touch on modeling behavior by Black officers, the majority viewed responsibility in the legalistic sense or in the authority granted to a police officer by the state. The SPs that responded no felt that by having a greater responsibility to Black communities, Black police officers would somehow compromise themselves or their role as evidenced by this statement, "I've always been brought up… mom, dad, taught me right is right, wrong is wrong. I don't feel like your race should supersede responsibility or the law. Your race has no you know specific place in this whole thing" (Gary, Personal Communication, August 1, 2014).

Responsibility as described above by the SP is the duty of every police officer to uphold the law and enforce it impartially. This form of responsibility is official and may be mandated on a 24/7 basis, but has a lesser value than responsibility as defined by most of the POs. Legal responsibility to a community is normally promised by an oath and compensated by a salary. A greater responsibility, by definition, signals something additional.

> In order for a Black police officer to call himself a Black police officer it's not what he does on duty, it's also what he does off duty. Black police are involved in, engaged in every aspect of the community besides I'm going to work and I'm going to arrest somebody today. It's just not on the job, it's off the job. He's a part of the community, he builds himself with the community, and he's not isolated from the community. (Trey, Personal Communication, July 28, 2014)

Many Black police officers have committed to additional responsibility in the form of local Black police associations, which are usually a part of a national organization designed to strengthen ties that Black officers have with the Black community. Although

various fraternal police associations exist that are not racial in nature, they are first and foremost labor unions concerned with police officer benefits and working conditions (Swanson et al., 2012; Whisenand & McCain, 2014).

Question four: Differential treatment (expectancy both groups).

Nine POs thought that Black citizens expected differential (favorable) treatment based on shared race, four disagreed, and two thought expectations were situational. Fourteen SPs thought Black citizens would expect leniency from Black officers and only one felt they would not. The reasoning used by both POs and SPs were consistent in that both groups cited natural self-serving human bias, finding common ground, and a historical oppression by police forces. Some participants did not consider a desire to be treated fairly as differential treatment and that perception constituted the reason the four POs and one SP denied that Blacks wanted special consideration. The two POs that said expectations were situational felt a negative experience with a non-Black officer would prompt Black citizens to demand more of Black officers.

Question five: Black police officer attitudes (SSOS-PO, expectancy-SP).

Four POs thought when Black officers showed leniency toward the Black community it complicated their law enforcement role, four felt at times leniency was appropriate, and seven said showing compassion and leniency complemented their roles. Seven SPs said Black police leniency toward Black citizens would complicate the police function, while the remaining SPs thought measured leniency would complement the police role and show humanity. The arguments for and against leniency from Black police officers to Black citizens were similar among both groups. The supporters felt that small acts of discretion would build positive relationships, while the opponents expressed

manipulation, unrealistic expectations, the slippery slope to overlooking more serious violations, and alienating coworkers as reasons not to show even small measures of racial bias.

Question six: Black police loyalty (experience-PO, expectancy-SP).

Twelve POs communicated that Black officers would be more loyal to the community than the police department, one disagreed, one was undecided, and one said it depended on if community loyalty would be punished. Five SPs felt Black officers would be more loyal to their departments, two thought loyalty would rest with the community, and eight felt that loyalty would be situational and dependent on the conflict. The majority of POs placed Black officer loyalty on the community whereas the minority of SPs did so. The lone PO that felt Black officers would be more loyal to the department qualified the opinion with job security, which was consistent with three of the reasons given by SPs. This question cut across two different themes, which was experience for POs and expectations for SPs. At the heart of the issue was how each group conceptualized the police role.

For the most part, POs see Black police officers as inseparable from the Black community. "You grew up Black so no matter what you still Black. You pin on a badge, you Black. You take it off, you still Black" (Ray, Personal Communication, April 19, 2014). This feeling is contrasted by an image that the job is always dominant as expressed by one SP who said "at the end of the day he's a police officer anyway" (Gabriel, Personal Communication, July 25, 2014). POs express that Black officers do not see themselves as visitors to the Black community, but as a part of it. "Out of uniform, nobody can tell or knows I'm a cop. In the Black community you're almost

invisible. They don't know you. Nobody knows you so you're invisible. But when you put the uniform on you're a Black officer" (John, Personal Communication, April 15, 2014).

Question seven: Conflict of interest (SSOS both groups).

Six POs said being a Black officer was a conflict of interest, while eight said it was not, but was perceived that way. One PO was undecided. Eight SPs felt being a Black police officer was a conflicting role, four said it was not, and three felt it was situational. Among both groups, community demands represented the dominant source of perceived conflict. Only two POs named other sources of conflict, which were internal stress and the belief by some White officers that Blacks did not make good police officers. Community based conflict was viewed as either forcing the Black officer to choose a side, or placing extra performance demands on Black officers to reduce crime or otherwise service the community in their official capacity.

Question eight: Black officer percentage & influence (SSOS both groups).

Five POs were unsure if the numbers of Blacks on the department matched the number of Blacks in the city where they worked. Eight thought departmental percentages were below and two said they matched the city's demographics. All of the POs agreed that having a representative police force would improve the quality of police service. POs felt that reflective representation on the police department would mean greater support from communities and act as a socializing mechanism for officers of different races. Two SPs felt the numbers of Black officers might match the percentage of Blacks in their cities. One related that although citywide percentages were close, Black officers were not visible in his community. Thirteen SPs felt that their city police departments did not

employ enough Blacks to match the percentages of their respective cities. Four SPs felt that reflective numbers of Black police officers would not influence the quality of police services due to many Blacks not depending on the police and fair White officers. The other eleven SPs felt that reflective police would be beneficial for many of the reasons given by the POs.

Question nine: Black officers & influence on use of force (expectancy both groups).

Ten POs expected the presence of Black police officers on scene with White officers and Black citizens to curb the use of excessive police force. They also felt that Black police presence alone might have a calming affect or that Black officers would not respond with a physical use of force option as quickly as a White officer. Five POs felt that Black officers could have a positive impact on excessive police force, but that other factors besides their presence was necessary. The SP responses almost mirrored those made by the POs. Five felt that an officer would still use excessive force with Black officers on scene. One SP did make an exception and comment that the Black officer on seen would have to feel the force was justified whether it was or was not. Ten SPs said officers would refrain from using excessive force against a Black citizen with a Black officer on scene. In the case of the SPs, their responses revealed that they wanted someone to advocate for them if they were in danger of being wrongfully harmed. Some POs related that they expected Black officers to step up regardless of the race of any citizen being violated and few gave examples of personal intervention. One PO indicated that in some cities and in some neighborhoods police use of force is out of control, but that it would be worse if not for conscientious officers of all colors.

Question ten: Black police and citizen experience (experience both groups).

Positive was the term most used by ten POs to describe their experience with the Black community and Black police. Four POs said they had a mixed experience, and one PO expressed disenchantment. Three SPs reported mixed experiences, three felt their experiences with Black police were overwhelmingly negative, and nine expressed positive contact with Black police. Because most of the interactions were positive, focus was placed on the negative experiences. The PO that conveyed dissatisfaction felt Black officers were not doing enough to recruit minority candidates and that not enough Blacks were applying to the department. She also felt that Black officers and Black citizens were out of touch. Each of the negative experiences reported by the SPs were one-time events, but they left lasting impressions.

Question eleven: Police race & force (expectancy both groups).

The idea that police officers target citizens for force based on race was rejected by fourteen POs. They did feel that racial stereotypes, profiling, and cultural misunderstandings lead to disproportionate force, but that police force was not solely based on a citizen's race. One PO shared that use of force was racial, whether or not it was conscious or due to conditioning that manifested itself subconsciously in the treatment of minorities.

Six SPs felt that skin color was more important than conduct and that Blacks were targeted because of race. However, seven SPs explained that race was not primarily a motivator for use of force but that the background of the officer played a significant role. Two SPs felt unsure because of conflicting reports on the issue. Whereas the opinions of the POs were almost exclusively consistent, those of the SPs were almost equally split.

The difference is one of exposure. Although this question was classified as expectancy for both groups, the POs should have greater cognition of what motivates police use of force based on their profession. POs expectations for why police use force is also grounded in experience, but the SPs explained they relied on third party sources such as computer blogs and media reports.

Question twelve: Gaining support (expectancy both groups).

Each PO expressed a variant of giving back to the Black community in the form of service away from their official capacity as police officers. The POs seemed genuinely enthusiastic as they discussed this topic and this was the only question where no negative feedback was given in direct response. A few POs did explain they were concerned about reaching out and being stifled by their departments, which were not supportive or even fair in their treatment of Black officers. Instead of trying to establish direct ties between the department and the Black community, POs said Black officers first needed to gain the trust of the Black community. The idea was that conflict is a certainty in police work, but often magnified when it occurs in the Black community because of historical tensions. Black officers stated they could offer no guarantee that misfortune would not strike, but only that they would be transparent and fair when it did.

Although a few crime reduction strategies were mentioned by four SPs, the majority wanted the police department and Black officers specifically to show that they care about the Black community. Instead of nameless, faceless officers that patrol the neighborhood and only show up when there is a problem, the SPs explained they wanted real relationships. Some SPs shared that if the police officers did not want to be friendly, that would be acceptable so long as they did not harass and intimidate people in the Black

community. In short, the SPs communicated that they wanted the police to help them achieve a better quality of life.

Questions thirteen & fourteen: Overall experience (experience both groups).

Of the fifteen POs interviewed, seven had been somehow exposed to excessive force either on or off the job. Four reported witnessing it, excessive force was reported to three, and three felt that only their presence or certain conditions prevented excessive force from occurring. Five POs had no direct personal or job related experience with excessive force. Six SPs related that they did not have any confrontational direct contact with police, but four had witnessed police officers rough up or mishandle Black or minority citizens. A few included they heard officers curse and threaten citizens with little provocation. The remaining nine SPs experienced confrontations with police and they felt were mistreated, but none complained of force that caused injury, only grabbing, pushing, and being handcuffed and searched without cause.

The SPs reported a slightly higher experience of witnessing abusive behavior by police that in some instances arose to what they felt was excessive force against others. During these events, the SPs stated that Black officers were not present, which offers some explanation for this behavior if the perception by the majority of SPs and POs that Black police officers have a deterrent effect on White officers use of force is valid. POs were also able to intervene and stop excessive force if they so choose, but one SP recalls that officers wrestled him to the ground after he physically assisted a friend to her feet that had been knocked down by an officer.

Chapter 5: Discussion & Recommendations

Discussion

Nearly three years ago when this topic was conceived, I could not have imagined the forces that would come into play, shifting and reworking the focus of this dissertation. Initially an overemphasis was placed on the police power structure in influencing the attitudes of Black officers. Although Black officers felt they straddled professional and community roles, I discovered it was Black citizens that received the greater impact of police practices. Police leaders often discuss reducing crime and the fear of crime, but almost never reducing the fear of the police.

Several uses of police force against Blacks have also occurred since the conception of this study and it has been challenging filtering the details based on a few high profile incidents that have brought mega media attention to bear in the past year and a half. Some of these incidents include the Kimani Gray shooting by officers of the NYPD in 2013, the Oriana Farrell minivan shooting in 2013, the Eric Garner death after a short struggle with police officers of the NYPD, the police shooting of Michael Brown in Ferguson, Missouri, and more recently, the beating of Marlene Pinnock by a California Highway Patrol Officer, which all took place in 2014. As I was writing the results and conclusion of this study I tried not to be unduly influenced by what appears to be a barrage of police uses of force against Blacks. Each of the above occurrences was unique in that either death resulted or the incident was captured on video.

When police use of force does attract national attention, and in the event such an event brings negative attention, which most do, there is generally some police spokesperson that speaks at least to the local community promising that steps will be

taken to reduce the likelihood of future occurrences. Rarely is a police leader able to speak about preexisting measures that should have prevented or reduced such an occurrence in the first place. This is not to advocate crystal ball policing, but to hold police agencies, individual officers, and when appropriate community members accountable for their actions and inactions.

Most uses of police force obviously do not cause death and are also not subject to public scrutiny (Hickman, Piquero, & Garner, 2008). I wanted to speak to these unordinary yet less than unparalleled incidents that take place across America's landscape where position may be more important than propriety. This study was not meant to discount the more sensational uses of police force documented within this dissertation nor to discount that in most instances, regardless of race, police force is legal, proper, and justified, but rather to address a topic where little academic interest has been shown with regard to officer race.

In crafting this study, a repeated question came to mind: Who speaks for the Black officer who plays a crucial role in communicating with and representing the Black community? Neither the majority police officers that relate only on a professional level nor the handful of influential Black naysayers that demonize the police role for Blacks can pretend to do so. It is not an issue of conservatism or liberalism, but of respect, respect for culture.

> You know in hip hop culture, in just African American culture in general, we've been mistreated by cops for a long time and you see special cases popping up on the news and stuff like that and so yeah they kinda feel like Black cops betrayed them. Like, you gonna be a cop? Or you hear all this music, don't trust cops, or I

don't mess with cops, or I don't want cops around me, but at the end of the day,

they're there to protect. (Devin, Personal Communication, August 1, 2014)

Learning through experience, expectation, & shared sense of self—the

relationship.

Reflective listening was crucial in interpreting what the participants meant. I felt

relaxed asking questions followed by a participant's answers and follow-up questions, but

some participants were uncomfortable with my exact scheme and asked me to reword or

rephrase certain questions. I felt by doing so I might change the direction of the research,

but I also did not want to seal off broader or even more specific areas of interest. After

reframing questions, participants would engage in what I felt was sometimes rambling,

but they would invariably answer my original question in addition to providing some

contextual meaning that would have been missed if we had otherwise followed the script.

Several participants would start to tell a personal story and then apologize only to

continue after encouragement was offered. These recollections provided the greatest

source of textural description with my initial questions acting as stimulators.

Early on it became apparent that participant perception could be subdivided and

experience was the first emerging theme. The experience of Black police officers and

Black citizens differed and yet were compatible regarding this topic. While Black officers

shared that being in their position was at times frustrating, their general regard for their

role was that it was rewarding and the term positive was applied to their experience. For

their part, Black citizens' experiences with Black officers on an individual level was

satisfactory, but they felt there was not enough interaction on a community-wide basis to

make a difference and that the majority of Black community-police relationships were strained. Their experience overall was interpreted as negative.

The second additional aspect of perception emerged after a careful study of both sets of interviews. Experience whether direct or related influences expectancy. Based on their experience, a person expects a certain behavior or action to occur. Because Black officers felt they generally were working to make things better, they expected more opportunity in the police department, but especially to be included within the Black community. Black citizens shared they feel a heightened discomfort when near police officers based on their experience and fear of being mistreated. This discomfort was not explained as paralyzing where Blacks could not function, but rather a continual condition of distress that they are forced to endure. "I just don't…I don't like police….I don't know if I see the police, I get nervous, I ain't gonna lie. I'm not doing nothing, but I just get nervous. Because I know…" (Jasmine, Personal Communication, July 25, 2014). Based on the above quote and clusters of Black citizen comments with similar meaning, more than anything else, Blacks expect the opportunity to be treated fairly.

Only after both sets of interviewee responses were compared did the third and unifying element of perception present itself, which was a shared sense of self. Sense of self pertained to how Black citizens and Black police officers not only see themselves, but how they relate themselves to others. Whereas many Black citizens see the police role as negative, Black officers see their particular role as positive. This perceived conflict creates an opportunity for Black officers that want and expect inclusiveness and Black citizens who want and expect better relationships with police to come together. Many of the interviewed Black citizens wanted to establish such a bond, but are cautious and want

to experience Black police officers outside their official capacity as enforcers first. This line of thinking corresponds with Black officers that said they want to be seen as people first and officers second.

Fear and uncertainty are not reduced by avoidance, but by coming to understand them. Positive interaction between Black police officers and Black citizens will in turn create a more positive shared sense of self. And the winners should not only be Black police and Black citizens, but it is hoped that their improved relationship will permeate to other communities and institutions that have an interest in progress. At the risk of sounding cliché, the shared phenomenon between the two groups with regard to the Black officer is alienation. The Black officer is alienated from colleagues and community by a sense of dissonance in trying to merge both worlds as the Black citizen is alienated from the police culture in general. I found that while such a phenomenon was apparent, it was also remarkable.

The behavior that requires influencing Black police officers and Black citizens to realize their opportunity for improved relations are both underestimated and underused. The identity of the Black police officer is dependent on the Black citizen if the Black police narrative is to have meaning. Black police officers must also present their sense of self within the subculture of policing to the Black community. This will permit for a greater understanding of and possibly less alienation from the police role for Black citizens. Labels such as sellout, Uncle Tom, and traitor lose meaning for the Black police officer when each party creates new experiences by exceeding expectations in a positive way. New experiences require dialogue which explores how the connectedness of Black citizens and officers transcends their differences.

Conclusion

Police are empowered by the state to use force to maintain order in society and no amount of research will change this decree. It is also invariable due to numbers alone, that White officers will on occasion use force against Black citizens. However, the perception that accompanies police action in Black communities can be improved and police departments and Black police officers specifically, play a crucial role in this change. In the past, departments hired Black officers to almost exclusively provide police services to Black communities. This act is uniquely discriminatory and sets the stage for the failure of the Black officer. If Black officers are to be more fully accepted in their communities, their departments must demonstrate they are professionally respected and not used as mere pawns when it is politically expedient and as discussed below.

The more recent trend has been to send a respected Black police delegate to Black communities after controversial issues arise. This action may provide a short term fix, but is no more than window dressing. In any case, limiting the assignments of Black officers to Black communities and showcasing them after controversy is not acceptable nor does it provide an opportunity for the type of representation needed to transcend historical Black-police relations.

> As it stands now, too many neighborhoods are perceived as spaces where racial others are by default cast as aliens, intruders, and suspects. At a minimum, changing the way we police can eliminate the perceived racial borders that our police now patrol. (Capers, 2009, p.47)

The Black community must be seen as an environment deserving full police protection and services, not just enforcement. Patrolling police cars should not be viewed with fear or suspicion, based on one's race or the race of the officer.

Limitations

This study has several limitations. Before proceeding to specific recommendations, it is necessary to acknowledge shortcomings to this research methodology. It is restricted to three local police agencies and one university in one state that I chose partially for convenience and therefore it suffers from sampling bias. It cannot be generalized nor can it purport to represent the opinions of Blacks in all police departments or capture a representative sentiment of all Black people.

It did not focus on participant police officer rank, tenure, gender, age, education, or assignment, which could have possibly led to differentiated responses. For example, both female officers that participated in this study responded similarly with regard to their presence having a questionable effect on curbing errant police force. It could be the case that a study with all female officers would reveal a theme based on the perception of their physical ability to reduce force. This research also targeted urban areas with large Black populations and may be less relevant for rural and suburban communities.

Black students pursuing higher education may not share the opinions of other Blacks unable or unwilling to further their education and may be differently informed on the topic. Other limits are the reliance on secondary data not initially meant to be applied within a specific police-Black context, but collected for other purposes. The racial identification and composition of the respondents is also problematic. I did not control for the inclusion of biracial police officers or citizens that might identify as other or White,

but who are able to contribute to this study based on their unique experience. In addition, the dichotomous nature of the study addresses the Black perspective in relation to the police power structure and does so to the exclusion of other races where similar tension might exist. Despite the inadequacies of this design, it can be a point of reference for future researchers that wish to explore further the dynamics of one of America's oldest institutions in relation to one of America's oldest groups of people.

Recommendations for Relationship Building & Consequences for Non-Resolution

The nature of police work places police officers in frequent conflict with citizens and often does not lend itself to facilitation or mediation. As a conflict resolution strategy, negotiation is most appropriate in settling disputes in street policing. It does not require an intermediary and can be used to resolve conflicts almost immediately. However, this limited conception of negotiation should not be confused with the broader role negotiation plays in relationship building. As reported in this study, Black citizens fear that police power will be abused and arbitrarily used against them. To reduce this fear, both parties must learn to share power. This may seem an odd recommendation in that police usually operate from a position of a power, but power is unstable, reliance on it can be destructive, and it often shifts with little notice (Lewicki, Saunders, & Barry, 2010). Nowhere is the police loss of power seen more clearly than with massive demonstrations of civil disobedience or worse, destructive social unrest in the form of rioting.

When citizens collectively reject and challenge police legitimacy, the cost is greater than any financial damage that occurs. Instant citizen gratification and police attempts at restoring lost control jeopardize the probability that future police-citizen

interactions will be less contentious, but social disorder also negatively affects intra-community relationships. More important than the act of social disorder is the message it carries to the local community, surrounding areas, and nation:

> Riots usually occur when there has been a loss of trust in the official agencies and agents of social control. Relations with police have nearly always been critical. When the police and the justice system are seen widely as the enemy rather than as agents for justice, established law loses its moral imperative. Charges of police brutality, or of a double standard of justice according to race, have preceded most American race riots. (Turner, 1994, pg. 313)

Invariably conflict will occur between police and the Black community, and while Black police are no magic wand, prior to such conflict occurring, Black citizens and Black police can negotiate how they will react. Understanding that not every police officer or citizen will comply, Black police and Black citizens must build relationships and maintain them through times of police-community conflict.

Recommendations for Implementation & Future Studies

I specifically suggest:

1. Black police officers in urban areas form or reinvigorate departmental or regional Black associations with a focus on community service.

2. Police agencies must identify traditional and informal leaders within the Black community and establish positive relationships with those leaders.

3. Police departments must, as closely as possible, accurately reflect community demographics. Recruiting minority officers outside the Black community may be essential.

One of the chief misgivings uncovered in this study was the shared perception that police officers in general and specifically Black police officers, do not engage the Black community outside their official police capacity. Research supports that Black citizens are more comfortable with majority Black police representation (Frank et al., 1996). I suggest that a greater social presence by Black police officers will increase satisfaction within the Black community and reduce destructive conflict.

4. In addition, I recommend that future researchers should consider exploring not only police-citizen racial relationships in departments with minority fraternal associations, but also research to determine if such associations influence police use of force.

Another perception was that Black citizens did not understand the police function and often demonized the police role. Black police officers work in bureaucratic organizations where communication is facilitated among them easier than in a community, which is conceptualized as an amorphous collection of Black citizens. Rather than solely rely on individual relationships with individuals, Black police officers should network with their contacts to identify community leaders and enlist them in improving police-citizen relations. Some leaders may initially seem adversarial to police objectives, but because communities are composed of groups with competing interests, police must seek a more purposeful relationship with each group (Weisburd & Braga, 2006).

Future researchers wishing to build on this study might also consider approaching the topic from a more theoretical perspective. They may wish to begin with a hypothesis on force and race and test it against a specific ideology such as critical race theory, labeling theory, symbolic interactionism, or Black's theory of law and social control.

Another approach could include the restructuring of the research model to include only the perception of White officers and White citizens regarding the police use of force in Black communities or the perception of White citizens on Black officers. A combination of White and Black officers might also be helpful in teasing out differences in opinion. This study relied on students from a broad range of academic disciplines, but students with a criminal justice orientation could be targeted for a variance in opinion. Likewise, only Blacks that have been the recipients of police force or police officers that have used force would likely provide a new insight.

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Appendices

Appendix A: Greeting Letter & Study Overview

Greetings,

My name is Vance Keyes and I am conducting research on how race influences perception about the police use of force. The purpose of the study is to understand better, how race affects perception within and outside police departments. In order for me to conduct my research, I need the help of people willing to participate in this research project. If you are interested and would like to learn more about my study, please click on the link below that will connect you to a site with more details. If you decide to proceed, please read the information carefully and take your time making your decision. If you have any questions after reading the provided material, please use my listed contact information and I will explain any information you do not clearly understand.

(A link will be attached for the electronic version once IRB approval is granted and research starts.)

Appendix B: Informed Consent (Student)

Consent Form for Participation in the Research Study Entitled "A Thin blue line and the great Black divide: The inter and intra departmental conflict among Black police officers, their agencies, and the community in which they work regarding critical police incidents and police use of force perception by Black Americans in a southwestern state."

Funding Source: None.

IRB protocol #:

Principal investigator
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For questions/concerns about your research rights, contact:
Human Research Oversight Board (Institutional Review Board or IRB)
Nova Southeastern University
(954) 262-5369/Toll Free: 866-499-0790
IRB@nsu.nova.edu

Site Information Address

350 West Belknap, Fort WorthTX76107

Introduction
You are invited to participate in a research study being conducted for a dissertation at Nova Southeastern University in Fort Lauderdale, Florida. Before agreeing to participate in this research study, it is important that you read the following explanation of this study. This document describes the purpose, procedures, benefits, risks, discomforts, and precautions of the program. Also described is your right to withdraw from the study at any time. No guarantees or assurances can be made as to the results of the study.

What is the study about?
The study is a research project designed to explore the relationship between Black police officers and Black community members. The use of police force in Black communities is examined by considering the perceptions of Black police officers and Black community members. The purpose of the research is to identify common themes that either strain or

strengthen Black community-police relations in an effort to assign broader meaning that may have relevance for positive conflict, policy generation, or future research.

Why are you asking me?

I am asking you to participate because I believe you have a unique understanding of the research based in racial and or professional familiarity with the subject matter. Another reason that I am requesting your participation is that you are more likely to have direct or related experience than other racial and professional demographics. I am interested in your opinions and reflections about your life in relation to this topic.

This study will include approximately 30 participants.

What will I be doing if I agree to be in the study?
You are being asked to participate in a research project to investigate the attitudes and perceptions of Black police officers and Black community members about the relationship they share and the use of police force that occur involving Blacks and Black communities. The approach of the research is through an interview. You will be asked14 questions and this should take about 45minutes. After the interview is completed, you will be asked if you have any additional comments or inquiries. The length and depth of the interview depends on the degree to which you wish to participate. You have the right to refuse or prematurely terminate your involvement in this study at any time. I will only terminate your participation if I determine that you are in danger or pose a threat to another.

Is there any audio or video recording?
This research project will include audio recording of all interviews. The audio will be captured using a digital voice recorder. This audio recording will be available to be heard by the researcher, the researcher's dissertation committee, the IRB, and the individual to which the recording was a party. No other parties will have access to the audio recordings without the express written permission of the recorded person(s).The recording will not be transcribed, but may be reduced to writing with segments being quoted in the final dissertation manuscript. The recording will be kept securely locked in a safe in the researcher's home to which only the researcher has access for 36 months. After 36 months, all recordings will be destroyed through a commercial grade shredding device. Because your voice will be potentially identifiable by anyone who hears the recording, your confidentiality for things you say on the recording cannot be guaranteed although the researcher will limit access to audio recordings as described in this paragraph.

What are the dangers to me?
The procedures or activities may involve unknown risks. Should you feel any stress or discomfort at discussing this topic, inform me, and we will discuss your uneasiness. In addition, should external pressure or coercion occur because of participation in this research, we will take appropriate steps to minimize such distress to include consultation with third parties (s), suspension of your involvement in the study or your removal from the research project if that is deemed in your best interest.

Possible risks and discomforts may include:

- Feelings of unpleasantness at recalling a personal or shared memory regarding this topic.
- External pressure or influence not to participate in this research project.
- Alienation by peers or coworkers during and after participation in this study.

"If you have any questions or concerns about the research, your research rights, or have a research-related injury or problem, please contact Vance Keyes at the number above. You may also contact the IRB at the numbers indicated above with questions as to your research rights.

Are there any benefits for taking part in this research study?
Yes.

Will I get paid for being in the study? Will it cost me anything?
There are no costs to you. You will receive a onetime payment of $25 (Visa gift card) for participating in this study. Payment will be made at the end of the interview.

How will you keep my information private?
All information obtained in this study is strictly confidential unless the law requires disclosure. Your identity as a participant will not be disclosed to any unauthorized persons; only the researchers and the Nova Southeastern University Institutional Review Board (the committee that approved this research project) will have access to the research materials, which will be kept in a locked safe for a period of 36 months. Any references to your identity that would compromise your anonymity will be removed or disguised prior to the preparation of the research reports and publications.

What if I do not want to participate or I want to leave the study?
Participation in this study is voluntary; refusal to participate will involve no penalty. You are free to withdraw consent and discontinue participation in this project at any time and for any reason. Questions concerning this research will be answered by the researcher before, during, and after the study. Any information or contribution you make to the study will be kept for 36 months, but will be excluded at your request.

Other Considerations:
If significant new information relating to the study becomes available, which may relate to your willingness to continue to participate, I will provide you with this information.

Voluntary Consent by Participant:
By signing below, you indicate that
- this study has been explained to you
- you are at least 18 years of age
- you understand written English and have read this document or it has been read to you
- your questions about this research study have been answered
- you have been told that you may ask the researchers any study related questions in the future or contact them in the event of a research-related injury
- you have been told that you may ask Institutional Review Board (IRB) personnel questions about your study rights
- you are entitled to a copy of this form after you have read and signed it
- you voluntarily agree to participate in the study entitled "The inter and intra departmental conflict among Black police officers, their agencies, and the community in which they work regarding critical police incidents and police use of force perception by Black Americans."

Participant's Signature: _____ Date: _____

Participant's Name: _____ Date: _____

Signature of Person Obtaining Consent: _____

Date: _____

Appendix C: Informed Consent (Police Officer)

NOVA SOUTHEASTERN UNIVERSITY

Consent Form for Participation in the Research Study Entitled "A Thin blue line and the great Black divide: The inter and intra departmental conflict among Black police officers, their agencies, and the community in which they work regarding critical police incidents and police use of force perception by Black Americans in a southwestern state."

Funding Source: None.

IRB protocol #:

Principal investigator
Vance DeBral Keyes, Master of Criminal Justice Administration; Master of Applied Criminology
350 West Belknap, Fort Worth, TX76107
817-253-1625

For questions/concerns about your research rights, contact:
Human Research Oversight Board (Institutional Review Board or IRB)
Nova Southeastern University
(954) 262-5369/Toll Free: 866-499-0790
IRB@nsu.nova.edu

Site Information Address

350 West Belknap, Fort WorthTX76107

Introduction
You are invited to participate in a research study being conducted for a dissertation at Nova Southeastern University in Fort Lauderdale, Florida. Before agreeing to participate in this research study, it is important that you read the following explanation of this study. This document describes the purpose, procedures, benefits, risks, discomforts, and precautions of the program. Also described is your right to withdraw from the study at any time. No guarantees or assurances can be made as to the results of the study.

What is the study about?
The study is a research project designed to explore the relationship between Black police officers and Black community members. The use of police force in Black communities is examined by considering the perceptions of Black police officers and Black community members. The purpose of the research is to identify common themes that either strain or

strengthen Black community-police relations in an effort to assign broader meaning that may have relevance for positive conflict, policy generation, or future research.

Why are you asking me?

I am asking you to participate because I believe you have a unique understanding of the research based in racial and or professional familiarity with the subject matter. Another reason that I am requesting your participation is that you are more likely to have direct or related experience than other racial and professional demographics. I am interested in your opinions and reflections about your life in relation to this topic.

This study will include approximately 30 participants.

What will I be doing if I agree to be in the study?
You are being asked to participate in a research project to investigate the attitudes and perceptions of Black police officers and Black community members about the relationship they share and the use of police force that occur involving Blacks and Black communities. The approach of the research is through an interview. You will be asked 14 questions with follow up questions depending on your answers and this should take about 45 minutes. After the interview is completed, you will be asked if you have any additional comments or inquiries. The length and depth of the interview depends on the degree to which you wish to participate. You have the right to refuse or prematurely terminate your involvement in this study at any time. I will only terminate your participation if I determine that you are in danger or pose a threat to another.

Is there any audio or video recording?
This research project will include audio recording of all interviews. The audio will be captured using a digital voice recorder. This audio recording will be available to be heard by the researcher, the researcher's dissertation committee, the IRB, and the individual to which the recording was a party. No other parties will have access to the audio recordings without the express written permission of the recorded person(s).The recording will not be transcribed, but may be reduced to writing with segments being quoted in the final dissertation manuscript. The recording will be kept securely locked in a safe in the researcher's home to which only the researcher has access for 36 months. After 36 months, all recordings will be destroyed through a commercial grade shredding device. Because your voice will be potentially identifiable by anyone who hears the recording, your confidentiality for things you say on the recording cannot be guaranteed although the researcher will limit access to audio recordings as described in this paragraph.

What are the dangers to me?
The procedures or activities may involve unknown risks. Should you feel any stress or discomfort at discussing this topic, inform me, and we will discuss your uneasiness. In addition, should external pressure or coercion occur because of participation in this research, we will take appropriate steps to minimize such distress to include consultation with third parties (s), suspension of your involvement in the study or your removal from the research project if that is deemed in your best interest.

Possible risks and discomforts may include:

- Feelings of unpleasantness at recalling a personal or shared memory regarding this topic.
- External pressure or influence not to participate in this research project.
- Alienation by peers or coworkers during and after participation in this study.

"If you have any questions or concerns about the research, your research rights, or have a research-related injury or problem, please contact Vance Keyes at the number above. You may also contact the IRB at the numbers indicated above with questions as to your research rights.

Are there any benefits for taking part in this research study?
There are no direct benefits by participating in this study.

Will I get paid for being in the study? Will it cost me anything?
There are no costs to you or payments made for participating in this study.

How will you keep my information private?
All information obtained in this study is strictly confidential unless the law requires disclosure. Your identity as a participant will not be disclosed to any unauthorized persons; only the researchers and the Nova Southeastern University Institutional Review Board (the committee that approved this research project) will have access to the research materials, which will be kept in a locked safe for a period of 36 months. Any references to your identity that would compromise your anonymity will be removed or disguised prior to the preparation of the research reports and publications.

What if I do not want to participate or I want to leave the study?
Participation in this study is voluntary; refusal to participate will involve no penalty. You are free to withdraw consent and discontinue participation in this project at any time and for any reason. Questions concerning this research will be answered by the researcher before, during, and after the study. Any information or contribution you make to the study will be kept for 36 months, but will be excluded at your request.

Other Considerations:
If significant new information relating to the study becomes available, which may relate to your willingness to continue to participate, I will provide you with this information.

Voluntary Consent by Participant:

By signing below, you indicate that

- this study has been explained to you
- you are at least 18 years of age
- you understand written English and have read this document or it has been read to you
- your questions about this research study have been answered
- you have been told that you may ask the researchers any study related questions in the future or contact them in the event of a research-related injury
- you have been told that you may ask Institutional Review Board (IRB) personnel questions about your study rights
- you are entitled to a copy of this form after you have read and signed it
- you voluntarily agree to participate in the study entitled "The inter and intra departmental conflict among Black police officers, their agencies, and the community in which they work regarding critical police incidents and police use of force perception by Black Americans."

Participant's Signature: _____ Date: _____

Participant's Name: _____ Date: _____

Signature of Person Obtaining Consent: _____

Date: _____

Appendix D: Fort Worth Police Officers' Informed Consent

Consent Form for Participation in the Research Study Entitled The inter and intra departmental conflict among Black police officers, their agencies, and the community in which they work regarding critical police incidents and police use of force perception by Black Americans.

Funding Source: None.

IRB protocol #:

Principal investigator
Vance DeBral Keyes, Master of Criminal Justice Administration; Master of Applied Criminology
350 West Belknap, Fort Worth, TX76107
817-253-1625

For questions/concerns about your research rights, contact:
Human Research Oversight Board (Institutional Review Board or IRB)
Nova Southeastern University
(954) 262-5369/Toll Free: 866-499-0790
IRB@nsu.nova.edu

Site Information Address

350 West Belknap, Fort WorthTX76107

Introduction
You are invited to participate in a research study being conducted for a dissertation at Nova Southeastern University in Fort Lauderdale, Florida. Before agreeing to participate in this research study, it is important that you read the following explanation of this study. This document describes the purpose, procedures, benefits, risks, discomforts, and precautions of the program. Also described is your right to withdraw from the study at any time. No guarantees or assurances can be made as to the results of the study.

What is the study about?
The study is a research project designed to explore the relationship between Black police officers and Black community members. The use of police force in Black communities is examined by considering the perceptions of Black police officers and Black community

members. The purpose of the research is to identify common themes that either strain or strengthen Black community-police relations in an effort to assign broader meaning that may have relevance for positive conflict, policy generation, or future research.

Why are you asking me?

I am asking you to participate because I believe you have a unique understanding of the research based in racial and or professional familiarity with the subject matter. Another reason that I am requesting your participation is that you are more likely to have direct or related experience than other racial and professional demographics. I am interested in your opinions and reflections about your life in relation to this topic.

This survey portion of this study will include approximately 500 total participants.

What will I be doing if I agree to be in the study?
You are being asked to participate in a research project to investigate the attitudes and perceptions of Black police officers and Black community members about the relationship they share and the use of police force that occur(s) involving Blacks and Black communities. The approach of the research is through an interview. You will be asked14 questions with follow up questions depending on your responses and this should take about 45 minutes to complete. The length and depth of the potential interview depends on the degree to which you wish to participate. After the interview is completed, you will be asked if you have any additional comments or inquiries. Fort Worth Officers that wish to participate will be asked to complete a second form. You have the right to refuse or prematurely terminate your involvement in this study at any time. I will only terminate your participation if I determine that you are in danger or pose a threat to another.

Is there any audio or video recording?
This research project will include audio recording of all interviews. The audio will be captured using a digital voice recorder. This audio recording will be available to be heard by the researcher, the researcher's dissertation committee, the IRB, and the individual to which the recording was a party. No other parties will have access to the audio recordings without the express written permission of the recorded person(s).The recording will not be transcribed, but may be reduced to writing with segments being quoted in the final dissertation manuscript. The recording will be kept securely locked in a safe in the researcher's home to which only the researcher has access for 36 months. After 36 months, all recordings will be destroyed through a commercial grade shredding device. Because your voice will be potentially identifiable by anyone who hears the recording, your confidentiality for things you say on the recording cannot be guaranteed although the researcher will limit access to audio recordings as described in this paragraph.

What are the dangers to me?
The procedures or activities may involve unknown risks. Should you feel any stress or discomfort at discussing this topic, inform me, and we will discuss your uneasiness. In addition, should external pressure or coercion occur because of participation in this research, we will take appropriate steps to minimize such distress to include consultation

with third parties (s), suspension of your involvement in the study or your removal from the research project if that is deemed in your best interest.

Possible risks and discomforts may include:
- Feelings of unpleasantness at recalling a personal or shared memory regarding this topic.
- External pressure or influence not to participate in this research project.
- Alienation by peers or coworkers during and after participation in this study.

"If you have any questions or concerns about the research, your research rights, or have a research-related injury or problem, please contact Vance Keyes at the number above. You may also contact the IRB at the numbers indicated above with questions as to your research rights.

Are there any benefits for taking part in this research study?
There are no direct benefits by participating in this study.

Will I get paid for being in the study? Will it cost me anything?
There are no costs to you or payments made for participating in this study.

How will you keep my information private?
All information obtained in this study is strictly confidential unless the law requires disclosure. Your identity as a participant will not be disclosed to any unauthorized persons; only the researchers and the Nova Southeastern University Institutional Review Board (the committee that approved this research project) will have access to the research materials, which will be kept in a locked safe for a period of 36 months. Any references to your identity that would compromise your anonymity will be removed or disguised prior to the preparation of the research reports and publications.

What if I do not want to participate or I want to leave the study?
Participation in this study is voluntary; refusal to participate will involve no penalty. You are free to withdraw consent and discontinue participation in this project at any time and for any reason. Questions concerning this research will be answered by the researcher before, during, and after the study. Any information or contribution you make to the study will be kept for 36 months, but will be excluded at your request.

Other Considerations:
If significant new information relating to the study becomes available, which may relate to your willingness to continue to participate, I will provide you with this information.

Voluntary Consent by Participant:

By signing below, you indicate that

- this study has been explained to you
- you are at least 18 years of age
- you understand written English and have read this document or it has been read to you
- your questions about this research study have been answered
- you have been told that you may ask the researchers any study related questions in the future or contact them in the event of a research-related injury
- you have been told that you may ask Institutional Review Board (IRB) personnel questions about your study rights
- you are entitled to a copy of this form after you have read and signed it
- you voluntarily agree to participate in the study entitled "The inter and intra departmental conflict among Black police officers, their agencies, and the community in which they work regarding critical police incidents and police use of force perception by Black Americans."

Participant's Signature: _____ Date: _____

Participant's Name: _____ Date: _____

Signature of Person Obtaining Consent: _____

Date: _____

Appendix E: Supplemental Informed Consent Form (Fort Worth Police Officers)

Dear Interview participant, my name is Vance D. Keyes. If you are reading this form, you are a sworn Fort Worth Police Officer that has elected to participate in the interview process. The intent of this research project will be to obtain factual as well as opinionated data about police use of force from municipal law enforcement practitioners and college students that self-identify as Black or African American. I will conduct interviews with both groups. I specifically plan to interview sworn police personnel from the Arlington, Dallas, and Fort Worth Police Departments. Your participation in this research is on a voluntary basis and you will be identified by pseudonym only. I will keep research notes on all collected data and compile my findings in a presentation to my research committee. Because you are a Fort Worth Police Officer, additional safeguards must be taken to protect your involvement in this research project and I ask that you respond to the questions below.

Please Select your Rank:

❑Police Officer ❑Corporal /Detective❑Sergeant ❑Lieutenant ❑Captain ❑Deputy Chief❑Assistant Chief

Your Relationship with the Researcher (Vance Keyes) is best described as:

❑Personal

❑Professional

❑Acquaintance

❑No Relationship

You were primarily motivated to participate in the interview section of this research because:

❑The researcher or someone acting on his behalf asked me to participate.

❑I want to contribute to the research and am interested in the outcome.

❑I want to help the researcher.

In your own words, explain your desire to participate in the interview process (optional):

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For questions/concerns about your rights as a sworn civil service employee contact:
Human Resources Department (Civil Service Commission)
City of Fort Worth
(817) 392-7846
Department Contact: Chairperson Juanita Jimenez juanita.jimenez@fortworthtexas.gov

Participant's Signature: _____ Date: _____

Participant's Name: _____ Date: _____

Signature of Person Obtaining Consent: _____

Date: _____

Appendix F: Departmental Policy

404.00 GRIEVANCE PROCEDURE FOR SWORN PERSONNEL
404.01 SCOPE OF GRIEVANCE PROCEDURE

Grievance shall mean an alleged violation or inequitable application of the rules, procedures, regulations, or policies of the police department. A grievance is a dispute between the employer and employee concerning working conditions, interpretations or applications of any provision of rules and procedures relating to work which adversely and directly affects the aggrieved employee. Disciplinary action covered under Chapters 142 and 143 of the *Local Government Code of Texas*, is sued by the Chief of Police, shall not be grievable except as provided in General Order 404.02 (A) be low. Assignments approved by the Chief of Police or transfers shall not be subject to the grievance procedure except as provided in section 404.03 F below. It shall be the guiding principle of the Fort Worth Police Department that no formal or informal action shall be taken against an employee due to that employee's participation in the grievance procedure as either a grievant or a witness to a grievance.

404.02 TIME LIMITATIONS

A. The aggrieved employee may file the grievance with their immediate supervisor at Step 1 below within ten (10) days of its occurrence or, if the employee is unaware of the grievance, within six (6) months of its occurrence. A grievance not brought within the time limit prescribed in Step 1, or submitted within the time limits pre scribed for every step thereafter, shall not be considered timely and shall not be grievable unless that time limitation is waived by the Chief of Police. If a matter is first filed with the Civil Service Commission and a hearing is denied, the aggrieved officer may file a grievance complaint within ten (10) days of that denial.

1. A written grievance not responded to within the time limits prescribed by the appropriate management representative at each step shall proceed to the next step in the procedure. The representative who did not respond within the prescribed time limits shall provide a written explanation of the noncompliance, in addition to any gathered information, to the next level, with a copy to the Chief of Police.

2. The time limits pre scribed herein may be waived by mutual agreement, in writing, by the aggrieved employee and the appropriate management representative at any step. B. Affirmative Action Coordinator 400-7 The Affirmative Action Coordinator shall receive notification and copies of all grievances and shall notify the Chief of Police of compliance or noncompliance with this procedure and of the findings/recommendations of each level of review including that of the Grievance Committee. C. Representation The aggrieved employee, at steps 2 through 5 as follows, may be represented by any active member of the department.

404.03 GRIEV ANCE PROCEDURE STEPS

A. Step 1

1. To file a grievance, an aggrieved employee shall meet with the employee's immediate supervisor within ten (10) days of the grievable incident and discuss the grievance.

2. The employee and immediate supervisor shall discuss the solutions offered at a mutually satisfactory time and make every effort possible to re solve the grievance. The supervisor shall, when appropriate, consult with their immediate supervisor in regard to possible solutions to the grievance at this level. When the employee and the supervisor complete Step 1, the supervisor shall submit an inter-office correspondence containing:

a. Name and assignment of employee.

b. Assignment of employee when grievance occurred.

c. Name of immediate super visor when grievance occurred.

d. Specific issues of the grievance.

e. Date and time that the grieved act occurred.

f. Date and time that the employee contact occurred.

g. Specific relief requested by the employee.

h. Date of response.

i. Results of informal discussion.

j. Actions taken in attempts to resolve the grievance.

k. Details of the supervisory response to the aggrieved employee.

l. Date and time of the acceptance or rejection by the employee.

3. The correspondence shall be directed to the appropriate division captain with a copy to the Affirmative Action Coordinator within ten (10) days of notice of the grievance.

B. Step 2

1. If the grievance is not resolved to the employee's satisfaction at Step 1, the aggrieved employee may proceed to the next level by submitting a formal grievance in writing with the following headings and data:

a. Name, identification number, and assignment.

b. Assignment at date of grievance.

c. Specific issues of the grievance.

d. Date and time of grievance.

e. Specific de tails of the matter that brings it into scope of the grievance procedure.

f. The date, time, and name of immediate supervisor with whom the grievance was discussed at the informal level.

g. The results of the informal discussion.

h. The date of response by the supervisor.

i. The reason for request of formal review of the grievance.

2. This document shall be submitted to the employee's division captain with a copy to the Affirmative Action Coordinator no later than ten (10) working days after notification that the grievance cannot be resolved at Step 1.

3. The division captain shall make a concerted effort to re solve the grievance and shall respond in writing detailing the actions taken to re solve the matter. If the grievance is not resolved, a copy of the division captain's response shall be provided to the grievant and to the Affirmative Action Coordinator.

4. If the grievance is resolved, the employee and the division captain shall prepare writ ten explanations of the resolution, initial the formal grievance, and forward all documents to the Affirmative Action Coordinator.

C. Step 3

400-8

If the grievance is not resolved in Step 2, the aggrieved employee may proceed to the next level by serving written notice, along with all accompanying correspondence within ten (10) working days with the employee's bureau deputy chief.

1. It shall be the responsibility of the employee's division captain to ensure that all documents, records, or any other papers that form the basis for supervisory decisions in Steps 1 and 2 are supplied to the aggrieved employee's bureau deputy chief.

2. The bureau deputy chief and the employee shall discuss possible solutions to the grievance and make every effort possible to resolve the grievance at this level.

3. The bureau deputy chief shall make a concerted effort to resolve the grievance and shall respond in writing detailing the actions taken to resolve the matter. If the grievance is not re solved, a copy of the bureau deputy chief's response shall be provided to the grievant and to the Affirmative Action Coordinator.

4. If the grievance is resolved, the aggrieved employee and the bureau deputy chief shall pre pare writ ten explanation of the resolution and forward all copies of the documents to the Affirmative Action Coordinator.

D. Step 4 - Formal Re view Third Level

If the grievance is not resolved in Step 3, the aggrieved employee may proceed to the next level by serving writ ten notice, along with all accompanying correspondence, within ten (10) days with the Affirmative Action Coordinator.

1. The affected bureau deputy chief, upon impasse at Step 3, shall forward all documents, records, and other papers that form the basis for supervisory decisions in Steps 1 through 3 to the Affirmative Action Coordinator within five (5) working days from the date the bureau deputy chief receives it.

2. The supporting documents shall then be supplied within five (5) working days to the chairperson of the grievance committee by the Affirmative Action Coordinator.

3. The chairperson shall be responsible for notifying the appropriate bureau deputy chief, the Affirmative Action Coordinator, and all other appropriate individuals of the date, time, and place that the committee shall meet. This initial meeting of the grievance committee shall occur within ten (10) working days of its receipt of all documents from the Affirmative Action Coordinator.

4. Once a grievance committee hearing takes place and it is determined that more information, papers, records, witnesses, testimony, etc., is required, an inter-office correspondence from the committee shall be directed to the Affirmative Action Coordinator indicating those areas where clarification is needed.

5. The Affirmative Action Coordinator shall respond to the grievance committee no later than five (5) days from its request. The committee shall meet as soon as possible to dispose of the matter. In any case, the grievance committee shall report within ten (10) days after the initial hearing, its findings and recommendation to the Chief of Police. These findings are for the purpose of aiding the chief in making a determination of what

action should be taken in regards to the resolution of the grievance. The findings and recommendations are advisory in nature and are not binding upon the Chief of Police.
E. Step 5
After receipt of the finding of the grievance committee, the Chief of Police or designee shall schedule a meeting with the aggrieved employee at which time the matter shall be discussed and a determination shall be made as to the action to be taken in regard to the matter ad dressed in the grievance. The chief shall respond in writing to the aggrieved employee within thirty (30) days after the scheduled meeting with the aggrieved employee.
1. If the grievance is resolved, the employee and the Chief of Police shall initial the grievance form and forward it, along with all ac companying documents, to the Affirmative Action Coordinator.
2. If the grievance is not resolved, the employee may submit it, along with all accompanying documents, within ten (10) days, to the City Manager or designated representative and to the Affirmative Action Coordinator. The City
Manager or designee shall be the final arbitrator of the grievance.
F. If an employee makes a good faith report of violations of law by the City or another public employee and thereafter believes that their employment has been suspended, terminated, or other adverse personnel action has been taken against them because of that report, the employee may file a retaliation complaint through the grievance procedure guide lines.
1. The employee must file a retaliation report not later than the 90th day after the date on which the alleged retaliation:
400-9
a. Occurred; or
b. Was discovered by the employee through reason able diligence.
2. The employee must state in writing in the retaliation complaint:
a. The substance of the violation of law, including the law violated, the location and date of the violation, and the names and position of authority of the persons violating the law,
b. To whom the report of the violation was made,
c. The date of the report,
d. The nature of the adverse employment action taken against the employee because of the report of a violation of the law,
e. The date the ad verse employment action against the employee was taken, and
f. The name of the supervisor or other employee who caused the adverse employment action to be taken.

705.02 ETHICAL STANDARDS

No member of the police department shall knowingly:
A. Accept or so licit any gift or favor from any person, corporation, or association of persons that might reason ably tend to influence the member in the discharge of their official duties, or in consideration of such member having exercised any official power or having performed any official duty.

B. Accept or solicit any gift or favor, including a promise of future employment, or a favor or service from another member or any other person, corporation or association of persons:

1. Who is licensed or has a substantial interest in any business entity that is licensed by the city, or by any department, agency, commission, or board on which the meter serves; or

2. Who has a personal financial interest in any proposed ordinance or decision upon which the member may or must act or make a recommendation provided; however, that the members and their spouses may attend ceremonial functions, and that such attendance has been approved by the City Council prior to the occurrence of the ceremonial function.

C. Disclose any confidential information gained by reason of the position of the member concerning the property, operations, policies, or affairs of the city, or use such confidential information to advance any personal interest, financial or otherwise, of such member or others.

D. Use one's position or office of employment, or the city facilities, personnel, equipment, or supplies for the private gain of the member or grant in the discharge of their official duties any improper favor, service, or thing of value. This prohibition shall be construed to specifically prohibit the soliciting of another member's retirement or voluntary demotion to create a position vacancy to facilitate a promotion from an existing promotion list and, also, the acceptance of any gift, favor, or thing of value by or on behalf of one member from another member, directly or in directly, in consideration of retirement or creating a position vacancy by voluntary demotion for the purpose of facilitating promotion from an existing promotion list.

706.00 DEPARTMENTAL RELA TIONSHIPS
706.01 PROCEDURES

A. A conflict of interest arises whenever an employee disregards the public interest in favor of other interests such as personal, family or business relationships. A conflict may exist whenever an employee because of one of these relationships is incapable of impartially per forming their official duties. A conflict of interest may result in favorable or unfavorable actions whenever decisions are based on personal, family or business relationships.

B. The avoidance of conflict is particularly important for all levels of command and supervision with their subordinates by rank or classification especially within the same chain of command or workgroup. The authority given a supervisor over a subordinate is a responsibility entrusted to that supervisor by the Chief of Police. That extended responsibility demands that every decision made by the supervisor be totally objective, impeccably fair, and above all, devoid of any favor able or unfavorable actions due to any relationship between the supervisor and the subordinate. Also, when a supervisor has a personal, family or business relationship with a subordinate, any one of these relationships may result in a negative perception by others and the motive for decisions made by the supervisor may be come suspect and compromise the integrity of all involved. This could lead to a disruptive work environment, reduced productivity and a decline in overall morale.

C. Definitions

1. For purposes of this order, a supervisor is defined as a person who has command, control, direction or supervision over others.

2. For purposes of this order, workgroup includes a division, section, neighborhood policing district, or unit.

3. A supervisor/subordinate work relationship exists when, within the chain of command or workgroup, one employee commands, controls, directs, supervises, or may influence another employee's terms, conditions or privileges of employment.

700-8

D. When any employee determines a conflict exists or may exist due to personal, family or business reasons, the employee shall immediately contact their immediate supervisor or commander. The supervisor or commander contacted will re solve the situation in accordance with the provisions of this order.

E. An employee required to report a relationship in which they are involved or one involving others may find it uncomfortable or awkward to report the matter to their immediate supervisor. Therefore, employees may report the matter to any ascending-level supervisor in their chain of command, the police chaplain, or the female employees coordinator. The person receiving the information shall immediately report the matter to the appropriate deputy chief or the Chief of Po lice.

Fort Worth Police Department General Orders reprinted with permission of the Fort Worth Police Department

Appendix G: Support Letter

FORT WORTH BLACK LAW ENFORCEMENT OFFICERS ASSOCIATION
P.O. Box 1078 * Fort Worth, Texas 76102

October 21, 2013

EXECUTIVE OFFICERS

PRESIDENT
Dwayne Daleo

1ˢᵗ VICE PRESIDENT
Roy Hudson

SECRETARY
Cassandra Smith

TREASURER
Linda Hightower

SGT AT ARMS
Ivory Davis

BOARD OF DIRECTORS

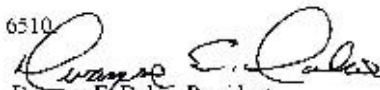David Smith

Kevin Fitchett

Leonard Elvin

John Thompson

Dear Nova Southeastern University IRB:

My name is Dwayne Daleo and I am the President of the Fort Worth Black Law Enforcement Officers' Association. I am writing formally to communicate our awareness of the research proposed by Mr. Vance DeBrul Keyes, a student at Nova Southeastern University. We are aware that Mr. Keyes intends to conduct his research by interviewing some of our association members. The purpose of this letter is to communicate the support of this association and acknowledge that Mr. Keyes has communicated that his research project is titled: A Thin Blue Line and the Great Black Divide: The Inter and Intra Departmental Conflict among Black Police Officers, Their agencies, and the Communities in which They Work Regarding Critical Police Incidents and Police Use of Force Perception by Black Americans in a Southwestern State. The FWBLEOA is a fraternal organization where each member has an equal vote and right to express themselves freely regardless of rank. No member of this association is compelled to participate in Mr. Keyes' research as a condition of his position within the Fort Worth Police Department and any participation will be voluntary by this association's members. If you have any questions or concerns, please feel free to contact me at 817-871-6510

Dwayne D. Daleo, President

Fort Worth Black Law Enforcement Association

Appendix H: Site Permission Letter

TEXAS A&M
UNIVERSITY
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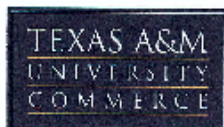
Date: October 22, 2013

To: Nova Southeastern Institutional Review Board

Re: Site Letter for Vance DeBral Keyes research project entitled:

A Thin Blue Line and the Great Black Divide: The Inter and Intra Departmental Conflict among Black Police Officers, Their Agencies, and the Communities in which They Work Regarding Critical Police Incidents Use of Force Perception by Black Americans in a Southwestern State

Please be advised that Mr. Keyes has permission to conduct research at Texas A&M University-Commerce after both Nova Southeastern and the Texas A&M University-Commerce IRBs have reviewed and approved the IRB protocol. It is anticipated that this research will take approximately 3 months to one year from time of approval of the IRB protocol to complete. Mr. Keyes has my full support and I am happy and willing to assist him in this endeavor. Should you have any questions, please do not hesitate to contact me at 903 886 5175 or Melinda.Schlager@tamuc.edu.

Melinda Schlager, Ph.D.
Associate Dean, College of Humanities, Social Sciences, and Art
Director, Applied Criminology Program

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College of Humanities, Social Sciences & Arts
P.O. Box 3011 • Commerce, TX 75429-3011 • Phone: 903.886.5175 • Fax: 903.886.5774 • www.tamuc.edu

A Member of The Texas A&M University system

Appendix I: Participant Research Questions

- Is there a relationship between perception on police use of force and race?

- Are Black police officers change agents or perpetrators of the status quo?

- Should Black police officers have greater responsibilities to Black communities than non-Black police officers?

- Do members of the Black community expect differential treatment from Black officers?

- How do Black officer attitudes complicate or complement their law enforcement role?

- Are Black police officers more loyal to their departments or communities?

- Is there a conflict of interest (role disparity) in being Black and being a police officer?

- Does the percentage of Blacks employed by the police department reflect the percentage of Blacks that live in this town, city, etc.? Do you believe this influences the quality of police service in Black communities? Why or why not?

- Does the presence of Black officers during the arrest process of Black arrestees mitigate the police use of force? Why or Why not?

- What has been your experience with Black police officers and the Black community?

- How does an officer's race play a factor in the decision to use force?

- What are the most important factors in gaining support from the Black Community? From the Black officers?

- How has this issue affected you?

- What particular experience do you have with this topic?

Appendix J: Flyer

A Thin blue line and the great Black divide: A look at the inter and intra departmental conflict among Black police officers, their agencies, and the community in which they work regarding critical police incidents and police use of force perception by Black Americans in a southwestern state.

Participants Needed! Call 817-253-1625 or email vancekeyes@yahoo.com for more information.

Appendix K: Biographical Sketch

Vance D. Keyes earned a Bachelor and Master of Science in the Administration of Criminal Justice from Mountain State University and a Master of Science in Applied Criminology from Texas A&M University—Commerce. He earned his Doctor of Philosophy in Conflict Analysis & Resolution from Nova Southeastern University. He is a former U.S. Marine and career police officer. His plan is to continue researching how race influences relationships and to explore different aspects of the criminal justice system.