

2016

The Opinions and Attitudes of Police Officers to Proposed Changes to Law Enforcement

Jason C. Contessa

Follow this and additional works at: <https://researchrepository.wvu.edu/etd>

Recommended Citation

Contessa, Jason C., "The Opinions and Attitudes of Police Officers to Proposed Changes to Law Enforcement" (2016). *Graduate Theses, Dissertations, and Problem Reports*. 5390.
<https://researchrepository.wvu.edu/etd/5390>

This Thesis is protected by copyright and/or related rights. It has been brought to you by the The Research Repository @ WVU with permission from the rights-holder(s). You are free to use this Thesis in any way that is permitted by the copyright and related rights legislation that applies to your use. For other uses you must obtain permission from the rights-holder(s) directly, unless additional rights are indicated by a Creative Commons license in the record and/ or on the work itself. This Thesis has been accepted for inclusion in WVU Graduate Theses, Dissertations, and Problem Reports collection by an authorized administrator of The Research Repository @ WVU. For more information, please contact researchrepository@mail.wvu.edu.

The Opinions and Attitudes of Police Officers to Proposed Changes to Law Enforcement

Jason C. Contessa

**Thesis submitted
to the Eberly College of Arts and Sciences
at West Virginia University**

in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of

**Master of Arts in
Sociology**

**Jesse Wozniak, Ph.D., Chair
James Nolan, Ph.D.
Jason Manning, Ph.D.**

Department of Sociology

**Morgantown, West Virginia
2016**

**Keywords: Police, Change, Officer, Development, Field of Policing, Opinions, Attitudes.
Copyright 2016 Jason C. Contessa**

ABSTRACT

The Opinions and Attitudes of Police Officers to Proposed Changes to Law Enforcement

Jason C. Contessa

The field of policing has recently come under the public scrutiny due to the events surrounding the deaths of several citizens at the hands of police officers. Although not the first time policing has been criticized, the issues have caused the country to become increasingly divided on whether or not American police forces are in need of reform. There has been an overwhelming amount of complaints against law enforcement and suggestions to improve policies. As political and public figures have taken sides and police administration has made statements regarding the issues, the voices of those that would be most affected by change have been drowned out; the officers. This study has identified which issues have become most important to the public through a quantitative content analysis, obtained the reactions and opinions of law enforcement officers on these issues and suggestions, and developed an officer development model to determine which factors of the institution of policing are most influential in “problem officer” development. This study specifically focuses on rural law enforcement due to how underrepresented rural policing is in law enforcement literature.

Table of Contents

I.	Introduction	1
II.	Review of Literature	3
III.	Theoretical Framework	10
IV.	Methods	14
V.	Findings	16
	a. Quantitative Content Analysis	16
	b. Opinions of Proposed Changes	16
	c. “Problem Officers” Model	25
VI.	Discussion	30
VII.	Conclusions	32
VIII.	Resources	34
IX.	Appendix A	36
X.	Appendix B	37
XI.	Appendix C	38
XII.	Appendix D	39

Introduction

Since the summer of 2014, the country has become increasingly divided when it comes to the topic of law enforcement in the United States. On one side, we have those who align themselves with the values of the proponents of movements like “Black Lives Matter” and “Cop Block.” They argue that the police are not being held accountable for their actions. That they are not acting lawfully, they are racists, and that police are too brutal and violent. On the other side are those who align themselves with the ideals of groups like “Blue Lives Matter.” These individuals support law enforcement officers across the country. They claim that officers are doing their jobs correctly, that many members of society fail to accept responsibility for their actions and attempt to blame the police, and that police are heroes who put the lives of others before their own.

This split has been fueled by the recent media attention given to cases where citizens have died during police-citizen interactions. More specifically, these opinionated camps have arisen after the incident in Ferguson, Missouri, where Officer Darren Wilson fatally shot 18-year-old Michael Brown on August 9th, 2014. Those who sympathized with Mr. Brown’s family flocked from across the country to Ferguson to provide support and protest the police. After some protests were deemed too dangerous by officials, law enforcement responded by gaining support from surrounding departments, donning riot gear, and utilizing armored vehicles. Other noteworthy publicized events that expanded this division was the death of 43-year-old Eric Garner after being put in a chokehold by NYPD Officer Daniel Pantaleo and 12-year-old Tamir Rice shot by Timothy Loehmann, who was informed that he might have a gun, which turned out to be a toy gun.

These events have sparked a widespread public outcry against law enforcement policies and practices. Several public leaders and politicians have come forward made statements on the

use of violence by the police and the calls for change have been deafening. Some of the most commonly talked about concerns are the militarization of police forces, racism within police departments, and the poor or outdated training for police officers. Many protestors have become fearful of the small armies of police that are patrolling their streets.

Along with these concerns, came a slew of suggestions to change policing policies and procedures. Updating and adding training, increasing the amount of minority officers, having minority officers patrol minority dominated areas, and, probably the biggest push, having police officers wear body cameras that film all their interactions with the public. However, can these changes fix the problems? Will the implementation of new policies be a positive thing for police forces? Many actors, from public officials, to various community members, to police administrators, have speculated on these issues, but rarely heard in the discussion has been those who would be most directly affected by any changes: the officers in the field.

The purpose of this study is threefold. First, this study explores the many concerns voiced by the public and determines which are most supported issues and suggestions. These criticisms of policing are not a new phenomenon brought about by these current events. The policing field has often been the focus of much scrutiny during times when officers have overstepped their legal boundaries and infringed upon the rights of citizens. The reasoning behind the recent movements and protests to the recent citizen fatalities share many similarities to those after the beating of Rodney King in Los Angeles, CA, in 1991. The most apparent similarity is the races of those involved with many of the police officers being White and the victims being Black.

Second, this study obtains the opinions and reactions of law enforcement officers to the public's concerns and suggestions to alter the field of policing. More importantly, this study focuses on the opinions and reactions of rural law enforcement officers. With the amount of

research that has been conducted on law enforcement, rural law enforcement has been largely ignored by the research community. The opinions of rural officers provides new incite to how the culture of policing differs based on geographical location. This study helps expand the literature on rural law enforcement and strongly posits that we cannot generalize the findings of studies conducted on large, urban departments to smaller, rural ones.

Finally, a model has been developed to determine which factors of the socialization process most influence a recruit to become a “problem officers.” In order to proactively work towards more effective officer development, we must not only look on the problems that have been pointed out by the public, public figures, and politicians. This study made the effort to determine which factors of the field of policing are detrimental to officer development and normalize the aggressiveness of American policing. This model was first developed through an application of theory and a review of literature on policing and then modified by the culture of rural policing seen in officer interviews.

Literature Review

When examining the literature concerned with law enforcement, we can see that studies interested in rural law enforcement are drastically less popular than the studies of their larger, urban counterparts. This occurs even though “approximately 80% of the 17,000 local police agencies in this country are located in small towns and rural communities” (Bartol, 1996). Police research surged just over half a century ago and much of the focus has been on the nature of police officers and the methods of policing in urban environments (Schafer, Burruss, & Giblin, 2009). Much of the findings of that research has then been generalized to the rural law enforcement agencies, their tactics, and their policies (Wolfer & Baker, 2010).

Much of this overgeneralization has not gone unchecked. Through the work of Payne, Berg, and Sun (2005), we have seen that the workloads of rural law enforcement officers are

very different from that of urban law enforcement. Some of the most common calls that rural law enforcement has to deal with involve animals (primarily dogs), drunks, domestic discord, disorder, and ancillary themes, such as nuisance calls and problem solving. Research has shown that rural law enforcement devotes more time to crime prevention activities than do officers located in urban environments. The lower number of calls and increased amount of “unassigned free-time” may account for this difference (Rhodes & Johnson, 2008).

However, the types of calls seen by rural officers have begun to change. Since the early 1990s, there has been an increase in the reports of “car thefts, gangs, muggings, parking lot robberies, and other acts of violence” in suburban and rural areas across the country (Kuhns, Maguire, & Cox, 2007). Even more importantly, the production and distribution of more debilitating and harmful drugs have moved into rural areas. In the past, the major drug problem of rural America had been marijuana, but now methamphetamine, heroin, and cocaine have become more prevalent (Brock, Copeland, Scott, & Ethridge, 2001).

The relationship rural law enforcement has with the community it polices is also drastically different than urban law enforcement. Rural officers are expected to provide their community with a variety of services due to the lack of social services agencies. They also are gain respect from their community differently than their urban counterparts. Officers from larger, metropolitan departments are often respected due to their position or role in the professional police department, whereas officers in rural communities must gain respect individually and on a personal level with citizens (Weisheit, Wells, & Falcone, 1994). The problem that many rural officers face is the low amounts of anonymity that exists in rural environments. When someone is arrested, it does not take long for the rest of the community to know the details. What arises from this is that both offender and officer can face degrees of disapproval and stigma for their

role in the incident. The officer can be scorned by friends and family of the offender and the offender can be labeled by the community with no hope of removing that disapproval (Anderson, Swenson, & Clay, 1995; Braithwaite, 1989).

Although rural law enforcement has its own unique features, there are several aspects of American field of policing that is constant throughout. One of these concepts is the focus that police must be powerful. “Police work has always been brutal” (Simon, 1991, p. 549). Forceful police tactics, which can take both physical and mental forms, still exist within many aspects of policing. For example, the art of police interrogation has moved from physical abuse to more psychological coercion (Leo, 2008). This has mostly been accomplished through the socialization process that police cadets go through after they are hired. At the police academy, cadets are trained in the fundamentals of policing. We can begin to see two central features of American policing here that will persist throughout the careers of police officers: masculinity standards and a militaristic hierarchal structure.

The police academy has pushed the cadets to develop very specific masculine characteristics. Cadets are taught to be tough, have courage, and be physical. They are trained to combat the dangers of the job by becoming physically fit, have specific fighting skills, and focusing their marksmanship. The police academy, which on average takes 19 weeks to complete (Reaves, 2006), exposes cadets to the norms that determine acceptable and unacceptable police behaviors, which effectively re-socializes them and changes their personalities to conform to a worldview from a policing perspective. The worldview involves an “us vs. them” mentality that is meant to remind cadets that they will become the “guardians that will rid society of the deviants” (Marion, 1998; McNamara, 2002).

These police academies are normally structured in a para-militaristic style. Although this a militaristic structure has been used within policing since the early 20th century, it has only been recently that the lines between police officer and soldier have begun to be blurred. After the events of 9/11 and the creation of the Department of Homeland Security, over \$35 billion has been granted to law enforcement to purchase military gear (Balko, 2013). The militarization of polices originally began after the race riots of the 1960s, when the Kerner Commission was created by the Johnson administration to determine the causes of civil unrest in urban areas. One of the most heavily embraced recommendations was increasing the size and fire power wielded by police (Stretesky, 2002). This ideology was pursued across the country and its leading practice was the development of Police Paramilitary Units, or PPU.

These units are comprised of officers that have gone under specialized military training to be used in high-stress, dangerous situations (Kraska & Kappeler, 1997). However, they are more commonly used in the execution of search and arrest warrants. This blending of military tactics once again reinforces masculinity standards onto police officers suggesting “to be manly means to be a potential warrior (Enloe, 1993). These units have spread to small rural departments and, unfortunately, receive significantly less training than their urban counterparts. This surge in PPU and expansion of their normal uses has led to the increase in support of solving problems through force (Kraska & Cubellis, 1997). This normalization may prove to work against the goals of law enforcement by inciting more deviance in to the escalation or over-escalation of situations by police (Marx, 1981).

This militarization and increase of force has increased the brutality of police tactics. Reifert’s (2002) review of the use of deadly force by police showed that the training for police has changed since the ruling of *Tennessee v. Garner* (1985). Protecting oneself and others

through the use of a firearm has become a justified and reinforced norm. In reviewing police academies and the training of new recruits, Marion (1998) found that firearms was emphasized as “the most necessary and popular area of training.” The problem with police brutality is that there is no standard definition and whether or not police were too forceful during an encounter with a citizen can come down to a matter of opinion. It can be compared to the opinion of Justice Potter Stewart on pornography such that brutality cannot be defined, but the justice system will know it when they see it. After 1994, the Justice Department was required to collect and publish statistics on the use of force by police officers. However, the publishing of these reports has been irregular. In both 1996 and 1999, the reports found that nearly half a million people are victims of violence or threats of violence during interactions with police (Williams, 2004, p. 12-14).

The normalization of the use of force has become institutionalized, taught to, and defended by police officers. Common attempts to dispel the public’s concern stems from the use of “Rotten Apples” Theory by police administration. This strategy attempts to push the blame away from the institution of policing to avoid changing it and onto the individual police officers that are considered to be “a dime a dozen” in the field of policing (Williams, 2004, p 21). In relation to this defense, others have argued that policing has made many progressive leaps over the years in how exactly they choose new recruits. Through complex psychological testing, higher caliber applicants have been chosen to join the force and, in doing so, administrators have cut down the chances of officers being too brutal in their tactics (Reifert, 2002). The defense of brutality also comes from below the brass and is protected by other officers through the “code of silence,” which emphasizes that officers should not report on other officers abuse of citizens, even if they think it occurred. Research has found that there are many strategies that are used by

officers to explain away abuse. These strategies include: denial, minimization, blame, redefinition, unintentionality, counterattack, and competing victimization (Williams, 2004).

In an attempt to defeat crime, the New York Police Department turned towards broken windows policing, implemented by Commissioner William J. Bratton after his appointment in 1993. The focus of the tactic was to initiate a zero-tolerance, order-maintenance style of policing in minor aspects of crime to forcefully reduce all forms of crime (Waddington & King, 2007). This leads us to the common misconception that broken windows policing means zero-tolerance policing. It is important to distinguish the two. Broken windows, as developed by criminologist George L. Kelling and James Q. Wilson, is meant to bring the police and community together to prevent local crime by focusing on minor offenses before they could escalate into more serious and perhaps violent crime. In a recent interview, George Kelling still claims that broken windows works and that it is a tactic within community policing strategy (Morrison, 2015).

The problem that seems to have arisen is the loss of the community aspect of broken windows policing. As new officers join the force, they are instructed to carry out the law on certain offenses, leading to the immediate arrests of violators committing these less serious offenses, sending the message that “the police are paying attention and will enforce community standards” (Rosenfeld, Fornango, & Rengifo, 2007). Reestablishing the link between the police and community may change the public’s perception of the style of policing. Although data shows that overall crime rates had decreased after implementation of this tactic, crime rates had already begun to fall in the years leading up to the change in tactic and comparable sized metropolitan areas also showed decreases in crime without this style of policing in use.

The lull of community involvement in broken windows policing has led to an increase of aggressive police tactics and what appears to be institutionalized racism. One of the historical

pre-requisites for police brutality has been grounded in the concept that laws are designed to maximize the control that Caucasian majority has over people of color (Williams, 2004, p. 91). Many of the “wars” waged by policing discriminate people of low-economic neighborhoods, which are mostly populated by minority citizens such as Blacks and Latinos. For example, the Rapid Deployment Unit (RDU) in Washington D.C. polices the urban ghetto, an area where 40% of the population is Black. In order to control crime, they engage in three main activities: “rips” (arresting drug dealers after they sell to an undercover officer), vehicle stops, and search warrants. Their surveillance of primarily black neighborhoods has institutionalized racism by focusing drug use as a problem that only young, Black men have (Chambliss, 1994).

Race has long been used to direct police activities before the use of high-discriminatory tactics were implemented (see Williams, 2004 Chapter 2). Profiling has led conventional wisdom to dictate that minorities are much more likely than Whites to commit serious street crime (Carmichael & Jacobs, 2002). Due to this, racial profiling has significantly contributed to the overrepresentation of minorities, especially Blacks, in the criminal justice system. In his review of race and justice, Scott Alexander (2014) analyzed how race has affected different aspects of the criminal justice system. He first addresses the encounter rate of police officers Whites and Blacks and states that good data exists showing that officers stop Blacks more often, but this might be explained through the effects of the neighborhood in which the officers patrol. He posits that although previous studies show an inclination for police to stop Black citizens, their reasons may not be racially based. Many use this to further push that crime primarily exists within the neighborhoods of low socio-economic status claiming that the data speaks for itself. However, it is not at all possible to conclude that crime is primarily committed by minorities if one only looks at arrest data. If you were to look at prosecution and conviction rates, the

numbers paint a very different story. Joan Petersilla's (1983) work on racial disparities in the criminal justice system showed that, when broken down by category, the chances of Blacks being sentenced decreases. Her work showed that of fourteen major crime categories, blacks have higher acquittal rates in twelve of them. It is important to state that although the likelihood of racial bias exists in some parts of the criminal justice system, the actual levels of bias appear to be limited and only detectable through the use of heavy statistical aggregation. With racism being such a prominent issue for policing today, understanding why the perceived racism exists is more important.

As we can see from previous studies on policing, the culture of American policing can be a very hard one to change. With deep seeded roots of masculinity, militaristic structure, brutality, and possible racist undertones, policing culture has a dramatic effect on those who enter it. From this, the justification for certain police actions and their attitudes towards certain members of the public are reinforced and defended by many police officers. These cultural norms are pertinent to the topic at hand because they will directly influence how many officers will react to recent events and the proposed changes to their way of life.

Theoretical Framework

Janet Chan's (2004) re-conceptualizing of police culture by applying Pierre Bourdieu's relational theory to the field of policing, utilizing Sonja Sackmann's (1991) work on cultural knowledge to better explain differences in police culture, has provided a clearer understanding of police behavior. Bourdieu's framework attempts to explain the practices of a specific culture through the interaction a person's cultural dispositions, or habitus, and the structural positions of the field they work in. Bourdieu's theory can be best explained through the equation:

$$[(\text{habitus})(\text{capital})] + \text{field} = \text{practice}$$

Habitus can best be described as the dispositions and tendencies a person has. These are long-lasting and have the ability to be used in a plethora of different situations. Capital is some form of wealth, whether that be financial wealth or social/cultural wealth, that can be used to increase one's status. Finally, field describes the social space that the person is currently acting within (Maton, 2012). Chan (2004) describes the field of policing as very much comparable to other fields in that it exists within "a social space of conflict and competition which is structure by hierarchies of rewards (capital) and sanctions (negative capital)." The rules that exist within the field of policing guide police actions and can either get them closer to or further away from their goals. To better keep in mind the factors that are pertinent to or influence the concepts of Bourdieu's work, I have constructed a model to show how officer practice is developed. This standard officer development model can be seen attached in Appendix A.

Through Chan's application of field theory, I can briefly explain how the literature has shown how a recruit's perceptions and attitudes can be altered to the point that the outcome is the use of forceful and biased police tactics. When a new recruit enters the academy, they are introduced to the highly militaristic and masculine organization known as policing that molds them into officers. It is during this time that the recruits' values begin to be replaced with those that the academy has deemed most important to the field of law enforcement. After graduating the academy, the new officers then go through more training at the hands of a Field Training Officer who "shows them the ropes." It is during this time that the values, perspectives, and ideology of policing are more firmly embedded into rookie officers. This process involves teaching the rookies more practical knowledge about how they should be doing their job and helps them conform to departmental norms. When the academy's brief teachings are then heavily

reinforced and amplified during field training, officer *habitus* develops focusing on hyper-masculine values such as toughness, courage, physical prowess, and a demand for respect.

Capital for all police officers comes in the forms of praise from department administrators and other officers, assignment to specialized units, promotions, and salary increases. The policing *field* is one that embodies the “us vs. them” mentality in which cops are pitted against criminals and in order to win “the game,” officers must earn “points” by detaining, arresting, and sending criminals to jail. Attempts to alter or change the *field* mentality from a “war on (crime, drugs, etc.)” to a “problem solving” focus is met with resistance, something that has been influenced by the head-strong masculine values and militaristic structure. When all these variables are then plugged into the model, we find that this can lead officers towards bad policing *practice* and they develop into “problem officers.” A schematic for my application can be seen in Appendix B.

Chan also employs Sackmann’s work on cultural knowledge to further explain the *habitus* of police officers. Sackmann (1991) posits that cultural knowledge can be classified into one of four dimensions. The first, dictionary knowledge, defines things and events within an organization. In police work, officers often have to make sense of complicated situations in a relatively short period of time, so they devise ways of categorizing the environment they work in and the people they may encounter within that environment. The second dimension is directory knowledge, which explains how things are done (generally) within an organization. Simply put, this directs officers about how their everyday work is supposed to be done. Third, we have recipe knowledge, which applies the first two in order to explain what should and should not be done in certain situations. Chan explains this as police values and states that this dimension “provides

recommendations and strategies for coping with police work” (Chan, 2004). Finally, the fourth dimension, axiomatic knowledge, infers why things are done the way they are in an organization.

Bourdieu also mentions something along the same lines and calls it a *doxa*. Examples of this in policing would be the classification of police work as “protecting and serving” or “maintaining public order.” Sackmann also states that her dimensions of culture allow for multiple cultures to exist within a single organization. She explains that while administrative members of an organization may have a consensus of axiomatic knowledge, one should not assume that the workers of the same organization hold the same consensus. This is important to my research because it shows that patrol officers may share different opinions or attitudes on the proposed changes to policing than their administrative counterparts. An interesting observation that may come about through my research would be the differences like this one. While an administrator may focus on the financial costs of a change, patrol officers might be more inclined to focus on the practical aspects of the change.

This framework has helped shape the interview protocols I have developed in order to grasp a better understanding of the culture that influences police officer reactions to recent events. By understanding the culture that has molded them into the crime-fighters that they have become, explaining their reactions to other members of the policing community may become easier. This paper will argue that Chan’s theoretical model, employing Bourdieu’s work and the concept of habitus, is a better way to understand why police accept or reject the proposed changes to policing when compared to Rotten Apples Theory. If officer habitus reflects a culture that promotes and reinforces concepts of masculine standards, militaristic ideals, and a field that dictates “us v. them” rules, then the concept of Rotten Apples holds no weight when explaining why police officers’ actions have been criticized. Although my project primarily focuses on how

unified officers are in their opinions of recent police behavior, the reactions of the public, and how policing may change going forward, the answers to my questions may prove to show how difficult it would be to change policing culture as a whole and suggest which actions would be best to improve the field to better serve communities.

Methods

In order to develop a thorough interview guide that can test my model and address the issues the public has on the state of law enforcement in America, an in-depth analysis of the public's views was first conducted. In an effort to gain a preliminary understanding of the important issues, the views of the public were determined through a quantitative content analysis of news media. News media articles were collected through the use of the Lexis Nexis database, which contains stories from over 26,000 current and archived sources from local, national, and international newspapers, as well as wired and social media sources. By searching for terms that specifically related to the recent citizen fatalities and the emerging movements, an understanding of the public opinion and their suggestions to change policing policy was achieved. These terms will include: "Ferguson," "Michael Brown," "Darren Wilson," "Eric Garner," "Daniel Pantaleo," "Tamir Rice," "Black Lives Matter," "police," "change," and "police shooting."

Articles were collected over the year following the death of Eric Garner, one of the first citizen fatalities that sparked protests of law enforcement by the public, on July 17th, 2014. A year was selected because of the significant decline in the news coverage on the topic of the movements and police reform efforts. A total of 164 articles were collected. After reviewing 20 articles, coding parameters were developed based on the articles' common content. Coding parameters included the mention of police bias or racism, updates to police application processes and training, the use of body cameras by law enforcement, police brutality, police/community relations, review of officer conduct, and de-militarization of police forces. Once coding began,

the sample was reduced to 126, due to the repetition of articles, incomplete articles, and inaccurate articles, meaning that they shared similar search terms, but did not cover the same topic.

The results of the content analysis were then used to develop the comprehensive interview guide containing questions pertaining to the lives and experience of law enforcement officers, the criticisms of American police forces, and the most commonly proposed changes to law enforcement. This guide is attached in Appendix C. Law enforcement agencies within the state of West Virginia were contacted via phone to inquire about their interest in being part of the study. This sampling frame was implemented to allow for a greater degree of generality across the law enforcement of one state rather than attempting to generalize my findings across law enforcement from different states and possibly different cultures. Rural departments were selected based on the size of the population they serve. The most recent data of the U.S. Census was used to determine population size. Rural areas, as defined by the U.S. Census Bureau, consist of regions inhabited by 2,500 people or less.

A total of 21 law enforcement officers from 14 different agencies participated in this study. Officers participating were informed on the goals of research and promised complete confidentiality. When participants are mentioned in this paper, their names have been replaced with pseudonyms. Interviews were recorded so they could later be transcribed and analyzed. All participants were male. Twenty officers identified as White, with the one remaining officer identifying as half White, half Indian. Officers' ages ranged from 21 to 66 years old with an average of 40.86 years old. Interviewees' ranks varied and the final sample was composed of five patrolmen, four sergeants, three lieutenants, one captain, one deputy chief, and seven chiefs

of police. The samples law enforcement experience also varied with the shortest being several weeks and the longest being 37 years.

Findings

Ethnographic Content Analysis

The most prominent problem or issue that needed addressing was racism or bias within police forces. This topic was brought up a total of 155 times throughout the articles. The next most prominent issue was the need to upgrade or change police training and policy with a total of 110 mentions. The third most prominent issue was enforcing the use of body cameras by police officers with a total of 89 mentions. These three issues were then followed by mentions of police brutality (83), having officers more involved in improving and maintaining positive community relations (78), reviewing officer conduct (65), and de-militarizing police forces (22). It is important to note that although de-militarization was only mentioned specifically 22 times, the photos of law enforcement paired with these articles often depicted them as military forces wearing BDU's and riot gear and carrying assault rifles. While developing the interview guide, I focused on these topics, specifically focusing on issues, concerns, and suggestions that were consistently mentioned over the 12 months. For example, although there were many suggestions to improve police training, it was consistently mentioned that officers should receive more focus training in how they interact with the public.

Opinions of Proposed Changes:

On the topic of racism or bias within police forces, the officers did not try to deny that it exists, at least in some capacity. "Certainly it does," said Officer Jones. As officer put it, "I think it's small. You're gonna have some in any job...there is gonna be some type of racism or prejudice, you can't always stop that." The main point that all the officers were making was that the racist officers make up a very small percentage of the nation's entire police forces and that these officers are "bad seeds" and they "want them out as fast as possible." They used

examples from other professions to back up their viewpoints stating things like when a clergyman is found molesting children, or a teacher was found sleeping with one of their students, or a doctor has been found guilty of malpractice, we do not condemn the other clergymen, teachers, or doctors. Some officers talked about the dangers of this backlash regarding racist police officers. Officer Dangle, for example, said, “As far as officer performance, I think, I fear, that officers are going to concern themselves with the liability.” With all the backlash that has come out of these incidents, racism has definitely been the forerunner.

When officers were asked how they would prevent or deal with racism within their department, a majority focused on screening applicants better and addressing any issues swiftly on an administrative level. When screening applicants for hiring, the processes that departments have in place can differ based on their resources. One officer went so far as suggesting that there should be a standardized process used by all departments across the country so that everyone would be on the same page. Something that was brought up was the use of psychologists to determine the mental stability of applicants. It is now very common for law enforcement agencies to use psychological testing in their hiring process. If the applicant doesn't pass the test or is deemed unfit for law enforcement by the psychologist, they are informed and not hired. The responses about repeated psychologically testing on officers already on the force varied. Chief Tuturola believed that “for smaller departments, maybe once every three or four years, get it done because you would see a change in that period.”

Chief Amaro explained that whenever one of his guys goes through a horrific incident, they are mandated to meet with a psychologist in order to check their mental health. He firmly believes that every agency should have this implemented because they “work in a job where you

have to be mentally stable.” Officers Jones and Garcia disagreed with this thinking having officers do this “is a liability issue more than the actual care of the officer’s psychological well-being.” Deputy Junior explained how “police officers are strong-willed individuals” and don’t want to show “signs of weakness by being seen walking in to a psychologist or psychiatrist.”

A more informal support system was preferred by officers, at least for the first stages in dealing with any possible psychological problems. This support system can be described as counselors and former law enforcement officers they could talk to with confidence they will understand what they are going through. Officer Novack explained, “Between all of us here, we all have that one person we can go and talk to.” Officer Johnson described how stressful it could be “to make someone go to a psychiatrist and say ‘if you fail this, you’re not going to have a job.” Many of the chiefs that were interviewed talked about the how important it was for their officers to bring any problems other officers may be having to them, regardless if it is with a new recruit or a seasoned veteran.

The officers were also asked about their opinions on hiring minority officers, to which many responded that they would love to have more officers join the force, regardless of race, sex, or creed. In the small towns in which they operate and the demographics of their areas, however, they admitted that it was not always an easy thing to accomplish. Trying to explain why there is a lack of diversity in other departments, Officer Stabler said, “The job of a police officers is not as attractive to some people, due to societal upbringings and whatnot.” “Having more diversity on the police force is never a bad thing.” Although these officers were all from the same town, or at least from a town that was comparable to on they currently worked in, they knew that everyone had their own strengths and weaknesses. Some were better at investigations and finding concealed drugs, while others were better suited to talking to people. What they

made clear is that regardless of the abilities you may be able to bring to the department, they were only able to hire those qualified for the position.

However, this is not the case in all departments. “Some of these law enforcement agencies are actually lowering their hiring standards,” informed Officer Kimball, “Just to have man power.” The departments I spoke with, on average, had a total of half a dozen officers. In some towns, the officer to citizen ratio was 1:1,000. When these departments are not at full strength, it puts a major strain on the rest of the officers and raises safety concerns for the area they serve.

The concept of having minority officers policing primarily minority neighborhoods made those interviewed think about the pros and cons. Chief Tuturola illuminated how it would be beneficial “because they can relate and speak the same language.” On the other hand, Officer Wiegel thought the idea was a “type of reverse racism” or “pseudo-segregation.” Officer Williams stated “Officers need to know how to deal with all types of people, not just one group.” In order to do so, the idea of officers working in rotating patrols was purposed by Chief Declan. This would allow younger officer to get a feel for the different parts of their jurisdictions and learn to become better, well-rounded officers by being placed in different situations.

Another requirement West Virginia officers must complete in order to remain a certified by the state is completing a pre-determined amount of in-service training each year. “It used to be eight,” said Chief Jeffries, “they’ve upped it to sixteen.” This training can vary and includes courses in forensic photography and polygraph training, as well as courses that can certify officers as instructors in certain subjects. Officers were asked about what kinds of training they thought would be most beneficial to them today. Some of the most common answers were

training courses focused on domestic violence, investigations, updates to the law, and defensive tactics.

When the concepts of sensitivity training, ethics, and the use of “verbal judo” were proposed, there were mixed reactions. Officer Garcia explained that how officers handle calls “is largely affected by their experience.” Officer Jones agreed saying, “You can talk about it until you are blue in the face, but you’re not going to learn like that. You have to get time in under your belt.” Officer Novack, a proponent of “verbal judo,” thought that this sort of training could help younger officers develop the ability faster, especially if they are not used to dealing with people acting irrationally on a normal basis. Chief Amaro officer commented, “It’s a police officer’s job to de-escalate situations, but you aren’t always able to talk someone down and sometimes you have to resort to force in order to keep the situation under your control. Having both types of training are necessary.” Officer Kimball felt that officers did their job when approached situations and that sensitivity training was not something officers needed. “When I roll up to a call, I’m trying to deal with it in a respectful manner. The sensitivity is everywhere. When someone starts to get in my face or put their hands on me, we are beyond sensitivity,” he stated, “As far as sensitivity training, I think it’s the public that needs a little sensitivity training.”

A point that was made clear was that law enforcement officers end up having to deal with a lot of stress that they believe general public cannot comprehend. Working homicides, child molestation cases, and domestic violence calls on a daily basis has worn down some of the older officers and shocked the younger recruits. What also feeds into the stress is the fact that these rural officers are involved in every part of these cases, from responding to the call, carrying out the investigation, interrogating suspects, and testifying at the trial. “We are generalists,” explained Officer Rollins, “We don’t have the luxury of larger departments’ specialized units to

break up the workloads.” Chief Amaro backed this up telling me about how one of his officers had just spent “from noon on New Year’s Eve [Thursday] until that Sunday afternoon” solving a burglary. The large amounts of stress that are put on these rural officers whittles away at their morale as well as their positive view of society.

On the topic of society, many officers voiced their opinion on what they thought society has come to. Chief Jeffries made a point to focus on the younger people. “I don’t know if it’s a generational thing or if it is a product of our society at this point, but we are starting to see a decline in respect for any authority figure.” Officers Dangle made the same point, arguing that a sense of entitlement was to blame. “People who’ve had their parents bail them out of trouble all their lives and then, when they suddenly get in trouble, it’s somebody else’s fault, not theirs.” Officer Wiegel agreed pointing out that many have been “accusing the police of their own wrongdoing.” The officers all touched on the idea that, somewhere along the line, people just forgot how to treat each other and that nothing could ever be their fault. Officers took examples from their own experiences with disgruntled citizens who had been approached for very minor infractions that were then escalated because of their resistance to law enforcement. This was often paired with a discussion about how the media has portrayed law enforcement in the past two years. The officers unanimously agreed that the media’s portrayal of law enforcement is very one sided. “They get word of an incident or situation and before the facts are gathered, there are conclusions being made,” said Officer Dangle.

Several officers made the distinction that the recent emergence of social media only makes matters worse. Whereas television news coverage is on in the morning and at night, social media is 24/7 and anyone can be a reporter. Officer Kimball believes “social media is a tool for people who are anti-law enforcement. That people jump to conclusions too fast lately and

immediately jump to conclusions before there's an investigation." These officers want to remind the public that just because there is a clip of an officer being forceful with a person, does not mean the force isn't warranted. Officer Lake pointed out, "These videos only show a piece of what happened and a lot of the time whatever occurred before is left out or not even on tape."

This criticism towards the taping of law enforcement seemed to have boasted the support of body cameras by the officers interviewed. A majority of the departments had purchased body cameras for their officers or were currently testing different models to see which would work best for them. Their thoughts behind the use of cameras are that they act as "double-edged swords." While they do serve the public's interest in being able to watch for officers that overstep their bounds, the officer's see them as tools to cut down on the "bull-crap accusations" that they face. The officers shared several stories about how complaints were brought against the department or officers that came down to the officer's word against the complainant. In one account, Officer Stabler described a situation occurred where officers broke up a fight in the street and were then accused of hitting one of the combatants, a teenage boy, in the head with a nightstick. The cruiser dashcam caught a brief moment of the incident when "two young men come rolling across the front of the car throwing haymakers at each other." Once they had been pulled apart, the young combatant began motioning aggressively towards the officers. He was hit behind his knee in order to restrain him with handcuffs. The complaint was dismissed, but a lawsuit was brought against the department. Instead of fighting the lawsuit, the department was suggested to settle by the insurance agency for \$1,500, which they did. It is situations like this Officer Stabler explained which "leave a bitter taste in the policeman's mouth," one they hope to remedy with the use of this new technology.

Finally, the topic of de-militarizing police forces was addressed. All of the officers were against this idea. The officers all expressed the thought that they rather “have it and not need it, than need it and not have it.” These rural officers explained that recently they had seen a spike in situations where having just their sidearm would be inadequate. Officers talked about the increased prevalence of threats against local public areas, like schools, and the production and distribution of drugs. “I believe that the public is more armed...than the police.” Officer Benson added, “We carry ARs in our trunks and we are still outgunned by the general public.” The officers talked about how common it is for citizens in a rural area to have hunting rifles and other higher caliber weapons. “The shotgun, which used to be our bread and butter, it’s just not effective anymore. It can’t compete with the automatic weapons criminals get their hands on nowadays,” said Chief Jeffries. In their opinion, they should be able to match that threat with the appropriate response and equipment.

When asked about what sort of equipment their departments possess, many explained that they have mostly acquired riot gear and rifles through government surplus. This equipment consists of older models that were to be decommissioned, melted down, or destroyed and was purchased by their department at significantly reduced prices. These officers understood the image that some of their equipment puts off, especially in the public’s mind. “They give that authoritative presence, you know, and I think that intimidation is good.” Officer Garcia commented that although “the gear can be intimidating, but it’s protection for the officer.”

However, officers also explained that it is not always as it seems. The officers whose departments provided them with a rifle explained that most of these AR-15s or military rifles aren’t for rapid fire and many are incapable of going fully automatic. The rifles were primarily obtained for any long-range hostile situations. Chief Jeffries proposed a possible situation they

could face where a rifle is a better piece of equipment than the standard issue sidearm. “If we had an active shooter at the local high school and an officer has to take a shot down a hallway that’s 50 yards or across the gymnasium or a parking lot. That officer may only be qualified at 20 yards with his sidearm, is that safe?”

Moving on from firepower, all the officers thought that having at least one up-armored vehicle would be a great thing to have for a situation like approaching a meth house. Officer Munch explained how having a vehicle that can deflect bullets from automatic rifles and shotguns, so that they can drive right up to the front door to deploy, makes it a safer situation for everyone. Only one department actually possessed a decommissioned military vehicle and Chief Jeffries explained that “we are never going to use that Humvee for anything other than getting around in the snow.” It was common for the department to be called on during heavy winter storms and the vehicle was required to reach citizens in need when road conditions were less than optimal.

An important note made by all of the officers that were interviewed, especially the administrative staff, was the topic of funding. Many of the topics discussed required some sort of financial support to these departments. When talking about sending officers off for in-service training, many explained that it is not always free. “I’ve got to pay all the expenses, whether that class is a free class or not, if there is travel expenses involved, per night, tuition, and then I have to pay somebody to cover his shift,” explained Chief Clift, “So it’s an expense to send an officer to in-service training.” The same goes for obtaining any equipment, including body cameras. “These cameras here, a single camera is not cheap,” said Chief Tuturola, “Plus, you got to get all your databases that you put on the computers, I mean, it’s not a cheap thing to do.” Body cameras for law enforcement come in different styles, such as where they are placed on the

uniforms and when and how they start recording. The cameras can also have different specifications, such as having increased battery life and uploading videos to servers through a Bluetooth connection. When attempting to acquire this new tech for their officers, departments can apply for grants through the federal government, but when they don't receive any support, they have to go to their city council, which often cannot provide the adequate funding. Chief Jeffries explained, "If I go to my city council asking for \$5,000 for new technology and they say 'we don't have the money,' then that's that." Some departments have responded to this problem by purchasing cheaper, less reliable cameras from their local large retail store.

"Problem Officers" Model

The model focuses on how the law enforcement officers are socialized into the field of policing and that this builds their habitus and worldview. It posits that with inadequate training and the construction cynical view of how policing should be done, recruits can develop into "problem officers" that engage in bad law enforcement practices. After speaking with these rural officers, some sections of the model show support.

Officer *habitus* involves two major influences: the academy and field training. Recruits attended West Virginia Police Academy for 25 weeks before becoming certified as law enforcement officers by the state. Chief Jeffries explained that the academy is designed in a paramilitary fashion with the purpose to prepare the recruits for their careers as law enforcement officers and all the stresses that come with the job. The officers appeared to be divided on their current support for the way the academy was being run, with the majority calling for some changes. Chief Declan praised the paramilitary regiment because "it works." He embellished on how the officers there "break down recruits and weed out those not fit for the force." Officer Lake added to this by stating "the theory at the West Virginia Police Academy is they break you

down to build you back up. It's a very high stress environment, where you are up at 5am to go to PT for two hours, you march everywhere you go or you run, and you're in uniform all day." I was told by several newer officers and a handful of supervisors, primarily younger chiefs, that the academy needs improvement, especially concerning academics.

Officer Munch, a former US Army soldier, informed me that "the West Virginia Police Academy is ten times harder" than his Army Basic Training. Other officers explained that they held very few classes where they learned practical law enforcement knowledge, like scenario-based training and writing reports, there is much more focus on getting in shape, defensive tactics, and firearms training. As Chief Amaro explained, the academy has several simulators for different situations, like DUI and pursuit driving, and two of his recent recruits told him that they did not use them once while they were there. In his words, "they spent more time mopping the floors, carrying rocks, and getting the guts beat outta them." These accounts fall right in line with the previous research about how the academy emphasizes being tough and physical.

When recruits graduate from the academy, they begin their field training and are paired with a certified field training officer, or FTO, to teach them the ropes. Officers agree that this is where the majority of an officer's knowledge about law enforcement is learned. However, this order of training does not always take place. The demand that rural departments face in regards to manpower sometimes requires them to hire someone and immediately put them out on patrols. Chief Jeffries told me, "West Virginia is unique in that I can hire you today and you can put your badge and gun on and you can go out there and work up to the point where you go to the academy." During this time, they go through field training and learn as they would if they had started the training after graduating the academy. The problem is after spending so much time at the academy, they tend to forget everything that they learned during their field training. Chief

Tuturola provided a grim reality occurring at many departments. “A lot of people don’t have FTOs and that’s a problem because [recruits] need to be trained right, especially with interacting with the public.”

When officers do go through field training after they’ve finished the academy, they begin to model their habitus after those that had taught them. Officers frequently answered that those most influential to their time learning about law enforcement were those who trained them and their superiors, most notably, their chiefs. Chief Clift stated, “If you have a good lieutenant and a good chief, they will teach you a lot.” This point is something that can distinguish the culture of rural policing from that of urban policing. In a rural department, officers spend a lot more time working alongside their chiefs. In urban policing, police departments are much more stratified and it is very rare that officers would see, let alone interact or learn from, any officer about the rank of Captain. Rural departments are made up of tight-knit groups of officers all working the same streets and where rank is nothing more than a title.

Several officers agreed with the idea that if a recruit goes through the academy and then is paired with an unmotivated FTO, they can develop into an inadequate officer. The FTO program was a part of rural law enforcement that many officers thought desperately is in need of improvement or history will end up repeating itself. In one department, Officer Glen had made it his personal vendetta to rebuild the Field Training Program from the ground up. “I wrote a brand new field training officer manual and was sent to school to be a certified field training officer. Now, every time we get a rookie, they come with me.”

The second part of the model focuses on the *capital* that officers can obtain and how that capital affects them. Originally, I had thought that this would include two forms of *capital*: formal capital and informal capital. Formal capital would include things like promotions, pay

increases, and official accommodation or recommendation letters. Informal capital would include praise from co-workers and administration, thanks from the public, and recognition for helping the community. When this question was posed to the officers, many responded with a light-hearted statement about not doing the job for the money. The mention of being promoted was never mentioned and the concepts of recognition through accommodation letters or ribbons were only mentioned by chiefs of police.

The informal sanctions proved to be more important to officers as forms of rewards for doing their job. Officer Rizzo explained that “[police] are not rewarded in a definition most people would consider rewarded. I’ve never gotten anything extra being a police officer. When I see a good citizen in society who thanks me or that I deal with one who’s kind, polite, and generally courteous to me rather than being belligerent, cursing, and wanting to fight me, that’s the real reward of being a police officer.” Other officers spoke highly about receiving a pat on the back from other members of their department, having a citizens stop them on the street just to say thank you, and having someone pay for their lunch or cup of coffee. Officer Benson told me that the best reward he had ever received was being stopped by a woman who thanked him for arresting her husband. Since his arrest, he had turned his life around, gone to school, and now is successfully supporting his family. Stories like these were many of the reasons that these officers got into law enforcement. They explained that being able to help/protect people and, more importantly help/protect their community is all they wanted out of their job.

Finally, we have the concept of the *field*. In my model, the field of policing and the rules that players follow while acting within the field emphasis the worldview of “Us vs. Them.” In this worldview, law enforcement views society as a constant confrontation between the good (themselves) and the bad (criminals). A different worldview that could be imposed on the *field* is

that of community-oriented policing. In this worldview, law enforcement works with the people they police to build a better community and proactively resolve issues. From my interviews, it seems the view that these rural officers have of the field of policing falls somewhere between these two.

Officers focused on the idea of keeping the community safe for those who live there. For example, Deputy Junior was adamant about being sure to “keep out those who come here because they think it will be easy for them to get away with crime.” The best proactive measure that these departments take involves working with the youngest members of the community. By reaching out and fostering good relationships with the youth, officers hope to build a good report between the upcoming generation and law enforcement. They teach them that they are “not people to feared, but friends that can help them,” as mentioned by Chief Clift. Through these relationships, officers have claimed that youths have been able to come to them when they think a classmate is heading down the wrong road. Officers are then able to go address a problem before things become too serious. Officers also mentioned trying to work with the members of the public who have had minor run-ins with the law instead of just arresting or ticketing them. This was prominent in cases of vandalism, barking dogs, and broken taillights.

However, the officers were also sure to make known that they will not be tolerant of more serious crimes, such as drugs. Many officers focused on the concepts of outside forces that can potentially harm their friends, neighbors, or fellow town dwellers. It was these potential threats to their community that seemed to incite a more formal means of law enforcement from the officers. These officers explained that a good police officer has to be many things. I was told that a good officer had to be calm, patient, understanding, and be a team player, but an officer must also be intimidating, have a good sense of morals, act quickly, be tough, and be ready to

use their weapon if they feel that their life or another person's life is in danger. I think these views of an officer show how rural officers tread the line between community policing and being crime fighters.

Discussion

Much of the findings match up with previous literature on rural law enforcement. Due to this support, the modification of my model explaining how "problem officers" are molded in rural environments is required. First, officer *habitus* is still heavily influenced by training recruits receive when first entering the field. The idea of an academy constructed in the style of a paramilitary institution instills the idea that these officers need to be tough, courageous, and physical in order to do their job properly. Being put under high levels of stress throughout the 25 weeks they attend conditions officers to think that their job requires them to be constantly fighting. The lack of purely academic activities at the academy does not prepare recruits for the everyday duties. A saving grace from this training regime is the effect of field training on the recruit; however, that may come at the flip of a coin. If a department's field training program is up to date and is run by motivated FTOs, an officer would be much less likely to develop a problematic habitus, such as not being able to talk with the public. If a department's field training program is not regulated properly and FTOs are unfit to teach the core values of policing, a recruit can become a problem for the department and the community.

Next, officer perceptions of the *capital* they can obtain and their rules of the *field* feed off each other. From the interviews, the rural officer's mindset can best be described as an "Outsider Threat" Mentality, in that any attempts to endanger the well-being of the members of their community will be met with swift and acute justice. Officers consistently point out earning respect from the public and simple "thank you" from citizens are the best rewards for doing their job. The more formal rewards of accommodation, promotions, and salary increases are hardly

ever mentioned. Having a public that understands the stresses that are put on their small-town cops and allows them to do their job might help curb the negative aspect they have of society and of outsiders that may come into their communities. A majority of these officers have lived in the town all their lives and are just focused on making it a better, safer place for its inhabitants. The rules of field of rural policing are dictated by effectively protecting the community from outside forces attempting to do harm. Although this can still be considered a form of an “us vs. them” mentality, I believe the focus of their threats lies outside the bounds of the jurisdiction and can only be dealt with once the attempt to intrude is made. This rural model of “problem officers” can be seen in Appendix D.

This newly development model must be tested in future research. In regards to my research, the sample size was too small to be able to generalize the results to all other departments located in rural areas. A larger sized sample should be used to gain a better understanding of the factors that play into the development of rural “problem officers.” At the same time, this only explains half of the field of policing. I insist that a similar study should be conducted to discover and compare what factors of lead urban law enforcement to develop into “problem officers.” If I were to hypothesize the findings of such research, I would expect to see urban officers receiving more specific training after their field officer training requirements to specialize in the different areas of law enforcement, thus altering their *habitus*. Urban officers would most likely consider climbing up in the ranks of their department as their main source *capital* to further legitimize their claims to authority and power. Finally, the rules of their field of policing would most definitely focus on an “us vs. them” mentality due to threats to authority being closer and more localized.

Along with the modification of my model and reinforcement of Janet Chan's re-conceptualization, this research also allowed for the strengthening of Sonja Sackmann's work on Cultural Knowledge through opinions of officers. The clearest example of Sackmann's work can be seen in the differing attitudes officers have towards certain ideas and procedures. In regards to axiomatic knowledge, when questioned about the use of psychological testing after certain events, older, higher ranking administrative officers believed it was a good policy to have, while younger, patrol officers viewed it as more of a "vail" to keep the public happy rather than provide support officers need. The same could be said on the topic of the West Virginia Police Academy where older, more seasoned officers praised the academy, while younger officers were more likely to discredit it. Through the interviews, it can be seen how recipe knowledge can be altered due to recent events. As one officer pointed out, concerning themselves with liabilities due to their race and the race of a subject might alter how officers act in certain situations.

Conclusion

Sociological research like this should not be done solely for knowledge, but also to then provide guidance to those in positions to improve society as a whole. This study was completed in an attempt to identify which factors are the most influential problems within American law enforcement that perpetuate the development of problem officers. These findings will be brought to the attention of those within law enforcement who are able to implement proactive changes to further aid them in future policy making. These are very real and present problems that exist within the field of policing that, left unchecked, can continue to cause problems for departments and society.

Policing needs to see change, but the public must also understand the difficulties that change can bring. Change is not likely to happen overnight. The institution of policing has been around for so long that resistance to change is ingrained into its protocols. The problems that

arise, like the events that we have most recently seen, are less about the individuals involved and more about the system that has produced that individual. Although there may be some bad recruits to the field of policing, the factors that have been pointing out due to the results of my research are more influential and exacerbate these problems. The idea that Rotten Apples Theory can explain away all of the problems that policing faces is asinine. This work has demonstrated that the development of problem officers is strongly dependent on structural aspects of the field of policing, like how the academy ignores teaching basic policing practice, the inadequacy of Field Training Programs, and the push towards hyper-masculine characteristics. It is through the experiences and training that these officers undergo that ultimately influence their development as a good or bad officer.

If any changes are to be made, it will require the help of the more open-minded individuals in the police forces. These younger, fresher minds will allow policing to move forward to better society as a whole. After completing this research, I would suggest that updates to training procedures, especially for new recruits, should be the first to occur due to the amount of socialization it does for law enforcement officers. By ending the cycle of paramilitary styled academies and poor field training programs, officers will learn more effective policing methods and not develop the worldview of “us vs. them” reinforced.

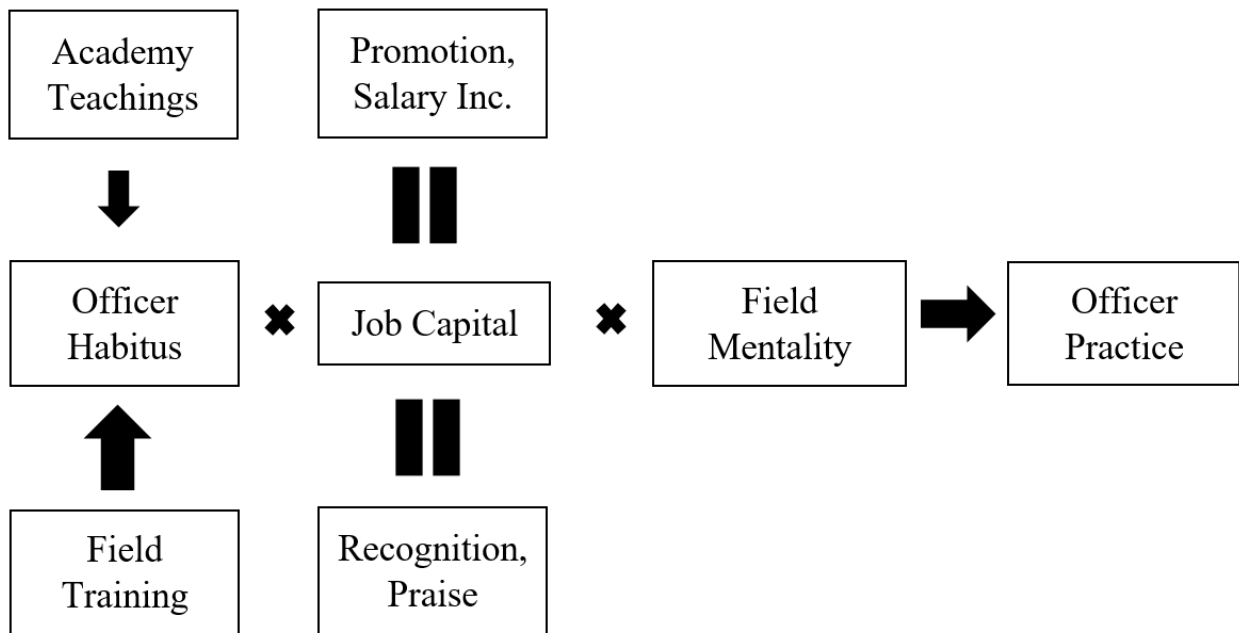
Rural policing has its own problems when faced with changes. Most notably is the problem that rural departments face with budgeting and financial support. If change is to be seen across the board for American policing, there needs to be support from those with the means to change it. Rural police departments feel the effects of widespread change long after they happen primarily for this reason. It is for this reason that more specific research be done and changes are made to assist both rural and urban departments in changing their policies.

References

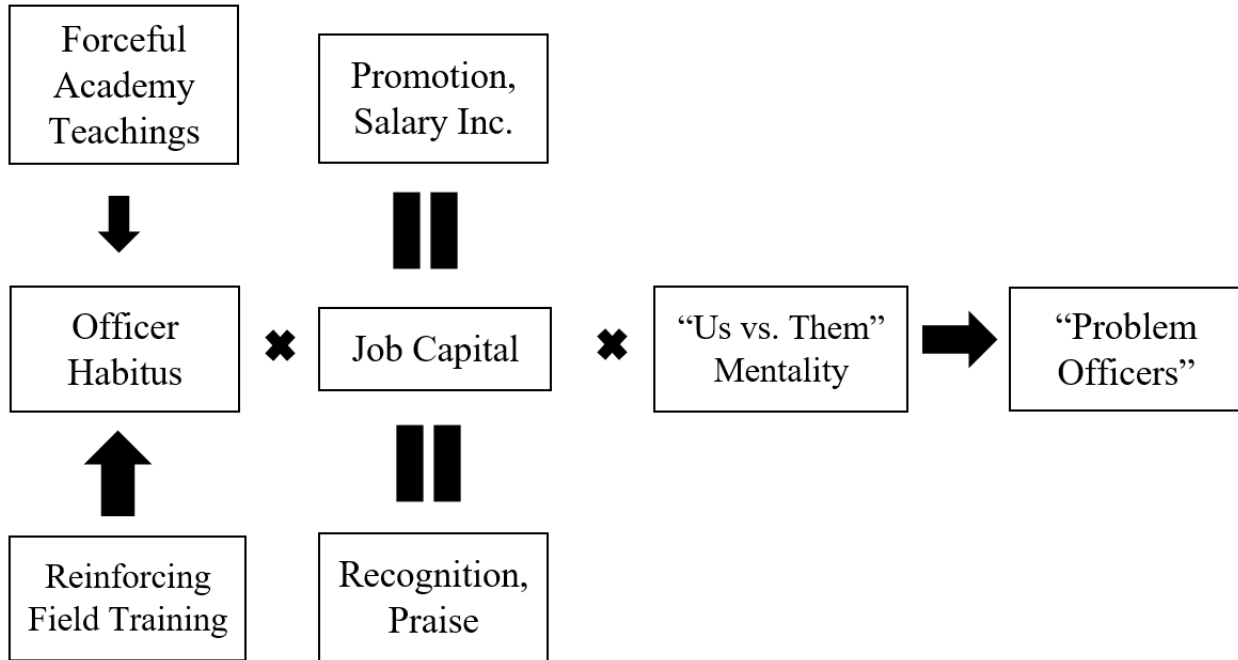
- Anderson, W., Swenson, D., & Clay, D. (1995). *Stress Management for law enforcement officers*. Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice Hall.
- Balko, R. (2013). *Rise of the warrior cop* (p. 266). Blackstone Audio, Incorporated.
- Bartol, C. (1996) *Police Psychology: Then, Now, and Beyond*. *Criminal Justice and Behavior*, 23(1) 70-89.
- Braidwaite, J. (1989)/ *Crime, shame, and reintegration*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.
- Brock, D., Copeland, M., Scott, R. F., & Ethridge, P. (2001). *Rural Policing in the Midwest: An Examination of Dissimilar Regions and Drug Offending*. *Journal of Contemporary Criminal Justice*, 17(1), 49-59.
- Carmichael, J. T., & Jacobs D. (2002). *Violence by and Against the Police*. *Policing and violence*. *New York: Prentice Hall Policing series*.
- Chambliss, W. J. (1994). *Policing the ghetto underclass: The politics of law and law enforcement*. *SOCIAL PROBLEMS-NEW YORK-*, 41, 177-177.
- Chan, J. (2004). *Using Pierre Bourdieu's Framework for Understanding Police Culture*. *Droit et Societe*, 56-57, 327-347
- Enloe, C. (1993). *The morning after: Sexual politics at the end of the Cold War*. Univ of California Press.
- Kraska, P. B., & Cubellis, L. J. (1997). *Militarizing Mayberry and beyond: Making sense of American paramilitary policing*. *Justice quarterly*, 14(4), 607-629.
- Kraska, P. B., & Kappeler, V. E. (1997). *Militarizing American police: The rise and normalization of paramilitary units*. *SOCIAL PROBLEMS-NEW YORK-*, 44, 1-18.
- Kuhns, J. B., Maguire, E. R., & Cox, S. M. (2007). *Public-Safety Concerns Among Law Enforcement Agencies in Suburban and Rural America*. *Police Quarterly*, 10(4), 429-454.
- Leo, R. A. (2008). *Police interrogation and American justice*. Harvard University Press.
- Maton, K. (2008). *Habitus*. In Michael Grenfell, *Pierre Bourdieu: Key concepts*. London, UK: Acumen Publishing Ltd.
- Marion, N. (1998). *Police academy training: are we teaching recruits what they need to know?* *Policing: An International Journal of Police Strategies & Management*, 21(1), 54-79.
- Marx, G. T. (1980). *Ironies of social control: Authorities as contributors to deviance through escalation, nonenforcement and covert facilitation*. *Soc. Probs.*, 28, 221.
- McNamara, R. (2002). *From report takers to report makers: Understanding the police and violence*. *Policing and violence*. *New York: Prentice Hall Policing series*.
- Morrison, P. (2015). 'Broken Windows' policing isn't broken, says Criminologist George L. Kelling. *Los Angeles Times*. Retrieved from <http://www.latimes.com>
- Payne, B. K., Berg, B. L., & Sun, I. Y. (2005). *Policing in small town America: Dogs, drunks, disorder, and dysfunction*. *Journal of Criminal Justice*, 33(1), 31-41.
- Reaves, B. A. (2009). *State and Local Law Enforcement Training Academies (2006)*. DIANE Publishing.
- Reifert, S. E. (2002). *Police Use of Deadly Force: Where we should be looking*. *Policing and violence*. *New York: Prentice Hall Policing series*.

- Rhoads, T. N. & Johnson, R. R. (2008) Patrol Officer Call for Service Workloads: An Urban and Small Town Comparison. *The Police Journal*, 81, 184-195.
- Rosenfeld, R., Fornango, R., & Rengifo, A. F. (2007). The impact of order-maintenance policing on New York City homicide and robbery rates: 1988-2001*. *Criminology*, 45(2), 355-384.
- Sackmann, S. (1991). *Cultural Knowledge in Organizations: Exploring the Collective Mind*. SAGE Publications.
- Schafer, J., Burruss, G., & Giblin, M. (2009). Measuring Homeland Security Innovation in Small Municipal Agencies: Policing in a Post-9/11 World. *Police Quarterly*, 12(3), 263-288.
- Simon, D. (1991). *Homicide: A year on the killing streets*. Boston: Houghton.
- Stretesky, P. (2002). The Political Economy of Police Violence. *Policing and violence*. *New York: Prentice Hall Policing series*.
- Tennessee v. Garner, 475 U.S. 1, 105 S. Ct. 1694, 85 L. Ed 2d 1 (1985).
- U.S Census Bureau (2010). 2010 Census Urban and Rural Classification and Urban Area Criteria. Retrieved from <https://www.census.gov/geo/reference/ua/urban-rural-2010.html>
- Waddington, D., & King, M. (2007). The impact of the local: Police public-order strategies during the G8 justice and home affairs ministerial meetings. *Mobilization: An International Quarterly*, 12(4), 417-430.
- Weisheit, R., Wells, L. E., & Falcone, D. (1994). Community Policing in Small Town and Rural America. *Crime & Delinquency*, 40(4), 549-567.
- Williams, K. (2004). *Our enemies in blue: Police and power in America*. Soft Skull Pr.
- Wolfer, L., Baker, T. (2000) Evaluating small town policing: Methodological issues. *Journal of Police and Criminal Psychology*, 15(2), 52-63.
- Wozniak, J., & Uggen, C. (2009). Real men use nonlethals: Appeals to masculinity in marketing police weaponry. *Feminist Criminology*.

Appendix A. Standard Officer Development Model



Appendix B. Application of Previous Research to Field Theory



Appendix C. Interview Guide developed after Content Analysis

- I. Broad Habitus Questions
 - a. What makes a good police officer?
 - b. What did the academy teach you about policing?
 - c. Who has taught you the most about being a police officer?
 - d. What was most influential when you were learning about policing?
 - e. How are you rewarded as working an officer?
 - i. Are there differences between official/unofficial rewards? How do you gain those rewards?
 - f. What incentivizes you to work towards those rewards?
 - g. What do your fellow officers value most about how you police? What's your best policing quality?
 - h. Who is the best officer at the department? Why?
 - i. What do your supervisors value most out of you as officers?
 - j. What do people who are outside the realm of policing not understand about the job?
- II. Proposed Changes – So I been doing my research about policing and there's a lot of criticisms going around nowadays and the public is saying a lot of different things.
 - a. How does the recent wave of criticism affect how you do your job?
 - b. Which criticisms do you take to heart the most? Which, when you hear it, makes you most determined to prove wrong?
 - c. Many people are saying that your training is out of date and needs to be reconstructed to fit society better. What do you think would improve police training?
 - d. Some have suggested that sensitivity training should be a staple of police training nowadays, what are your thoughts on this?
 - e. Many have pushed for the de-militarization of police forces stating that the police shouldn't be armed as well as our soldiers. What are your thoughts on this issue?
 - f. Many have pushed for officers to start wearing body cameras so that there can be a better account of what occurs during police-citizen interactions. What do you think about police using body cameras?

Appendix D. Development of Rural “Problem Officers” Model

