Summer 6-8-2018

Police Officer Perspectives on Public Views of Police, Current Events Involving Police, and the Impact on Police-Community Relationships

Donjae Catanzariti
donjae.catanzariti@student.shu.edu

Police Officer Perspectives on Public Views of Police,

Current Events Involving Police, and the Impact on

Police-Community Relationships

BY

Donjae Catanzariti, M. S.

Dissertation Committee

Minsun Lee, Ph.D., Mentor
Corinne Datchi, Ph.D., ABPP, Committee Member
Pamela Foley, Ph.D., ABPP, Committee Member
John Smith, Ed.D., Committee Member

Dissertation
Submitted in Partial Fulfillment
of the Requirements for the Degree
of Ph.D. in Counseling Psychology

Seton Hall University
2018

SETON HALL UNIVERSITY
COLLEGE OF EDUCATION AND HUMAN SERVICES
OFFICE OF GRADUATE STUDIES

APPROVAL FOR SUCCESSFUL DEFENSE

Donjae T. Catanzariti, has successfully defended and made the required modifications

to the text of the doctoral dissertation for the **Ph.D.** during this **Spring Semester 2018**.

DISSERTATION COMMITTEE
(please sign and date beside your name)

Mentor:
Dr. Minsun Lee _____ 6/8/2018

Committee Member:
Dr. Corinne Datchi _____ 05/09/18

Committee Member:
Dr. Pamela Foley _____ 5/9/18

Committee Member:
Dr. John Smith _____ 5/9/18

The mentor and any other committee members who wish to review revisions will sign
and date this document only when revisions have been completed. Please return this
form to the Office of Graduate Studies, where it will be placed in the candidate's file and
submit a copy with your final dissertation to be bound as page number two.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The completion of this dissertation evokes a sense of the highest level of accomplishment in that it signifies my hard work and dedication to my doctoral degree. I first acknowledge my dissertation committee: my chair, Dr. Minsun Lee, and committee members, Drs. Corinne Datchi, Pamela Foley, and John Smith. After multiple transitions, I am proud to say that I found my research mentor, Dr. Lee. Her persistence, patience, constructive feedback, and dedication to teaching advanced my research skills and professional identity. She is a humble role model that I look up to, and I am grateful for her support and consistency as my mentor. I first met Dr. Datchi in my master's program at Seton Hall and she introduced me to qualitative research approaches. My research and writing skills grew through her allowing me to work on several of her projects. I appreciate her consistent presence and support throughout my two degrees from Seton Hall. Her dedication and commitment to the field of psychology as well as teaching is inspiring. I met Dr. Foley during my master's program as well in her statistics course; I recall being in awe of her intellect. She has been remarkable in her return to Seton Hall, ensuring the success of our program's students, myself, and the sustainability of our program. I appreciate her lasting presence and ongoing support. Dr. Smith has been a constant since I began my doctoral training and I am proud that he is on my dissertation committee. He has been one of the most approachable and consistent faculty members. I appreciate the knowledge and wisdom he has passed onto me both as a faculty member and as one of my committee members.

I would not have been in a doctoral program or working on a dissertation without the ongoing encouragement of Dr. Ben Beitin and the late Dr. Robert Massey- both significant mentors and role models throughout my master's program. They both saw my potential before I realized it. Their wisdom and persistence helped me to utilize my strengths and make the

4

commitment to a doctoral program. Dr. Beitin remained a behind the scenes support through his ongoing mentorship and guidance.

This dissertation was a difficult experience but the ever-present support of each of my cohort members in the "killer cohort" made it feel attainable from start to finish. I value the family dynamics our group took on and am proud of our accomplishments.

To my participants, I appreciate the risks you took and vulnerability as a participant in this study. Without you, it would not exist. In addition, thank you to my research assistant, Bridget Anton, who is an eager doctoral student- I appreciate your dedication and determination in working as my research assistant.

Throughout this entire process, my family has been in the background, proudly cheering me on since I am the first person to achieve such a high level of education. They have been great at asking my favorite questions like, "how many more years now?" or "what's taking so long for this paper" when referring to this dissertation. The unrelenting support of my mother, Tisa- who sacrificed her career dreams to raise my siblings and me as a single parent- has been a force that facilitated my dreams. Through her, I learned to never doubt the power of female perseverance.

Lastly and most importantly, my husband, Chris, has been an everlasting support during my training and throughout this dissertation process. Without him, the topic would not have been so relevant to my life. Beyond his iron exterior, I found love, compassion, and dedication to helping others. I appreciate the sacrifices he makes in support of my career endeavors. He has been an honorary committee member who always acknowledged my achievements and was more enthusiastic about this dissertation than I was at times. Finally, to our baby girl who is almost ready to make her debut to the world- as I reach the final steps of my academic career, it has been an honor and privilege to carry you (literally) along with me.

ABSTRACT

The media has presented current tensions between police officers and the communities they serve, particularly the Black community. These tensions have led to calls for reforms in law enforcement and the criminal justice system. However, there has been little focus on the police perspective. Thus, this study sought to address the gaps in the literature by shedding light on the perspective of police officers through the following research question: a) How do police officers perceive the public's view of them? b) How do police officers' think the public's view of them impacts the relationship between police officers and the communities they serve? c) What are police officers' perspectives on recent events involving police-inflicted deaths of Black community members and the deaths of police officers by community members? d) How do police officers think the recent events influence the relationship between police officers and the communities they serve? and e) What do police officers identify as ways to strengthen the relationship between police officers and the communities they serve?

This study utilized a phenomenological, qualitative approach to examine police officers' perspectives in order to shed light on their subjective experience rather than apply preconceived theories to the subject at hand. However, the theoretical underpinnings of broken windows theory (Wilson & Kelling, 1982), legal cynicism (Kirk & Papachristos, 2011), police implicit racial bias (Spencer, Charbonneau, & Glaser, 2016), and Black men's stereotype threat (Steele & Aronson, 1995) guided the background for the research questions.

Participants were three full-time, male Patrolmen in urban communities who participated in individual, in-person interviews. Results elicited nine themes that are discussed in relation to the research questions: diverse experiences; difference between expectation of the job and the

actual job; being in danger at work; media; generalizations about police; predominant dislike of police officers by the public and negative/poor relationship between police officers and community members; racial tensions between community members and police officers; exposure to traumatic situations, frustrations, and trying not to take the job home; and limited options for relationship reparations. Limitations, implications for future research as well as clinical implications are discussed.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

CHAPTER I

Introduction

Background of the Problem

Although state-by-state variations exist, the job description of the police force includes

protection of the public. According to the New Jersey Civil Service Commission's State of New

Jersey Job Descriptions, a municipal police officer's job includes the following:

> During an assigned tour of duty, on foot, or in an automobile, patrols a designated area to
>
> provide assistance and protection for persons, to safeguard property, to assure observance
>
> of the law, and to apprehend law-breakers; does related work as required (New Jersey
>
> Civil Service Commission, 2005).

Similarly, the mission statement for the New Jersey State police force declares the following:

> The New Jersey State Police is committed to protect, preserve, and safeguard the
>
> constitutional and civil rights of all citizens through impartial and courteous law
>
> enforcement with integrity and professionalism. We shall ensure public safety and
>
> provide quality service in partnership with our communities (State of New Jersey
>
> Department of Law & Public Safety, 2016).

The emphasis on public service in these job specifications and mission statement

highlights the importance of the relationship between the police and the communities they serve.

Yet, in recent years, tensions between police officers and communities have been increasingly

present in the media and thus more readily apparent to the public. Various media outlets have

highlighted recent conflicts between police officers and community members, focusing on racial

disparities in policing, particularly police officers' apparent mistreatment of Black men. The

deaths of Black men at the hands of police officers along with the deaths of police officers at the

10

hands of community members, have led to increased tension between the police force and the communities they serve. In fact, the divide appears deeper now than ever, especially with the Black Lives Matter movement (a movement created following an incident in which a Black male, Trayvon Martin, was killed and the person who killed him was acquitted of the charges; also a movement to increase awareness and end violence toward Black individuals) and the subsequent Blue Lives Matter (also referred to as Police Lives Matter; a movement to increase awareness and provide support to police officers and their family members in times of need) movement.

Although various media outlets have published statistics of police killed in the line of duty or of community members killed by arrest-related deaths, the validity of these statistics is not known. The Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI), under the U.S. Department of Justice (DOJ), has systems of collecting and reporting data related to both individuals killed by police in arrest-related deaths and police killed in the line of duty; however, because these systems collect only reported information, the accuracy of the statistics may be questionable as well. News articles often publish statistics without specifics, making it difficult to judge the validity of the information.

The DOJ's most recent report encompassed data spanning from 2003 to 2009 and was published in 2011; thus, more recent trends have not yet been released. However, the 2003-2009 statistics on community members' arrest-related deaths showed that 41.7% were White, Non-Hispanic, 31.7% Black, Non-Hispanic, 20.3% Hispanic, 3.6% Other, and 2.8% Unknown. In total, there were 2,958 homicides reported, spanning from 2003-2009. Overall, homicide accounted for the highest arrest-related deaths during that time. Furthermore, the FBI showed rates specific to "justified homicide," defined as the killing of a felon by a law enforcement

officer in the line of duty; statistics spanning from 2008-2012 showed 410 justifiable homicides in 2012, with the highest rate of 414 in 2009 (Department of Justice, 2012).

Although the DOJ and FBI's numbers are currently outdated, they appear far lower than media reports of police-inflicted killings. The Washington Post is one media outlet that has been striving to generate more accurate numbers of police killings of community members, specifically by shooting, and claimed their statistics are based on news reports, public records, Internet databases and original reporting. The Washington Post's database for 2015 showed 991 people were killed specifically by police shooting (The Washington Post, 2016).

The break-down of the statistics by race and gender showed approximately 96% of the deaths were male and 4% female, and 50% were White, 26% Black, 17% Hispanic, 4% Other, and 3% Unknown. A 2015 article in The Washington Post reported that Black individuals were killed 3 times more than White individuals when taking into account the proportion of shooting deaths by race to the racial breakdown of the community in which the shootings occurred (The Washington Post, 2016). This information provides support for the perception of racial disparity in policing, contributing to increased tensions between police officers and communities, especially Black communities.

To provide further clarification to the statistics, Barber et al. (2016) compared the National Violent Death Reporting System (NVDRS) to the FBI's Supplementary Homicide Reports (SHR) and Vital Statistics. The researchers found that the NVDRS identified 1,552 homicides by law enforcement between 2005 and 2012 from the 16 states in the NVDRS. The researchers concluded that the rates reported by the NVDRS provided a more comprehensive account of law enforcement homicides than the FBI's SHR and the Vital Statistics reports. This

research showed the inconsistency of these homicide statistics and highlighted the large number of homicides by police.

As tensions build between police officers and communities resulting from police killings of community members, police officers are also being killed in the line of duty. Some of these killings have been in retaliation for the deaths of Black men. Specifically, recent protests in Texas following another killing of a Black man by a police officer resulted in the killing of 5 police officers as they were policing the protest. These types of deaths are sometimes referred to as "retaliatory homicide" in response to the killing of another Black man by a police officer. As with deaths of civilians, there are also systems in place tracking the deaths of police officers killed in the line of duty. According to the FBI's preliminary statistics from 2015, 41 law enforcement officers were killed in felony deaths, a 20% decrease from 2014. Additionally, preliminary data for a mid-year 2016 analysis from the National Law Enforcement Officers Memorial Fund showed that 32 officers were victims of firearm-related fatalities, a 78% increase from the previous year's mid-year report. The statistics from the National Law Enforcement Officers Memorial Fund showed firearm-related deaths as the highest cause of line-of-duty deaths for law enforcement (National Law Enforcement Officers Memorial Fund, 2016). Although these numbers appear low compared to deaths of community members, these statistics are not evaluated in proportion to the number of police officers vs. community members.

Although the accuracy of various statistics is debated, the series of high-profile killings of Black men as well as killings of police officers in the past few years have led to increased tensions between the police and the community and calls for criminal justice reform. In an article on President Obama's statement to the International Association of Chiefs of Police, Korte (2015) quotes, "law enforcement gets scapegoated for the broader failures of our society and

criminal justice system," highlighting the ways in which the current tension between law enforcement and Black communities obscures the larger systemic problems in society. During the most recent presidential election, the Presidential candidates publicly discussed the need for criminal justice reform to improve the relationships between law enforcement and the communities they serve. Korte (2015) further quotes former President Obama's, statement to the International Association of Chiefs of Police: "I reject any narrative that seeks to divide police and communities that they serve… a narrative that too often gets served up to us by news stations seeking ratings, or tweets seeking retweets, or political candidates seeking some attention." Yet, it is clear that this narrative is becoming a reality in our society. However, little is known of how police officers perceive issues between themselves and the communities they serve or what they perceive to be potential solutions.

Statement of the Problem

Beginning with the deaths of Michael Brown (an incident in 2014 in which a Black male, Michael Brown, was killed by a police officer in Ferguson, Missouri) and Eric Garner (an incident in 2014 in which a Black male, Eric Garner, was killed while being arrested by police), police-inflicted deaths, especially of Black men, as well as deaths of police officers, has been ever-present in the media. Research has cited implications for recent cases of police-inflicted deaths, such as the Eric Garner and Michael Brown cases, particularly the need for police officers' training to assess for implicit racial bias (Onyemaobim, 2016). Research by Miller (1995) discussed how police officers often perform their work with dedication and valor, despite encountering traumatic incidents and animosity from the public; however, according to Miller, each officer has a breaking point. Miller asserted that police officers have one of the toughest jobs in our society, often resulting in psychological distress. Yet police officers do not often seek

treatment for their distress, which may lead them to act in ways that negatively impact their interactions with community members.

The broken windows theory (Wilson & Kelling, 1982) is often applied to policing, especially in high-crime urban settings throughout the United States in order to manage crime and maintain order; however, there has been criticism of this approach. The broken windows theory has to do with policing style that focuses on maintaining order in high-crime urban communities, specifically through managing the so-called disorderly in a community with the goal of reducing crime (Wilson & Kelling, 1982). However, this entails police officers' judging what is disorderly, which at times translates into perceived harassment by people in the community and arrests for seemingly petty crimes (Wilson & Kelling, 1982). In addition, Wilson and Kelling warned that this type of policing could lead to police officers' personal biases impacting their perception of what is deemed disorderly.

Research has shown that those in urban communities- where broken windows theory is applied to policing strategy- experience legal cynicism, i.e., a view of police as illegitimate, unresponsive, or ill-equipped (Kirk & Papachristos, 2011). On the contrary, research supports that when policing is perceived as just and fair, the public is more likely to view the policing as legitimate (Mazerolle, Antrobus, Bennett, & Tyler, 2013). Thus, the public views police officers in positive and negative ways based on varying factors, such as perceived fairness in policing.

In addition, research has suggested that continued use of broken windows policing will result in disproportionate numbers of Black and Latino individuals in the criminal justice system for low-level crime, thereby impacting the relationship between police and communities of color (Lieberman & Dansky, 2016). Moreover, research by Najdowski, Bottoms, and Goff (2015) found that Black males' experience of stereotype threat in police encounters might manifest in

behaviors that appear suspicious to police officers, potentially due to police officers' implicit racial bias, which then have negative effects on the interactions between police and Black men (Najdowski, 2011). Thus, broken windows policing could exacerbate legal cynicism via stereotype threat and implicit bias.

Overall, research has suggested that Black men's experiences of racial stereotyping by police, on one hand, and police officers' implicit bias of Black men, on the other hand, serve to maintain a fractured relationship between police officers and Black men. Additionally, the methods of policing urban communities reinforce urban community members' legal cynicism, which could impact the way police working in high-crime urban settings experience the community members' views of them, as well as how police experience the recent events between police officers and Black men. Yet, there has been a paucity of research on police officers' perspective of the community members' views of police and their experience of the relationship between the police and the community.

Purpose of the Study

The purpose of this study was to explore police officers' subjective experiences of community members' perceptions of them, and to understand officers' perspectives related to how the community members' views impacts police officers' relationship with the communities they serve. Moreover, police officer-related deaths have been prominent in the media in recent years; thus, the study further explored how police officers experience the recent events involving police homicide of community members, particularly Black men, and deaths of police officers by those in the community. Additionally, this study explored the police officers' perspectives on how these events impact their relationship with the communities they serve, particularly in urban communities. Lastly, this study examined police officers' perspectives regarding ways to

strengthen the relationship between the police and the communities they serve in hopes to shed light on police perspectives on ways to improve relationships and reduce conflict between police officers and community members. Given the lack of empirical literature on the topic, and the dearth of psychometrically sound measures that could be validly used with police officers in researching their perceptions of the public view, this study qualitatively examined the subjective experience of police officers.

Research Questions

This study explored the following research questions:

1. How do police officers perceive community members' views of them?

2. How do police officers' think the community members' views of them impacts the relationship between police officers and the communities they serve?

3. What are police officers' perspectives on recent events involving police-inflicted deaths of Black community members and the deaths of police officers by community members?

4. How do police officers think the recent events influences the relationship between police officers and the communities they serve?

5. What do police officers identify as ways to resolve issues and improve the relationship between police officers and the communities they serve?

Definition of Terms

1. Community Members: Community Members refers to non-police, civilian individuals as a collective entity.

2. Community: Community refers to the members, individually and as a collective, in the geographic region within which the police officer works. For this study, communities are urban communities.

3. Police-inflicted death: Police-inflicted death refers to death of an individual community member resulting from force used by an active-duty police officer. This study focused on the deaths of Black men by police officers.

4. Death of police: Death of police refers to the death of an active-duty police officer as a result of force used by a non-police, individual civilian community member. This refers to deaths resulting from intentional use of force against police officers by a civilian and does not include accidental deaths, such as deaths of police officers resulting from vehicular accidents while in pursuit of an arrest of a civilian.

5. Relationship between the police and the communities they serve: Relationship between the police and the communities they serve refers to the interpersonal relationship between police officers and the individual members of the community in which the police officer works, as well as the community as a collective.

Significance of the Study

Extant research has focused on various issues related to police psychology, such as job stress, trauma, and mental health (Bishopp & Boots, 2014; Marzano, Smith, Long, Kisby, & Hawton, 2016; van der Velden, Kleber, Grievink, & Yzermans, 2010; Yuan et al., 2011). These studies often provide implications for police officers without examining police officers' perspectives on the topic-at-hand. Based on broken windows theory (Wilson & Kelling, 1982), legal cynicism (Kirk & Papachristos, 2011), police implicit bias (Spencer, 2016), and Black men's stereotype threat (Steele and Aronson, 1995), it can be inferred that police officers' perceptions of how the public views them may be negative and impact their relationship with the communities they serve; however, their perspective was unknown prior to this study.

The current tension between police officers and the communities they serve, particularly the Black community, has become increasingly prominent in the media. These tensions have led to calls for reforms in law enforcement and the criminal justice system. However, there has been little focus within the media or in academic research on the police perspective on current tensions. Thus, this study addressed the gaps in the literature by shedding light on the perspectives of police officers, particular to the public's view of them as well as on police officers' perspectives on recent events involving homicides between police officers and community members, particularly the Black community. This study specifically focused on how police officers' experience of the public perception and of recent events impact their relationship with the communities they serve, and their views on how to improve relations between the police and the community. Departing from prior research that has examined the public's perception of police, with implications for police training, this study sought to illuminate police perspectives and thereby empower the police to offer their own conceptualizations and develop their own solutions to current tensions. Moreover, by helping the public better understand the police perspective, this study sought to bridge the current divide between the public and law enforcement, particularly in urban communities. This study utilized a phenomenological, qualitative approach to examine police officers' perspectives in order to shed light on their subjective experience rather than apply preconceived theories to the subject at hand.

CHAPTER II

Review of the Literature

Introduction and Theoretical Framework

The purpose of this chapter is to discuss the theoretical framework of this study and provide a review of the relevant literature. This study is a phenomenological inquiry of police officers' subjective experiences of the topic at hand. Thus, it is important to not allow a priori theorizing to unduly bias the results. However, given that even discovery-oriented, qualitative research is not conducted in a vacuum, it is important to acknowledge the theoretical framework that informs the research questions and serve as context for the study findings. As such, the literature on the broken windows theory (Wilson & Kelling, 1982), legal cynicism (Kirk & Papachristos, 2011), police implicit racial bias (Spencer et al., 2016), and Black men's stereotype threat (Steele & Aronson, 1995) are reviewed, as these theories form the background for the research questions that guided this study.

Broken Windows Theory and Police-Community Relations

Wilson and Kelling (1982) discussed an initiative in New Jersey in the mid-1970s in which the Safe and Clean Neighborhoods Program, designed to improve community living, provided funds to specific cities in New Jersey. As part of the program, funding was provided to take police officers out of their patrol cars and on foot patrol, referred to as walking beats, in an effort to reduce crime. Wilson and Kelling reported that the program did not necessarily reduce crime rates, but it did provide the community a semblance of increased safety, increased order, and improved police and community relations. Overall, findings indicated that the foot patrol elevated the level of public order in the neighborhoods. However, this program was not without its critics, especially because the crime rates were not necessarily reduced. According to Wilson

and Kelling, disorderly neighborhoods are often viewed, especially by criminals, as areas in which no one cares, including the police; thus, these areas are more susceptible to crime. As such, if one window is broken, it will lead to an image that essentially no one cares, and more windows will subsequently become broken. This is symbolic of urban neighborhoods and referred to as urban decay. This conceptualization of disorder leading to crime is referred to as the broken windows theory, developed by Wilson and Kelling. Weisburd, Hinkle, Braga, and Wooditch (2015) posited the following mechanism to explain the broken windows theory: police presence reduces social and physical disorder, which in turn reduces residents' fear of crime, thereby increasing the community's social control and ultimately reducing crime. According to Harcourt (1998), this theory has been called the bible of policing and the blueprint for community policing.

Wilson and Kelling's (1982) theory was derived from one of Zimbardo's (1969, as cited in Wilson & Kelling, 1982) social experiments on human behavior, comparing the behaviors of community members in an urban setting versus those in a more affluent, suburban setting. The results showed that although urban community members were initially more likely to vandalize an abandoned car in the street than were those living in a suburban setting. However, after the researcher vandalized the car in the suburban community, even suburban community members took part in secondary vandalism. From this Zimbardo experiment, Wilson and Kelling posited that the appearance of a disorderly neighborhood often leads to petty crimes, which then can lead to more serious crimes due to the perception within the community that no one cares. For example, Wilson and Kelling described a panhandler as disorderly and metaphorically the first broken window in the community, and they asserted that this can lead to the appearance that no one cares, which in turn can make the neighborhood more disordered and more vulnerable to

crime. According to these authors, police officers in patrol vehicles cannot maintain order as effectively as on foot because the vehicle serves as a barrier between the police officers and community members. That is, community members are more likely to engage with police officers on foot than approach a police officer's car. As such, foot patrol officers not only maintain order in the community but also facilitate greater interactions between the police and community, leading to an increased sense of safety within the community, even when statistics on crime remain high. The authors stressed the importance of police presence in the community in order to maintain order and prevent disorder in the community.

Yet, although police foot patrol appears as a potential solution to facilitating positive interactions between police officers and those in urban communities, this is not necessarily the case. Wilson and Kelling (1982) warned the order maintenance function of foot patrol can lead to unjust, biased determinations of disorderly conduct. For example, Wilson and Kelling discussed how a harmless individual intoxicated in the streets might be viewed as the first broken window in a community. Moreover, the community may call on police officers to take action regarding potential crimes, such as gang recruitment; however, police officers cannot simply make arrests on the basis of such a call, unless specific illegal action takes place. This often leads to the community viewing the police as indifferent and useless. Overall, Wilson and Kelling asserted that policing based on the broken windows theory is useful in improving order, but not necessarily in reducing crime. The authors emphasized that different approaches to policing variously impact relationships to community members and the community members' perceptions of police.

In addition to Zimbardo's (1969, as cited in Wilson & Kelling, 1982) social experiment, which Wilson and Kelling (1982) and Chu (2007) cited as the empirical basis for the broken

windows theory, Skogan's (1990) research utilized data obtained from five studies to further elaborate on disorder, crime, fear, and community decline in urban neighborhoods. The findings further supported the broken windows theory by connecting neighborhood disorder to crime, while controlling for poverty, stability, and racial composition. Skogan operationalized disorder by asking community members to rank the degree to which they observed social disorder (e.g., public drinking, gangs, street harassment, drugs, noisy neighbors, and commercial sex) and physical disorder (e.g., vandalism, dilapidation and abandonment, and trash/littering) as a problem in their neighborhood. However, Harcourt (1998) criticized Skogan's work, citing many problems with the study, including dealing with missing values inappropriately, selecting only robbery as the dependent variable and making a claim about disorder predicting crime in general, and including potentially serious crimes, such as drug trafficking and gang activity, as part of the disorder variable, leading to problematic overlap between the independent (disorder) and dependent (crime) variables. Additionally, Harcourt pointed out that five neighborhoods clustered in Newark were included in a study with a total of only 30 neighborhoods, resulting in skewed data; when Newark's data was removed, the relationship between disorder and crime disappeared after controlling for poverty, stability, and racial composition of the neighborhood. Harcourt ultimately concluded that the data did not support the broken windows theory connecting disorder to crime.

Hinkle and Weisburd (2008) sought to further test the broken windows theory. However, unlike Skogan (1990) and Harcourt (1998), Hinkle and Weisburd (2008) aimed to examine the connection between disorder and fear of crime. The authors studied both social and physical disorder as in the Skogan and Harcourt studies; however, they examined community members' perception of disorder and fear of crime in areas where police specifically intervened through

23

crackdowns on disorder and minor crime at hotspots. Hinkle and Weisburd theorized, based on

broken windows theory, disorder leads to fear of crime, which in turn leads to crime. Police

crackdowns on disorder referred to police attempting to control the areas of neighborhood

disorder, whereas hot-spots are specific areas within a neighborhood known for crime, where

police explicitly intervened. The authors pointed out that no previous studies examined how

police strategy utilizing broken windows theory impacted community members' fear of crime.

Further, if increased fear of crime is connected to policing strategy, then this increase might

offset any reduction in fear that results from reducing disorder, which could ultimately result in a

maintenance of crime since fear of crime is connected to disorder, disengagement from the

community, and crime. The data for Hinkle and Weisburd's study was from a larger study by

Weiburd et al. (2006) involving police intervention to reduce disorder in Jersey City, New

Jersey. The researchers focused on two areas for this study: one with high levels of prostitution

and another with high levels of drug and violent crimes. The results of the larger study by

Weisburd et al. showed dramatic decline in disorder in these designated areas. For the Hinkle

and Weisburd (2008) study, data for the dependent variable, residents' fear, was taken from the

Weisburd et al. (2006) pre and post-intervention surveys and interviews. The independent

variables were observed social disorder, perceived social disorder, observed physical disorder,

and extra police presence. Control variables were crime, pre-intervention residents' fear, direct

victimization, and various demographics. Results indicated that community members' perceived

social disorder and observed physical disorder related significantly to increased fear of crime;

however, when police intervened through crackdowns on disorder and minor crime hot-spots as a

means to control disorder, the community members ironically reported that they felt more

unsafe. Thus, Hinkle and Weisburd pointed out that police programs and strategies should not

only be focused on reducing disorder but also on using techniques to reduce residents' fears of crime. That is, it may be important to examine the strategies utilized by police when implementing order, based on the broken windows theory (Hinkle & Weisburd, 2008).

Lieberman and Dansky (2016) criticized the broken windows policing, asserting that such policing leads to a disproportionate number of Black and Latino individuals in the criminal justice system for low-level criminal activity. Gau and Brunson (2010) pointed out that policing to maintain order often entails frequent stops of vehicles or persons for suspected disorderly behaviors, based on unclear or minor offenses, which increases feelings of being harassed by police and reinforces legal cynicism for males in urban neighborhoods. Thus, since Wilson and Kelling's (1982) assertion of the order maintenance function of the broken windows theory, especially by way of foot patrol policing, it seems the application of the theory has evolved, particularly as discussed by Lieberman and Dansky, to include hyper-aggressive policing that is perceived as harassment. Lieberman and Dansky highlighted how utilizing broken windows policing, particularly in New York City urban neighborhoods, contributes not only to feelings of harassment by community members but to illegal searches, similar to Stop and Frisk. According to Lieberman and Dansky, in the absence of strong infrastructure in Black and Latino neighborhoods, police have increased their presence in these neighborhoods in an effort to create order and reduce crime. However, police tactics and strategies serve to perpetuate legal cynicism among urban community members and perceived stereotype threat among Black men.

Moreover, Bain, Robinson, and Conser (2014) concluded from a review of research on public perception and policing that having police in concentrated areas of a community results in other parts of the community feeling isolated and unsupported by the police, which is exacerbated by lack of communication between the community and the police. Additionally, the

public's perception of police can be impacted by multiple factors, such as perceived fairness in policing and media representations of police (Bain et al., 2014). Bain et al. highlighted the need for more effective communication between the police and community to assist in policing strategies and to improve perceptions of police by community members.

In reviewing the mixed empirical evidence on the broken windows theory, Caudill, Getty, Smith, Patten, and Trulson (2012) posited that the way broken windows theory is conceptualized may impact its effectiveness as a means of crime reduction. Welsh, Braga, and Bruinsma (2015) surmised the broken windows theory will be around for decades to come and continues to be further developed in both conceptualization and measurement. Overall, it appears the broken windows theory continues to be widely applied to community policing strategies and may impact the relationships between the police and community members in both positive and negative ways.

Community Members' Perceptions of Police, Legal Cynicism, and Police-Community Relationships

The community members' perceptions of police has been examined in urban neighborhoods, where policing strategies are seemingly more aggressive. Weitzer's (2002) study examined the impact of highly publicized incidents in Los Angeles and New York City, spanning the early 90s to 2000, in which police engaged in misconduct, including killing community members during attempted arrests, physically beating community members, or abusing their police powers. Weitzer's analysis tracked the public's opinion of police before and after these incidents and compared differences among White, African American, and Hispanic members of the public. The results showed that, across all racial groups, unfavorable attitudes toward police increased following highly publicized events involving police misconduct;

however, the negative impact was greatest among African Americans (Weitzer, 2002). In addition, the publicized incidents of police misconduct were found to contribute to lack of confidence in police by the public.

Similarly, Chaney and Robertson's (2013) study examining community members' perceptions of police found predominantly negative views of police. Qualitative information was obtained from findings from the National Police Misconduct Statistics and Reporting Project to understand how the public views police in general and how race and racism shape such views. Resulting themes included perceptions of police as agents of brutality, especially towards Black individuals, and contempt for and suspicion of law enforcement. On the other hand, one positive theme was respect for police when police were viewed as having benevolent, good intentions.

Bain et al. (2014) discussed the complex factors that affect community members' perceptions of the police. For example, they identified perceived fairness in policing, media representation of policing, and the use of new social media as some of the various factors that impact public perception. The authors also attributed the deteriorating relationship between police and community members, specifically in New York City, to the increased use of Stop and Frisk policies in 2008. Bain et al. went on to analyze the different factors that may affect public perception of police. For example, the authors cited Mazerolle, Antrobus, Bennett, and Tyler's (2013) research, which suggested if the policing is perceived as just and fair, the public is more likely to view the policing as legitimate. Additionally, beyond legitimacy, perceptions of fairness and open communication play an important role in the ability of police to perform their job. For example, limited police resources lead to the absence of police in communities fearful of crime, such as elderly or rural communities, whereas policing in high-demand areas contributes to perceptions of discrimination within that community. Communities with police absence are often

left with limited interactions with police. Thus, one interaction with a police officer may have a greater impact on community members' opinions of police overall (Bain et al., 2014).

Gaarder, Rodriguez, and Zatz (2004) asserted that foot patrol policing strategies lead to the development of mutual respect and support between police and the community; however, this is not always possible due to economic constraints (Bain, Robinson, & Conser, 2014). In addition, since the local community members often serve as the police's intelligence, or intel, into crimes, the decreased police presence due to lack of resources perpetuates further isolation, lack of trust, and lack of police intel from community members when solving crimes (Bain et al., 2014). Thus, given economic constraints in policing, Bain et al. suggested that effective communication can make a difference in the relationship between police and communities; whereas, lack of information or poor information can lead to a sense of isolation and feelings of being undervalued by police among communities.

Lai and Zhao's (2010) study of community members' views provided empirical evidence in line with Bain et al.'s assertions. Lai and Zhao examined how public attitudes are related to three independent variable groups: demographics (race, age, gender, education level), the neighborhood context (crime rates, rates of victimization, fear of crime, and level of concentrated disadvantage in neighborhood), and the police-citizen interaction. The authors measured public attitudes utilizing two dimensions: general attitudes toward police and specific trust in police. Overall, the findings suggested that participants' race, gender, age, victimization history, and satisfaction with police work were significant predictors of attitudes toward police, and that African Americans have the most negative attitudes toward police and lowest trust in police (Lai & Zhao, 2010). The authors also found Hispanic participants had more negative general attitudes toward police than White counterparts. On the other hand, findings also suggested that good

community policing, as evidenced by crime prevention efforts, interactions with citizens, visibility in the community, and responsiveness to fear of crime, contributed to satisfaction with police, trust, and positive attitudes about the police. The authors highlighted the importance of positive encounters and observations of police as a means to increase public confidence in police.

Kirk and Papachristos (2011) offered the concept of *legal cynicism* to conceptualize community members' negative attitudes toward police. The authors defined legal cynicism as a cultural framework in which people perceive the police as illegitimate, unresponsive, or ill equipped to ensure public safety. Legal cynicism has been found to contribute to high rates of homicide within urban communities (Kirk & Papachristos, 2011). Kirk and Matsuda (2011) reported that neighborhoods with high crime are those with high legal cynicism, where crimes are high but also unreported due to the negative views of law enforcement. Corsaro, Frank, and Ozar (2015) studied perceptions of police specific to police practice, legal cynicism, and persistent neighborhood violence in an urban population known for their antagonistic police-community relationships. The authors described legal cynicism as culturally transmitted, often resulting in community members handling matters without the police. For example, community members may handle unresolved grievances by retaliating, without involving police, due to the culturally instilled lack of trust in police practice. They also found neighborhood homicides were higher in legally cynical neighborhoods; again, this related to the lack of trust in policing and community members taking matters into their own hands. Kubrin and Weitzer (2003) described the concept of cultural retaliatory homicide in urban communities, and found that this type of homicide occurs more often in neighborhoods affected by economic disadvantage and problematic policing. They described these homicides as structural and culturally influenced in

that community members informally solve crimes that result from the structural problems of poverty without relying on police, due to lack of trust in policing practices, resulting in retaliatory killings and increased violent crime in urban neighborhoods. Corsaro et al. cited Kubrin and Weitzer's (2003) findings that community members engage in culturally retaliatory homicides i.e., homicides by community members towards other community members, often referred to as Black on Black crime in Black urban communities, at a more prevalent rate in distressed neighborhoods. Corsaro et al. attributed this phenomenon to inadequate crime control and abusive treatment of residents by the police, and suggested that levels of violence are higher in communities where negative orientation toward policing is culturally transmitted. Overall, perceived unjust policing was the strongest correlate of cynicism of police services, and aggregate levels of cynicism predicted homicides and violence above and beyond social disorganization (Corsaro et al., 2015). Thus, legal cynicism is likely to be particularly prevalent in urban communities of color, contributing to higher rates of violence, which, in turn, could lead to aggressive policing by the police, further reinforcing the police and community divide.

Furthermore, legal cynicism intensifies the relationships between adverse police encounters and the perception of criminal injustice (Berg, Stewart, Intravia, Warren, & Simons 2016). Nivette, Eisner, Malti, and Ribeaud (2015) sought to find factors impacting the development of legal cynicism from a sample of adolescents from disadvantaged school districts who were being followed in a longitudinal study in Zurich, an urban city in Europe. The study was taken from a larger data set comprised of data from six waves of data collection when the children were ages 7, 8, 9, 11, 13, and 15. Nivette et al. analyzed the data from two of the six waves, when the children were 13 and 15. Bonds to social institutions (i.e., parental involvement, sense of alienation and exclusion from society, and commitment to school), developmental

predispositions (i.e., trust, morality, low self-control), experiences with authority (i.e., censure at school, contact with police), and delinquent involvement (deviant peer group and delinquency) were used to predict legal cynicism, with gender, socioeconomic status, and language spoken by parents as the control variables. The authors identified isolation from societal institutions, which is often the case for members of urban communities, as contributing to the transmission of negative information about the legal system, leading to legal cynicism. The quality of interactions with police were also found to impact perception of police, and urban communities often experience negative interactions with police, further supporting legal cynicism (Nivette et al., 2015). Nivette et al.'s research suggested that legal cynicism develops as early as adolescence, with low parental involvement and exclusion from societal institutions as significant predictors of legal cynicism. In addition, self-reported delinquency in adolescents was the strongest predictor of the development of legal cynicism, but this could be a result of justifying their wrong-doing (Nivette et al., 2015).

Hayes (2015) described a long-standing history of police violence and brutality against both black and brown community members. Recounting personal experiences with police while growing up in an urban Los Angeles community, Hayes reported developing the view that White police were especially prone to lawlessness and racist impulses. Further, Hayes described how black and brown communities have publicly expressed problems of police brutality. The militarized police presence during the riots in Ferguson following the death of an unarmed Black man provoked further anger and resentment on the part of the community (Hayes, 2015).

Since the death of Michael Ferguson and the subsequent riots, there has been mention of the so-called Ferguson Effect within the police literature. Wolfe and Nix (2015) studied the apparent Ferguson Effect on police officer's willingness to engage in community partnerships.

The study sought to determine whether the Ferguson Effect is associated with de-policing in the form of decreased willingness to engage in community partnership, and whether such an effect accounts for perceived organizational justice and self-legitimacy. Findings revealed the Ferguson Effect was associated with police officers' decreased willingness to engage in community partnership. Additionally, when officers have confidence in their authority or perceive their work as just or fair, they were found to be more willing to partner with the community, regardless of the negative publicity. This was one of the few studies focused on the police officer's perception; however, Sinyangwe (2016) discounted the Ferguson Effect, asserting that it was based on assumptions rather than fact.

Stereotype Threat, Implicit Bias and Police-Community Relationships

Pennington, Heim, Levy, and Larkin (2016) reviewed two decades of stereotype threat research and reported that the first study to test the theory of stereotype threat was by Steele and Aronson (1995). Steele and Aronson described stereotype threat as being at risk of confirming a negative stereotype about one's group. Moreover, Steele and Aronson's study focused on immediate situational stereotype threat that derives from the threat of being judged and treated stereotypically or the threat of self-fulfilling a stereotype. Steele and Aronson compared African Americans' intellectual test performance to White counterparts and found that African Americans experienced anxiety related to the threat of being stereotyped as less intelligent, providing support for the theory of stereotype threat. Pennington et al.'s (2016) review of the stereotype threat literature found stereotype threat impacts varying groups in differing ways, and anxiety, negative thinking, and mind-wandering were some empirically supported mediators. Furthermore, McClain (2015) highlighted the body of research on stereotype threat focused on

comparing Black individuals to their White counterparts and women to men, and asserted that

stereotype threat negatively impacts Black individuals and women's performance in law school.

Brooms and Perry (2016) sought to qualitatively examine Black men's experiences of

stereotyping and experiences of the killings of Black men by police. Common themes generated

from their data from twenty-five participants included experiences of racial profiling and

stereotyping in various capacities throughout their lives; efforts to develop strategies to reduce

stereotyping or profiling, such as avoiding certain locations where one might be profiled or

dressing conservatively; views of the recent killings of Black men by police officers as due to

their race and gender or the lack of value for Black lives, some directly attributing the killings to

racial profiling of police.

Najdowski et al. (2015) provided similar empirical evidence quantitatively. The authors

examined whether Black men experience stereotype threat in encounters with police by

conducting two studies with undergraduate psychology students from the University of Illinois at

Chicago. The first study compared how Black and White individuals, both male and female, felt

interacting with police. Results indicated that Black men, but not women, endorsed concern

about being perceived by the police as a criminal based on their race. White participants did not

express concerns based on race. The second study compared Black and White participants'

experiences with police in an imagined police encounter. Findings indicated that Black men

experienced stereotype threat, in particular the stereotype of Black men being criminals, which

becomes activated in encounters with police (Najdowski et al., 2015). Najdowski (2011)

suggested that Black individuals' experiences of stereotype threat in police encounters can have

deleterious effects on these encounters. Specifically, Black men anticipate stereotype threat in

police encounters, and this in turn leads to Black men's anticipatory anxiety, affecting their self-

regulation and behaviors, which can then create suspicion among police officers (Najdowski et al., 2015). These findings suggest that Black men's experience of distress related to encounters with police officers can contribute to their experience of stereotype threat, which in turn can impact police officers' response to them. Furthermore, current events widely publicized in the media, such as the deaths of Black men by police and police being killed at protests, can continue to perpetuate the negative interactional cycle between Black men and police officers.

In light of the racial tensions between police officers and communities, especially Black communities, the concept of police implicit bias is particularly relevant as it relates to police interactions with Black individuals and implications for police reform. Richardson (2015) described racial implicit bias as unconscious anti-black bias in the form of negative stereotypes and attitudes that are widely held, which can conflict with conscious attitudes and can predict a subset of real world behaviors. Further, Richardson (2015) pointed out how decades of research has shown that most Americans are unconsciously biased against Black individuals. That is, implicit bias research has shown that people are more likely to make negative associations with Black than White people (McClain, 2015).

Spencer et al. (2016) asserted that a major cause of biased policing is unconscious implicit biases, such as stereotypes linking Black individuals with crime, which can influence the judgments of police officers. They further stated that unconscious bias leads to police officers misidentifying Black individuals as criminals and to excessive use of force (Richardson, 2015). Research by Fridell and Lim (2015) examined implicit and counter-bias perspectives in situations involving police's use of force while encountering Black individuals. The authors defined implicit bias as unconscious bias about Black men being criminals, and counter-bias as decreased use of force with Black men due to fear of consequences stemming from current racial

tension between police and communities. The authors examined 1,846 incidents of use of force by police between 2004 and 2007 in an urban city in Texas, to see if race of the community member and neighborhood violent crime rate would predict police use of force. They categorically described use of force based on the highest level of use of force, those being hard empty hand control (e.g., hitting or kicking), use of oleoresin capsicum (pepper) spray, and use of electronic control devices (e.g., taser/stun gun), compared to soft empty hand control (e.g., holding or grabbing), which is a lower level of force. Fridell and Lim found support for implicit bias in police officers' use of force with Black men, when neighborhood context was not accounted for. However, when neighborhood crime rate was included in the analysis, the relationship between police use of force and race was no longer significant.

Furthermore, Correll, Hudson, Guillermo, and Ma (2014) reviewed research studying racial bias in decisions to shoot Black versus White people. The review compared studies with various comparison groups: novices (undergraduates compared to community members), trained (police compared to expert undergraduates), and trained with bias (pro-stereotypic experts and special unit police). Results showed that novice undergraduate participants were most racially biased toward shooting Black people than those who were trained. On the other hand, it was found that police officers considered factors besides race in their decision to shoot, such as the degree of threat or type of weapon the police perceived the person to have. Racial differences were still apparent for police but to a significantly lesser degree compared to novice and trained undergraduate shooters. Correll et al. attributed the different findings between undergraduates and police to police officers' training related to shooting, which involves consideration of a variety of factors when deciding to shoot someone. The authors underscored a need to further research addressing police decision to shoot.

Research on implicit bias may be especially pertinent to evaluating policy and police training. McClain (2015) asserted that implicit bias should be considered in connection with law and policy. Spencer et al. (2016) reported that police departments are restructuring policies, training, and procedures to address biased policing; however, the changes need to address implicit bias since it is a more unconscious process than explicit racism. Spencer et al. pointed out the discrepancy between the psychological literature on biased policing and lack of effective interventions based on this literature.

Overall, research has suggested that Black men perceive stereotype threat from police officers and police officers' use of force differs when encountering Black men; yet police officers' implicit bias toward Black men is not addressed in training. These findings have implications for not only public perceptions of police but also police perceptions of Black men, as well as for police-community relations.

Police Officers' Perceptions

Unlike the growing research on public perception of police, research has rarely examined police perceptions of the public. However, a few studies, such as those by Colwell (2006) and Colwell et al. (2011) characterized the current events in the media showing police officers killing others or police officers being killed by others as traumatic events. Furthermore, Galovski et al. (2016) examined community members' and police officers' proximity to the Ferguson riots and the effects on their mental health. Results indicated that both police officers and community members experienced symptoms of posttraumatic stress disorder, depression, and anger. This study highlights the negative mental health effects for both police officers and community members. Thus, although Galovski et al. did not directly examine police officers' perceptions of the public, one can extrapolate from these findings that negative mental health effects could

potentially lead to police officers' negative perceptions of a community, which has implications for police-community relations.

Conclusion

Little empirical research has focused on how police officers generally experience the community members' views of them or how they experience recent events involving police in the killings of Black men by police and the killing of police by community members. However, the literature reviewed in this chapter point to factors, such as the broken windows policing, legal cynicism, implicit bias, and stereotype threat, which may influence the relations between the police and the communities they serve. It appears various conceptualizations of the broken windows theory exist, and some of the research evidence in support of this theory has been applied by police in managing crime and disorder in urban settings; however, the theory has also been critiqued, particularly in the way in which it has been utilized by law enforcement. Thus, use of this type of policing has implications for the relationship between police and community members, depending on the strategies utilized as well as intersecting factors such as legal cynicism within the community. Moreover, pre-existing police implicit bias could negatively impact relationships with communities, especially Black communities, who already experience stereotype threat in encounters with police. Overall, the concepts discussed in this chapter have implications for police-community relationships. However, police perspectives have rarely been examined. One goal of this study was to provide insight into police experiences to gain a greater understanding of how their experiences may impact police and community members' relationships.

CHAPTER III

Method

The purpose of this study was to examine (a) police officers' experience of community members' views of them, (b) their understanding of recent events involving police officers and Black community members, (c) their perception of how these factors impact relationships between police officers and community members, and (d) their perspective on how to improve the relationship between police officers and community members. This chapter describes the research design, participants, measures, interview, procedure, and plan for analysis, and addresses issues of validity and researcher reflexivity.

Participants

This study specifically recruited police officers working in urban settings because these communities experience greater tension between police officers and community members, and police officers have more frequent interactions and police calls with the community members in urban settings. Moreover, legal cynicism (Kirk & Papachristos, 2011) and broken windows theory (Wilson & Kelling, 1982) of policing has been found to be most prevalent in urban settings, which could potentially impact the relations between the police and the community.

Although being a police officer becomes a strong part of a police officer's identity, and police adopt the culture of the police brotherhood, participants were racially limited to White police officers because significant variations in responses was expected, based on participants' racial identity and experiences related to their race. This study focused on White police officers because the high profile killings of Black men by police officers in recent years has exacerbated racial tensions between the police and the communities they serve. It was reasoned that White police officers and police officers of color may have different experiences of this racial tension.

Consistent with Interpretative Phenomenological Analysis (IPA) methods, this study recruited a small, homogeneous sample.

In addition, in order to minimize significant variations in results, only male police officers were recruited. Female police officers were excluded because they are still a minority in police departments and likely have a multitude of other factors impacting their work and perspectives relative to being female (e.g., struggles related to working in a male-dominated, hypermasculine work environment).

Lastly, there are ranking systems in police departments; thus, patrolmen and sergeants were included in this study's recruitment, although the participants were all patrolmen; other higher ranking officers were excluded. Specifically, uniform patrolmen and uniform sergeants were included because these two rankings are those who have the most direct, frequent contact with community members during their shifts.

Other than the aforementioned inclusion criteria, police officers on medical or psychological leave, those under disciplinary action with restricted privileges or police powers, and those who are not classified as full-time police officers were excluded from the study. Police officers on leave may have had experiences with the public that led to their current status of being non-active duty (i.e., public internal affairs complaint leading to suspension, excessive use of force leading to disciplinary action, or experience of traumatic event leading to medical or psychological leave), which, in turn, could have influenced their perception of the public that is atypical for the majority of police. Furthermore, those who are not full-time police officers do not have as much interaction with the public; therefore, their perspectives may be more limited than those who work full time.

Because IPA uses an idiographic approach to understanding phenomena, Smith, Flower, and Larkin (2009) recommend a small and relatively homogeneous sample to gain an in-depth understanding of participants' experiences. Following Smith et al.'s recommendation for a student's study utilizing IPA, this study sought to include three to six participants. Five individuals expressed an interest in participating. After asking the screening questions via telephone interaction with participants, three police officers met inclusion criteria and were selected for the study. The other two were excluded because one was not employed for the minimum required time frame of five years and one was currently restricted in regard to his role as a police officer.

All three participants were White males. In addition, they were all in the rank of a Uniform Patrolman. Two participants were 32-years-old and one was 31-years-old. One was of Italian ethnic background, another of mixed Irish and Italian, and the third of mixed Irish, Scottish, and German descent. Two participants were employed for approximately 5.5 years and the third for approximately 9.5 years, at the time of the interview. All three reported growing up in suburban geographic locations in New Jersey with two currently residing in an urban setting and one residing in a suburban setting. One participant currently resides in the urban setting in which he works; the other two reside in areas outside of their work location.

Research Design

According to Hill, Thompson, and Williams (1997), qualitative research is appropriate for early stages of research on unexplored topics. Unconstrained by quantitative operationalizations of constructs, phenomena can be explored without specific hypotheses (Hill et al., 1997). Since prior research has focused on public perception of police, with very little

focus on police officers' perspectives, this study utilized qualitative methods to explore police officers' subjective experiences.

Research cannot be separated from the paradigm in which it is embedded, particularly qualitative research, in which the researcher is often the instrument of data collection and analysis. This study adopted a constructivist paradigm, in the tradition of symbolic interactionism (Mead, 1934), in that people's experiences are seen as embedded in social relationships, and their subjective experience of themselves and the world are construed within the context of others' subjective experiences. Thus, although this study sought to understand police officers' experiences, the assumption was that they construct their experiences within their particular relational and social contexts.

Within a constructivist paradigm, this study examined police officers' experiences using an interpretative phenomenological approach (Smith et al., 2009). Interpretative phenomenological analysis (IPA) is an approach to qualitative research with concepts derived from phenomenology (the study of experience), hermeneutics (the theory of interpretation), and idiography (concerned with the particular; Smith et al., 2009). According to Smith et al., IPA is concerned with how a particular phenomenon is understood by a specific set of people within a particular context. In addition, IPA utilizes open-ended, exploratory questions about people's understandings, experiences, and meaning-making within the context of the phenomenon being studied (Smith et al., 2009). In line with this approach, this study utilized individual interviews with police officers to gain a deeper understanding of police officers' perspectives on public perception, recent events involving police and the Black community, and their relationship with the communities they serve.

Individual Interviews

Smith and colleagues (2009) suggested conducting individual interviews in order to best capture the lived experiences of the participants. Thus, semi-structured interviews were the method of data collection. The semi-structured format provided the interview with structure, on one hand, to ensure data appropriate to the research questions was collected, and flexibility, on the other hand, in allowing the participants to take the interview in sometimes unexpected directions to add richness to the data (Smith et al., 2009). In line with the more discovery-oriented and idiographic goal of this study, the interview questions were constructed to avoid leading or unduly biasing the participants but simply to orient the participants to the research questions.

I created the interview protocol (See Appendix A) based on the research questions and the literature. The protocol was piloted with one police officer, with whom I am acquainted. The interview with the pilot participant was not recorded or transcribed and is not included in the analysis or results. The pilot interview was conducted strictly for the purposes of refining the interview questions; no revisions were necessary and the feedback was that there was "a solid structure to the questions."

Data was collected via in-person, recorded interviews with the three participants. Each participant was interviewed once. Each interview ranged from 60 to 80 minutes.

Each participant adamantly expressed concerns about confidentiality given the nature of the research requiring the need to record the interview. Each agreed to be audio- but not video-recorded. In addition, each participant agreed to participate on the basis that the participant's name and police department location be removed from any transcriptions or presentation of the data to ensure further confidentiality. I agreed to such terms and provided reassurance that the

person's name and any identifying information would be de-identified from transcriptions and the write-up of the research. Interviews proceeded thereafter; however, even during interviews at certain points, participants reiterated their concern about confidentiality and required the reassurance yet again of the confidential nature of the data write up, as well as their right to withdraw from the study.

Measures

The only standard measure used was a brief demographic questionnaire (see Appendix B). The demographic questionnaire included questions regarding age, length of time working as a police officer, race, ethnicity, neighborhood in which they were raised (urban, sub-urban, rural), and socioeconomic status. Prior to engaging in the formalized interview, participants completed the demographic questionnaire. Table 1 provides demographic information that was obtained from the demographic questionnaire.

Table 1

Demographic Information

Participant	Age	Ethnicity	Years Employed	Rank	Neighborhood Context (Growing Up)	Neighborhood Context (Current)
I	32	Italian/Irish	9.5	Patrolman	Suburban	Urban
II	32	Italian	5.5	Patrolman	Suburban	Urban
III	31	Irish/Scottish/German	5.5	Patrolman	Suburban	Suburban

Procedure

This study utilized a combination of purposeful and convenience sampling to recruit participants. Purposeful sampling is used in qualitative research to recruit participants that can provide the data specific to the research questions at hand (Creswell, 2007). However, given the difficulties anticipated in recruiting police officers, who may have negative perceptions of psychological research, convenience sampling methods were also utilized. Prior to the Institutional Review Board (IRB)'s approval of the study, the various police organizations and departments in urban settings throughout New Jersey were contacted via email asking for permission to recruit participants for the study, once it is approved. The email contact information was found via public information on an internet search. For example, "Jersey City PBA" was googled to find the contact information. After not receiving a response from this outreach, the method was changed to recruit participants via outreach to personal and professional contacts that have connections to police officers. After IRB's approval, letters of solicitation were provided to police officers with whom I have a relationship to assist with the dissemination of information to those in their department with whom I did not have a prior relationship. In addition, letters of solicitation were sent to friends and family members that have connections to police officers in urban settings. The letters described the purpose of the research and asked that the information be forwarded to police officers, instructing those interested to contact the researcher directly. In addition, when an officer expressed interest to one of my solicitors, the solicitor asked if it were okay to forward the person's contact information to me to reach out to them. Each of the interested participants ended up allowing the solicitor to provide me with his contact information.

After receiving interested participants, I contacted them and asked the screening questions to ensure potential participants met inclusion criteria. Those who met criteria discussed an agreed upon location, date, and time to meet for the interview. They were advised that prior to beginning, they would be provided with an informed consent form and if they wished to participate, then the interview would take place.

Each interview took place after the individual agreed to the informed consent form and was provided with a copy. Then they filled out the short demographic questionnaire. Interviews proceeded in person, at a time that was convenient for both parties. The location was determined based on convenience and preference, at a place that ensured privacy. After the interview, I spent some time with the participant to check in about their experience of participating in the interview and offer referrals to counseling or support groups for those who expressed undue distress or interest in the referrals. None of the participants expressed an interest in a referral, but it was pointed out that therapist locator information was on their copy of the informed consent document if they feel the need to utilize such a resource in the future.

The interviews were audio recorded and transcribed. Data was fully de-identified and stored electronically as password protected files on my computer and only viewed as needed by me. My research assistant was provided with a fully de-identified transcription of the data for her role in the study; she was instructed and agreed to not share the information with anyone. A copy of the transcript was provided to two of the participants who expressed interest with the opportunity to edit, revise, or add any follow-up comments. New information was not obtained from these participants' review.

Data Analysis

Within a constructivist paradigm, this study sought to examine police officers' experiences using an interpretative phenomenological approach (Smith et al., 2009). In order to obtain such data, individual, recorded interviews were conducted with each participant. The data was then transcribed verbatim from each interview recording. After each interview was transcribed, the interviews were labeled as Interview I, Interview II, and Interview III. In addition, to ensure confidentiality and protection of subjects as requested by the participants, all identifying information was removed from the transcriptions and participants were labeled as Participant I, Participant II, and Participant III with myself being the only person who knew the identity of each participant. The transcribed interviews were analyzed using methods of IPA (Smith et al., 2009).

This study utilized a research assistant for the analysis phase in order to discuss and process any biases I may have and reduce issues related to validity of data based upon any of my biases. The research assistant was provided with references to read on the approach as well as the dissertation proposal chapter on the analysis, in order to become familiar with her role. The research assistant and I discussed the role of the research assistant to provide clarity then proceeded to the analysis stages of the research. In addition, I reached out to participants to let them know the transcriptions were written and they could read and provide feedback if they wished. The researcher heard back from two of the participants (Participant I and III) regarding interest to read the transcriptions; however, further feedback was not obtained from participants.

First, the research assistant and I independently read the transcripts in an effort to become immersed in the data. Then, the transcripts were again independently read with each person taking initial notes of anything interesting in the data, remaining open to all potential meanings.

Next, the research assistant and I discussed initial notes and impressions from the data, specifically pointing out gaps and differences between notes. For example, I had some initial impressions that the research assistant had not identified so the difference was discussed. The research assistant and I then independently developed themes from the data and discussed them. We noted discrepancies and further discussed until reaching consensus.

Then, the research assistant and I independently searched for connections among the themes, deciphering major from minor or unapparent themes. Thereafter, themes were discussed between us and a consensus was reached regarding the resulting themes of the research. After applying these steps to each case, the research assistant and I independently searched for themes and patterns across the three cases. A final discussion took place and final consensus was achieved to organize the themes. I also provided the results section write-up of the themes to the research assistant in order to obtain final feedback and maintain clarity of the data analysis.

Validity

There are different criteria for judging the validity or quality of a qualitative research study, based on the paradigm that guides the study. By using IPA's idiographic approach to data, this study sought to understand the nuances of each participants' experiences, while IPA's grounding in symbolic interactionism allows the research to attend to the relational and social context of the participants' subjective experiences (Smith et al., 2009). Yardley (2000) identified four domains to ensure the quality of qualitative research. The first is sensitivity to context. The attention to context is particularly relevant for this study, which sought to understand police officers' experiences of the public perception and their relationship with communities, with an awareness of the larger current cultural context of Black Lives Matter and Blue Lives Matter movements.

Another domain related to quality is commitment and rigor, defined as the degree of attentiveness during the data collection and thoroughness of the study (Yardley, 2000). This is especially important since the data was collected via semi-structured interviews; thus, being attentive and present during the interviews was important to ensuring an in-depth account of the participants as well as developing a comfortable interaction for the participants to feel safe to discuss the topics-at-hand.

Transparency and coherence is another important element in considering the validity in qualitative research (Yardley, 2000). This means clearly, carefully, and coherently writing about each step of the research process. The use of taking notes during all stages of the research aided in clearly writing up the process of this study.

Lastly, the impact and importance of the study serves as a measure of validity (Yardley, 2000). That is, the readers of the research should find the findings interesting or important. Given the paucity of research in police perceptions and experiences, it is hoped that the results of this study will impact readers' understanding of police experiences.

Smith et al. (2009) also described an independent audit process, in which an independent researcher could follow each step in the research and find the results to be credible (vs. accurate). This type of validity could take the form of an actual audit or simply providing an audit trail that would theoretically allow an audit to occur. My use of memos and attention to recording the thought processes that guided each step in the research process served as my audit trail. Moreover, the use of an assistant who is also involved in the analysis increases the credibility of the findings; thus, I utilized an assistant for the analysis stage of this research study.

Morrow (2005) described criteria for trustworthiness of a study, particular to constructivism and relevant for this study: fairness and ontological authenticity. This study

attended to issues of fairness by honoring different perspectives in the data; ontological authenticity was provided by expanding and elaborating participants' constructed meanings. In addition, researcher reflexivity was practiced in which I attempted to understand how personal experiences and understandings of the world impact the research (Morrow, 2005).

Another criterion for judging quality in qualitative research is the attention to the participants' constructed meaning and mutually constructed meanings (Morrow, 2005). By using IPA's idiographic approach to data, this study sought to understand the nuances of each participants' experiences, while IPA's grounding in symbolic interactionism allows the research to attend to the relational and social context of the participants' subjective experiences (Smith et al., 2009). Creswell (2007) suggested including participants throughout the process, sharing the emerging themes from each case with the participants to ensure that the results stay true to the participants' constructions. As such, participants were invited to read the respective transcription and provide feedback. It was intended they would also be able to read the resulting themes and provide additional feedback if interested. After not receiving feedback from the transcriptions, no further contact was pursued with the research participants. Morrow (2005) also described immersion in the data (similar to Smith et al., 2009) to ensure adequacy of interpretation. I practiced immersion through numerous reading sessions of each transcription. In addition, the process of transcribing in itself helped me to become more immersed in the data. At the same time, I acknowledge that my own interpretations are inevitably a part of the final results, and this is in line with the constructivist approach, which acknowledges mutually constructed meanings.

Researcher Reflexivity

Within a constructivist, interpretivist paradigm, researcher reflexivity serves to help researchers understand and be transparent about how their experiences and assumptions

influence the process of research, including their research questions, data collection, and data analysis (Morrow, 2005). Within IPA, the researcher engages in an iterative process of, by turns, foregrounding their preconceptions and interpretations, and attending to the participants' own subjective understandings, while the researchers' assumptions are in the background (Smith et al., 2009). In this section, I reflect on my own experiences as they relate to this study, how these experiences may have influenced my approach and interpretation, and ways in which I may at times use my experiences to inform my research and at times check my preconceptions so as not to force my interpretations onto the data.

As someone who has dated and subsequently married an ex-police officer, my attitude toward the police has evolved over the years. I met my husband when we were both adolescents, prior to his becoming a police officer. Subsequent to his joining the police force, I noticed my internal struggle with his police identity. I had many negative perceptions of police, stemming from my family's biases as well as my own negative interactions with police.

However, through my husband, I gained insight into his subjective experience of being a police officer. As a police officer, my husband worked in the most high-crime neighborhood in our urban community, an area in our city that most residents did not know existed. He often spoke of his interactions with those community members and how he and the other police officers felt "hated" by the community, heard people in the community tell their kids "don't go near them," and when investigating crimes, experiencing community mistrust of them and unwillingness to provide them with information. He also told me about various assaults upon police by community members, including some that rendered the police officers disabled and unable to continue working as a police officer. At times, officers were even exposed to infectious diseases such as HIV positive blood from needles or blood that was at a scene. However, he also

described rewarding experiences, such as helping a woman deliver her child in a bathroom, saving someone from being killed in a domestic violence dispute, and trying to help those in need by participating in community outreach events such as holiday toy drives and delivering turkeys to homes for Thanksgiving. Thus, I heard two very different experiences: one of extreme difficulty and a sense of being undervalued in the community; and another of feeling rewarded through helping those in need.

I came to realize I was part of the community whom he experienced as "hating" them. I realized how my demonizing of police might hurt him and our relationship. I came to appreciate the many difficult, traumatic experiences police officers face on a daily basis and how they are expected to simply "be okay" with those experiences. I learned to view police in a more humanistic manner. I also learned about how police are trained to shoot community members in a manner to stop a threat and how this training often results in fatal shootings by police. In addition, I learned about the police officers' fears about seeking help, especially due to the fear of losing their jobs or having their guns taken away.

These experiences have led me to conceptualize recently publicized events involving police shootings as a larger systemic issue. I have also come to adopt a more curious stance, trying to understand the subjective experiences of police. I have become interested in the issue of police training and how the potential lack of training around issues of race and implicit bias may impact their work and interactions with community members.

My experiences and assumptions inevitably influenced the way I interacted with the participants (e.g., being more attuned to experiences that resonate with my own experiences or perceptions) although I practiced being mindful of the ways in which my identities, demeanor, and language may be influencing their responses. As much as I may have tried to immerse

myself in the data and remain close to the participants' own words and meaning-making, the

very act of analysis involved my own interpretation, which was informed by my experiences and

prior knowledge as well.

CHAPTER IV

Results

This chapter provides information about the research findings. This was a phenomenological approach to a qualitative research study with a purpose to gain an in-depth understanding of Police Officer's experiences relative to the following five research questions:

a) How do police officers perceive the public's view of them?

b) How do police officers' think the public's view of them impacts the relationship between police officers and the communities they serve?

c) What are police officers' perspectives on recent events involving police-inflicted deaths of Black community members and the deaths of police officers by community members?

d) How do police officers think the recent events influences the relationship between police officers and the communities they serve?

e) What do police officers identify as ways to strengthen the relationship between police officers and the communities they serve?

In the subsequent section, each participant is described. The participant's experience is then described as well as relevant themes to that individual. Thereafter, the observations, experience, and impression of the primary researcher is described.

Participant I

Participant I is a Police Officer currently working as a full-time Uniform Patrolman in one of the larger urban cities of New Jersey. He is 32-years old, has been employed 9.5 years, was raised in a large suburban area in central New Jersey, currently resides in an urban area, and has an ethnic background of Irish and Italian descent. He identifies as White. He described the level and type of crime he encounters through his work as "varied," ranging from working with professionals to

homeless people. He said there is a lot of "street crime" such as thefts, assaults-minor and violent, robberies, drugs, and people possessing dangerous weapons such as guns and knives. He said there are also suicide and homicide attempts or completions.

Participant I's Experience. Participant I was interviewed at an agreed upon location that assured confidentiality. The interview lasted for approximately one hour.

Participant I said he always wanted to be a police officer to help people. He described differences in his work expectations (i.e., what the work would be like and what it is actually like). He described an overall positive experience working as a police officer. He portrayed himself as an officer who is fair and just when working with the community members but also follows the rules of his job duties by enforcing the law. He described his work as difficult, expanding upon the dangers associated with being a police officer, such as accidental deaths of police on duty, exposure to deadly disease through drugs, needles, and blood, and knowing you could be killed. He described that it becomes frustrating at times and is difficult to "leave at work." However, he noted that time helped him to learn to leave work at work and not let it impact his personal life. He explained that most community members view the police in a negative way, identifying the media as a major contributor to this. He also described past negative interactions with Police as a dominating factor that impacts one's view of police. He reported that some police are not "good" and their behaviors become generalized, mostly through the media's impact. In addition, he explained how the media creates further tension and divide between police and community members. When speaking of the issue of Black community members being killed by police, he asserted that the media sensationalizes situations in which Black men are killed, and does not focus on facts, actual statistics of how many Black members are killed in comparison to other community members. He also asserted that the media does not

show what led up to a situation in which a community member was killed. He said media portrayal creates more tension between the community, especially Black community members, and police whereby movements such as the "Black Lives Matter" and "Police Lives Matter" arise with an "us vs. them" mentality. He expressed that as a police officer, it is expected that one "has the back" of other police officers. He strongly believes that each police officer is able to interact with community members in respectful ways and provide a positive interaction in hopes to deter the media's negative impact. He described having mutual respect with those in the community, including violent criminals and gang members, although frustrations arise with repeat offenders. His views on strengthening police and community members' relationships primarily has to do with a focus on the youth or younger generations and altering interactions to be more respectful between officers and community members. Specifically, he discussed that there should be more police presence in schools, in communities, and positive interactions with younger generations. He expressed less hope for relationship strengthening with older generations. He also mentioned that having more diverse police departments in regard to ethnic and racial diversity will help community members feel more connected to the police.

After the interview, he described himself as optimistic, re-iterated that his intent is always to help people and pointed out that not all police officers have a similar outlook or hopeful mentality.

Participant II

Participant II is a police officer currently working as a full-time Uniform Patrolman in one of the smaller urban locations in New Jersey. He is 32-years old, has been employed for approximately five and a half years, was raised in a small suburban town in New Jersey, and currently resides in an urban area. He has an ethnic background of Italian descent. He identifies

as White. He described the level and type of crime he encounters through his work as "everything" and a "variety." He specifically mentioned encountering domestic violence, robbery, theft, murders, and drugs, and described his work as a "busy area."

Participant II's Experience. Participant II was interviewed at an agreed upon location that assured confidentiality. The interview lasted for approximately one hour and twenty minutes.

This participant was the most concerned about his name or connection to his department being shared with others; after continued reassurance, he opened up more about his experiences. Toward the end of the interview, he whispered to stop the recording. After it was paused, he asked if he can speak more freely but as long as his name or department would not be mentioned in any way in the research. After being re-assured that his name and department as well as any identifying information would be removed for the protection of his confidentiality, he said something to the effect of "okay, turn it back on and ask the question again." Subsequently, he was asked the last question of the interview again. He then became more open and spoke of various examples of his experiences as a Police Officer for at least an additional 20 minutes.

Participant II spoke about the difficult situations encountered being an officer in an urban setting. He identified that most community members are of a different racial background and lack trust in police in general, especially White police. He identified that community members mostly view police in a negative manner due to the media's portrayal of police and previous negative interactions with police. He described that family members often pass down their views to the younger generations in a way that deters children from feeling safe around police. He relayed frustration about this process and reported feeling that people generalize negative interactions. He also spoke about the racial tensions between Black community members and

police officers, how movements such as "Black Lives Matter" or "Police Lives Matter" create more divide between police and community members. He reported that it is difficult to find ways to mend the relationship. He spoke of how some police are "bad" and should never have become an officer; he provided examples such as those in the media who unjustly killed a community member. However, he adamantly pointed out the role of the media, stating that facts are not presented accurately. Participant II also spoke of the necessity to remain on guard and aware of surroundings while on duty due to the risk of being killed by a community member. He described exposure to traumatic situations at an ongoing, daily basis, such as overdoses, reviving children from near death experiences, witnessing abuse and domestic violence, and dealing with homicides or suicides. Although he noted much dislike from community members, he noted that one cannot take it personally or take the work home. He explained that he copes with work difficulties by imagining all the good things to come in his life. Notably, most of the things he imagines were materialistic in nature. He also reported that most of the community members in the low socioeconomic status are those who have negative perceptions of police; however, those who reside in more affluent areas of the city are more accepting of and friendlier to police. Participant II also spoke of the training he received and described it as somewhat mentally abusive. He reported that he was nicknamed "slob" throughout the training and people were often condescending toward him. He attributed the training model to preparation for working with similar community members and being able to tolerate it without reacting. He reported realizing how the training made sense once he started working in the urban community. He also described a mentality where one has to simply "deal with it" regarding any feelings or thoughts about difficult experiences as though there is no outlet or place for support. With regard to police and community members killing one another, he described the negative impact and continued

divide it creates in communities, rising tensions, as well as the media's impact on sensationalizing the dynamic. He described how the community views it as more acceptable for a police officer to be killed by a community member than the other way around because they think police sign up for that risk when they take this job; he was frustrated when describing this perception of the community. However, he also described rewards to the work such as the pay (with overtime), ability to have a flexible schedule (in his specific department), and the rewarding nature of helping people. Participant II expressed that strengthening the police's relationship with communities would be a difficult and complex task. Nonetheless, he stressed the importance of remaining respectful to community members in interactions, focusing on and showing the younger generations positive interactions, and doing exactly what one is trained to do so that issues do not arise.

Participant III

Participant III is a police officer currently working as a full-time Uniform Patrolman in one of the larger urban locations in New Jersey. He is 31 years old, has been employed for approximately 5.5 years, was raised in a small, suburban "beach town" in New Jersey, and currently resides in a suburban area. He has an ethnic background of Irish, Scottish, and German descent and identifies as White. He described the level and type of crime he encounters through his work as "the worst of the worst." He specifically said he encounters rape, murders, armed robberies, burglaries, drugs, prostitution, child abuse, domestic violence, and "everything" on a "daily basis."

Participant III's Experience. Participant III was interviewed at an agreed upon location that assured confidentiality. The interview lasted for approximately one hour and ten minutes.

Participant III described initial concerns about confidentiality and his name and department being written or spoken about as a result of the research. This was consistent across all interviews. After being assured that any identifying information would be removed from the research results, he agreed to participate.

Participant III described his work environment as difficult. He explained that he sees "everything," referring to the worst case scenarios in policing. Similar to the others, he wanted to be a police officer to help people, but had different expectations of what that would be like. He described tensions between police and community members since he works in a predominantly Black community with high crime, extreme poverty, and limited resources. He provided examples of how community members do not look him in the eye or speak to him at times, due to his being White and an officer. He expressed frustrations because this impedes his ability to gain information about crimes or issues in the community. He said he learned how to work with difficult situations through modeling from police with more experience. He reported that the training he received prior to being hired did not prepare him enough for what is encountered in an urban community. He described traumatic situations often occurring and having to "just deal with it." He was initially hesitant to share specific examples; however, I assured him of my ability to handle the information and encouraged him to share. Thereafter, he described experiences of being shot at, being exposed to HIV-infected blood, witnessing a suicide, witnessing people being shot and killed, and seeing a dead baby upon going to a call. He described compartmentalizing these experiences to cope. He spoke of the rising tensions and divide between police and communities, especially Black community members, as a result of the media sensationalizing situations and not accurately portraying circumstances. He described the media—news and social media—as having a major impact on how interactions with police are

portrayed. Similar to the other officers, he reported that facts are not accurately reported, that what occurs prior to a police officer's behavior is not accurately depicted, and that this contributes to the tension in police-community relationships. He asserted that some of the police killings of Black men and community members in general are justified but the public is unaware of the actual facts; whereas, in other situations, the officer was wrong, but these cases often becomes generalized. He further spoke about the hypervigilance necessary to survive as a police officer in an urban community due to the risk of being shot and killed by a community member. He also spoke of the dangers related to drug exposure and infectious diseases. Participant III stated that repairing or strengthening the relationship between police and the community is a complex issue due to the vast impact the media has on people. However, similar to the others, he described little hope for older generations and explained there should be a focus on starting with the younger generation through having more police presence in schools, at community events, and positively interacting with youth. He also reported that his department often hosts community events in which flyers have images of Black or other minority police officers to portray the department as more similar to the community members.

Themes

There were nine major themes that emerged across the three participants' interviews: diverse experiences, difference between expectation of the job and the actual job, being in danger at work, media, generalizations about police, predominant dislike of police officers by the public and negative/poor relationship between police officers and community members, race and tensions between community members and police officers, exposure to traumatic situations, frustrations, and trying not to take the job home, and limited options for relationship reparations.

Diverse Experiences. This theme refers to the diverse experiences each participant faced as a result of being a police officer in an urban setting. They described working with and encountering diverse members of the community. For example, Participant I indicated,

It's very busy. You have a lot of diverse populations there. You have a lot of tourists, because we are so close to New York City. So, it's fun trying to deal with the different nationalities and talking to a lot of different people, um, and learning different cultures.

Participant II stated,

It's probably about 50% African American, about 30%, um, White, and I would go with about 15% Hispanic, and then 5% mixed. There's a lot of Muslim coming in, uh, Muslims and, um, Middle Eastern and, like, Pakistani coming into town. We have two Mosques that were just built.

Participant III described the population this way:

Very poor. Very low income. Hard working, for the ones that do, um, get out there and go to work every day. I mean, I work the night shift, so I see, I see, I mean, as much as I want to say that urban communities, you know, just collect welfare and all that, and again- that's just racial- racial slurs and innuendos that people put out there. I mean, there is hard working people out there. I meet a lot of good people out there. Um, but it's very low income, it's very crime ridden, it's very drug oriented, it's very- prostitution everywhere. Um, I would say it's 85, 80 to 85 percent Black, 10 to 15 percent Hispanic, we have a small Chinese, um, denomination out there and then mostly the White people are all drug addicts, in my sector.

Additionally, during the demographic questionnaire, each participant indicated experiencing a wide variety of crimes in their work, including homicide, suicide, rape and sexual

assaults, domestic violence, armed robbery, assaults, drug dealing, prostitution, as well as smaller level crimes. Participant I shared the following:

> You get a mix of everything. Um, there's everything from thefts. You have The World Trade Center nearby. I mean, we don't really deal with a lot of the white collar-type crimes, but we are surrounded by it. So, those people could be walking by you every day, but they could be stealing millions of dollars from a lot of people…I think it's pretty interesting how you could have all those level of criminals or all those, those people in such a tight area.

Participant II stated,

> Um, it'll go from o- on a busy day, you know, a busy, a slow day, you'll take anything from, you know, your typical car accident, your typical shop-lifting from ShopRite or CVS. And then you'll have one night where there'll be a double homicide or someone, you know, stabbed their brother or sister. You know, we had a couple years ago, a guy snapped and stabbed his mom and brother like 75 times. So, um, domestic violence is very big in town. Uh, you'll go to at least two or three of them a night, where someone, um ... It can be just anything from verbal, you know, someone slammed a- a pot on the ground in anger, to where a guy beat up his wife, or a w- wife beat up her husband. You know, it's- it's one extreme to the other. There's no such thing as, in police work, there's no such thing as a routine day.

Participant III indicated the following:

> I mean, my particular area that I work, I'll say I work in, um, a lot of prostitution, a lot of drugs, I work in the [specific area of the city he works]. To me, personally, the [specific area of the city he works] is the busiest. Um, there's homicides…You'll hear shootings all

night long, all night long. Um, drug sets, it's just a lot of prostitution, a lot of robberies. And then, from Thanksgiving to Christmas, it's probably the busiest time. Because, again, it's very poor. People don't have anything. The holidays and for Christmas time, they rob to get what they can to provide for their families and people getting robbed. Um, a lot of car thefts. And then overdoses. Every single day- I think I had 48 myself saves in the last few years alone. And that's just saves, that's not including the ones that passed away. Obviously I see with the homicides, with the drug sets and them shooting each other constantly, it's back and forth between all them because I think at one point I learned that [location of work] had 149 subsets of Bloods. They just can't seem to get along and just, every block has their set. But, unfortunately, also in the [specific area of the city he works] there is a large Megan's Law offenders [i.e., registered sex offender population]. So, it- I don't know if it has to do with, like I said, dependency on drugs, a lot of dependency on alcohol and it's most of the time molestation cases that we got was shockingly- it was uncle, the niece and uncle, a lot of family oriented, but yeah, you get rape and molestations all the time.

Difference between expectation of the job and the actual job. Each participant described becoming police officers to help others. However, they were then exposed to differences in expectations of what it would be like. They also conveyed an expectation of being valued in their role as a police officer; however, they found that this expectation was not met, except in encounters with people in more affluent areas. Yet, the police in the urban settings that were interviewed seemed to all work in areas, in which members of the community were predominantly poor and of low socioeconomic status. Related to this theme, Participant I described the following:

I always wanted to be a police officer growing up. I always wanted to help people, so I never really got into it for hurting. Well, I, I hope no one ever gets into it for hurting people…Um, you know, sometimes I think we are kind of handcuffed in situations. By that I mean we don't set the- We don't create the laws, but we're paid to enforce the laws. So, like for instance, I'll use [location of city] on uh, [specific holiday] day. They enforce fines uh for an open drinking in public summons for $1,000. Do you think I want to give a kid $1,000 summons for drinking a beer in public? It's absurd. I won't do it unless I'm told by a supervisor. I'm not doing it... Yeah. Like young adults like the, the cost of living in this state and New York and Connecticut, whatever around this tri-state area. I'm not going to hit a kid with $1,000 ticket. That's ridiculous. But who sets that law, you know? You try to scare people. Um, you know, sometimes the politicians, it starts with them and it doesn't help us… You know, you're going to bang them with $78 summons. I don't want to do that, you know? But, um, luckily my department there's no quotas. You don't have to uh, really ... You do have to enforce it. But it's up to your discretion. You know, what was the situation? They, they allow us to um, use discretion, unless we are ordered to write a summons, which usually isn't the case, but if you explain why they didn't deserve a summons.

Participant II indicated:

I get the harder area to patrol. And, you know, it's predominantly African American, Hispanic, Muslim. And, you know, they don't, they don't want you around. They don't want to be around you. And it sucks because you want to make a difference, but sometimes it's, like, a thankless job.

Participant III stated:

When I first started, it- you know, it's what I've always wanted to do. Um, you know, it's still about helping people, you know. It still feels good helping people. Um, but that's since changed. Now, it's like walking on- walking on eggshells every time you do something. Because they're trying to find the bad in what we do, when all we're trying—most of us are—all everyone's trying to do is good. But being videotaped and all that, it's literally, it's like walking on egg shells now.

He further described, "The first day I worked here, the first day I hit the streets, shitting myself really…the way I look at it, you're always doing wrong until you're doing right."

Being in danger at work. Each participant described dangers related to being a uniformed police officer. Some described racial tensions and how the deaths of community members resulted in riots and police seemingly became more at risk for being harmed by community members. They also described being exposed to infectious diseases and drugs as a major con to their work. They described how this adds to the seriousness of the job, one has to be "on point," "on guard," and "aware of surroundings" at all times. For example, Participant I noted the following:

You're dealing with people who may have infectious diseases. You're dealing with people who, um, may not be the most cooperative. There's so many dangers. People with knives and guns in urban areas. People transporting drugs. You could have exposures to needles and heroin and um, we see heroin now. It's just become such an epidemic. It's everywhere. So, you don't know what you're walking into. If you're searching someone, you have to be extra careful. I, I'd say danger, dangerous situations, substances, weapons are, are probably the number one con you know, is not coming home. Then, there'd be accidents. Um, you could be responding to a job and people just are texting and driving

and they could get into a, you know, a major accident with the responding unit. So, it's just uh, that extra level of precaution that safety's first. You want to go home at the end of the day.

Participant II stated,

I have my, like, radar up more, and if I'm sitting in a parking lot, I'll never face like that, and have my back to the entrance, or anything like that. Like, I guess when you see that it's, kind of, like, a reminder that this is real, and something bad could really happen to you. And, you know, you feel bad for the person in their family, but you can't go out and pull over every person and drop the hammer on them, because a colleague in, you know-Pennsylvania got killed. Like, that's not fair to them. Just like it's not fair to us, when they automatically assume every cop's a killer, a murderer, an executioner, because someone in, you know, Tennessee shot someone…Like, the closer the town, the realer it gets. Like, when an NYPD cop gets shot, that hits you a little more, and you're, like, "Wow, this is real." Like, this can be my last day at work. I should, you know, keep my head on a swivel and keep my shit together. Because you know a lot of people are very complacent and they get out the car and they slam the car door and they look at their shoes as they walk up to the car. And they're like, "Uh, you know you have $500 dollar warrant. Come on, get out." Like that's all what you're not taught to do because they're complacent.

Participant III indicated, "You can get shot. It's dangerous, it's extremely dangerous… you can die. Um, I got exposed to HIV, which sucked. So you're dealing with a lot elements…Crime happens everywhere, it's just, it's more of a frequent thing out [location of work]."

He further explained,

I use Ferguson as an example. Look what happened there. I mean, there's still, to this day,

years later, there's I don't even know if they have a police force. It's just, no one, they

refuse work there because of the dangerous nature. Same thing in Baltimore. Same thing

in Detroit. In [current location of work], fortunately it hasn't had that uprising yet. We've

had our shootings. I mean, I've been in three of them, um, where people have been shot

and killed.

He provided another example:

Scary. I mean, look at the one in New York two years ago. The Chinese guy and the

Black guy or the Chinese guy and the Spanish guy. Sitting in a car, eating lunch. I've

done it a thousand times, done it a thousand times. You either- We don't have, get the

luxury to most people sitting in a- you know, at a table every day and, most times we

have to eat our lunch and dinner in the car. And you gotta say when you have to tactically

pick a spot to eat your dinner because you don't know if someone's gonna come up and

shoot you from behind…It's disgusting.

Media. Issues with the media was the most frequently identified component throughout

all three interviews as an issue that impacts police officers and relationships between police and

community members. The participants described how the media misrepresents facts involving

police, and the news and social media portray police in negative ways. They described how

media does not show the full story, what lead up to a situation, or relevant parts that lead to

police-community member interaction. They described how police become blamed but

"criminals" are not. There was acknowledgement of how this perpetuates more tension between

police and community members, fuels riots, and creates divide with an "us vs. them" relationship

mentality. Participants also noted how the statistics are incorrect. Participant I described his

impressions of the media as, "I think that social media's the worst thing… because people push that limit. And they want to be seen and they want to make a name for themselves in regards to that. And they want to use um, political figures, celebrities, police officers, and hold them to such a high standard that any little thing is going to be scrutinized." He further explained:

Yeah, media's huge. I really just ... Media is really everything, you know?...So, that's some reason for concern down the line and in the years to come, especially if kids grow up in that environment and that's what they see. Uh, I think there's totally two sides of the fence. Really there, there's a gray area, but that's very little. I think it, it's, it's very cut and dry, you know?

Participant I later added:

I think you're either pro-police or anti-police or, or law, I should say. Maybe not necessarily police, but whomever it is. If it's security, if it's um, military, uh, I, I don't know what their goals are. I don't know if they just want a free state. I understand their struggle and their concerns, but they, they generalize, rather than take every situation for what it's worth. They don't really say, "Okay, well, this specific situation… They say, "Oh, these five situations that have been in the media", but they don't take into consideration the other 15 instances uh, that didn't make it to the media. You know their stats are skewed a lot of the times…Everyone's seen all the videos and stuff. You could always play Monday morning quarterback and judge how the cop reacted or judge how the suspect reacted. But in that situation, to which I never want to be, um, you know, you're going to have two sides of the story. Not everyone thinks straight and narrow. You're going to look at someone pulling up to the scene and someone has a gun or a kid playing with a toy rifle and they point it at the police. Tough. That's tough. Do you wait

to be killed or do you go into fight mode? You, you know, who lets the kid out playing with the gun? Why is the kid out on the street with a weapon? Or why is he giving the cop a hard time, even if he doesn't have a weapon?

Participant II explained the following:

I believe media has a big thing to do about cops. I believe media is a huge, huge, huge negativity on policing. They always show the bad that happens, they never show the good. Or they'll repeat when, you know, they'll- they'll put a story out and not have the facts, and automatically the cop is guilty. It used to be like you're innocent until proven guilty, now you're guilty until proven innocent. That's how we feel. Like, you can't do anything anymore without it being under the microscope, and it's almost, like, you're already saying, "Like, okay, they think I'm guilty, how can I defend myself?" Like, that's the mindset you have to have.

He elaborated:

You're under the microscope, no matter what." He further indicated, "Like-I believe we always see clips, and you never see the full picture. You always get, like, what their perspective is. With Ferguson, Missouri, you know, everyone said he was in the middle the street with his hands up, but actually, his fingerprints were on the cop's gun, like the gun oil was on his hand, that's how close he was. Like, you know, people automatically, um, they state, they side with the- the perp before they side with the cop. Like, we had, like, a joke, like, it's almost easier just to get shot sometimes than to shoot somebody, because at least you know you're not going to get sued, like, because, it- there's no more, like, "This guy's a bad guy, let's see if the cop was wrong." It's thought another, "the cop was wrong, let's see if this guy was right." Like, you're automatically wrong. You pull

your gun out at someone, you shoot somebody, there's gonna stigma that you're automatically going to be wrong." "I think the media… that turns it into a wildfire. They're not equal, they're not fair. They don't report everything, it's what they want to report, what can get them ratings and stuff like that…Because when you put it on news, and they use words like executed, and murdered, and like, it's never, you know, "white cop shoots black male," it's "white cop murders" you know, they used those, I guess, um, um, there's a name for it, like, words that sound worse than they really are, to make it so they get publicity and it plays the story up.

Participant III explained the following:

…but it's just the media really changed everything, it's just ... I don't know. I don't even know how to explain it. It's, CNN's a perfect example. Um, you sign on there and they don't give you the story, the true story, until six weeks later when they've already sit there for six weeks, blasting, saying the cop was wrong, the cop was wrong, the cop was wrong. And then six weeks later when it comes out in trial that they don't find him guilty and that he was right, it's two seconds of a clip and then there's nothing. It's like they're stirring up and they're antagonizing the entire country. So, I think it's news and media- it's news media, um, social media obviously is huge with that, too.

He further described the following:

…every single time we see something on TV, you don't see the first three to five minutes of the interaction. All you see is the negative light being shone, whether it's for us or against us. You don't see the first half of what started this. Prime example is the one in Minnesota. Where the guy was, um, the guy was in the car, got shot. What his wife recorded on Facebook…the video starts of her husband shot, by a cop, in Minnesota; got

pulled over for some infraction, I don't know what it was. And then she's sitting there

screaming…and all it shows is her husband being shot and doesn't show anything else.

And he had a gun on him…so, the whole thing goes on- why was he shot, was he really

reaching for his gun... They don't show you the dash cam footage of the first five minutes

of the interaction with the stop. The cop gets- so, I actually thought the cop was wrong at

one point because of the video I watched- after you watch the dash cam video, the cop

gets out, very polite with the guy, um I think the guy may have told him, "Listen, I'm

carrying a gun." He goes, "All right. Put your hands on the steering wheel, don't reach for

the gun." He goes, "Don't reach for the gun. Don't reach for the gun!" Told him four

times not to reach for the gun. And as he pulls the gun out, he shoots him. And no one

sees that. You don't see that. All you see is the cop shoot the guy for no reason…Then

you have the outlash from CNN, Fox News, whatever you want to call it, of them trying

to be professional experts and put themselves in our shoes and they have no idea what

they're talking about. And it just escalates. And unfortunately, with this new generation,

our future kids, I think they're screwed. Social media- it's just everyone has it. I mean, we

didn't have that growing up. I didn't have that growing up. I mean, I didn't get a cell

phone 'til I was a junior in high school… It didn't have anything else. It just, I don't know.

It all started with Ferguson. I mean, it's been going on forever. Obviously, all the way

back to the 80, 90's, with Rodney King, which was just the most atrocious one of all time

because he just beat him for no reason. But it's been escalating since then and now with

social media, it's just, anyone can see everything and we're always on camera. And a

picture tells a thousand words." He further explained, "It's just the ones in- more- in the

media and all that stuff. It's just, it's, I mean, people. How, even, certain ones are

justified, like the one in Dallas. That- that- how people even justify that. But you still

have Black Lives Matter justifying that that was- well, it's not his fault. The one where

the guy opened up- yeah, where he opened up and killed all those SWAT officers, it's

just- and how do you justify that?

Generalizations about Police. Participants described how there are "bad" police;

however, situations with such "bad" police become generalized to "all" of the police. Participant

I noted the following:

And the portrayal ... Are there bad cops? Are there bad people in every career path?

100%. Definitely. Are cops in the wrong sometimes? Sure are. Are people in the wrong?

Are criminals in the wrong? Yeah, they are but they don't show that. They don't agree

with the, the criminal being wrong. It's always the cop wrong. Or you're getting the end

of the taping. You, you, someone will record after a situation has already escalated to that

point. Meanwhile, you don't really have the whole story. He further explained,

Usually, with the 10 o'clock news, you're seeing a corrupt cop. You're seeing a cop in a

bad situation that may not have been his fault or it may have been his fault. Um, you're

not necessarily seeing the cop that saved someone's life. Or that uh, or fireman or

whoever runs into a burning house. You, you, they try to get those stories, but a lot of

times they go unnoticed. It's unfortunate because there's a lot more good than bad. And

the media really um, people love bad news, negative news. Never mind the police and

fire, but if you look at it, it's all about deaths or murders or something notable, I guess to

them that's going to sell the media, that's going to make people watch…Same on social

media though. They'll go on and they'll, they'll have click bait. You know, people, they

want to say, "Oh, this cop. You'll never guess what this cop did." Uh, and then you click

it…They use, "Oh, something else happened with cops. What is it?" You know, or this guy made that much overtime, "Screw him." But never mind the guy at Goldman Sachs or, you know, every, they glorify- even look at Netflix now. They glorify cartel drug dealers. Like how many episodes, how many things are Pablo Escobar now? You know? Like Sopranos, any show- Breaking Bad. The criminals are glorified; the cops are expendable.

Participant II elaborated in this way:

…but, then again, there are bad ones (police officers). They're, like, the guy that now works with South Carolina, where, you know, he tased the guy. The tase didn't work, the guy was running away, and he shot him in the back. Like, that's the whole, like, one bad one ruins it for everybody. There's- I think online I saw like "400,000 cops do their job every day, flawlessly, but there's one that will ruin it for everybody."" He provided another example, "Then, sometimes, we- we hurt ourselves. We do stupid things. Not that, you know, like, cops will do dumb things to get themself in trouble, and they put upon themselves, like, you know ... There was on the news, like, pulling over girls and asking them for their phone numbers. Like, you look so unprofessional when you do that, and it's almost like a slap in our faces. It's a slap in the face to the hundreds of thousands of cops in this country that do their job, and they do it correctly. When you have one person just do something so blatantly stupid, and it makes you look bad. Because people are like, "Oh, I got pulled over, maybe that's why. He wanted my phone number,"…You're that stupid? …we don't help ourselves sometimes…Or you have a cop who will drive a car with tinted windows, no front license plate, you know, registration's expired, it's falling apart. And then someone calls them out, and they do an article about

it, and then, the next thing you know, everybody's under scrutiny. They're watching

everybody's car to make sure you have your registration, and everything done. Like, you

know, we- we hurt ourselves, sometimes, by doing dumb things." He said, "Like, people

(Police Officers) sometimes do it for the wrong reason. They want to be hard ons. We

call them fucking smackers. Like, stop being a smacker. Guys who wear their uniforms

when they're not working, and they, you know, they're just being hand jobs.

Participant III explained the following:

There is idiot cops out there. Um, most of the stuff I see, when you see on TV you only

get half the story. Half the cops are alright- there's only, I mean, there are a few- a certain

few that are idiots…

Predominant dislike of police officers by the public and negative/poor relationship

between police officers and community members. Participants described how the public's

negative perception, media, family upbringing related to beliefs about police, and prior negative

interactions with police impact the way community members view police. It also perpetuates

negative interactions, a dislike of police, and relationship lacks trust. Participants described a

discrepancy between how police are viewed and treated by the community members, based on

socioeconomic status in which those from low income, high crime areas have more dislike for

police; whereas, there are more positive perceptions from more affluent geographic locations.

Additionally, each participant talked about how they often encounter parents, mostly moms,

telling their child not to interact with Police resulting in the youth being fearful of police.

Participant I explained the following:

Um, a lot of times kids will see how their parents are towards the police. Then, if they uh,

adapt those views, it can make a situation that much more dangerous for ... You're, you're

a cop enforcing a simple ordinance and the kid might think that, "Oh, my god. I'm interacting with a cop." They think arrest and they are arrested immediately, where it isn't the case. But if that's how the kid's going to grow up, then that's probably how they're going to think their whole life. So, if their parents have kind of this negative perception… it's just a vicious cycle.

He further explained:

…because the parents either were locked up or even if the courts or the law, they, they get fined or penalized or they lose their kids or they're evicted. The cops are part of that legal system, so they just automatically think that's it's a, uh, bad cop. Maybe not because of an interaction with the police or anything that the cops did ever, because of their actual community…Again, they are overlooking who they are and their uniform. That's it. Not looking at them as individuals.

Participant I described that when someone in the community or a Police Officer is killed, "they (the situations) could be totally negative and harmful to relationships that are established." Furthermore he explained as follows:

So, if a community member dies, the community looks at the cop and says, "Okay, well, we all hate you all. You're all the same." Because now the cop has his- all the cops are backing the cop like, you know, because they are on his team or they work with him or they feel that he was justified. Same as if the cop is killed by someone. But you hope that they're a little bit more educated maybe and the officers may not say, "This group as a totality killed us." This group of, this urban population killed us. They are all the same. You'd hope not. I, I, I think it's, I don't think we do, judging from the people that I work with. I don't think we judged an entire population as uh, hating us or wanting to kill us.

Participant II described the following:

> I believe, the t- town I work in, like, you know, it's not where other towns, where, like, they're (community members) happy to see the police officer coming down their block. Where my town, it's like, "Oh, yeah. Go bother someone else." They scream, they yell at you as you drive down the street. Like, they're not happy to be around you…People don't care…you think, like, the community has, like, pity and sorrow for us?

He provided further explanation:

> Sometimes they (community members) don't give you a chance. Like, sometimes, you have that bias. They have a bias where they hate cops, and cops are bad. Where you could be a good cop and do a great job, and you don't even have a fighting chance to- to prove to them that you, you know, you are a decent guy or a good cop. You know, you're-you're fighting an uphill battle. You don't ... you know, you're dead in the water, already. Like if they ... some people have such a strong bias against you already, you don't have a chance…Certain cultures teach their children to, to hate cops. To hate people in uniforms.

Participant III discussed his experiences with the community disliking him due to his being a police officer, "I get "You're an asshole" every day or "Thank you Officer" every day. That's how it is."

He described a more specific example:

> My buddy [name of buddy], he got shot at and I could tell you that the city went on lock down. Until we found out…who he was. The area where he was- we locked it down. The community didn't like us going, doing what we did, but we did what we had to do to find out who it was.

He described a community members dislike and disregard for police, "They were walking her (person under arrest) up to booking. And as they were walking up the stairs, she saw blood on his uniform and says, "Ha ha ha, I have AIDS.""

He further elaborated:

> I mean, especially in the urban area… they just seen their parents getting locked up…they see this stuff all throughout the year and the one thing that I- that most of us all hate and- I mean, I could tell you this working anywhere- a parent once walks up to us and says, "If you're not good, I'm gonna have them lock you up." You're scaring your child from us for future life; no, if you need help, come find us. Not- not "we're gonna lock you up." Because every cop hates that. But, especially in the urban areas, I mean, I wanna say nine out of ten kids probably have seen one of their parents, or if not, family member living with them, get arrested in front of their face, at a young age, and it scars them. And it might put a negative light on it.

Racial tensions between community members and police officers. Participants identified race as an area that contributes to divide and tension between police and community members, especially between White police and Black community members or members of different races. They mostly talked about how the media makes it appear more about race (see media theme section). They also discussed how the deaths of community members, specifically Black men, creates less trust, increased tensions, and more divide- mostly between the Black community and Police community. They expressed frustrations in their examples of race-related situations that focus on White police officer versus Black community member and how situations with other race dynamics are not often portrayed or talked about.

Participant I described the tensions resulting from police and community members being killed by each other:

> I mean there's no positive. Look, somebody died. And uh, that's the bottom line. If you're going to skip all the intermediate things and just put it as a white cop killed the black suspect, okay? You know, so there's three variable there. White guy, black guy, died. Then, all the things in between don't matter- but they do. And people will overlook those so the community is just going to take a side. They're going to go, "White guy? Okay, we're on the cop side. The black guy? Okay, we're on the black guy's side." So, then you have the two different sections and then there's the gray side...The people that maybe will ask the question, but a lot of the times you're not getting the full details. So, it's kind of, it, it's, it's bad for the communities. There's no good to come from it, but that's something we sign up for. If you're in that situation, you have to go home at the end of the day. So, um, one other thing is you're either judged by 12 or carried by six.

He further explained the following:

> That's one thing you have to try to avoid is that constant conflict. You know, you don't want cops to think, "Oh, this whole group wants to kill us." So, then don't join a group, don't publicly join a group and say, "We want to kill you" or "We hope you die", you know? Basically that's what they're, a BlackLivesMatter rally is very anti-cop. Like, "Good. We hope that you get hurt" or "We hope that, maybe not that you die, but hope that you get fired" or "Hope that you get in trouble", you know? I think it's skewed. I understand where they're coming from. I understand what their concerns are and that they are voicing their opinions on their rights. But, I think that they're pinpointing certain, very small situations and blowing it into a whole national uh, movement. The "Police Lives

Matter" movement, they seem like they are little groups and they all fizzle out. You

know, the police have their own group they work with everyday. So, they all support each

other and try to build camaraderie and it's good to have positive backing when they do

that.

He discussed preconceived bias:

Are there cops that hate people in certain populations? Probably. Yeah, I would say so.

Maybe not hate, but dislike, of course. That's, that's life though. You don't want people

that are prejudice, but at the end of the day, if they've had a negative interaction with an

individual and they know what's coming, if they know this guy's going to spit in their

face, I don't think it's def- I think it's pre-judging the individual, maybe not necessarily

his whole uh, if he's uh, I don't know Korean, you're not going to say, "Oh, all Koreans

are going to spit in my face." I, I don't think that's true. Or if it's a black guy and you got

punched by a black guy once, I don't think you're going to say, "Every black guy's going

to punch me."

Participant II stated the following:

Uh, I believe, one, it's being, number one thing is police. There's a lot of tension in

society today between, you know, every creed and color and police. And number two is

being a white police officer. I tend to notice, like, if I go on a call and there's one or two

other guys with me as, like, backup, if there's another officer who's African American,

like, the people will talk to him. They don't want to talk to me. They'll talk to him. And

they'll use, like, um like, slang or they'll never call them officers. Like, "Oh, my man," or,

you know, like, "You know what it's about. You know what's going on." Like, you know,

they kind of take the, they try to use that in their favor, that like, maybe since he's African American, you're African-American, they'll cut you some slack.

He further indicated how Black Officers often have it more difficult with regard to race related expectation:

Like, they (Black Police Officers) often get, they call them Uncle Toms, or I don't know if, they use profanity. They use "house", that "house n-word". They'll call if they have to arrest them, they get arrested, they'll call them the "house n-word", or- or like, "You're Uncle Tom," or, "You work for the Man," like, you know. That- that- that, kind of really bothers them when they do get arrested and then someone of, you know, the same race as them doesn't cut them a break, or doesn't, or does their job.

When asked what it is like to witness his fellow officers treated this way, he stated:

It- it bothers me because, you know, like, it sometimes they take a little more harassment than I do. But sometimes it benefits them. Like, there's been times where they're like, "I'm not gonna talk to the white cop, but I'll talk to you," and they'll tell them exactly what happened. You know, we'll get the report and we'll get out of there. Where, me, I would have had to, like, plead and beg, like, "Please, come on. What's going on? Just tell me."

He also reported the following:

It's been disheartening, where I've been in this, you know ... I've been in line at, like, Popeye's getting my dinner after working, like, eight hours, and I'm on a double and I just want to eat my dinner. And you're waiting in line at Popeye's and a black lady comes in with her, like, maybe 10, 11-year-old son and he'll wave at me and I'll wave back. And, you know, and the mom will be like, "Don't go near that white policeman. He'll kill you."

Participant III stated:

> You know what, and a lot of it is, too, a lot of that community was born and raised in the South (southern US states) and relations between cops and communities at that time, in the South (southern US states) and still today even in the South (southern US states)- it's horrendous... Racism, it's all racism. And still generates back to that. It has to be. Like I said, I don't know. I haven't dealt with it. It just- things you read (re: racist Police in the South)…But I know, it's just- You know, the whole racism thing in the South. But I don't see that up here. But I know a lot of the residents were born and raised down there and came up here and carried the stuff they seen there to up here and think everything's the same 'cause the uniform's blue.

He provided an example of racial tensions specific to his department:

> That's the biggest complaint, I think, when new department started- When you read stuff, where you hear stuff, the biggest thing is- "They're all White. They're all White. They're not from [location of work]. They're all White."…now, the way the department's growing, they don't even show White officers doing anything. Every time there's something, [location of work] has to post something about community events and this and that, it's- they've handpicked their Spanish or Black or Portuguese or Chinese Police Officer…Because they want to build a better relationship with the community and not showing a White, baby faced, out of town kid representing their department. They want a- you know, they're, to be represented by who they are. Black male, the Spanish male.

Exposure to traumatic situations, frustrations, and trying not to take the job home.

Participants described being exposed to situations on a daily basis that would most likely be traumatic to individuals, such as exposure to HIV, witnessing violence, witnessing homicides

81

and suicides, and being in danger, amongst other difficult situations. In regard to coping, they described being isolated with a "just deal with it" or avoidance mentality. One person described seeking support from his wife but only in extreme situations. No one described seeking other means of help or talking about it with people. Participant I described the following:

> ...but sometimes I do get agitated at work and it might just trickle over a little while. And so I, I just kind of calm down. I think with time you learn, you learn that um, you're dealing with clients." He also said, "Cops are human. That's something they (Community members) should take too into consideration.

Participant II described frustrations related to bail reform and consistently dealing with repeat offenders:

> I think a big thing that bothers a lot of cops is that you, you almost deal with the same people every day. And that, the big thing that pisses us off is…there's houses I've been 13, 14 times in one month because there's shit bags that live in there and they can't coexist with each other or other people and they're just, you know, they're not fucking human beings sometimes. It's always domestic. Like, they're usually either alcoholics, they're either drug- drug addicts. And you get these junkies that, you know, the first of the month when they both get their pills refilled they're like, the Harriet and Osmond couple, they love each other. Then by like, the 18th of the month when all their skag is gone, they're fighting, beating the shit out of each other every day and the neighbors are calling the cops 'cause one's putting another one through a wall. And it pisses you off 'cause I arrest them, I bring them to headquarters, I process them, and I let them go on their bullshit summons, they're due in court in two weeks. And they're home either getting high again or making love on the couch, while I'm stuck inside typing this like,

three hour long fucking report because these two just cannot be fucking human beings. Like, that bothers me…You go deal with these shit bags every day, the same two assholes, we have a guy who steals cars. And he's out of jail and we have this new thing, I don't know if any of your guys talk about the bail reform and stuff like that. And you can shoot someone- you can fucking been arrested with a gun, you're out of jail in an hour because they don't want to put you in jail. And like, I'm still typing the report and logging evidence and your ass is out of jail already. It's disheartening.

Regarding taking work home, he described the following:

You can't let it get to you. You can't let them jam you up because they want you to unload on them, they want you to fucking beat them up. They want you to do something like that because they know they'll get their payday. So, you can't have that mentality. I go there, I do what I gotta do, and I go home. You know what I do? I sit in my police car when I'm done dealing with them and I decompress by thinking, what I'm gonna name my boat or do I want a Corvette or a Hellcat Challenger. Or maybe I should put an in ground or above- and that's how I just, I deal with it.

Participant II also elaborated upon his frustrations when police are killed while on duty:

It bothers us, or me, because, like, there's no riots for them (Police killed on duty), there's no media coverage for them, there's no, you know, Blue Lives Matter protest after his funeral. A lot of people say, "Oh, that's what you signed up for. I didn't sign up for that." No person in their right mind would sign up to die for their job. You know, when you sign up to go to become a Marine or a- a soldier, you don't sign up to die. You sign up to serve your country, and I signed up to serve my community. But, you know, it's- it's- it's almost like, it doesn't matter, like, "Oh, he was doing his job, so that's what happens."

Participant III expressed examples of experiencing trauma and how he handled it:

I've gone home twice and had to talk to my wife about what happened on the job because I don't bring it home with me. I don't like doing that. I like leaving that at work, unless I have to come home and talk to her- there's three times I had to talk to her…Go in the bedroom, TV's laying on top of a six month old kid dead. Crack head mom went to the store…Nothing easy to see. It's just- whatever it is- end of the day- it's never easy to see. That was one of the ones a sergeant tapped out (retired), she left. She couldn't handle it, after seeing the little kid like that."

He also described the following two difficult situations:

Being exposed to HIV…I had blood on my hands, whatever, wiped it off…Three hours later, I hear two guys that were involved were going home..."Why are they going home?" "Oh, the lady had AIDS, they got exposed." I'm like, "When the fuck was somebody gonna tell me?"... I had a cut on my finger, which made me nervous. Went to the hospital, um, they tell me not to worry, I said, "You're out of your mind. Give me the potion." I took it. It was the worst three days of my life... Um, so that sucked…So then you're just, you're disconnected from your wife now or your kids because you can't- you're afraid to touch 'em, God forbid you have- you got infected.

…and as I get right to the front windshield, (he) takes a sawed off shotgun right to his throat and blows his head off right in front of us…And my sergeant's like, "His fucking brain is on the dashboard. This is a crime scene. Get out of the car." And the doctor's arguing with him. He's like, "All right. Go ahead. Open the door." …and all you hear is brain matter and head just flopped on the ground.

He described coping in this way:

…now that I think about it and the two (shootings) I've been in since then, they don't

affect me. He's a piece of shit. And he's a piece of shit because the reason he was going to

the hospital was…he pulls up next to them with that sawed off shotgun and blows her

head off in the car next to him…so, as dad's driving to the hospital with his daughter,

who got hit in the head with this idiot shooting her…So, those things- they- those pieces

of crap don't affect me.

He further indicated an avoidance coping style as well:

"You're probably the second person that knows everything, besides my wife now, too,

because I don't really talk about it. It's not like, I don't like to bring it home with me, I

don't like to. When I see friends who are cops, we'll talk and stuff like that, and BS about

it, but I don't like to bring that stuff home with me. I don't like going out and people

saying, "Oh, you're a cop?" And then ask me a thousand questions. I don't know I'm,

"Yeah, I'm a cop when I'm working. Yeah, I'm still a cop when I'm off but I don't like

having to deal with it."

Limited options for relationship reparations. Participants described that there are

limited options and being unsure how to strengthen the relationships between community

members and police. They mostly described a need to intervene with the youth, be respectful in

interactions with community members, be involved in community events, and have more diverse

police in departments to better represent community members. Participant I explained the

following:

I would love for there to be options, endless options, rubber bullets, okay? Okay, now

you're going to load your gun with rubber bullets or have another gun. What if you pull

the wrong gun? You, you know there's always these factors that it was an accident, "I

pulled the wrong gun" so, I think education might be one of the things that could be

implemented rather.

He discussed the importance of intervening with youth:

Educating from a young age, like all school children. Like having a school resource

officer. I think that's huge. To go in and maybe speak to the kids and have classroom

discussions with them and have a community outreach program. Um, just to put a little

positive light on your everyday street cop that's getting such negative publicity…off-duty

police officers could go to different events. Go to concerts or uh, barbeques or

something- little things could go a long way. Like Toys for Tots and doing um

community service."

He also noted changes in department's racial variations as a helpful solution:

A lot of departments are definitely diversifying their officer selection, so pulling from a

lot of different nationalities and having a diverse female-male, White, Black, Asian,

Hispanic, a very mixed background group I think would definitely add to uh, tying in

different communities to the local departments. And uh, different language barriers could

be established or, or not established but you know what I mean? Different languages

spoken by different officers could help in a lot of situations.

Participant II described the following examples of ways he thinks the relationship could be

improved, "The main thing is humanizing us that we're humans- we're not monsters, we're not

unapproachable, we're not machines, you know. I believe just like you do. I have bad days like

you do, I have good days like you do too." He further elaborated:

I believe more like interaction with the community. Being in the schools. Um, you

remember a kid that's ten years old, today. Like, you get on his good side, when he's 18

years old, like, he'll remember you. "Oh, like, that was the cop that used to come to" ...

You know, a lot of them know their D.A.R.E officers, and they know the juvenile

detectives, because you dealt with them…I believe on starting with- the youth is the big

thing. Like, if you can win them, eventually, they'll be parents and teaching their kids

that, "Wow, a cop- cops are good guys, they're good people. I remember Officer X, he

was he was a nice guy. I always used to see him in the school. That's number one…Then

showing the human side of a cop, like, you're not all, high and tight buzz cut and like,

RoboCops. Like you don't, you don't need to be. Be approachable.

Participant III described the following:

What [location of work] does is they do these pop up block parties all the time… you're

literally being in the heart of, the heart of the hood, you're in the number one drug sets,

they pop these parties, they bring a basketball hoop, bring a grill, they bring music and

they just throw a block party for the whole block…it does work, I mean, you see out

there, there's face painters, all this, they bring food, hamburgers, hot dogs…And people

seem to respect it. And you're doing it right in the drug set, you're ruining- you're ruining

it for them...There's sixty cops out there and there's- you see all the families out there

having fun with their kids. And that's what the main thing is, is getting the young kids to

realize that there's more to life than slinging dope and killing people. And it's hard

because it's never ending cycle because there's no jobs. But that's starting to change too.

He described the importance of being respectful to community members when making an arrest:

But I showed him respect every time and really- I really- I would just tell him, "Listen.

[name of community member], you lost today. You won yesterday. You're probably

gonna win tomorrow. Don't resist. Don't do anything stupid, and come" Just, it just shows

him that little respect. Not everybody's gonna take it, but most guys do.

He also stressed the importance of intervening with children:

Continue going to the schools. You have to start the new generation off by thinking that,

back to my theory, don't- don't walk to- don't walk the kids up to a cop and say they're

gonna arrest you if you're bad. Walk up to a cop and say, "If you need help, go to the

cop." I don't mean saying that when you go to high school, but just as a broad factor. You

know? They get- uh- Going to the schools and letting these kids know that we're here to

help them. If they ever need our help. And that we're not here to shoot them because

they're Black or brown, or whatever…I'm telling you, 99.9% of all cops, that's not what

we- We get into this job because we want to help people, not, I don't know. Honestly, I

think it's just getting into the schools, teaching that. It's starting with the new

generation…You get out there, throw the football with the kids and stuff like that. It's-

you just get- it's simple stuff like that. But you can't be a lazy ass cop, sit in your car and

do nothing either. It's just, you know. You gotta show some sort of initiative…You play

football with one kid, it might save him shooting someone or him shooting you going

down a road and he might think that's the coolest thing in the world.

Connecting Themes to Research Questions

Overall findings indicated the following nine major themes: diverse experiences,

difference between expectation of the job and the actual job, being in danger at work, media,

generalizations about police, predominant dislike of police officers by the public and

negative/poor relationship between police officers and community members, race and tensions

between community members and police officers, exposure to traumatic situations, frustrations, and trying not to take the job home, and limited options for relationship reparations.

In regard to question 1, participants described a predominant negative perception of police officers by the public (community members) with whom they work as well as in general (dislike of police theme). Participants mainly attributed the negative views to the media's influence (media theme) on police portrayal, a culturally inherent dislike of police that is multigenerational in families, generalizing police behaviors to all police, and negative past interactions with police (dislike of police and generalization themes). They also described being exposed to dangerous situations as well as a wide array of diversity in terms of their work (dangerous work and diverse experiences themes).

In regard to question 2, participants indicated that the public's view has a negative impact on the relationship between police and community members, with uncertainty of how to change the relationship for the better, given the overpowering influence of media and family (media, dislike of police, relationship reparations themes).

In regard to question 3, participants indicated that racial tensions are high between police and community members, especially Black community members and in urban settings. They described how the media has a large influence on perpetuating divide between police and community members through sensationalism and reporting skewed statistics as well as portraying police in a negative manner. They also discussed the dangers associated with working as a police officer given the tensions between police and community members. Moreover, they identified frustrations, exposure to traumatic situations, and trying not to take their work home (dangerous work, media, racial tensions, and trauma, frustrations, and not taking work home themes).

In regard to question 4, participants indicated that there is a lack of trust of police from community members stemming from various factors- media, negative interactions with police in the past, family/cultural upbringing that focuses on police in a negative way-which has a negative impact on the relationship between police and community members. They described how the media is a major problem and has a stronger influence than the police themselves in how community members view the police which impacts the relationship as well (media and dislike of police themes).

In regard to question 5, participants described being uncertain how to strengthen the relationship between police and community members. They described the importance of having positive, professional interactions with community members, being present in the community but in a humanistic way, and intervening with the youth. Each person stressed the importance of intervening at the level of the youth in hopes to form positive relationships and interactions to refute their family's negative views of police and the power of the media's influence. Overall, participants expressed difficulty coming up with many options to make reparations with those other than the younger generations due to the predominant, pervasive dislike of police in urban communities and the media's influence. Additionally, due to the racially diverse nature of the urban settings the participants work in and their being White and "blue", they described difficulty with relationship strengthening as a result of racial tensions and differences (media, racial tensions, relationship reparations, diverse experiences themes).

Summary

Nine major themes emerged across the three participants' interviews that were relevant to the research questions: diverse experiences, difference between expectation of the job and the actual job, being in danger at work, media, generalizations about police, predominant dislike of

police officers by the public and negative/poor relationship between police officers and community members, racial tensions between community members and police officers, exposure to traumatic situations, frustrations, and trying not to take the job home, and limited options for relationship reparations. These findings indicated the difficulties police officers experience, such as being exposed to danger at work, being at risk of dying, being exposed to drugs and infectious diseases, and being exposed to a multitude of traumatic situations. Results also indicated a long-standing conflictual relationship between police and urban community members that continues to repeat throughout history. In particular, race was a salient factor that has interplay between community members and police, in which police are generalized and viewed as "blue" in terms of being a police officer. In addition, adding the layer of Whiteness to the "blue" increases tensions when working with racial minorities, especially Black community members. Additionally, the complexity of resolving the issues between police and community members was illuminated with a major focus on the power of the media in influencing the public's views of police. There is the impression that the media portrays police in a negative manner which becomes generalized. People also generate their perceptions of police through previous interactions and cultural beliefs about police. It appears there is no simple solution for strengthening the relationship dynamics; however, participants generated ideas such as intervening with the youth, respecting community members during all interactions, and making an effort to humanize police.

CHAPTER V

Discussion

The purpose of this study was to gain an in-depth understanding of police officers' experiences and perspectives regarding the following: (a) how the public (community members) view police, (b) how the public's view impacts the relationship between police and community members, (c) police officers killing community members, especially Black men, (d) police officers being killed by community members, and (e) ways to strengthen the relationships between police and the community members. In order to achieve these goals, a phenomenological study was conducted within a constructivist paradigm. IPA was utilized to analyze the data. This is an approach to qualitative research that utilizes open-ended, exploratory questions about people's understandings, experiences, and meaning-making within the context of the phenomenon being studied. Thus, interviews were utilized for data collection with the three participants.

Data analysis revealed nine themes that described police officers' perspectives and experiences: diverse experiences, difference between expectation of the job and the actual job, being in danger at work, media, generalizations about police, predominant dislike of police officers by the public and negative/poor relationship between police officers and community members, race and tensions between community members and police officers, exposure to traumatic situations, frustrations, and trying not to take the job home, and limited options for relationship reparations.

The purpose of this chapter is to discuss the results in connection to the literature, significance of this study, future implications, and limitations.

Overview of Results

Previous research has predominantly focused on others' perspectives of topics involving police officers and has neglected to include police officers' own experiences and perspectives. Thus, the importance of this study was its ability to illuminate police officers' perspectives and experiences. This study illustrated the positive intention participants had when becoming a police officer but also differences in the actual job from the initial expectations. Results showed that specific to police in urban communities, there is exposure to working with diverse individuals as well as encountering a wide range of crimes, especially the most violent crimes police face in their work in general. Police in urban settings often utilize a strategy to policing stemming from Wilson and Kelling's (1982) broken windows theory in which police intend to maintain order through their presence in the community as well as enforcing laws relative to any level of crime, especially petty crimes to prevent disorder. This study showed relevance to such policing strategy, specifically with how participants described the urban settings in which they worked. Relevant to the first two themes (diverse experiences and difference between expectation of the job and the actual job), participants described encountering a variety of crimes and racially diverse individuals with overall intent to secure their patrol area and prevent crimes from occurring. In addition, they described frustrations related to having to enforce laws that apply to smaller level crimes and utilizing their own discretion to do so unless otherwise ordered by a superior ranking officer.

Hinkle and Weisburd's (2008) research relative to broken windows policing strategy in urban communities found that community members felt more unsafe when police were present and cracking down on minor crime hotspots while controlling for disorder. Results from the current study illustrate that police often are told to patrol and maintain order in a specific area for

their shift that emulates concepts of broken windows theory. There are often repeated encounters

with the same "repeat offenders" which would then seemingly contribute to the concepts of legal

cynicism (Kirk & Papachristos, 2011) and Black men's perceived stereotype threat (Steele &

Aronson, 1995), especially since prior research shows that such policing induces a sense of being

unsafe and hypervigilant. Contrary to broken windows policing strategy, participants described

the importance of community policing strategies in which they present themselves in a more

humanistic manner toward community members and treat them with respect. In addition,

participants spoke about the importance of working within school systems and being involved in

community events that involve members of the community where they work.

It appeared as though the concept of legal cynicism (Kirk & Papachristos, 2011) was

highly relevant throughout the study's results. Interestingly, this concept previously existed in

research on community members' perspectives of police. However, when examining police

officers' experiences, as was done in this study, the concept persisted throughout the themes as

well. As seen in themes such as difference between expectation of the job and the actual job,

predominant dislike of police officers by the public and negative/poor relationship between

police officers and community members, and generalizations about police, results showed that

police perceive community members to have a predominant dislike for them, a lack of trust in

them, and generationally pass down negative views of them to younger generations. This finding

clearly highlights the concept of legal cynicism in which community members lack trust of and

have a generally negative perception of the police. By contrast, research by Mazerolle, Antrobus,

Bennett, and Tyler (2013) showed that when policing is perceived as just and fair, the public is

more likely to view the policing as legitimate. However, the current study's results described

contextual factors of socioeconomic status and age that go beyond racial diversity in regard to

the public viewing police in a positive light. Results alluded to the idea that more affluent areas and older adults are more likely to treat police with respect; however, younger-middle aged adults and teenage individuals in areas with pervasive poverty and high levels of crime demonstrate a strong dislike and disrespect toward police. Thus, it seems this study showed that contextual factors such as socioeconomic status, age, and race influence community members' views of police.

In regard to the theme, being in danger at work, it appears as though legal cynicism is linked to the dangers of police work. For example, participants described the dangers of being at risk of dying while at work. Specific situations were described in which community members killed police on duty or police were exposed to various death-related stressors such as witnessing a fellow officer get shot, witnessing homicide between community members, and witnessing suicide. There is a pervasive, multigenerational dislike of police that contributes to the relationship dynamics between police and community members as well as the police feeling in danger at work. Further, when applying broken windows theory of policing, police become exposed to a variety of dangerous situations such as being exposed to HIV and other infectious diseases in interactions containing blood, exposure to dangerous illicit substances or infectious blood through drug-related arrests and paraphernalia (i.e., needles with blood). Results described an example of how a community member expressed satisfaction when a police officer was exposed to the person's HIV positive blood; this lends further support to the concept of legal cynicism and the overall dislike of police by community members.

Moreover, the current study highlighted the media as a primary factor that police view as impacting community members' views of them—again in a predominantly negative way. They related this theme to the theme of generalizations about police in which police perceive that

community members often generalize negative views of police to encompass all police. There is a definite gap in the literature regarding how the media influences the public's perception of police; however, research in general shows power associated with the media in regard to influencing public perception. Colwell (2006) and Colwell et al. (2011) characterized the current events in the media showing police officers killing others or police officers being killed by others as traumatic events. The current study underscores that police view the media as detrimental in regard to their portrayal, which then impacts police-community member relationships in a negative manner and perpetuates negative generalizations made about police.

Further, the current study showed that police perceive race-related tensions between police and community members, especially Black community members, which they in turn viewed as having a negative impact on the police-community relationship dynamics. Although few in number, newer research has focused on examining whether police implicit bias regarding race impacts their decision-making in regard to interactions with racial minorities. In particular, research by Spencer et al. (2016) studied police implicit bias when deciding to shoot a community member but did not elicit significant findings based on racial implicit bias. The current study's results indicated a potential for police implicit bias, especially regarding the frustrations expressed when interacting with repeat offenders and interacting with those community members with a strong dislike of the police who subscribe to legal cynicism. Although the participants minimized preconceived notions as a factor and expressed they do not generalize based on preconceived notions related to race, they focused on rationalizing their frustrations from interactions with repeat offenders or Black community members with legal cynicism as relevant to their job to enforce the laws. Yet, participants did utilize derogatory language at times to describe community members, particularly when referencing repeat

offenders and those who committed larger scale crimes, such as murder. One participant

specifically described how his patrol area consists of a majority of Black community members.

He described the community members expressing preconceived notions about him as a White

police officer and police officer in general in regard to the interactions. This relates to the

concept of Black male perceived stereotype threat by police as defined by Steele and Aronson

(1995). Thus, it appears this participant always had police encounters with Black community

members but ascribed it to the population with which he works and maintaining order within the

area (broken windows theory). Results also indicated the negative impact these dynamics have

on the relationship between police and community members as well as the need for strategies to

improve relationships and enhance trust. Results connected this theme of race tensions between

police and community members to the media theme in regard to negative portrayal of police and

perpetuating divide between police and community members, especially community members of

color. For example, participants referenced how the media is often misleading and inaccurately

portrays facts or shows limited information involving police killings of Black men in a manner to

sensationalize a story line. They also discussed how police deaths are often portrayed as

something they "signed up for" and symbolized police as expendable. The results illustrated

frustrations from participants in regard to the media's power and influence and that the media

then perpetuates generalizations about police. Further, results indicated that participants viewed

such processes as perpetuating a negative impact on the relational dynamic between police and

community members, especially Black community members, who these participants often

encounter in their work settings. This also relates to the concept of legal cynicism in that the

media's influence may perpetuate this cultural construct beyond the power of individual and

family influence, especially with the younger generations, who are now exposed to multiple facets of media exposure.

This study also pointed out how police have awareness of a need to change or strengthen the relationship between police and the community; however, they have a sense of feeling limited in regard to how to do so and powerless in regard to countering the powerful influence of media and family generational views. Again, the media was a pervasive theme related to the theme of limited options for relationship reparations in that police viewed the power of the media and the power of legal cynicism through family views being transmitted to younger generations as concepts that have a higher level of influence than simple one-to-one police interactions with community members. Nevertheless, there were elements of hope as well as perseverance to facilitate positive interactions, particularly with youth and those who dislike police, which will refute the negative generalizations about police that stem from media, family, and community culture. This theme also focused on a need to humanize police officers, and the participants described their role in this dynamic as interacting with all community members with respect, regardless of their level of internal frustration.

Beyond the police officers' views of how the police experience the public's perceptions of them and their experiences related to the deaths of police and Black men, this study shed light upon the stressors encountered as a police officer in an urban community. Extant research has focused on various issues related to police psychology, such as job stress, trauma, and mental health (Bishopp & Boots, 2014; Marzano et al., 2016; Yuan et al., 2011; van der Velden et al., 2010; Yuan et al., 2011) without examining the in-depth perspectives of police officers themselves. Galovski et al. (2016) study highlighted the negative mental health effects for both police officers and community members when exposed to riots or protests such as the Ferguson

riots; however, an in-depth exploration of police officers' experiences was not captured. The current study showed that police officers encounter a variety of traumatic experiences and frustrations related to the content of their work as well as how the media perpetuates such divide and fuels tensions between police and community members. The current study showed that participants try not to take work home; yet, they lack emotional support or resources to buffer against traumatic experiences while at work. During and after work, police utilize unhealthy coping strategies to deal with the emotional distress of their job, such as emotional avoidance and distancing. Thus, the current study illuminates the need for effective intervention strategies to provide support to police officers as well as more in-depth training prior to working in urban communities, especially with a focus on the unique needs of police in urban communities where this study showed police consistently encounter difficulties related to legal cynicism, broken windows theory policing strategy, police implicit bias, and Black men's perceived stereotype threat.

Significance of the Study

Throughout history, police officers have been prominent in media outlets, but even more within the past decade given the advances in media and technology, such as the use of social media outlets, the internet, and news. Nonetheless, police are often spoken about from others' perspectives, with their own perspective hidden or silenced. This study shed light on individual police officers' perspectives and experiences and resulted in themes connected to the concepts of legal cynicism, broken windows theory policing strategy, police implicit bias, and Black men's perceived stereotype threat. Since there is limited research related to this topic, the study's findings are certainly significant and add to the gaps in research on police. Furthermore, since police officers are rarely shown speaking up or expressing their thoughts, the findings are unique

in that their individual experiences and thoughts were captured through this research. Although the sample size was at the smaller end of what was recommended (three participants out of three to six recommended), findings indicated nine major themes that emerged across all participants' interviews. Although selection criteria sought to have as homogenous a sample as possible, each participant was from a different urban location and police department; yet, each expressed much similarity with regard to their responses during the interview.

Overall, the findings are especially relevant to literature on police psychology and anything related to topics of police and community members' relationships or work with police officers given that the study provided a place for police to speak freely about their experiences. Findings illuminated the experiences of previously unheard police officers.

Future Implications

This study showed that police officers encounter a variety of difficulties in their work and lack sources of emotional support. They have awareness of the racial tensions between police and community members but acknowledge there is no easy solution to address the issue of racial differences between police, in general, and especially White police and racially diverse community members. Some systemic factors were identified, such as the history of police brutality toward Black men (e.g., Rodney King beatings; police implicit bias), historical racism in the South enforced through police, family systems passing down cultural beliefs about police being dangerous, untrustworthy, and bad (i.e., legal cynicism), and the power of the media. They also expressed a strong stance regarding their individualized perspective in which police become dehumanized and "bad police" become generalized by the public, as well as how statistics are often skewed regarding race based issues with police interactions. Police will benefit from training to assist them in identifying their biases, prejudices, and racist behaviors in hopes to

inform more culturally sensitive interactions that will strengthen relationships between police and racially diverse individuals, which is often the make up in urban settings that predominantly consists of diverse individuals and predominantly White police. In addition, intervention studies would be beneficial in regard to having more community education about more accurate statistics and finding ways to publicize when police are doing "good" within the urban communities in order to offset the legal cynicism as well as the media's power of perpetuating divide between police and community members.

This study also shed light on the participants' perceptions of themselves in the role of strengthening the relationship between police and community members. It appeared they felt powerless or helpless in regard to how to do this given the stronger impact and influence of media and family beliefs of police. Nonetheless, the participants each expressed optimism and the goal to continue to "try" to alter the relationship through using themselves. Specifically results showed that by having positive interactions with community members, restricting their frustrations, treating community members with respect, and intervening with the youth- police could individually elicit a positive interaction that will potentially shift their perceived negative, relational dynamics with community members in urban settings. Participants were adamant about the need to be humanistic in interpersonal interactions as well as to utilize community policing strategies to strengthen the relationship between police and community members. Further studies should examine specific interventions through participatory action research, based upon the ideas these participants identified for strengthening relationships such as having a more humanistic presence in the community (e.g., not dressing like "Robocops," speaking to and acknowledging people, attending community events), treating all members with respect, and positively intervening with the youth and having a stronger presence in schools.

In addition, given the dangerous nature of the work and frequent exposure to traumatic situations that typical individuals do not encounter in general, let alone at work, it would make sense that police departments have some type of support system in place to alleviate the stress of "bringing work home." This could assist police in learning ways to cope with their work stressors, rather than utilizing maladaptive coping strategies such as avoidance. For example, each department could have a psychologist and a weekly self-help support group for the departments to add support and address internalized trauma and distress related to the work. The psychologist could check in with those who had especially difficult shifts where there was exposure to major issues such as a homicide or suicide, when police are involved in life threatening activities such as shoot-outs, exposure to infectious diseases, dealing with repeat offenders and new bail reform issues, or witnessing extreme violence. Weekly support groups within the department could serve as a safe zone for police to talk to peers about their frustrations, gain insight from others on how to cope, and alleviate the burden of a difficult week through talking to others who also went through it.

It is apparent the three police officers who participated in this research were open minded when identifying their role in informing the public's view of them but also aware of the higher forces that impact perception such as multigenerational family transmission and the media. They identified numerous difficulties faced in their work as well as a lack of support to help them cope with or manage issues. Nonetheless, they appeared open to new ideas and strategies. I wonder if other police officers and departments as a whole would be interested in intervention studies to help them work through the issues that were illuminated through this study as well as implement strategies identified to strengthen the relationships between police and community members.

Limitations

One of the limitations of this study is that I am an outsider to the police community. This outsider status may have influenced participants' trust and level of disclosure. Nonetheless, I have personal relationships with police officers, including my husband who recently resigned his position as a police officer. Disclosure of such connections to police officers may have served to remedy the extent of the trust issues since I am not a police officer myself. Participants seemed comforted to learn that I had prior relationships with police officers, such as my husband. Although most were guarded at first, as the interviews progressed, the participants became more open and shared numerous thoughts and experiences with me. However, my outsider status may have constrained my own knowledge and perspective on the topic. Thus, I was aware of this when interpreting the data and integrated feedback from participants as well as my research assistant to remedy this issue.

In addition, it seems as though my outsider status limited the recruitment process in attaining more participants. The most difficult part of this study was finding participants who were comfortable enough to participate. After reaching out to both departments and police organizations and receiving no response, simply for permission to recruit if the study gained approval (as required for IRB), the recruitment methods were modified. The new method entailed reaching out to police through people the primary researcher had a relationship with such as friends, colleagues, and family. This method was more hopeful, but also proved difficult. Those that knew me who were asked to send the letter of solicitation to police whom they knew reported back issues such as, "people [police] are afraid to talk to anyone these days," "police are under a lot of scrutiny now so it's not a good time," and "the topic sounds interesting but no

thanks." Nevertheless, I was able to recruit five interested potential participants; however, only three met inclusion criteria. This was after outreach to at least 30 people I knew that knew multiple police officers. I did not recruit individuals with whom I had a prior relationship. Although a sample size of three to six was recommended for this study, after recruiting and interviewing three participants, I began to analyze the data while continuing recruitment efforts. After completing the third interview, it was clear that participants had similarities in their perspectives and information obtained was becoming redundant. Thus, data analysis began. Once data was analyzed on the three participants, it was apparent that sufficient data had been attained in which participants' responses were found to answer the research questions at hand with the emergence of numerous common themes among the participants. As a result, further effort to recruit participants was stopped.

For future studies involving direct contact with police officers, it is advised that a strong, direct relationship be attained and developed with a specific police department prior to trying to recruit for the research. Furthermore, research that is less confrontational in style such as a self-reported measure that is anonymous may be more effective in attaining participants. The fact that this study consisted of an in-person, recorded interview was a limitation to attaining subjects given their lack of comfort with speaking to people due to the scrutiny at this time. Even the three selected participants demonstrated concerns about confidentiality and being recorded when first meeting me, especially with regard to their name or department being attached to anything. Participant II required reassurance even toward the end of the interview. Participants I and III expressed that it "wasn't as bad as expected" at the end of the interview. Furthermore, the police community may have fears of losing their job or having their guns taken away if they talk to a psychologist since psychologists have an integral role in their work. For example, police are

required to pass a psychological evaluation in order to be hired. When police experience issues related to work, they are potentially sent for a fitness for duty evaluation to determine if they can continue working. At times, this impacts their ability to perform their job, and their gun might be taken away. Thus, my role as a psychologist in training could have also impacted the participants' level of comfort in disclosing information which may have impacted the validity of the data.

Another important and related consideration is the culture of police departments being a private, insulated community. Within this culture, speaking to an outsider may pose a risk to divulging information about their community since the participants were asked questions related to their work experiences and were disclosing such information to an outsider. Thus, it makes sense that participants were each concerned about confidentiality, being recorded, and protecting their identity. It may be helpful to conduct anonymous qualitative research to follow up on some of the major themes generated from this study; for example, open-ended questions could be sent to participants to fill out. However, a limitation would be the inability to capture other details that an interview itself could readily follow up on or prompt for further information.

A second limitation of this study is the apparent gender difference between the participants and me. I thought it might be difficult for male police officers to disclose genuine perspectives to a female researcher. At times, this occurred somewhat when a participant used a curse word, such as "fuck," or derogatory slang term about someone, such as "hand job," then apologized or asked if it was okay to curse. After reassurance to speak freely, more curse and slang terms arose, indicating a less restrictive response style. I wondered if this was due to the formality of it being a research interview or if it were because I was female. In addition, Participant III was reluctant to share three major traumatic situations he experienced and

expressed concern about my being able to handle the information. After reassurance, he divulged all the details of his experiences and expressed some relief to share the content with someone other than his wife. I wondered if it were due to my being female and preconceived notions he may have held about females being able to handle such difficult content. I wonder if the other participants withheld certain information due to my female identity. Nonetheless, it is possible our gender differences impacted my ability to gain an in-depth understanding of police officers' subjective experiences.

A third limitation was that this study focused on White, male police officers, a limited demographic that is not reflective of urban police departments, which are known to have a more racially diverse police force. Thus, the study's results are not representative of the views of urban police departments as a whole; rather, the results only reflect the views of White, male police in urban police departments. It would be interesting to conduct another study with participants who are police but of varying racial backgrounds to determine whether discrepancies exist when accounting for racial differences or if the person's identity as a police officer in and of itself supersedes their racial identity when discussing experiences as a police officer.

References

Bain, A., Robinson, B., & Conser, J. (2014). Perceptions of policing: improving communication

in local communities. *International Journal of Police Science & Management*, *16*(4),

267-276. doi:10.1350/ijps.2014.16.4.345

Barber, C., Azrael, D., Cohen, A., Miller, M., Thymes, D., Wang, D., & Hemenway, D. (2016).

Homicides by police: comparing counts from the national violent death reporting system,

vital statistics, and supplementary homicide reports. *American Journal of Public Health*,

106(5), 922-927. doi:10.2105/AJPH.2016.303074

Berg, M., Stewart, E., Intravia, J., Warren, P., & Simons, R. (2016). Cynical streets:

neighborhood social processes and perceptions of criminal injustice. *Criminology*, *54*(3),

520. doi:10.1111/1745-9125.12113

Bishopp, S., & Boots, D. (2014). General strain theory, exposure to violence, and suicide

ideation among police officers: a gendered approach. *Journal of Criminal Justice*, *42*(6),

538-548. doi:10.1016/j.jcrimjus.2014.09.007

Brooms, D., & Perry, A. (2016). "It's simply because we're black men." *Journal of Men's

Studies*, *24*(2), 166-184. doi:10.1177/1060826516641105

Caudill, J. Getty, R., Smith, R., Patten, R., and Trulson, C. (2012). Discouraging window

breakers: the lagged effects of police activity on crime. *Journal of Criminal Justice, 41,*

18-23.

Chaney, C., & Robertson, R. (2013). Racism and police brutality in America. *Journal of African

American Studies*, *17*(4), 480-505. doi:10.1007/s12111-013-9246-5

Chu, D. (2007). Broken windows theory of crime. *Blackwell Encyclopedia of Sociology*, doi:10.1111/b.9781405124331.2007.x

Colwell, L. (2006). Assessing and understanding police officers' cognitive appraisals for traumatic events. *Dissertation Abstracts International*, *66*(9-B), 5081.

Colwell, L., Lyons, P., Bruce, A., Garner, R., & Miller, R. (2011). Police officers' cognitive appraisals for traumatic events: implications for treatment and training. *Applied Psychology in Criminal Justice*, *7*(2), 106-132.

Correll, J., Hudson, S., Guillermo, S., & Ma, D. (2014). The police officer's dilemma: a decade of research on racial bias in the decision to shoot. *Social & Personality Psychology Compass*, *8*(5), 201-213. doi:10.1111/spc3.12099

Corsaro, N., Frank, J., & Ozer, M. (2015). Perceptions of police practice, cynicism of police performance, and persistent neighborhood violence: An intersecting relationship. *Journal of Criminal Justice*, *43*(1), 1-11. doi:10.1016/j.jcrimjus.2014.10.003

Creswell, J. (2007). *Qualitative inquiry and research design: Choosing among five approaches (2nd ed.)*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Department of Justice (2012). Retrieved from https://ucr.fbi.gov/crime-in-the-u.s/2012/crime-in-the-u.s.-2012/offenses-known-to-law-enforcement/expanded-homicide/expanded_homicide_data_table_14_justifiable_homicide_by_weapon_law_enf orcement_2008-2012.xls

Fraternal Order of Police (n.d.) Retrieved from https://www.fop.net/CmsPage.aspx?id=223

Fridell, L., & Lim, H. (2016). Assessing the racial aspects of police force using the implicit- and counter-bias perspectives. *Journal of Criminal Justice*, *44,* 36-48. doi:10.1016/j.jcrimjus.2015.12.001

Gaarder, E., Rodriguez, N., & Zatz, M. (2004). Criers, liars, and manipulators: probation officers' views of girls. *Justice Quarterly, 21,* 547–578.

Galovski, T., Peterson, Z., Beagley, M., Strasshofer, D., Held, P., & Fletcher, T. (2016). Exposure to violence during Ferguson protests: mental health effects for law enforcement and community members. *Journal of Traumatic Stress*, *29*(4), 283-292. doi:10.1002/jts.22105

Gau, J., & Brunson, R. (2010). Procedural justice and order maintenance policing: a study of inner-city young men's perceptions of police legitimacy. *Justice Quarterly*, *27*(2), 255-279.

Harcourt, B. E. (1998). Reflecting on the subject: A critique of the social influence conception of deterrence, the broken windows theory, and order-maintenance policing New York style. *Michigan Law Review*, *97*(2), 291

Hayes, F. (2015). War against the people: killer cops and community terrorism. *Critical Sociology, 41*(6), 881-885. doi: 10.1177/0896920515589725

Hill, C., Thompson, B., & Williams, E. (1997). A guide to conducting consensual qualitative research. *The Counseling Psychologist*, *25*(4), 517-572. doi:10.1177/0011000097254001

Hinkle, J., & Weisburd, D. (2008). The irony of broken windows policing: a micro-place study of the relationship between disorder, focused police crackdowns and fear of crime. *Journal of Criminal Justice*, *36,* 503-512. doi:10.1016/j.jcrimjus.2008.09.010

Kirk, D. & Matsuda, M. (2011). Legal cynicism, collective efficacy, and the ecology of arrest. *Criminology*, *49*(2), 443. doi:10.1111/j.1745-9125.2011.00226.x

Kirk, D., & Papachristos, A. (2011). Cultural mechanisms and the persistence of neighborhood violence. *American Journal of Sociology*, *116*(4), 1190-1233.

Korte, G. (2015). Police officers too often 'scapegoated' for problems in society, Obama says. *USA TODAY*, Retrieved from

http://www.usatoday.com/story/news/politics/2015/10/27/police-officers-too-often-scapegoated-problems-society-obama-says/74662192/

Kubrin, C. & Weitzer, R. (2003). Retaliatory homicide: concentrated disadvantage and neighborhood culture. *Social Problems, 50,* 157-180. doi:10.1525/sp.2003.50.2.157

Lai, Y., & Zhao, J. (2010). The impact of race/ethnicity, neighborhood context, and police/citizen interaction on residents' attitudes toward the police. *Journal of Criminal Justice*, *38*(4), 685-692. doi:10.1016/j.jcrimjus.2010.04.042

Lieberman, D., & Dansky, K. (2016). The degradation of civil society and hyper-aggressive policing in communities of color in New York City. *Cardozo Law Review*, *37*(3), 955-972.

Marzano, L., Smith, M., Long, M., Kisby, C., & Hawton, K. (2016). Police and suicide prevention: Evaluation of a training program. *Crisis: The Journal of Crisis Intervention and Suicide Prevention*, *37*(3), 194-204. doi:10.1027/0227-5910/a000381

Mazerolle, L., Antrobus, E., Bennett, S., & Tyler, T. R. (2013). Shaping citizen perceptions of police legitimacy: a randomized field trial of procedural justice shaping citizen perceptions of police legitimacy: a randomized field trial of procedural justice. *Criminology*, *51*(1), 33-63. doi:10.1111/j.1745-9125.2012.00289.x

McClain, R. (2015). Helping our students reach their full potential: the insidious consequences of

    ignoring stereotype threat. *Rutgers Race and Law Review, 17*(1), 1-56.

Mead, G., (1934). *Mind, self & society from the standpoint of a social behaviorist*. Chicago, IL.:

    University of Chicago Press.

Miller, L. (1995). Tough guys: psychotherapeutic strategies with law enforcement and

    emergency services personnel. *Psychotherapy: Theory, Research, Practice, Training*,

    32(4), 592-600. doi:10.1037/0033-3204.32.4.592

Morrow, S. (2005). Quality and trustworthiness in qualitative research in counseling psychology.

    Journal of Counseling Psychology, 52(2), 250-260. doi:10.1037/0022-0167.52.2.250

Najdowski, C. J. (2011). Stereotype threat in criminal interrogations: why innocent black

    suspects are at risk for confessing falsely. *Psychology, Public Policy and Law*, *17,* 562.

Najdowski, C., Bottoms, B., & Goff, P. (2015). Stereotype threat and racial differences in

    citizens' experiences of police encounters. *Law and Human Behavior*, *39*(5), 463-477.

    doi:10.1037/lhb0000140

National Law Enforcement Officers Memorial Fund (2016). Retrieved from

    http://www.nleomf.org/facts/research-bulletins/

New Jersey Civil Service Commission (2005) Retrieved from

    http://info.csc.state.nj.us/jobspec/02728.htm

Nivette, A., Eisner, M., Malti, T., & Ribeaud, D. (2015). The social and developmental

    antecedents of legal cynicism. *Journal of Research in Crime and Delinquency, 52*(2),

    270-298. doi: 10.1177/0022427814557038.

Onyemaobim, I. (2016). The Michael Brown legacy: Police brutality and minority prosecution. *George Mason University Civil Rights Law Journal*, *26,* 157-182.

Pennington, C., Heim D., Levy A., Larkin, D. (2016). Twenty years of stereotype threat research: a review of psychological mediators. *PLOS ONE, 11*(1): doi:10.1371/journal.pone.0146487

Richardson, L. (2015). Critical race theory and empirical methods conference: police racial violence: lessons from social psychology. *Fordham Law Review, 83,* 2961.

Roulston, K. (2010). *Qualitative interviewing: A guide to theory and practice*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Sinyangwe, S. (2016). Stop pretending the "Ferguson effect" is real. *A Journal of African Studies, 39*(1), 23-25.

Skogan, W. (1990). Disorder and decline: crime and the spiral of decay in American cities. New York: Free Press.

Smith, J., Flower, P. & Larkin, M. (2009). *Interpretative Phenomenological Analysis: Theory, Method and Research*. London: Sage

Spencer, K., Charbonneau, A., & Glaser, J. (2016). Implicit bias and policing. *Social and Personality Psychology Compass*, *10*(1), 50-63. doi:10.1111/spc3.12210

State of New Jersey Department of Law & Public Safety (2016). Retrieved from http://www.njsp.org/about/mission-statement.shtml

Steele, C., & Aronson, J. (1995). Stereotype threat and the intellectual test performance of African Americans. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, *69*(5), 797-811. doi:10.1037/0022-3514.69.5.797

The Washington Post (2016). Retrieved from

>https://www.washingtonpost.com/graphics/national/police-shootings/

The Washington Post (2016). Retrieved from https://www.washingtonpost.com/national/final-

>tally-police-shot-and-killed-984-people-in-2015/2016/01/05/3ec7a404-b3c5-11e5-a76a-

>0b5145e8679a_story.html

van der Velden, P., Kleber, R., Grievink, L., & Yzermans, J. (2010). Confrontations with

>aggression and mental health problems in police officers: the role of organizational

>stressors, life-events and previous mental health problems. *Psychological Trauma:*

>*Theory, Research, Practice, and Policy*, *2*(2), 135-144. doi:10.1037/a0019158

Weisburd, D., Hinkle, J., Braga, A., & Wooditch, A. (2015). Understanding the mechanisms

>underlying broken windows policing: the need for evaluation evidence. *Journal of*

>*Research in Crime and Delinquency*, *52*(4), 589-608. doi:10.1177/0022427815577837

Weisburd, D., Wyckoff, L., Ready, J., Eck, J., Hinkle, J., & Gajewski, F. (2006). Does

>crime just move around the corner?: a controlled study of spatial displacement and

>diffusion of crime control benefits in two crime hot spots. *Criminology, 44,* 549−592.

>doi:10.1111/j.1745-9125.2006.00057.x

Weitzer, R. (2002). Incidents of police misconduct and public opinion. *Journal of Criminal*

>*Justice*, *30*(5), 397-408. doi:10.1016/S0047-2352(02)00150-2

Welsh, B., Braga, A., & Bruinsma, G. (2015). Reimagining broken windows: from theory to

>policy. *Journal of Research in Crime And Delinquency*, *52*(4), 447-463.

>doi:10.1177/0022427815581399

Wilson, J. & Kelling, G. (1982). Broken windows. *Atlantic, (02769077)*, *249*(3), 29.

Wolfe, S. & Nix, J. (2015). The alleged "Ferguson effect" and police willingness to engage in community partnership. *Law and Human Behavior, 40*(1), 1-10. doi:10.1037/lhb0000164

Yardley, L. (2000). Dilemmas in qualitative health research. *Psychology and Health, 15,* 215-228.

Yuan, C., Wang, Z., Inslicht, S., McCaslin, S., Metzler, T., Henn-Haase, C., Apfel, B., Tong, H., Neylan, T., Fang, Y. & Marmar, C. (2011). Protective factors for posttraumatic stress disorder symptoms in a prospective study of police officers. *Psychiatry Research*, *188*(1), 45-50. doi:10.1016/j.psychres.2010.10.034

Zimbardo, P. G. (Ed.) (1969). *The Cognitive Control of Motivation*. Glenview, IL: Scott, Foresman.

APPENDIX A

Semi-Structured Interview Protocol

1. What does it mean to you to be a police officer (in general and in an urban community)?

2. How would you describe the community where you work?

3. What has your experience been like being a police officer in an urban community?

4. What are some of the pros of the job?

5. What are some of the cons of the job?

6. How do you think the community members, in general, view police officers?

7. How do you think the specific community you work with views police officers, in general?

8. How do you think the community you work with views you as a police officer?

9. What factors do you think impact the community members' views of police officers?

10. How do you think the community members' views of police impacts the relationship between police and those in the community where police work?

11. What is your perspective on the recent series of events involving police officers' killing of Black men?

12. How do you think these events (involving police officers killing of Black men) impact the relationship between police and those in the community where police work?

13. What is your perspective on the recent series of events involving police officers being killed, while on duty, by community members?

14. How do you think these events (involving police officers being killed, while on duty, by community members) impact the relationship between police and those in the community where police work?

15. What factors impact the relationship between police officers and the communities they work with (in general and in work with urban communities)?

16. What do you think are ways to improve the relationship between police officers and the communities they work with?

17. Is there anything else you would like to add to help me understand your perspective as a police officer?

APPENDIX B

Demographic Questionnaire

Instructions: Please provide the following information and respond to all questions.

1. What is your age?

2. What is your race? (e.g., Black, White, Asian, etc.)

3. What is your ethnicity? (e.g., Italian, Jamaican, Mexican, etc.)

4. How many years have you been employed as a full-time police officer?

5. What is your police officer rank (e.g., Patrolman, Sergeant, Lieutenant, etc.)?

6. In which part of the city do you currently work?

7. How would you describe the level and type of crime in the area in which you work?

8. What were your parents' occupation?

    a. Father:
    b. Mother:

9. What type of neighborhood did you grow up in? (e.g., rural, urban, sub-urban; high-crime, low crime)

10. What type of neighborhood do you currently reside in? (e.g., rural, urban, sub-urban; high-crime, low crime)

APPENDIX C

Screening Questionnaire

Instructions: Please provide the following information and respond to all questions. Circle Yes or No for Questions 1-5.

1. Do you identify as a White, male? Yes or No

2. Are you currently working as a full-time police officer? Yes or No

3. Have you worked as a full-time police officer for at least five years? Yes or No

4. Are you currently suspended from your duties as a police officer? Yes or No

5. Are any of your police privileges suspended? Yes or No

6. Do you work in an urban community? Yes or No

7. Are you a uniform street patrolman or uniform street sergeant? Yes or No

SETON HALL ▟▙ UNIVERSITY

1 8 5 6

July 28, 2017

Dear Ms. Catanzariti,

The Seton Hall University Institutional Review Board has reviewed the information you have submitted addressing the concerns for your proposal entitled "Police Officer Perspectives on Community Members' Views of Police, Current Events Involving Police, and the Impact on Police-Community Relations". Your research protocol is hereby approved as revised through expedited review. The IRB reserves the right to recall the proposal at any time for full review.

Enclosed for your records are the signed Request for Approval form and the stamped original Consent Form. Make copies only of this stamped form.
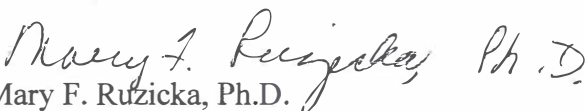
The Institutional Review Board approval of your research is valid for a one-year period from the date of this letter. During this time, any changes to the research protocol must be reviewed and approved by the IRB prior to their implementation.

According to federal regulations, continuing review of already approved research is mandated to take place at least 12 months after this initial approval. You will receive communication from the IRB ●ffice for this several months before the anniversary date of your initial approval.

Thank you for your cooperation.

In harmony with federal regulations, none of the investigators or research staff involved in the study took part in the final decision.

Sincerely,

Mary F. Ruzicka, Ph.D.

Mary F. Ruzicka, Ph.D.
Professor
Director, Institutional Review Board

cc: Dr. Minsun Lee

Office of Institutional Review Board
Presidents Hall · 400 South Orange Avenue · South Orange, New Jersey 07079 · Tel: 973.313.6314 · Fax: 973.275.2361 · *www.shu.edu*

A   HOME   FOR   THE   MIND,   THE   HEART   AND   THE   SPIRIT