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WHAT FACTORS IN THE LIFE EXPERIENCE OF AFRICAN AMERICANS CAUSE THEM
TO COMPLY WITH OR CONFRONT LAW ENFORCEMENT OFFICERS?

A Dissertation

Presented to the Faculty of
Graduate School of Leadership & Change
Antioch University

In partial fulfillment for the degree of

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

by

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October 2022

WHAT FACTORS IN THE LIFE EXPERIENCE OF AFRICAN AMERICANS CAUSE THEM
TO COMPLY WITH OR CONFRONT LAW ENFORCEMENT OFFICERS?

This dissertation, by La'Shelle Jefferson-McDonald, has
been approved by the committee members signed below
who recommend that it be accepted by the faculty of
the Graduate School of Leadership & Change
Antioch University
in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

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ABSTRACT

WHAT FACTORS IN THE LIFE EXPERIENCE OF AFRICAN AMERICANS CAUSE THEM TO COMPLY OR CONFRONT LAW ENFORCEMENT OFFICERS?

La'Shelle Jefferson-McDonald

Graduate School of Leadership & Change

Yellow Springs, OH

Widespread availability of cell phones has given most Americans the ability to record events as they happen. This has included recordings of increasing instances of police brutality directed at African Americans by White officers, including the shooting and killing of unarmed People of Color, particularly males. With such encounters being recorded and widely viewed by the general population, there is an increased need to focus on stopping this serious social problem. This study gives historical context on how this came about, what common stereotypes are associated with African Americans, and examples of several cases where unarmed African Americans were killed by White police officers. This study examines two theories which could offer possible solutions as to how society can begin to correct this social problem: first, differential association theory, “the view that people commit crime when their social learning leads them to perceive more definitions favoring crime and deviance than favoring conventional behavior” (Siegel, 2015, p. 174). The second explanatory and normative theory is adaptive leadership. To be adaptive, an individual’s behaviors must adjust specifically to each situation. Different interactions usually require a different pattern of leadership behavior (Yukl & Mahsud, 2010). African Americans need to learn to adapt their behavior during police encounters in order to defuse the situation. This study used a mixed methods methodology. The instrument for the study was an online questionnaire completed by 121 respondents. Results showed considerable

promise for improving the relationship between People of Color and police officers through training for both parties using adaptive leadership and compliance as a guide. This dissertation is available in open access at AURA (<https://aura.antioch.edu/>) and OhioLINK ETD Center (<https://etd.ohiolink.edu>).

Keywords: police brutality, compliance, stereotypes, de-escalation, adaptive leadership, differential association theory, White supremacy

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CHAPTER I: INTRODUCTION

“I Can’t Breathe,” “No Justice No Peace,” “Being Black Isn’t a Crime,” “White Silence is Compliance,” and “Black Lives Matter,” are all slogans used in recent protests against police brutality. The recent death of African American George Floyd in Minneapolis, Minnesota when White Officer Derek Chauvin killed the unarmed Floyd by placing his knee in his neck for 8 minutes and 46 seconds, sparked worldwide protest of police brutality in the United States (Samuels & Olorunnipa, 2022). The United States of America is one of the most racially diverse democratic countries in the world (Schuck et al., 2008). There has been ongoing research on the criminal justice system aimed at understanding how police specifically act and respond in the choices they make when interacting with a diversity of people.

Despite current progress in the criminal justice system, there is still a long way to go with regards to equality and fairness. One central aspect of this inequality in American society is the widespread disparity in the treatment of People of Color¹ across the entire spectrum of the criminal justice system and, specifically, in policing. Unfortunate and sometimes fatal encounters between the police and members of African American communities happen during escalated police interactions (Bonner, 2015). This unequal treatment of People of Color has created public mistrust in the country’s criminal justice system, leading to an increase in the cases of racially motivated hostility between the criminal justice officials and the targeted communities. This is consistent with Chaney and Robertson’s (2015) assertions that for the last 50 years, crime and punishment have immensely contributed to the racial divide in America.

¹ “People of Color,” “Blacks,” and “African Americans” are terms used interchangeably throughout this dissertation that refers to the same group of people.

With the recent public outcry for change various stakeholders in the policing and criminal justice system— elected officials, judges, lawyers, and correctional officers—have become acutely aware of this racially motivated disparity and are actively developing measures of reducing this unwarranted bias in the departments. This study seeks to uncover the factors that lead People of Color to either comply with or confront law enforcement officers and when confrontation is the choice of African Americans how dangerously it can end. Compliance is encouraged throughout this dissertation as an avenue to defuse violence.

Racial profiling and brutality against the African American community happens when police rely on preexisting generalizations about color and race rather than on objective situational evidence to make their enforcement decisions. According to Carbado and Rock (2016), People of Color are subjected to significantly more stops and detailed checks, than their White equivalents. Whether this disparity arises from the practices and attitudes of individual officers or the discriminatory culture of law enforcement agencies, marginalization of African Americans is now an issue of national interest that should be adequately discussed. This information stirs conversations on whether African Americans' constant bombardment of instances of police brutality, witnessing firsthand accounts of police mistreatment in their neighborhoods, and seeing their family members arrested and imprisoned, has affected their decisions on whether to comply or confront law enforcement officers when stopped by police. However, according to Carbado and Rock (2016), lack of compliance in the encounters between police and African Americans can often worsen police brutality whose incidence has widened the gap between White and Blacks who are apprehended. Therefore, there is need to promote compliance during police encounters with the aim of not only decreasing the instances of police brutality on African Americans, but also reducing the number of unarmed African American

being shot by police officers. Although compliance is not guaranteed to defuse police encounters, it is less risky than confronting officers.

The main purpose of this dissertation is to present critical information on police brutality and the causes of racial disparity as well as to examine what factors in the life experiences of African Americans affect their decision on whether to comply or confront law enforcement officers when in police encounters. This study readily acknowledges that racial disparity is a problem that affects society as a whole and requires realistic measures to be implemented to solve this problem. I will specifically rely on the review of literature in the field to inform the reader of the history of policing in the United States, the strained relationship between African Americans and police officers, and how these factors affect African American decision to comply or confront. The findings in this study can contribute to the discussion in the field by identifying these factors and setting the stage for future research.

The Setting

Policing in a multicultural and diverse society like the United States presents numerous challenges for law enforcement efforts. Increasingly diverse multicultural populations introduced by various socioeconomic factors such as urbanization, globalization, and migration have forced law enforcement agencies around the world to develop creative crime prevention efforts. Historically and currently, the United States struggles in striking the delicate balance between policing, multiculturalism, and discrimination. In addition to challenges related to cross-cultural competence (Sereni-Massinger & Wood, 2016), police officers are often required to learn different languages and practices with the purpose of serving all sociocultural groups equally and impartially.

In American society, there is a focus on police officers serving and protecting citizens from crime as well as overseeing crime control. Early policing efforts in America were directed toward controlling the lower class and marginalized groups such as the Native Americans and African slaves (Gaines & Miller, 2014). Today, police still put a significant amount of effort towards controlling African Americans in urban areas. Once slavery was abolished and people of African descent were no longer under the control of White slave masters, Whites who were in power still needed a means of controlling African Americans. At the end of the Civil War, Southern legislatures passed Black Codes designed to control newly freed African Americans by making it “a crime to have a gun, be out after a certain hour, or utter offensive language” in the presence of White women (Clear et al., 2013, p. 50). With the perceived need for additional restrictions on African Americans as well as other societal protection needs, the development of a formal police department became a necessity.

Boston, Massachusetts, officially formed the nation’s first organized police department, consisting of six full-time officers. Since then, there have been three eras of policing which consist of the political era, reform era, and community era (Clear et al., 2013). The current era of policing (1980 to present) is seen as the “community era.” Yet, in striving for professionalism during the reform era, the police appeared to lose touch with the citizens they were supposed to be serving. To repair their damaged relations with the community during the reform era, the police began to try to rediscover their community roots (Gaines & Miller, 2014). Even with the focus of the era being on repairing community relationships and rebuilding trust, there are still a large number of African American neighborhoods who have not developed a sense of community or trust with the police.

Theoretical Framework

There are several theoretical frameworks that can effectively guide this research study. One of the most frequently used social learning theoretical frameworks is the differential association theory developed by Edwin Sutherland in 1939 who believed crime and deviant behavior was a function of a learning process that could affect all individuals regardless of their background (Sutherland, 1973). As advanced by Siegel (2015), acquiring a behavior is a socialization process and not a political or legal one. According to Sutherland (1973), this means that skills and motives that are associated with criminal behavior are the result of exposures to and interactions with pro-crime values, attitudes, and definitions as well as other patterns of behavior such as motor vehicle misuse, robbery, domestic violence, fraud, theft, and sex crimes. African Americans can use knowledge based on this differential association theory to recognize their inculcated negativity about the police and how this can affect the decision to comply or confront law enforcement officers when in police encounters. If the narrative is changed among African Americans from distrust of the police to complying with police, and even partnering with the police to defuse police encounters, there will be less instances of officer-involved shootings. The goal of this dissertation is to discover what factors in the life experiences of African Americans most affect their decision to either comply or confront in such situations.

Differential association theory can also be utilized in explaining how African Americans learn to distrust the police. These distrusting attitudes by a large percentage of African Americans differ significantly from most of the population's perception of the police (Price & Payton, 2017). The dominant culture is inclined toward a harmonious and coordinated relationship between the police and the general public, a statistic largely influenced by attitudes of the White majority. Just as differential association is used to explain how African Americans

learn to distrust police officers, this can also be used to explain how complying with officers is perceived to be in one's best interest. Therefore, as more African Americans learn the value of complying with police officers, it will be transmitted as a worthy norm to adhere to.

Adaptive leadership theory is another framework that provides an important perspective for this study (Glover et al., 2002). This is largely because leaders have an important role to play in influencing behavioral change in both societal and organizational contexts. There are many different leadership theories such as behavioral theory, contingency theory, and trait theory that try to explain various aspects of leadership. However, given the relative influence that leadership has, it is important to select a leadership theory that is appropriate to the challenge studied here. The objective of this research is to present research evidence highlighting the ability of leadership or behavioral influence to improve the outcome of police encounters involving African American people. Adaptive leadership was appropriate to use in this study because it "involves changing behavior in appropriate ways as the situation changes" (Yukl & Mahsud, 2010, p. 81). Individuals in urban communities need to adapt to an environment which has become increasingly unjust. Gradual but meaningful steps will be important in the process towards change.

Social structure theory is another framework that forms an integral part of this study. This theoretical perspective is significant because many social problems are prevalent in low-income neighborhoods where many African Americans reside. According to social structure theory, the root cause of crime can be traced directly to the socioeconomic disadvantages that have become embedded in American Society (Siegel, 2015). Siegel (2015) indicated that as neighborhood quality decreases, the probability that residents will develop policing problems such as racialized and prejudicial policing, brutality, or even killings, sharply increase. People in lower-class

neighborhoods need to maintain ties with the mainstream culture to feed their hopes of better livelihoods. The absence of these ties drives individuals to desperate measures as a way of coping with the tough economic conditions. This basically explains why many neighborhoods with many poor African Americans are characterized by crime and substance abuse. Many young people in these populations resort to crime and substance abuse as a way of coping with psychological pressures of poor living conditions or the hard-economic conditions (Schuck et al., 2008). Another factor that aggravates conditions in lower-class neighborhoods is the association between material possession and self-worth as popularized by mainstream media. According to Surhone et al. (2010), because low-income neighborhood residents are unable to obtain the goals they set in life using conventional means, they resort to illegal approaches. From this theoretical framework, it is understandable that the social pressures that African Americans in poor neighborhoods face not only due to their inability to find conventional opportunities for economic empowerment, but also because mainstream media contributes to the development of a narrative that stimulates illegal activity. This theory overall explains why African Americans in poor neighborhoods have much more contact with police than individuals in more affluent neighborhoods.

Significance of the Study

This study is designed to discover factors in the life experiences of African Americans that affect their decision to comply with or confront law enforcement officers when in police encounters. Due to the high crime rates in many African American neighborhoods, there is a significant number of encounters with police officers. Based on the high number of confrontations between the police and individuals in these neighborhoods, it could be expected that people should become more compliant to reduce negative consequences. Therefore, this

study seeks to uncover what factors in the lives of African Americans lead them to either comply with or confront law enforcement officers when in police encounters. My goal is also to inform the reader on the need to promote harmony and sustainable relationships through compliance between the police and members of the African American community.

According to Price and Payton (2017), police use quite different tactics in urban communities where there is a high concentration of minorities and poverty than what they use in more affluent neighborhoods. They use aggressive policing strategies, and there is much more police misconduct in communities where there is a high concentration of minorities and poverty. These aggressive police actions are targeted at African Americans, and when law abiding African American members of these neighborhoods are exposed to hostile police actions, they are affected by these encounters making them fearful and hesitant to have any contact with police (Brunson & Miller, 2006).

According to Siegel (2015), “Social learning theorists believe that crime and deviance is a product of learning the norms, values, and behaviors associated with these activities” (p. 173). Social learning may include learning how to commit crime as part of developing the mindset that is thought to be needed for survival in the neighborhood. African Americans in such neighborhoods are taught to stay away from police for fear of being falsely arrested/accused, labeled a police informant, or ultimately being killed. Some youth may take on cynical viewpoints in their adolescence (Carbado & Rock, 2016). They learn to trust no one; they internalize that having very few legitimate chances at being successful and, to improve their life chances, they must break the law or become deviant. Siegel (2015) summarizes that “apathy, cynicism, helplessness, and mistrust of social institutions, such as schools, government agencies, and the police, mark the culture of poverty” (p. 173). As so many African Americans internalize

all this negativity, it is very important to discover exactly what factors lead to their choice to either comply or confront law enforcement officers when in police encounters.

It is understandable why African Americans act out of fear in police encounters and make the decision to confront the police officer when in encounters, but compliance is a much safer alternative for de-escalation. Police respond punitively to individuals who do not show them respect. They interpret any form of disrespect as an indication that their authority is not being taken seriously (Bonner, 2015). To show full respect for the law and its officers when African Americans are stopped by police, they should be sure to stay calm and treat the officer with the highest regard for his position. By complying with the officers' request, African Americans can decrease their chances of becoming a victim of police brutality (Schuck et al., 2008). Therefore, compliance is a key attribute that can be advocated among African Americans to improve their relationship with the police.

It is expected that when a sudden and unexpected event occurs and threatens to put one's safety in harm's way, a rapid but appropriate response is needed to minimize the adverse effects of the event. How well an individual handles these unexpected situations is an example of successfully using the fundamental principles of adaptive leadership theory, a leadership framework that can help individuals to thrive and adapt in hostile and uncertain environments (Yukl & Mahsud, 2010). Consequently, when African Americans feel that they are being targeted or harassed by a police officer, it is up to them to employ strategies of adaptive leadership theory and adjust their behavior in meaningful ways to defuse the situation. There are many negative stereotypes about African Americans that are widely believed to be factual, such as failure to comply with police orders or approach police interactions with high levels of trust

and diligence (Price & Payton, 2017). These negative stereotypes can be proven false if African Americans always carry themselves in positive ways, most importantly in police confrontations.

A large percentage of African Americans who are affected by policing issues reside in mostly lower-class neighborhoods. By uncovering what factors affect African Americans' decisions to comply or confront law enforcement officers when in police encounters, the factors with the largest impact on African Americans can be determined. The fundamental and long-term objective of this study is to provide guidance for future research on how these factors can be altered to affect change in the lives of African Americans. This study seeks to inform the reader of the benefit of compliance and how complying with law enforcement officers can prevent police encounters from becoming hostile. This study also makes recommendations on how to encourage compliance. Members of low-income African American communities need to understand that they cannot control the behavior of law enforcement officers, but they can use the techniques of conformity to control their own behavior. Some of the ways these individuals can control their behavior include following orders given by the police officer, never making any sudden moves, and being respectful at all times (Gaines & Miller, 2014; Price & Payton, 2017; Siegel, 2015). In sum, compliance and being respectful is the best way of getting through police encounters safely and this dissertation aims to find how such a strategy comes about—or not.

Research Questions

This study addresses the following overarching research question: What factors affect African Americans' decision to either comply or confront law enforcement officers when in police encounters? There are several further research questions (RQs) stemming from this overarching one:

RQ1: What are the characteristics of survey respondents?

RQ2: What are respondents' perception of police in their youth and their current perception of police?

RQ3: What influence have *demographic characteristics* had on respondents' perception of police? In their youth? And now?

RQ4: What influence have respondents' *early experiences* had on perception of police in their youth? And now?

RQ5. What influence did respondents' *more recent experiences* have on their perception of police?

RQ6. What narrative responses point to conditions that could influence a compliant response to a police encounter?

Terms and Terminology

Police brutality—A civil rights violation and a form of police misconduct which involves the use of undue violence and excessive force when dealing with civilians. It ranges from battery, torture, to extreme physical harm or death (Maurantonio, 2014, p. 740).

Compliance—The act of obeying an order, rule, or request. In the context of criminal justice, compliance means conforming to specific laws, procedures, policies, and standards (Crawford & Hucklesby, 2012, p. 29).

White supremacy—The racist belief, theory, or doctrine that sees White people as inherently superior to people of other races. White supremacists seek to continue the concepts of the Jim Crow era's racial hierarchy and Apartheid in South Africa (Gaines & Miller, 2014).

Stereotypes—A preconceived and oversimplified notion about a specific group of people (Hall et al., 2016).

De-escalation—This is the intention to eliminate the escalation of a potentially violent situation that may lead to conflicts and other negative consequences (Juzwiak & Chan, 2014).

Researcher Background

As an undergraduate, I majored in sociology which gave me an understanding of how groups in society are formed as well as how conflict is constant in all groups. I have always been interested in criminal justice, which led me to pursuing a Master of Arts in this field. However, I always knew that I would never want to work as a police officer, correctional officer, in a juvenile detention center, or anything similar. Ever since childhood I knew I would be a teacher, and the further I went with my education, the more I realized that I would be best suited in the career path of becoming a criminal justice professor.

My professional background includes teaching criminal justice for over 13 years to first generation, low-income, African American students at Central State University where I am also an alumnus. Central State University is a Historical Black College/University (HBCU), located in rural Wilberforce, Ohio. The vast majority of the students are from large cities such as Chicago, Dayton, Milwaukee, Detroit, and Indianapolis. With most of students coming from these large urban areas, many have had a personal negative experience, or known about someone close to them having a negative experience with a police officer. As a professor of criminal justice, I want to understand students' life experiences and what factors affect their decision on whether to comply or confront law enforcement officers when in police encounters.

Research Design and Methods

A mixed methods design was employed in this study, using both closed and open-ended online survey questions, followed with quantitative and qualitative analyses. The quantitative analyses used a quasi-experimental design for the open-ended questions. This study used

descriptive statistics and correlational research, specifically regression analysis on respondents' intentions on whether to comply with or confront law enforcement officers when in police encounters. The study participants included my former students. As well, I asked my colleagues for access to their networks for finding potential respondents willing to complete the online survey, which was open to anyone who identified as a person of color and was between the ages of 18–40.

Study Limitations and Delimitations

Several limitations of this study need to be noted. First, it relied on a nonprobability sample (i.e., choosing participants strategically based on a subjective judgement rather than randomly). Convenience samples are extremely useful because they are typically cheaper and easier to assemble. “Their major limitation is that results cannot be generalized beyond the group being tested” (Healey, 2015, p. 145). The study was also limited because it was an online survey which means there is only one opportunity to gather data for analyses. Another limitation was that the surveys were structured, except for a few open-ended questions and therefore it did not cover all issues raised by the respondents. Another shortcoming was that was the sample was somewhat older than the typical “young adult” population, with half the respondents being between the ages of 35–40. This age group may not be considered as reactive or confrontational in a police encounter.

The delimitations included being able to reach a broader audience by conducting an online survey. Also, the researcher had control over the questions that were asked on the online survey.

Overview of the Dissertation Chapters

Chapter I, the introductory chapter of this dissertation study, has provided a preliminary overview of the challenge addressed, the theoretical foundations of the proposed topic areas, the research participants, research design and methods, and underlying leadership philosophy.

Chapter II presents the review of literature that informs this study. The literature review begins with the emergence of technology and the fact that African Americans who are being victimized and brutalized by police officers are being videotaped using cell phone cameras. This chapter will also discuss the issue of police brutality, stereotypes of African Americans, several examples of unarmed African Americans being killed by police officers, and an explanation of social structure. A brief survey is made of several theories that are used to guide this research: differential association, social structure, and adaptive leadership theories. Finally, this study seeks to inform the reader that compliance is encouraged throughout this research as the dominant technique to defuse interactions with police from becoming elevated.

Chapter III describes the research questions, the proposed methodology, research design, research process, methods, and techniques to be used to conduct this mixed method research study. There is an overview of mixed methods research, how it is used here, and a description of the sample as well as a discussion of benefits and drawbacks. The chapter discusses the importance of methodological fit and the rationale for using a mixed method approach to explore the research questions for this study. Chapter IV presents this study's findings, and Chapter V discusses the key findings in addition to the limitations, the implications for leadership and change, and future research.

Chapter Summary

It is evident that racial profiling and police brutality against the African American community is rampant and there is need to develop measures and interventions that will prevent this ongoing threat. Recent studies indicate that People of Color are subjected to more brutal identity checks and investigations, detailed checks, and stops in comparison to their White counterparts. Whether this disparity arises from the practices and attitudes of individual officers or the discriminatory culture of law enforcement agencies, marginalization of African Americans is now an issue of national interest that should be adequately discussed. This study, therefore, will seek to present critical information on police brutality and the causes of racial disparity as well as to examine what factors in the life experiences of African Americans affect their decision on whether to comply or confront law enforcement officers when in police encounters.

CHAPTER II: LITERATURE REVIEW

Chapter II presents the literature that informs this study, and an exploration of gaps in the research. The purpose of this research study is to uncover the factors in the life experiences of African Americans that encourage compliance or confrontation during police encounters. In this chapter, a review is presented of the extant literature on the African American population and the beliefs as well as life experiences which guide their actions in police encounters. Literature that focuses on the effect of the compliance and impact on behavior and police relationships will also be critically reviewed. The chapter establishes the gaps in knowledge about police brutality and how it manifests in African American communities.

The Issue of Police Brutality

Walker and Katz (2012) defined *police brutality* simply as the “use of excessive physical force by the police” (p. 527). The International Association of Chiefs of Police (IACP, 2001) defined excessive force as, “application of an amount and/or frequency of force greater than that required to compel compliance from a willing or unwilling subject” (p. 1). When excessive force is employed and witnessed by others, these actions often come under public scrutiny. The media and/or those in the justice community as well as the broad public may request an investigation as to why the abuse has occurred. Police use of excessive force can also result in lawsuits by victims or the victim’s family when they feel they were treated unfairly. The reality of excessive force (police brutality) is that an overwhelming number of African Americans have lost their lives at the hands of police officers.

It is generally accepted that the United States is a stratified society. According to Jefferies (2017), social strata are created by the unequal distribution of wealth, power, and prestige. Carbado and Rock (2016) linked that African Americans in the United States having very little

power, wealth, or prestige, making them vulnerable to police violence. This vulnerability creates an atmosphere of racism and the denial of opportunities of advancement. A significant number of White police officers patrol inner city neighborhoods, and these officers have a significant amount of power in the areas that they patrol. As noted by Essed (1991), power has both physical and abstract features. It pertains to human ability not only to act but to act in concert. There are several ways in which this perspective of power relates to the aspect of racial discrimination that is underpinned in this research topic. For years, the conflict between White and African American societies has often been based on unequal power. White people have depicted themselves as having more power than their African American counterparts, a configuration that explains the social influence, though negative, that White people have had on African Americans.

The most dramatic indicator of this lack of equilibrium in the power distribution within American societies is the number of African Americans, as compared to White people, who are victims of police encounters. Research has shown decisively that African Americans are more likely to be stopped by police officers than their White counterparts (Hall et al., 2016) and it is far more likely for African Americans for such encounters with police to turn deadly (Edwards et al., 2019). In a natural ecosystem, the weaker animal species fall prey to stronger animals because less power makes them vulnerable. This analogy explains the predicament of African American people in the hands of police in America. Their low power status positions them at a level of vulnerability as compared to their more powerful counterparts, who as a result, are subjected to much less confrontation with the police (Siegel, 2015). White people feel empowered by the very nature that African Americans are characteristically powerless. The repercussions of this situation are that White people will feel privileged, either consciously or

unconsciously, because this power difference is manifested in many ways, well beyond their interactions with police officers.

A related perspective on this power difference is about the dominion that White people have and how this dominion is reflected as fear among police officers who in one way or the other may interact with White people (Brunson & Miller, 2006). White people are not only less frequently targeted by police officers because they are perceived as more powerful, but also because this perception of power induces fear on police officers in relation to their retaliation (Carbado & Rock, 2016). For instance, an African American police officer may feel fearful of arresting a White person because of the power factor. His fears originate from the belief that arresting the White person may lead to him getting fired by virtue of the societal power that they have.

Incidents of Police Brutality Toward African Americans

There are a wide variety of scenarios that act as evidence of this system of privilege that is based on the racial power differences within the American society. The importance of studying these examples or scenarios is that they reveal the contextual nature of this power difference and help to position our understanding of how this power difference influences behavior. Several examples of the police using their power excessively against African Americans' lives underscore the widespread danger of these encounters. These are drawn from the chronology of such incidents by Juzwiak and Chan (2014).

A horrific instance was the shooting of Tamir Rice, a 12-year-old boy in Cleveland, Ohio. Two police officers responded to a dispatch call regarding “a Black male sitting on a swing and pointing a gun at people” in a city park (Juzwiak & Chan, 2014, p. 2). The officers reported on their arrival that Rice reached towards a gun in his waistband. One of the officers

fired two shots before the zone car came to a halt. The officer hit Rice in the torso. Neither officer administered first aid and the child died the following day. Rice's gun turned out to be a toy. Neither officer has been charged.

In another case of brutality, the night before his wedding day in 2006, Sean Bell and three friends outside of a Queens, New York strip club were struck as police fired more than 50 bullets into their car. A plainclothes officer, who said he believed that Bell and his friends had a gun, told authorities he called for backup after alerting the men that he was a detective. When they drove off, the detectives fired the shots into the car, killing unarmed Bell and wounding two of his friends. The detectives went on trial for charges ranging from manslaughter to reckless endangerment but were later found not guilty.

John Crawford picked up and unpackaged a BB/pellet air rifle inside Wal-Mart sporting goods section and continued shopping in the store. Another customer called 911. According to the caller, "Crawford was pointing the gun at people and children walking by and was messing with the gun" (Juzwiak & Chan, 2014, p. 3). Two officers of the Beavercreek, Ohio Police had arrived at the Wal-Mart shortly after their dispatcher informed them of a "subject with a gun" in the pet supplies. Crawford was eventually shot. He was later pronounced dead; once again, both officers were found not guilty.

Sandra Bland, a 28-year-old African American woman, was found hung in a jail cell in Waller County, Texas, three days after being arrested during a traffic stop. Her death was ruled a suicide. Sandra Bland had been pulled over for a traffic violation by State Trooper Brian Encinia. The encounter escalated when Bland refused to put out her cigarette and began verbally abusing the police officer. Bland was then arrested and charged for assaulting a police officer. The arrest was partially recorded by Encinia's dash-cam and by a bystander's cell phone. After authorities

reviewed the dash-cam footage, Encinia was placed on administrative leave for failing to follow proper traffic stop procedures.

One of the first such cases that came under enormous public scrutiny (with, eventually, dire community consequences) was the beating of Rodney King on March 3, 1991. It is one of the most noted cases of police brutality ever publicized. King was an African American motorist in Los Angeles, who was brutally beaten by several White officers after a police chase. “The videotaped beating, recorded by White bystander George Holliday, was played and replayed by news media, making the footage one of the most watched pieces of amateur video in history,” (Maurantonio, 2014, p. 740). With the beating and then the resulting Los Angeles riots after the acquittal of the police who had assaulted him, Rodney King became an icon, as stated by Reverend Al Sharpton (Maurantonio, 2014). Prior to the Rodney King beating there was very little media coverage of police brutality. Over the last decade, due to advances in cell phone technology, the internet and, in social media, there have been more publicized cases of police using excessive force as it relates to African Americans.

These are examples of African Americans who were assaulted and, often who have lost their lives due to an unfortunate interaction and encounter with police officers. Differential association, adaptive leadership, and social structure theories can be utilized in explaining strategies and promoting ideas on how deescalating hostile police encounters can lead to more positive outcomes. The goal of this research and the proposed online survey is to encourage African Americans to begin to shift their thinking in police encounters from being confrontational to getting out of the situation unharmed by complying.

The Sandra Bland case has had the biggest impact on my decision to focus on what factors in the life experiences of African Americans lead to comply or confront a police officer in

an encounter. Viewing the confrontation between Sandra Bland and Officer Encinia makes it very evident that her arrest could have been avoided and her life spared. Had Sandra Bland complied with the officer's request the situation might have been defused. This research seeks to provide insight into the type of situations where the confrontation can be defused by complying.

Today, most Americans have quick access to a video recorder via their cell phones. This means that there are more instances of police brutality being recorded and posted on social media. "The ubiquitous presence of telephone video evidence has captured the use and misuse of lethal force by police officers against African Americans and has severely threatened the communities' faith in law enforcement officers" (Price & Payton, 2017, p. 674).

As Juzwiak and Chan (2014) indicated, when African Americans exhibit aggressive behaviors such as resisting arrest, spitting, using profanity or name calling, officers feel threatened and wrongfully perceive to be justified in using excessive force. The officer(s) and their attorneys are often able to convince the judge/jury to see that they acted appropriately in the given circumstances. Tamir Rice, Sean Bell, John Crawford Jr., and Sandra Bland are only a few recent examples of African Americans who have been killed by police officers. Many African Americans learn very early to distrust the police from their friends and family members, environment, direct experiences, and what is portrayed in the media. Direct experiences by far are the most effective in shaping one's opinion of the police (Schuck et al., 2008). Once an individual has had a negative direct experience with the police, they will transmit their negative feelings about the police with others who they interact with regularly.

Power Difference Between African Americans and Whites

The power difference between African American and White communities in the United States is an important discussion that has a significant impact on how laws are enforced by the

police and other important differentials such as healthcare and housing. Dantley and Tillman (2009) argued that racial differentiation and stratification is deeply embedded in the American society and has direct effect on social understandings. Historical traces of how social constructs are created in the United States has directly affected the way people of different races perceive one another. Jim Crow laws in the South (Fremon, 2014) created a power difference between African Americans and White people that was entirely based on skin color. Hall et al. (2016) concluded that with the foundation set by more than 400 years of White dominance, the current problems faced by non-White races in the United States are directly related to power differences. Primarily, the current struggles between the police and members of the African American community are rooted in the historical attitudes of prejudice that extend to other structural functions.

Through the years, members of the African American neighborhoods have understood that the American society is structured in such a way that they are set up to fall into the trap of criminal behavior. Once people from these historically underserved neighborhoods commit a crime, there is more than a 50% chance that they are going to end up incarcerated and get a criminal record that will make it even harder to become employed, to vote, as well as a host of other negative outcomes (Gilbert & Ray, 2015). As will be critically reviewed in this study, there are ramifying implications of such “set ups.”

Invisible Punishments

While the discussion above has explored the power differences between White and Black people as mostly situational, there are also institutional aspects embedded in what some scholars term “invisible punishments” (e.g., Mauer & Chesney-Lind, 2003). Therefore, this study must critically examine some invisible punishments to reveal how they relate to the power struggle

between racial groups and implications on criminal activities or the outcomes of police encounters.

The first invisible punishment is denying a large number of African Americans the right to vote. It is well known that African Americans make up the largest demographic in prisons across the United States (Gaines & Miller, 2014). This not only depicts a stereotyped behavioral pattern among African Americans, but also feeds into institutional discrimination that denies them representation. When a particular racial group is denied the opportunity to vote, there is a failure to provide a true representation of what the people wish, and their needs will never be met. This vicious cycle of political underrepresentation happens because voices from less powerful groups have been silenced through lack of voting. With more African Americans in the population of felons, it means that more of them cannot voice their decisions through the ballot. This means that African Americans remain less privileged with even less ability to overturn their predicament.

The second invisible punishment is the termination of parental rights to a large percentage of people who are incarcerated in the African American racial group. In this case, termination of parental rights means that parents are separated from their children and are no longer able to provide the necessary support (Hall et al., 2016). It is evident that these institutional placements are enshrined within the culture of America such that it produces generations of individuals who are used to having less privilege. When African Americans have their parental rights terminated, the law creates a social environment where they have nothing to lose once they come out of jail. The family, the most basic aspect of social existence, acts as a cushion that helps people rationalize their decisions (Price & Payton, 2017). However, when parental rights are taken away, parents and children lead a low quality of life. This affects the

ethical point of reference from where they justify their decisions and remain accountable for their actions. This partly explains why African Americans are more likely to commit additional crimes and go back in jail after being released. The very structure of the society they come back to has denied them basic social constructs such as family which is woven by parental rights.

Thirdly, felony convictions have been established as a ground for divorce. According to Schuck et al. (2008), a large percentage of single-parent households in the African American community is due to one of the parents being incarcerated. It is apparent that while these invisible punishments apply to all incarcerated individuals, the numbers create a pattern that show how African Americans are more affected than others. For instance, with jails and prisons having a much larger number of African American people, it means that more African Americans are vulnerable to divorces by virtue of their felony convictions. This again translates to a much larger number of broken families in the African American community as compared to White populations (Siegel, 2015). According to Hall et al. (2016), while 67% of White women are married, only 34% of African American women are married. Again, this is the effect of institutionalized policies and laws that specifically target the African American population and negatively affect marriages and families.

Felons are not only subject to increased divorce rates and restricted access to certain occupations but are also barred from public welfare programs (Clear et al., 2013). Even though felons are entitled to economic opportunities that help them to empower themselves once they are released from jail, the institutionalization of discriminative policies such as excluding felons from consideration in certain jobs ensures that they cannot regain their lives after undergoing correction in the American Justice System. This is a structure that not only deprives them a

source of social life, but also economic empowerment that would influence their recovery once out of prison.

Additionally, the government provides public welfare programs as an opportunity to subsidize living conditions by helping people care for themselves and improving their ability to improve their welfare. However, when felons are excluded from public welfare programs, they are cast into a pit of economic hardship within the society than ensures that they sink even further. Once individuals understand that there are so many obstacles working against them, it should serve as motivation to avoid becoming a victim of circumstance.

Lynching

In addition to these invisible punishments, past research and experiences indicate that African Americans have had a terrible plight in their existence in America (Price & Payton, 2017; Schuck et al., 2008). The design of the American justice system promotes progressive discrimination and unfair targeting of African Americans. As indicated by Gilbert and Ray (2015), there were three sociohistorical threats to Black male identities following the Civil War. The first was the creation of a prison industrial complex in which a convict release system subjects individuals to a new form of enslavement. A characteristic feature of this new approach is the targeting of those arrested for minor violations who had recently been freed (Gilbert & Ray, 2015). Once rearrested, the individuals are punished with hefty, often unpayable fines, long prison sentences, and are often even condemned to working on former slave plantations.

Another element that negatively affected the relationship between police and African Americans was socially sanctioned lynchings. Systematic use of lynching was used as a way of intimidating and controlling Black populations for a very long time (Clear et al., 2013). These

socially motivated actions were designed to label Black people as social problems who had to be threatened and silenced through violence-based approaches.

Lynching is just a representation of the numerous inhuman approaches that were used to bring Black people to order in accordance with what their White oppressors wanted (Gaines & Miller, 2014). For instance, to rationalize the number of African American males who were dying and labeled as homicides, White oppressors socially instigated lynchings. The Equal Justice Initiative (2017), in its extensive report, *Lynching in America: Confronting the Legacy of Racial Terror*, found that of the 4,743 lynchings in the United States between 1882 and 1968, about 72% were Blacks. This statistic demonstrates that more African American males were targeted in these lynchings than any other race or gender.

The facts presented here not only provide evidence of how lynching was used as a negative social tool to target racial groups that were perceived as weak and underprivileged, but also that it was a social element that was weaponized against Black men. However, this does not sanitize the inhuman nature of approaches used to oppress African Americans. In public events that have been documented and studied, the victims of lynching were publicly tortured, castrated, shot, hanged, and burned (Equal Justice Initiative, 2017; Siegel, 2015). Assembling a public audience for these activities targeted wider objectives than merely causing fear among minority members of the society. The racial identities of the majority of people hanged and lynched shows that these actions were used as a public display of targeting African American people (Georges-Abeyie, 1989). Again, this demonstrates the issue of privilege and power difference between Blacks and Whites. Because Whites were the creators as well as the custodians of the law at the time, perpetrators almost never were brought to justice. There were White people

controlling every level of the legal hierarchy, which ensured that they could sustain the privilege and social power that they wielded against Blacks.

During the Post-Civil Rights era—the so called colorblind and Obama era—there were changes to approaches used by police in controlling the public that have been increasingly used as a form of oppression targeting the African American community (Price & Payton, 2017). Examples include routine-seeming traffic stops, “stop and frisk,”² and zero-tolerance policies. The stereotyped behavioral, or perhaps cultural profile, of African Americans is that they are more likely to be on the wrong side of the police when these approaches are used. Consequently, more African Americans find themselves incarcerated by these legal structures more often than any other race in the United States. It seems there are institutional provisions that are designed to be more sensitive to particular groups based on their racial and cultural identifiers (Gray et al., 2015).

The Stereotype of African Americans Having Superhuman Strength

There are various stereotypes that are associated with African Americans. According to Hall et al. (2016), these stereotypes include that African Americans have superhuman strength, African American youth appear to be older than they are, and African Americans are violent criminals. The stereotype of African Americans being superhuman was seen in the case of Mike Brown. Brown was an 18-year-old African American male who was shot on August 9, 2014, by Officer Darren Wilson after an altercation. In this example, Brown was described by Officer Wilson as “demonic” and having a stature of the glorified character in wrestling, Hulk Hogan. This depicted the offender as a much younger and less physically gifted individual to decriminalize the policing approach chosen (Gilbert & Ray, 2015, p. S131). It was later revealed

² This is a procedure whereby police are allowed to “stop, interrogate and search . . . on the sole basis of ‘reasonable suspicion’” (Thompson, 2013, para. 3).

in the trial that both men were 6'4" but Mike Brown outweighed Officer Wilson by 80 pounds. The question was asked why Officer Wilson would view Mike Brown as so much larger and stronger than himself. According to Gilbert and Ray (2015), this is a phenomenon that can be well explained using social psychological research.

When Whites "superhumanize" African Americans, the intention is to depict them as physically gifted and incomparable to others so that police officers can rationalize the narratives they use to criminalize Black people. This is a tactic that is evident in the depiction of Mike Brown by Officer Wilson in the example above.

It is wrongfully hypothesized that African Americans have a higher tolerance for pain compared to Whites (Hall et al., 2016). Similarly, many descriptions of African Americans are designed to posit them as aggressive. These descriptions have been rationalized to the extent that police officers justify the use of force when dealing with African Americans even when force is uncalled for. As Gilbert and Ray (2015) highlighted, police officers have used these descriptions to justify the use of excess and unnecessary force when dealing with African American suspects. For example, such force is evident when suspects are shot multiple times to simply stop their movements. When considering the number of cases regarding excessive use of lethal force against suspects, it is understandable, given the stereotypes, that African American suspects become the most victimized individuals. Therefore, the justifications made by police suggest incorrect stereotypes that have led to devastating outcomes for members of the African American community.

The use of the word "demon" by Officer Wilson to describe Mike Brown also proved to be troublesome and congruent with the stereotypes associated with African American males. According to Chaney and Robertson (2015), "The word 'demon' is reminiscent of the Black

‘brute’ that originally entered America’s consciousness in the D.W. Griffith 1915 film *The Birth of a Nation*” (p. 61). That film is a major historical part of constructs by mainstream media propagated to push the narrative supporting Black oppression and White supremacy while normalizing the view that African Americans are social misfits who should be progressively undermined. During the time depicted in this film in the 19th century, African Americans existence was believed to negatively impact the social life and legitimacy of White people.

D. W. Griffith’s film, *Birth of a Nation* (Griffith, 1915), associated African Americans with violent acts such as raping White women and reckless murders. In the film, Blackness was a feature to be suppressed at all costs by virtue of the negativity associated with African Americans. This is a narrative that was woven into mainstream culture and has been maintained to this date. In their explanation, Chaney and Robertson (2015) highlighted that the specific features of African Americans that make them a danger to White people are their mindset, physicality, and race. Despite this, they are regarded as inferior to Whites both intellectually and socially. What this means is that to sustain the narrative that White men are superior, efforts to degrade the value, intellect, and social viability of African Americans must be promoted. As such, many of the constructs, scenarios, and examples explored to detail in this analysis are instituted within American culture to sustain White supremacy.

Stereotype of African American Youth Appearing to be Older

African American youth must deal with racial bias at an early age. This was true in the case of 12-year-old Tamir Rice, an African American young man shot by police in Ohio for having a toy gun that was mistaken by police as a real gun. The officer who killed Tamir Rice estimated that he was around 20 years old (Hall et al., 2016). There are studies that have explained how Blacks are singled out among mixed populations and characterized as culpable

for crimes, particularly because of biased perception of their age. In a review of several studies involving a participant population composed of police officers and undergraduate students, their respective ages and perceived culpability for their actions were evaluated (Goff et al., 2014). The sample population of undergraduate students was composed of young African American, White, and Latino suspects. This research established that African American boys were perceived to be older and less innocent compared to White counterparts (Hall et al., 2016). The study concluded that due to this exaggerated view, young African American boys were more vulnerable to incrimination or arrest by police compared to young boys from other races—with Whites being considered the safest.

Stereotype of African Americans as Violent Criminals

There have been many instances of African Americans, especially males, being viewed as violent criminals. This stereotype has led to negative experiences between African American males and law enforcement officers. In their qualitative study of 40 young African American men who had experienced police harassment and misconduct, Brunson and Miller (2006) revealed that most of these men believed that police viewed them as symbolic assailants. These experiences have been corroborated by research showing that police perceptions of African American men as criminal, is often the impetus for police brutality and for deadly force being used (Chaney & Robertson, 2015).

When African American males are viewed through a lens that sees most of them as violent, it becomes difficult for others to accept non-criminal behavior as part of Black male normative behavior (Gilbert & Ray, 2015). In a society where Blacks are increasingly characterized as naturally criminal, it is difficult for them to establish a social niche that is normal and recognized as law-abiding. When a small number of young African Americans group

together for social or economic objectives, it is easy for them to be targeted or criminalized because of prevalent racist perceptions.

White Police Officers Policing African Americans

White police officers often work in predominantly African American neighborhoods, where they are typically unfamiliar with residents and their mores. Many White police officers have never lived in a neighborhood where there are African Americans. They have had limited social interaction with African Americans, largely because of living in highly segregated neighborhoods (Gilbert & Ray, 2015). To understand culture, it is important to experience it. However, there is clear segregation of settlements between Whites and Blacks. There are areas dominated by Whites and others by Blacks. These racially profiled regions are characterized by distinct cultural approaches, beliefs, and behaviors that can only be understood by officers who have lived and experienced such culture (Hall et al., 2016). Fundamentally, police officers, especially those that are White, do not have a good understanding of Black culture or how they socialize (Gilbert & Ray, 2015). This explains the large number of misconceptions that police officers have about African Americans or the misinterpretation of their communication.

Also, Feagin (2010) examined the social relations between Whites and Blacks in the twenty-first century and found that Whites have limited social class cues to tell differences among Black men (i.e., professor, lawyer, delivery man, criminal). Feagin (2010) stated that most Whites have “fearful reactions to a Black man encountered on streets, in public transport, and in elevators” (p. 108). This study found that White people perceive Black men as violent, unpleasant, promiscuous, unintelligent, and less ambitious and nurturing. From this study, psychologists have found that White people are more likely to perceive Black men as aggressive and “describe having a similar fear of Black men as they do of snakes and spiders and are more

likely to quickly pull the trigger of a gun on an unarmed, Black man compared to an unarmed, White man, and even at times an armed White man” (Feagin, 2010, p. 109).

It is evident that this is a tendency that has reached evolutionary proportions. It has been decades since the era of slavery came to an end. That was a period at the very pinnacle of open Black oppression, which set the stage for the development of greater Whites supremacy. But there are other subsequent factors that have all led to police officer violence. One such factor includes the *masculinity threat*. According to Carbado and Rock (2016), the masculinity threat emphasized that “the officer’s sense of masculinity is being undermined or challenged during an interaction” (p.165). Officers who experience this perceived threat to their manhood are more likely to employ violence than officers who do not. Richardson (2015) summarized her review of these effects:

Men often respond with action to prove their masculinity when they feel under threat . . . Black men likely pose the greatest threat to an officer’s masculinity, especially if they are disrespectful or noncompliant . . . race and masculinity intersect to facilitate racial violence. (pp. 2970–2971)

People who have multiple interactions with the police are more exposed to police insecurities, like masculinity threat, than people who do not. When this attribute of police officers is matched with the belief that African Americans, by virtue of their physique, are aggressive and will be motivated to take on police officers, it leads to the excessive use of force and police brutality (Hall et al., 2016). This creates a mindset among police officers that they are justified to be especially tough when they encounter Black suspects.

Police training is critical because their safety in the dangerous circumstances of their work is important. Police officers are subjected to social environments where they are expected to keep people safe, the very people who often fear them and characterize them as racists. Yet, contemporary training can often be weaponized and used by police officers to perpetrate

violence against non-White racial groups. According to Carbado and Rock (2016), police training, culture, and administrative discipline mechanisms have a high likelihood of contributing to police violence. Police violence is the most likely outcome when officers are poorly trained, work in cultures that promote violence, and suffer no administrative sanctions for their acts of violence. Most importantly, as stated by Siegel (2015), poor training on cross-cultural issues is an important competence that is missing in the police curricula.

The absence of administrative sanction in police departments against officers who fail to follow established protocol and, instead, use violence against unarmed suspects means that violence against those they apprehend becomes chronic (Gaines & Miller, 2014). Criminal justice organizations much the same as for-profit organizations espouse accountability. But, police administrators routinely fail to report and punish police officers (Juzwiak & Chan, 2014). Instead, often police leadership colludes to protect officers against litigation.

Overall, police officers hold a very important position in society and the way that they are trained is key in the officer's ability to protect citizens as well as themselves. It is generally accepted that police officers have a difficult and dangerous job maintaining order, enforcing laws, and ensuring public safety. Because of this difficulty, Price and Payton (2017) emphasized how they have the legal mandate to use a reasonable amount of force when there is imminent threat to their lives or any other member of society. Even so, there are specific instructions on how a police officer should use a weapon during an encounter. For instance, police officers are instructed to fire at the upper torso, head, or other vital organs to terminate any suspected threat of an individual. In other cases, Price and Payton (2017) indicate that "shooting a suspect in the arm or leg is not an acceptable use of lethal force, especially if the suspect can return fire and potentially kill the police officer or another citizen" (p. 677). Regardless, many errors still take

place when police officers are trusted to make quality and unbiased judgment about the situation. Some of the aspects described in this literature review help to shed light as to why police officers make tragic errors that often lead to the death of the suspect, especially when he is an African American.

Prejudice, fear, and ignorance are only some of the reasons why a significant percentage of police officers discriminate against African Americans. In this regard, any unexpected movement can be misinterpreted as reaching for a gun. Police decisions on whether to shoot or not to shoot a person often ends in an unarmed African American male shot or killed (Price & Payton, 2017). Since society is aware of these tragic outcomes, it is imperative for African Americans to be informed about the position of the police and not do anything that can be misinterpreted. On the other hand, police officers should also be trained on various stereotypes that are commonly used when they have encounters with African American males. However, African Americans in general should understand compliance and how to obey all commands given by the officer to avoid becoming a victim.

Compliance

Due to the increasing complexity of regulations and the need for transparency and honesty, compliance is now a universal concern that is emphasized in almost all fields. In the recent past, compliance was always narrowed to adherence to specific legislations. But contemporarily, compliance carries a broader meaning and includes adherence to any relevant rules, ethical standards, or policies that might or might not be important to today's societal expectations or legal requirements (Miller, 2019). For instance, corporate firms devote enormous resources, personnel, and attention in ensuring that employees, customers, and many other stakeholders comply with various regulations that are pertinent in the business. In that regard,

compliance has multivariate definitions depending on the fields and situations. It can be defined as the act of obeying an order, rule, or request (Crawford & Hucklesby, 2012). In the context of criminal justice, compliance can mean conforming to specific laws, procedures, policies, and standards. In medicine, compliance means a patient's or provider's adherence to recommended treatment plans or procedures.

In psychology, compliance means responding favorably to requests from others. In the context of environmental science, compliance means conforming to environmental laws, standards, regulations, and other important requirements. In manufacturing, compliance can mean adherence to specific quality assurance rules and regulations (Miller, 2019). In the criminal justice system and policing, the need for compliance has rapidly increased in the last few years because of increasing multiculturalism and diversity as well as an increase in population. Compliance is particularly emphasized in policing because non-compliance is frequently fatal. According to Miller (2019), non-compliance in policing is considered one of the major reasons of the negative relationship between the public, especially African Americans, and the police. In this regard, the challenges facing police officers are directly or indirectly linked to compliance. In a contemporary society that is increasingly complex, compliance is one of the surest ways of preventing unethical behavior. Primarily, police officers and other criminal justice officials are expected to prevent incidences of non-compliance more effectively and efficiently. And in the worst case, they are required to identify and deal with it accordingly (Crawford & Hucklesby, 2012). As argued by Murphy et al. (2017), the only thing costlier than compliance is non-compliance. This was based on a survey of police departments in the United States indicating that the cost of noncompliance is even higher than that of compliance. It is little

wonder that 58% percent of law enforcement and other criminal justice officers often wake up in the middle of the night worrying about work (Miller, 2019).

Benefits of Compliance

With so much at stake, compliance is fundamental to reducing risks during police encounters. In the United States, compliance with laws and regulations is an obligation that every citizen is mandated to follow strictly. According to Herzog-Evans (2013), compliance is a very important ethical aspect that not only ensures that individuals stay out of trouble, but also promote sustainability in various systems. Compliance to specific policies and standards is beneficial in maintaining the flexibility, agility, and organization of various systems. In other words, compliance promotes a systematic flow of events and processes. However, the main challenge related to compliance is determining whether adherence to specific rules is appropriate in relation to the associated risks. Miller (2019) also indicated that compliance is critical in ensuring consistency in various systems and processes.

In the criminal justice system, adherence to laws and regulations is beneficial in promoting law and order. There is a common misconception that the criminal justice system and policing were originally designed to be punitive in nature. Contrary to such assertions, Crawford and Hucklesby (2012) indicated that the main purpose of the criminal justice department is to encourage citizens to obey laws. Therefore, compliance to existing laws makes the work of these departments easier. Also, compliance to laws gives police the authority to comprehensively define what is considered a proper behavior. In this regard, unacceptable behavior that is clearly stipulated in the law is considered as non-compliance and can lead to punishment or other correctional measures.

In the context of corporate companies, compliance culture is a critical measure that determines failure or success. Compliance in such companies ensures that various functions consistently meet set standards. Compliance culture in the corporate world also ensures that companies mitigate risks and penalties (Miller, 2019). Regulatory frameworks require that publicly listed companies provide specific information and content in official financial statements. Companies must comply with existing laws by providing consistent and compliant annual reports, balance sheets, statement of changes in equity, income statements, and other relevant documentation that meets set standards and regulations. Similarly, manuals of law enforcement recognize the importance of compliance in policing.

Compliance in Action

Regardless of the context, compliance is important not only in reducing and mitigating risks, but also to promote good behavior and accountability. There are various situations where individuals have complied and then received favorable outcomes. For instance, when the first Black President of South Africa, Nelson Mandela, was subjected to 27 years in prison for championing for equality in the apartheid South Africa, the end results were favorable (Ellmann, 2016). Mandela, like other activists, had the option of resorting to violent approaches in solving the sociopolitical problem that was crippling the country. Based on the country's criminal justice systems at the time, Mandela was sentenced to many years in prison for non-compliance to an existing set of rules. While other freedom activists achieved different levels of success against the apartheid government, Nelson Mandela's compliance and patience, as a prisoner and after, enabled a personal big breakthrough that subsequently promoted equality throughout South Africa.

Each year in the United States, police and other criminal justice officials are rewarded for individual compliance and efforts in promoting compliance to the law. For example, Sergeant William Johnson, Jr. of the Sandy Springs Police Department was given an honorable mention in the 2019 police awards for leading efforts in compliance and promoting fairness and equality in the department (National Association of Police Organizations, 2019). This officer was recognized and rewarded not just for his success, but because of his compliance in keeping to the law without initiating punitive or correctional measures.

It is generally accepted that compliance significantly deescalates many threatening situations. Deviance or non-compliance, on the other hand, negatively impacts various situations and cripples the smooth operations and consistency of processes. In encounters between police and individuals who are on the wrong side of the law, compliance helps prevent making unfortunate circumstances worse and descending into violence.

Institutional configurations and structures can influence moral-decision making processes in other socially and economically advantageous ways. Crawford and Hucklesby (2012) argued that essential legitimacy of criminal justice and policing relies on individuals believe it is morally right to obey the law.

The legitimacy demands with regard to policing and criminal justice are especially great because: first, coercion is evident and, second, the potential consequences for constraints upon individual liberty are frequently more significant in crime control than other areas of public policy. (pp. 1–2)

Fundamental understanding of morality shifts because of people's general knowledge of what is legal and what is not. Believing that a particular act is the right thing to do to obey legal rules significantly reduces the possibility of seeing crime as an option. As Quigley (2018) reported, obeying the law then becomes routinised, supported by feelings of normative motivation. While such orientations of compliance are woven into the fabric of criminal justice

system, people do not always need to constantly think about the morality of any specific act or the likelihood of encountering the police. As such, focusing on normative dimensions of compliance to the law is strongly influenced by the interplay between the informal and formal systems of social control. In most cases, if people willingly obey systems of authority that command legitimacy and compliance, then the legitimacy of authority figures such as the police and the key drivers of that institutional legitimacy, becomes of central, positive importance in policy development.

However, for African Americans and their negative encounters with police, the association between the perception or direct experience of procedural fairness of the criminal justice system and perceived institutional legitimacy is put in question. Compliance correlates with greater respect for the laws and stronger felt obligations to follow and obey the law. As indicated by Crawford and Hucklesby (2012), public perception of the fairness of the criminal justice system is more significant in shaping its overall legitimacy than perceptions of its effectiveness. As opposed to many other countries around the world, the U.S. criminal justice system assumes that the systems of authority such as the police have earned an entitlement to demand compliance and to command legitimacy. As Quigley (2018) indicated, the quality of treatment that people receive from authority figures is more important than the normative outcomes set by the authority figures. Therefore, it is the quality of interaction that is more important in encounters with the police than the objective outcome.

To avoid the need for judgments and choices about the content of those instructions, people are expected to follow police directives whether they agree with it or not. Police legitimacy translates into legal legitimacy, a large percentage of people obey laws out of a respect for law and a more general duty to obey legal authorities. Therefore, if the police strongly

and fairly represent the law, the link between legal obligation to obey the police and legal obligation to obey the law would not be problematic in most minority neighborhoods. In the United States criminal justice system, the police are powerful representatives of the law so compliance to police orders is also assumed to be compliance to the law (Quigley, 2018).

According to Gippert (2018), most cases of police brutality in the United States against People of Color arise in cases of non-compliance to law enforcement officers' instructions. It is hypothesized that complying with direct instructions reduces the chances of a negative confrontation between the individual and a police officer by a significant percentage. In comparison, in a corporate context, employee sabotage, working under influence of drugs and alcohol, or theft of company property affect corporate profits and have devastating ramifications throughout the company. This study seeks to uncover the factors in the life experiences of African Americans that affects their decision to comply or confront a police officer in an encounter and encourage compliance by African Americans in police interactions as the tool to prevent these encounters from becoming elevated.

Theoretical Foundations

The following sections describe and highlight the two theoretical bases that I have used in the analysis of my findings: differential association theory and adaptive leadership theory.

Differential Association Theory

One of the most prominent social learning theories applied to criminology is Sutherland's (1973) differential association theory which, in essence, suggested that "an individual's tendency toward or away from criminal activity is influenced by the cultural standards of his associates" (p. i). Differential association theory in Sutherland's view, indicates that people commit crime when their social learning leads them to perceive their social environment as favoring crime and

deviance overall rather than encouraging law-abiding conventional behavior. Sutherland's ideas have been tested in several studies and gained great support (Armstrong & Matusitz, 2013; Gray et al., 2015). For instance, Gray et al. (2015) used Sutherland's theory to explain many deviant behaviors ranging from students cheating to binge drinking in college. Thus, criminal behavior is learned and has a direct correlation with frequency, priority, duration, and intensity. Applied to the focus of my dissertation, it is evident that many African Americans learn at a very young age to distrust the police from their family/friends, stories they have been told, or firsthand experiences of family and others close to them. Although, mistrusting the police is not itself criminal behavior, it is learned behavior that predisposes young African Americans to be suspicious of the police.

There are basic principles of Sutherland's (1973) differential association theory that can be applied to African Americans learning to distrust the police. To begin with, it is important to understand that criminal or deviant behavior is learned. While there are theories that advance biological explanations for deviant or criminal behavior (Ling et al., 2019), the strongest argument come from behavioral and cognitive theories. Theories such as deviant place theory (Stark, 1987)—which focuses on how specific neighborhoods have and even stimulate high crime rates — and routine activities theory (Cohen & Felson, 1979)— which linked increasing crime rates to changes in ordinary patterns of daily behavior—identify criminal behavior as influenced by the combination of environmental exposure and the learning process. Because of the social environments that people are exposed to, they can learn from the surroundings, and this will in turn influence their decision making and the likelihood of committing crimes (Sutherland, 1973).

Secondly, criminal or deviant behavior is learned as a by-product of interacting with others. This has been sufficiently emphasized in this review and previous research that examine influenced behind criminal behavior (Brunson & Miller, 2006; Chaney & Robertson, 2015; Gray et al., 2015). For instance, children who grew up in neighborhoods characterized by crime have a high likelihood of engaging in crime because of being exposed to such behavior in these environments. The social dynamics of such an environment account for effects like peer pressure and experimentation.

Thirdly, it is understood that learning criminal or deviant behavior occurs within intimate personal groups. Social networks play an important role in determining the likelihood that of criminal activity (Calvó-Armengol & Zenou, 2004). Young African American teens who group together powerfully influence each other to commit (or avoid) crimes because of the intimate relationship that exists between them. Such influence has grown significantly in the social media age (Stuart, 2020). What this means is that there is an influence profile that is activated by the type of relationship that exists between members of a social group. Furthermore, criminal or deviant learning includes the techniques of committing the crime or deviant act and the specific direction of motives, drives, rationalizations, and attitudes. Overall, this research shows how within specific social groups and environments the idea and techniques of committing crime flourish.

Human decision making has been studied to describe how different people perceive the violation of the law (Gippert, 2018; Price & Payton, 2017; Stentz et al., 2012). Gaining a better understanding of social learning is key to developing a working approach to changing behavioral patterns among the target population. Learning criminal or deviant behavior involves all the mechanisms that are involved in any other learning. However, because the influences behind

criminal activities are more powerful and insidious, there is a need to recognize the interplay between influence and justification. According to Siegel (2015), criminal or deviant behavior is an expression of general needs and values, but it is not solely explained by those needs and values.

Scholarly research has consistently found minority distrust and dissatisfaction with the police can best be understood with reference to the nature of policing in their communities, including their interpretations of their own experiences with the police (Brunson & Miller, 2006). Many African Americans learn very early to distrust the police and internalize that in any interaction with police leading often to confrontation and a negative end result (Brunson, 2007). With this mindset, African Americans are more likely to react negatively when in police encounters. Brunson and Miller (2006) added, “Very little research has examined police/suspect encounters from the point of view of those suspected and stopped by police” (p. 531). This statement alludes to one of the prime aspects of bias in the influence of research on criminal justice. Indeed, very few scholars have cared to interrogate the perspective of suspects who are encountered by police officers to properly characterize the behavior of police officers towards or against suspects.

First, the more aggressively or disrespectfully the police behave at the onset of the encounter, the more likely suspects are to resist and be non-compliant. Police attitude communicates an important message that may justify many of the cases such as Rodney King, John Crawford, Sandra Bland, and Sean Bell where police officers have misused tools of aggression. This means that just as the police are fearful for their lives and safety, suspects, especially African Americans, also see their safety compromised. When a police officer approaches an African American aggressively, the suspect will most likely act to defend himself.

Second, negative police actions such as disrespect are both ecologically patterned and disproportionately experienced by Blacks (Siegel, 2015). Finally, when police behavior during encounters is considered as a major criminal justice issue, males and minority citizens are more likely to not show compliance. Brunson and Miller (2006) suggested that the relationship between race and suspect demeanor is complicated by the way the police interact with members of poor minority communities.

African Americans are at a disadvantage in their interactions with police due to their race. Therefore, it is up to African Americans to acknowledge this disadvantage and adjust their behavior when in potential confrontation with police—compliance is the key factor in getting out of the police encounter unharmed.

A quantitative study by Kissner and Pyrooz (2009) examined the self-control/gang membership association using Sutherland's (1973) differential association theoretical framework. The study specifically sought to understand the influences of self-control and a series of measures derived from differential association theory on gang membership. The study collected data from inmates in California and suggested that self-control exerted an effect on gang membership, a phenomenon that was almost entirely independent of familial gang involvement effects. In other words, the magnitude of the impact of differential association measures on gang membership substantially exceeds the impact of self-control on gang membership. This quantitative study concluded that parental gang membership and older sibling gang membership effects were significant in models predicting a child's gang membership.

A qualitative study by Armstrong and Matusitz (2013) examined Hezbollah, a Lebanese, Shi'ite terrorist group through the lens of differential association theory. The authors discussed how individuals do not act alone in committing terrorist attacks but, from other more vested

members of the organization, learn the combat skills, tactics, and attitudes it takes to carry out these missions. Being in constant communication with other members of Hezbollah, the new recruits are learning to take on the role of a terrorist. As a result of differential association theory that explained how Hezbollah operates, associations between different people can now be understood. In this study, Hezbollah makes a recording of just about all its attacks and includes inspiring words or music to justify their cause. The authors reported that “new members become intertwined in the networking of Hezbollah and learn from the communication sent through many channels, the internet being the preferred choice” (Armstrong & Matusitz, 2013, p. 479).

According to differential association theory, the individuals that a person spends most of their time with and hold with the highest regard are the individuals that they will learn behaviors from. In the case of Hezbollah recruits, the more time spent with older members and listening to their propaganda, the more willing recruits became to carry out terrorist attacks.

Gray et al. (2015) used differential association theory to examine the impact of marijuana use on juveniles in a drug court program. They found that the claim differential association makes that behavior is learned from friends and family held true: juveniles most often smoked marijuana alongside peers. Their findings reinforce the conclusion that deviant behaviors are taught by others with whom one is in regular contact with.

Differential association theory can also be applied to understanding how White police officers learn biases against African Americans. According to Price and Payton (2017), “Police officers come from the general population, and all police officers, regardless of their race/ethnicity, have implicit biases” (p. 678). While these individual biases are generally accepted as commonplace, the ultimate consequence is an overwhelming pattern of African Americans dying in the hands of White police officers. Many of the debates regarding police

brutality against the Black community are justified by the statement that all police officers have some form of implicit bias. However, it is critically important to evaluate the extent to which such implicit bias is manifested in actual cases of police encounters.

Understanding police mentality, training, and judgment when dealing with suspects is critically important in probing how and why African Americans are increasingly targeted and victimized. There have been situations where young African American men have been killed on the basis of vague suspicion. In some Black neighborhoods, police officers have been reported to patrol with their guns drawn. Yet, the vast majority of African American deaths due to legal intervention documented on camera and in the media have involved White police officers. Some of the White officers may have been taught (formally or informally) that African Americans are more likely to be violent and to more likely be involved in criminal activities (prejudice). As these individuals enter the police ranks, they may serve in large urban areas, bringing some of these officers into closer contact with larger populations of economically disadvantaged African Americans. According to Price and Payton (2017), based on sheer population size, these officers encounter a disproportionate number of African Americans involved in illegal activities. The police officers may learn from their peers that a plurality (37%) of all male prisoners is African American (in contrast, 32% are White and 22% are Hispanic). They may learn that a disproportionate share of assailants that assault and kill police officers are African American.

Having defined and described what differential association is, and examined its manifestation in realistic environments, there is need to establish a context with which the theory helps in the achievement of the objectives of this study. Differential association can be applied to explain how both African Americans and police officers learn their behaviors in interacting with each other. The usefulness of this theory in this study is in its ability to provide an appropriate

framework for understanding law-breaking, which is important in understanding the reasoning behind the fact that more African American people find themselves targeted by the police compared to other races. The importance of this determination is that it will reveal if African Americans have a behavioral construct that accounts for a behavior that makes them particularly more delinquent more than other races. If this theory does provide an appealing account that justifies the pattern of incarceration and outcome of police encounters witnessed, this study and many others will be justified for characterizing White supremacy and racial discrimination as the main influences behind the trends witnessed.

According to Georges-Abeyie (1989), the theory of differential association explains the differentiated processing of ethnic-specific African Americans and the resultant criminal victimization. If the differential treatment that the African American community is exposed from police cannot be acknowledged, it will be impossible to institute policy-based and behavioral changes to correct this narrative.

Adaptive Leadership

This study recognizes the milestones that the African American community have achieved through coordinated efforts to improve the social environment and their safety considering the discriminatory environment that prevails in America. Despite social media exposing the disproportionately mistreatment of African Americans during police encounters, much remains to be done to rectify this. Changing a culture—both police and African American neighborhood culture—requires altering mindsets and behavior. When selecting an intervention to the social problem described in this study, one must understand that behavioral change that targets huge populations requires approaches that can equally target small populations. In this kind of unstable and uncertain context, the approach of adaptive leadership offers some hope.

According to Heifetz et al. (2014), adaptive leadership is a social tool whose capabilities of influence is not limited to organizational environments, but also to individuals and the general population. They affirmed the population level influence on behavior that can be realized from adaptive leadership.

African Americans should have such leadership to adequately deal with police interactions. As previously discussed, the adaptive leadership theoretical framework can help in educating African Americans about self-leadership and how to approach situations that can potentially result in adverse outcomes (Jefferies, 2017). African Americans have to begin to shift their thinking when in police encounters and practice self-leadership capabilities. Even though the police officer is the official authority, African Americans also have leadership capabilities in influencing how the encounter turns out. One way to exercise control in these encounters is to utilize adaptive self-leadership tools. To be adaptive, an individual's behaviors must be adjusted specifically to each situation. An indicator of adaptability is the extent to which a leader (including someone who is "leading themselves") can alter behavior in ways appropriate to varying and uncertain interactions. Different interactions usually require a different pattern of leadership (Yukl & Mahsud, 2010).

Leadership is one construct of influence that has sustained its value among the human population for a long period of time. Given that my research study anticipates having more than just an influence on African American people, a pursuit of change in the cultural framework of this population is equally important. Adaptive leadership theory is focused on how individuals can succeed in challenging and unforeseen environments (Jefferies, 2017). In the situations on which my study is focused, the challenging environment is the sociocultural environment that has historically clashed the police with the African American demographic. To prevent negative

interactions, adaptive leaders/people will be able to achieve cultural competency besides the three other principles that are definitive of what adaptive leadership entails; knowledge management and creating synergy from diversity as well as a holistic vision (Glover et al., 2002). Specific leadership skills and attributes that are necessary for an adaptive leader/person should be emphasized not only to promote meaningful interactions, but also to reduce adverse effects.

There are specific skills or attributes that are descriptive of what an adaptive leader is supposed to demonstrate, and which apply to the African American person caught up in a police confrontation. These skills include individual resilience, influence, and the ability to lead change. Leaders are strategic thinkers and as problem solvers, they are accountable for what they make their subjects do (Doyle, 2017). Therefore, they need to ensure that their influence on subjects is not only strategic, but also designed to bring the best outcome out of the situation. As a strategic thinker, a leader is expected to offer guidance in a manner that helps people to better understand their social environment and cope with the unique challenges that affect them. Additionally, adaptive leaders possess good organizational knowledge and interdependencies. They can organize people (and themselves) around well-defined goals and other shared aspects such as an organizational culture, moral standpoint, or ethical justification. It should generally be understood that leaders are also human beings and are impacted by situations by equal measure. However, an adaptive self-leader is also able to regulate personal feelings. This means that they do not let their own feelings cloud their judgment and affect their ability to influence others by offering quality guidance. As a result, they demonstrate courage and can deal with situations that are characterized by uncertainty and ambiguity. Also, adaptive leaders are excellent mediators and perform well in conflict resolution. A good leader should have quality listening and

communication skills. This is important because it is through communication that they can influence effort and ethical decision making among subjects. According to Doyle (2017),

Adaptive work is observed in the communication processes between the leader and followers as the group faces the adaptive problem. Adaptive work can also be identified in the interactions of the followers as they confront the need to change priorities and attitudes. Adaptive leadership is a social process that requires the leader to create a safe environment. (p. 20)

What makes adaptive leadership a particularly important tool when targeting mass behavioral changes like altering African Americans' response in police confrontations, is that it can be customized to target specific conditions and behaviors. Adaptive leaders/individuals must have good judgment of conditions so that they can not only lead themselves, but, as needed, lead others about responses to police officers.

The knowledge and skills that it takes to become an adaptive leader are going to be instrumental in practice by African Americans to defuse escalated police interactions. African Americans are going to have to be able to think quickly while remaining calm. African Americans are also going to have to believe in the process that their behavior is going to be effective in getting them out of the potential dangerous/negative situation. It will be imperative that African Americans listen, comply with the officers' request, and use effective communication skills in these police encounters.

“Adaptive leaders are not born; adaptive leadership is inclusive of anyone who works and desires to become a leader” (Jefferies, 2017, p. 49). African Americans who desire to have improved police encounters can dispel preconceived ideas about police officers and take a leadership role in police encounters. African Americans can employ adaptive leadership skills by quickly adjusting behavior and practicing restraint in police encounters even when they are not the one with the official leadership title. According to Doyle (2017, p. 19), adaptive work is a coordinated response to problems and situations that require a new way to respond. The

responsibility spans from those in authority to those that have a role in influencing the outcome. African American are the ones with the most stake in the outcome because African Americans are the ones losing their lives at the hands of police officers. Therefore, what is crucial to this study is supporting adaptive responses among African American populations to prevent potentially adverse outcomes during encounters with police.

It is evident that discrimination against Black people or the tragic outcome of police encounters is deeply entrenched into the culture in America. This literature review has considered behavioral findings about police officers and African American suspects who failed to comply during police interactions. What is apparent is that there is abundant information or scholarly work regarding the victims of police brutality. This has made it possible to review critically the behavior of African Americans and the features that make them vulnerable to unfair targeting and aggressive arrests. A behavioral approach to improving police encounters among African American populations requires approaches to coordinate behavior among African American populations and police officers alike. This study is therefore justified to target the African American population for behavioral change in ways that will improve protection and safety during police encounters.

Gaps in the Literature

Most research scholarship calls for more training for police officers. My study is different in that it explores the life experiences of African Americans affecting their decision to comply with or confront officers in the midst of police encounters. This study encourages African Americans to adjust their behavior in police encounters by complying—even if the officer is wrong in initiating the confrontation—to defuse the situation and be able to walk away unharmed. This relies on self-leadership and better decision-making in highly stressful

circumstances. The overall goal of this study, therefore, is to save African Americans lives by complying while in the midst of police encounters. This study not only discusses the injustices that African Americans have suffered at the hands of police officers, but also offers a solution that can reduce occurrences of injustices.

This chapter has dissected the reasons for, and incidence of, police confrontations involving African Americans and introduced two theories that guided my research study: differential association (Armstrong & Matusitz, 2013; Gray et al., 2015; Sutherland, 1973) and adaptive leadership (Heifetz et al., 2014). After overviewing my methodology and research plan (Chapter III), I will present results to illuminate how such a framework can be useful in ameliorating these harsh and even tragic interactions.

CHAPTER III: METHODOLOGY

As the use of technology expands and video-recorded instances of African Americans being victimized by police officers multiply, there is need for a solution to this social problem. This research study is aimed at defining a solution by uncovering and probing life experiences in People of Color that affect the decision to either comply or confront law enforcement officers when in police encounter. “A choice of paradigm is based on a researcher’s ontology or belief system that guides the way we think about and do research” (Pringle & Booyesen, 2018, p. 21). In my doctoral research, I have emphasized issues related to policing and African Americans being victimized and oppressed. No doubt, this is because I am an African American as well as a criminal justice professional. This also helps to explain why issues related to African Americans and criminal justice, both important to my scholarship, are accentuated throughout my research and within this dissertation.

This research study uses a positivist approach within a symbolic interactionism paradigm through a mixed-methods research methodology. The primary method was quantitative with data collected through closed-ended survey questions, while qualitative research was used secondarily through narrative analysis of open-ended survey questions.

Quantitative Research

Various researchers have used a range of definitions of quantitative research. Barnham (2015) saw quantitative research as an approach involving numerical manipulation and presentation of observations aimed at explaining and describing the phenomena under investigation. McCusker and Gunaydin (2015) defined quantitative research as a methodology that uses empirical methods and statements in describing phenomena. An empirical statement constitutes a descriptive account of what the case is in the actual world instead of what ought to

be. Bryman's (2017) definition of quantitative research is an approach to research in which the researcher explains phenomena through the collection of numerical data that is analyzed using statistical methods.

This study used quantitative research methodology to investigate how positive changes in African Americans' behavior can lead to improved police encounters. Quantitative research depends on the researcher collecting and analyzing numerical information in describing, explaining, predicting, or controlling the variables and phenomena being investigated. According to Bryman (2017), the underlying philosophical view is that the world is uniform and stable and so one can measure, comprehend, and make broad assumptions about it. This constitutes one of the fundamental tenets of quantitative research. From a quantitative point of view, conclusions made regarding phenomena cannot be considered meaningful unless they are verifiable through measurement and direct observation. Researchers in quantitative studies characteristically base their research on the notion that facts can be separated from opinions and that the world exists in a single reality of facts that may be identified using quantifiable measurements and observation (Barnham, 2015).

The objectives of quantitative research vastly differ from those of qualitative research. In conducting a quantitative study, the researcher seeks to explain present situations, establish the relationship between variables, and tries to establish the causal relationships in the variables. This type of research mainly focuses on explaining and describing the phenomena being investigated. As such, quantitative research functions under broadly accepted steps that guide the process of research. According to Bryman (2017), the process of quantitative research is well established and there is not much flexibility in the techniques and strategies employed. Scholars using quantitative research are of the belief that nothing should be left to chance. As a result, key

aspects of the research design are not allowed to “emerge” in the process of research as they are in the case of a qualitative research.

In conducting quantitative research, the researcher has a role different from that in qualitative studies. In qualitative studies, the researcher is completely immersed in the setting of the study and with the participants. On the other hand, a main objective of quantitative research is that the researcher maintains objectivity and distance. Quantitative researchers use well established strategies and routines aimed at preserving objectivity. McCusker and Gunaydin (2015) posited that this focus on the researcher’s objectivity makes it feasible to generalize findings beyond the participants and situation of the research. For most quantitative studies, the guiding steps are linear and foreseeably sequential. One step is completed before the start of the subsequent step in collecting, analyzing, and interpreting data. The analysis only starts when the collection of data is complete, while the interpretation of results begins when the analysis is done.

The first step in quantitative research is identifying the research problem by critically assessing the topic of research. The overall social problem central to my research is the high and increasing incidence of unarmed African Americans losing their lives in police-involved shootings. According to Bryman (2017), quantitative research is narrow in scope and is focused on a limited carefully pre-selected number of important variables. In my research, the important variables were behaviors and attitudes that African Americans exhibit during police encounters and that may cause the encounter to become escalated. As discussed earlier in this chapter, these variables include attitudes that African Americans may have learned from family members’ negative experiences with police, neighborhood police presence, and first-hand accounts of interactions with police.

Surveys

Survey research is one of the oldest and most widely used methods in the social sciences, with surveys used as early as ancient Egypt, to understand social circumstances (Hackett, 1981). The goal of surveys is to gather the information that identifies the thoughts, beliefs, and opinions of a particular group of people. Fink (2005) characterized surveys as “information-collection methods used to describe, compare, or explain individual or societal knowledge, feelings, value preferences, and behavior” (p. 1).

Surveys may either be qualitative, quantitative, or both, depending on the type of questions. For quantitative research, questionnaires involve closed-ended questions with several answers for the respondents to select from. In qualitative research, survey questions are open-ended seeking narrative responses.

An online survey comprising 29 items was designed and included a combination of closed and open-ended questions (Appendix B). The primary purpose of this online survey was to discover what factors in the respondent’s youth and current life experience influence African American adults to comply or confront law enforcement officers when in police confrontations.

Sampling

In quantitative studies, researchers are mostly interested in being able generalize about larger populations which means aiming to have as many respondents as possible. Etikan et al. (2016) observed that researchers tend to depend on probability sampling except in the case of evaluation or exploratory research where non-probability samples are used. This study was exploratory and used non-probability sampling. Thus, the probability of any specific participants being selected in the study sample is not known. In that regard, assuming that the sample is fully representative of the study population is not safe (Etikan et al., 2016). Sampling techniques

ultimately depend on the researcher's subjective judgement. The techniques in exploratory research category include snowball sampling, quota sampling, judgmental sampling, consecutive sampling, and convenience/availability sampling. Onwuegbuzie and Collins (2007) define and review these formats.

Convenience sampling constitutes one of the most common of the non-probability sampling techniques (Acharya et al., 2013). This is because in most research scenarios, the population is too large to include all the participants. In availability sampling, the participants are selected based on their convenient availability to the researcher. This sampling approach is fast, easy, and cost effective. Moreover, it provides the researcher with an opportunity to obtain basic trends and information relating to the phenomenon under investigation averting the complications of using random sampling. On the other hand, the approach is susceptible to sampling bias and the sample selected does not represent the target population.

Qualitative Research in This Study

This study relied on narrative and thematic analysis. Narrative analysis is a qualitative analytic methodology in which a researcher collects and interprets stories and narratives that are told within a specific context of research (Bamberg, 2011). While it is generally accepted that narrative analysis involves collecting narratives in textual, audio, or video formats, this methodology involves much more. In this regard, narrative analysis lays out and makes sense of systematic and unique narratives and experiences.

This study also used thematic analysis gathered from the open-ended survey questions, where the participants in the sample had a chance to share in detail their experiences during their encounters with police. According to Bergman (2010), thematic analysis is beneficial in extracting commonly described ideas, patterns, and topics discussed in a specific setting. This

allows narrative research to break down and make sense of recurring participants' attitudes, opinions, and behaviors about police encounters.

According to Allen et al. (2008), there are a cluster of analytic approaches that help make sense of social science research contexts in a purposeful and functional manner. In the last few decades, narrative analysis has been applied in diverse settings and has often improved social and behavioral understanding. The approach is often used to describe highly specific and subjective life situations by performing retrospective evaluations that are still open for both qualitative and quantitative designs.

Narrative analysis is particularly beneficial in social science research because stories and story-telling practices are closely correlated to human social formations, evolution of languages and cultures, and the overall individuality of a person in society (Bruner, 1991). According to Bruner (1991), because social science is subject to constant change, transformation has to work through the stories told by the people experiencing it. In this regard, social scientists are required to constantly look for the problem in the narrative with the aim of developing and establishing a causal link with the source of the problem.

Some of the specific methods of narrative analysis include thematic, performative, and structural approaches (Bamberg, 2011). While the thematic approach is focused on the outcome of a realm of a narrative's content, structural analyses are more directed at a narrative's structure, sequential composition, and linguistic phenomena. Performative approaches combine the same aspects of narrative analysis. Generally, narrative analysis provides views of an individual within their specific social environments while actively conferring onto everyday situations and events, subjective or objective. Bruner (1991) summarized this methodology stating that if narratives are

a primary form in which social experiences are made meaningful, then it makes perfect sense to indicate that the stories people tell reflect who they really are.

Mixed Methods Research

Mixed methods research has increasingly become prominent in social science because of its ability to systematically and deliberately connect quantitative and qualitative methodologies for solving day-to-day problems in the field. However, explanations, classifications, meanings, or benefits of mixed methods research vary from one field of application to another. Bergman (2010) defined mixed methods research as an approach in social and behavioral sciences in which the researcher collects both qualitative and quantitative information, connects the two, and draws important interpretations based on the combined strengths of the two data sets. In some cases, researchers in social sciences indicate which methodology, either qualitative or quantitative, carries more emphasis. Primarily, mixed methods research is chosen to acquire and provide multiple perspectives about a specific problem, because one set of data may not be sufficient in viewing or clarifying the social problem.

Mixed methods research design is used not only because of its inferential robustness, but also because of its capability to take into consideration both exploratory and confirmatory research problems within the same study (Mertens, 2015). According to Stentz et al. (2012), integration of quantitative and qualitative data in social science research provides a clearer understanding of specific concepts. While qualitative data provides descriptive contexts about various concepts, quantitative data provides a numerical and statistical perspective that is equally critical in comprehension of issues and may allow for generalization (Bergman, 2010).

There are various mixed methods designs including explanatory sequential, exploratory sequential, transformative, and convergent parallel designs that can be applied in social research.

Quantitative data collection occurs first in explanatory sequential design while qualitative data collection and analysis occurs first in exploratory sequential approach. In transformative design, both data collection approaches can take place concurrently or sequentially, but within a specific theoretical framework (Mertens, 2015). In convergent parallel design, both data collection methods occur at the same time and are compared at the end of the study.

Research Objectives and Questions

The purpose of this study was twofold. First, it was undertaken to find out how African American young adults obtained their perceptions of the police and how these perceptions affect their behavior in police encounters. The second purpose was to understand compliance and how it can be employed in police encounters to defuse the situation before it escalates.

This study addressed the following research questions (RQs):

RQ1: What are the characteristics of survey respondents?

RQ2: What are respondents' perception of police in their youth and their current perception of police?

RQ3: What influence have *demographic characteristics* had on respondents' perception of police? In their youth? And now?

RQ4: What influence have respondents' *early experiences* had on perception of police in their youth? And now?

RQ5. What influence did respondents' *more recent experiences* have on their perception of police?

RQ6. What narrative responses point to conditions that could influence a compliant response to a police encounter?

Overall Research Design and Process

This study used survey research design with a mixed methods methodology. Once Institutional Review Board (IRB) approval was granted from Antioch University, an online survey was circulated via Survey Monkey to former students from Central State University and to other eligible and willing respondents identified by my colleagues at Antioch University. The sample consisted of African American and other self-identified Persons of Color. Participants were contacted and recruited by email. The survey had both closed and open-ended questions that were answered by respondents who agreed to participate in the online survey. The closed ended question was used to fulfill the quantitative portion of this study through statistical analysis completed in the Statistical Package for the Social Sciences (SPSS). Open-ended questions were then used to complete the qualitative portion of this study. The responses to open-ended questions were subjected to thematic analysis where common patterns or themes were found the results of this analysis are presented in Chapter IV.

Study Participants

This study used availability sampling of respondents who self-identified as People of Color from my network of eligible persons connected with through my professional network, and former African American college students from Central State University. Former students who I am still in communication with were contacted via email and asked to participate in this study. These students were selected because the researcher wished to offer primarily young African Americans adults who are still learning and are motivated an opportunity to participate in a survey. This gave them the opportunity to reflect on their past and current life experiences that influence their decision to comply or confront law enforcement officers when in police

encounters. It was hoped that this reflection and the information given would encourage compliance and lead the participants to make positive life changes.

Former Central State University students were also selected because this is one of the oldest publicly funded Historical Black College/University in Ohio. The university draws students from the surrounding large states of Michigan, Illinois, Indiana, and Minnesota, as well as students from other large and small cities. This makes the university truly diverse by representing African Americans from various areas of the United States in this study's sample. I also asked my colleagues from Antioch University in the PhD in Leadership and Change Program for assistance in recruiting young African American adults who might be willing to participate in this study. The original goal of having 100 participants was reached and exceeded with a sample of 121 participants.

Data Collection Process

The online survey questionnaire included 37 items that used a combination of closed and open-ended questions. The primary purpose of this online survey was to find out what factors influence young African American adults to comply or confront law enforcement officers during police encounters. The participants were emailed a survey invitation explaining the study. A consent form was included requesting that they confirm willingness to participate in the study and that they understood that their answers would be used in this dissertation. The participants were guaranteed that their answers remained anonymous. The online survey was administered via Survey Monkey and the completed survey was exported into SPSS for statistical analysis.

Data Analysis

As previously mentioned, quantitative research depends on the researcher collecting and analyzing numerical information in describing, explaining, predicting, or controlling the

variables and phenomena being investigated. Narrative analysis was the qualitative analytic methodology used to collect and interpreted stories and narratives told within the specific context of research. Data analysis included both quantitative and narrative analysis. Analysis of quantitative data used statistical methods with emphasis on frequency and percentage distributions, and measures of relationships between the variables with the individual as the unit of analysis.

This study used primarily descriptive and comparative statistics including descriptive frequency and percentage distributions, mean scores, and standard deviations as well as chi square, regression analysis, and *t*-test comparative statistics.

Benefits and Drawbacks of Conducting Mixed Methods Research

The benefits of the methodology of this study included that I had control over what questions were being asked in the surveys. The study gave participants an opportunity to reflect on their experiences and to give voice to their thoughts about interactions with police officers. The online survey format facilitated participant access.

As with all studies, this study had drawbacks. First, this study relied on a nonprobability sample. These convenience samples are especially useful because they are typically cheaper and easier to assemble. “Their major limitation is that results cannot be generalized beyond the group being tested” (Healey, 2015, p. 145). The study is also limited because it is a one-time survey which means there was only one opportunity to influence changes in attitude or intended behavior and to gather data for the analysis. Another drawback was that the surveys covered a limited number of questions.

In summary, this study used a mixed method approach to discover what factors in the life experiences of young African American adults’ influence their decision to comply or confront

law enforcement officers when in police encounters. This study was granted IRB approval from Antioch University. This study also explored the possibility of African American utilizing compliance when involved in police encounters to defuse the situation from becoming elevated. There was an online survey completed by participants. The survey was used to gather information about what factors in the participants youth and now influences their decision to either comply or confront law enforcement officers when in police encounters. Quantitative data collected from the surveys was used to run statistical analyzed through SPSS and the qualitative data was analyzed using narrative thematic analysis.

Ethical Considerations

The surveys were designed to limit any negative outcomes for the participants. The study was approved by the IRB at Antioch University. Identifying information of respondents was not collected. Respondents were advised that their participation was being solicited because they had experience and perspectives on the study subject. Respondents were free to close the survey without submitting it or to simply skip a question.

CHAPTER IV: RESEARCH FINDINGS

The purpose of this study was to identify the life experiences and demographic factors which may affect People of Color's decision to comply with or confront law enforcement officers when interacting with police. This study used a mixed method approach with the primary focus on quantitative data collected through closed-ended survey questions and a supporting focus on qualitative data collected through open-ended survey questions. The data were collected using an online questionnaire via Survey Monkey. The target population was People of Color who were between the ages of 18 and 40 years old. The data collection period was from June 1, 2021–July 31, 2021. The quantitative data were analyzed using SPSS. Qualitative data are presented based on narrative thematic analysis. This chapter details the findings from the study.

Data Cleaning and Coding

There were three types of data cleaning conducted: review of cases for completeness and other anomalies; recoding of open-ended *Other (Please Specify)* responses; and recoding variables for use in selected analyses. A total of 125 eligible people responded to the survey. Four incomplete cases were eliminated from the analyses.

Recoding Open-Ended Responses

For the survey questions that gave a response option of *Other (Please Specify)* the responses that could fit into an existing category were coded into those categories. If the responses did not fit into an existing category a new category was created. This recoding was done for Survey question 6, "What police-sponsored activities or programs were provided in your neighborhood during your teen years?" and Question 18, "If yes, you've had a positive experience with police please describe."

Recoding Variables

The age, education, neighborhood, single family, heavy police presence, police-sponsored programs, and stereotype variables were all recoded to facilitate statistical analyses. Table 4.1 lists the recoded variables. Age was recoded into *under 30* and *over 30* and labeled as *Recode Age*. Education was recoded into a new *Recode Education* variable with two categories, *Up to Bachelor's* and *Master's Degree or Higher*. Neighborhood type was recoded into a new *Recode Neighborhood* variable with two categories, *Urban Neighborhoods* and *Suburban and Rural*. *Raised in a Single Parent Household* was recoded into a new variable *Recode Single Parent* variable with two categories, *No* in one category and *Yes, Mother Only* or *Yes, Father Only* combined into the second category. Heavy police presence was recoded into a new *Recode Heavy Police Presence* variable with two categories, *Yes* and *No or Not Sure* combined into the second category. Police sponsored programs was recoded into a new variable *Recode Police Sponsored Programs* with two categories, *Yes* and *No or Not Sure* combined into the second category. Ever felt stereotyped was recoded into a new variable *Recode Stereotyped* with two categories, *Yes, Definitely* and *Yes, Possibly* combined into one category, *Yes* and *No* in the second category. Table 4.1 shows the compilation of the coding of all participants.

Table 4.1*Variable Recodes for Regression Analyses (N = 121)*

Variable Name	Response Categories	Recoded Variable Name	Recoded Response Categories (Code)
Age	18–25 26–30 31–35 36–40	Recode Age	Under 30 (1) Over 30 (0)
Education	High School Diploma or GED Some College Bachelor's Degree Master's Degree or higher	Recode Education	Up to Bachelor's (1) Master's Degree or higher (0)
Neighborhood	Urban Suburbs Rural	Recode Neighborhood	Urban (1) Suburban/Rural (0)
Raised by Single Parent	Yes, Mother Only Yes, Father Only No	Recode Single Parent	Yes, Mother or Father Only (1) No (0)
Heavy Police Presence (during teen years)	Yes No Not Sure	Recode Heavy Police Presence	Yes (1) No or Not Sure (0)
Police Sponsored Programs	Yes No Not Sure	Recode Police Sponsored Programs	Yes (1) No or Not Sure (0)
Ever Felt Stereotyped	Yes, Definitely Yes, Possibly No	Recode Stereotyped	Yes (1) No or Not Sure (0)

Research Questions Responses

The following research questions were addressed:

1. What are the characteristics of survey respondents?
2. What was the respondents' perception of police in their youth and their current perception of police?
3. What influence did demographic characteristics have on respondents' perception of police in their youth? And now?
4. What influence did respondents' early experiences have on perception of police in their youth? And now?
5. What influence did respondents' more recent experiences have on their current perception of police?
6. What narrative responses point to conditions that could influence a compliant response to a police encounter?

Research Question 1—Survey Respondent Characteristics

Research Question 1 asked, “What are the characteristics of survey respondents?” Of the 121 respondents, 102 provided demographic information as shown on Table 4.2. Close to two-thirds (68.6%) were female and 31.4% were male participants. Almost all (96.1%) identified as Black. The age range of participants varied. Less than half (37.7%) were under 30 years old, and the majority (62.4%) were over 30. Of the 101 participants that answered this demographic question, 14.9% were 18–25, 22.8% were 26–30, 7.9% were 31–35, and the rest (54.5%) were 36–40 years old. Participants were roughly evenly spread across educational levels. About one-third (32.4%) of the participants had an advanced degree. Slightly less than one-third had some college and one-third had a bachelor's degree.

Table 4.2*Demographics Characteristics of Comply or Confront Survey Participants*

Variable	Category	Frequency	%
Gender (n = 102)	Male	32	31.4
	Female	70	68.6
Race (n = 102)	Black	98	96.1
	Other (Please Specify)	4	3.9
Age (n = 101)	18 to 25	15	14.9
	26 to 30	23	22.8
	31 to 35	8	7.9
	36 to 40	55	54.5
Educational Level (n = 102)	High School Diploma or GED	10	9.8
	Some College	29	28.4
	Bachelor's Degree	30	29.4
	Master's Degree or higher	33	32.4

As shown on Table 4.3, all 121 respondents provided neighborhood characteristic information. Roughly two-thirds (64.5%) of the respondents were from an *urban* area with the rest raised in a *suburban* area (28.1%) or *rural* (7.4%) area. Almost all (83.5%) did not live in a housing project during their teen years and almost half (47.1%) were raised by a single parent.

There were 19 respondents that did not answer any of the demographic questions at the end of the survey. The reason for not answering the demographic questions is unknown. Selected variables discussed in this chapter compared those that did and those that did not answer the demographic questions using an independent samples *t*-tests. There was no significant difference between the two groups. The variables that were compared were opinion of and helpfulness of police during teen years, current opinion of police, as well as how the Black Live Matters Movement and the Capitol Insurrection has affected their overall opinion of police.

Table 4.3*Neighborhood and Family Demographics Characteristics*

Variable	Category	Frequency	%
Neighborhood Type (<i>n</i> = 121)	Urban	78	64.5
	Suburban	34	28.1
	Rural	9	7.4
Housing Project (<i>n</i> = 121)	Yes	19	15.7
	No	101	83.5
	Not Sure	1	0.8
Raised in Single Parent Household (<i>n</i> = 102)	Yes, Mother only	46	45.1
	Yes, Father only	2	2.0
	No	54	52.9

Being raised in a single parent household or by someone other than their parent varied. Of the 102 participants that responded to these questions, 47.1% were raised by a single parent, 45.1% were raised by their mother, and 2.0% were raised by their father. The other half were raised by two parents (44.1%), grandparents (5.9%), or other relative (2.9%). Table 4.4 shows family demographic data.

Table 4.4*Percentage Distribution for Crosstab Single Parent and Raised by Others (N = 102)*

Variable	Category	<i>N</i>	%
Raised by Single Parent	Mother Only (mother, grandmother, adopted mother)	46	45.1
	Father Only	2	2.0
Not Raised by Single Parent	Two Parents	45	44.1
	Two Grandparents	6	5.9
	Other relative/Adopted	3	2.9

The overall characteristics of the survey respondents were majority female and almost all identified as Black. There was an even split between those under age 35 and those between ages of 36–40. Participants were roughly evenly spread across educational levels. A large majority was raised in an urban area but not in a housing project. There was an even split between those raised in a two-parent household and those raised by their mother only. About a quarter were raised by someone other than their parent. This information led to Research Question 2, “What was the respondents’ perception of police in their youth and their current perception of police?”

Research Question 2—Perception of Police in Youth and Currently

Research Question 2 asked, “What was the respondents’ perception of police in their youth and their current perception of police?” Respondent’s perception of police was measured by questions about their opinions of police and how helpful they viewed them to be during their teen years. On a scale of 1 (*very negative*) to 10 (*very positive*), the mean score for opinion about police in their teen years was 5.40. The mean score on the helpfulness of police during the respondent’s teen years was 4.88. The mean score for current perception of police was a low 3.33. Thus, a higher percentage currently has a more negative perception of police than they did when they were teens.

About one-fifth (21.5%) of the respondents had a negative view of the police in their teen years, giving a rating of 1, 2, or 3 on the scale of 1 (*very negative*) to 10 (*very positive*). Most of the respondents were neutral in their response with 55.4% rating a 4, 5, 6, or 7 on the scale. Those with a positive view (23.1%) of police during their teen years gave a rating of 8, 9, or 10.

About one-third (30.6%) of the respondents had a negative view of the helpfulness of police in their teen years, giving a rating of 1, 2, or 3 on scale of 1 (*very negative*) to 10 (*very positive*). Most of the respondents were neutral in their response, with 54.6% rating a 4, 5, 6, or 7

on the scale. Those with a positive view of the helpfulness (15%) of police during their teen years gave a rating of 8, 9, or 10.

Over half (56.3%) of the respondents had an overall current negative view of police, giving a rating of 1, 2, or 3 on a scale of 1 (*very negative*) to 10 (*very positive*). About one-fourth (28.2%) were neutral in their response, rating a 4, 5, 6, or 7 on the scale. Those with an overall current positive opinion of police (8.3%) gave a higher rating of 8, 9, or 10. Table 4.5 shows mean scores and percentage distributions for view of police in teen years and currently. A paired samples *t*-test was conducted to understand the impact of the respondents rating of police in their teen years compared to their current view of police. The decline in overall opinion of police findings for all respondents were statistically significant showing a decrease between teen years ($M = 5.40$) and current age ($M = 3.63$), with $t(120) = 6.297, p < .001$.

Table 4.5

Percentage Distribution for Opinion of Police (N = 121)

Question	<i>M</i>	Negative %				Neutral %				Positive %	
		1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
Opinion police in teen years	5.40	10.7	5.8	5.0	14.9	20.7	6.6	13.2	10.7	2.5	9.9
How helpful police were in teen years	4.88	11.6	9.1	9.9	9.9	24.0	12.4	8.3	5.0	1.7	8.3
Current view of police	3.33	29.8	11.6	14.9	5.0	17.4	5.8	7.4	5.0	0.8	2.5

Note. Opinion scale: (1 = *very negative* to 10 = *very positive*); Helpful scale: (1 = *not at all helpful* to 10 = *very helpful*); Overall view: (1 = *very negative* to 10 = *very positive*).

Overall, respondents indicated they currently had a more negative view of police than they did in their teen years. Based on *t*-tests, mean scores for views of police in their teen years and currently did not vary by age group, gender, or education.

There were no statistically significant differences by age group for any of the opinion of police questions. Using the *Recode Age* variable, mean scores on opinion of police in the respondent's teen years were 5.20 for those under 36 and 5.36 for those 36 to 40. There was also no significant difference in opinion of how helpful police were in their teen years, with mean scores for the less than age 36 group equal to 4.72 and 5.15 for the 36 to 40 group. Furthermore, there was no statistically significant difference between the two age groups on current opinion of police, with $M = 3.98$ for the less than age 36 group and $M = 3.40$ for the age 36 to 40 group.

There were no statistically significant differences by gender at the $p \leq .05$ level of significance for any of the opinion of police questions. Mean scores on opinion of police for males in their teen years was 4.72 and for females was 5.61. Regarding the helpfulness of police in their teen years, the mean score for males was 4.72 and for females it was 5.13. The current overall opinion of police has decreased since their teen years with the mean score for males 4.06 and for females 3.44. Thus, overall opinion of police dropped from a mean score of 4.72 to 4.06 for males while the mean score for females dropped from a relatively high 5.61 to a score lower than for males to 3.44. The mean score on the overall opinion of police did not drop as much for males from their teen years as it did for females.

There were no statistically significant differences by education level for any of the opinion of police questions. Using the *Recode Education* variable, the mean score on opinion of police in their teen years for those with *Up to a Bachelor's Degree* was 5.10 and for those with *Master's Degree or higher* it was 5.82. With respect to the helpfulness of police in their teen

years, for those with up to a bachelor's degree the mean score was 4.93, and for those with a master's degree it was 5.15. The respondents' current overall view of police decreased since their teen years with those with up to a bachelor's degree having a mean score of 3.67 and 3.58 for those with master's degree or higher. Table 4.6 shows the subgroup mean scores.

Table 4.6

Mean Scores for Opinion of Police by Age, Gender, and Education Subgroups (N = 102)

Opinion in Teen Years	<i>N</i>	<i>M</i>
Age Group		
Under 36	46	5.20
36-40	55	5.36
Gender		
Male	32	4.72
Female	70	5.61
Education Level		
Up to Bachelors	69	5.10
Masters or higher	33	5.82
How Helpful in Teen Years		
Age Group		
Under 36	46	4.72
36-40	55	5.15
Gender		
Male	32	4.72
Female	70	5.13
Education Level		
Up to Bachelors	69	4.93
Masters or higher	33	5.15
Current Opinion		
Age Group		
Under 36	46	3.98
36-40	55	3.40
Gender		
Male	32	4.06
Female	70	3.44
Education Level		
Up to Bachelors	69	3.67
Masters or higher	33	3.58

A Pearson product-moment correlation was conducted to examine the relationship between respondents' opinion of police and their helpfulness during their teen years, as well as their current opinion of police. Helpfulness of police during their teen years was strongly positively correlated to their opinion of police during their teen years, $r(119) = .601, p < .001$. Opinion of police in their teen years had a much weaker correlation to their current overall view of police, $r(119) = .271, p < .001$. These findings indicate that respondent's view of the helpfulness of police during their teen years, with an effect size of $r^2 = .361$, explains 36% of the variability in their opinion of police in their teen years and only 7% of their current view of police, with an effect size of $r^2 = .0734$.

Table 4.7

Correlations for Opinions on Police in Teen Years and Currently (N = 121)

	Q1	Q7	Q9
Q1 Opinion of police in teen years	1		
Q7 How helpful police were in teen years	.601**	1	
Q9 Current view of police	.271**	.267*	1

Note. * Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level (2-tailed). ** Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

In general, respondents currently had a more negative opinion of police than they did during their teen years. There was no statistically significant difference by age group for any of the opinion of police questions. Furthermore, there was no statistically significant difference by gender or educational level for any of the opinion of police questions. Helpfulness of police during their teen years had a strong positive correlation with their opinion of police during their teen years. Opinion of police in their teen years had a low correlation to their current overall

view of police. This information led to Research Question 3, “What influence did demographic characteristics have on respondents’ perception of police in their youth? And now?”

Research Question 3—Influence of Demographic Characteristics

Research Question 3 was, “What influence did demographic characteristics have on respondent’s perception of police in their youth? And now?” Regression analyses were used to address this research question. Regression analyses were used to address this research question and summarize the relationship between independent and dependent variables. The independent demographic variables included *Gender, Recoded Age, Recoded Education, Recoded Neighborhood, Raised in Housing Project, and Recoded Raised by Single Parent*. The demographic characteristics are described and presented in Table 4.2, Table 4.3, and Table 4.4 under Research Question 1.

Two independent research variables related to police presence and sponsored activities in the respondents’ teen neighborhood were also included in the regression analyses. These data are shown in Table 4.8. Over half (59.5%) of respondents indicated that there was no heavy police presence in the neighborhood they lived in when they were teens while 39.7% stated there was a heavy police presence. More than half (60.3%) stated that there were no police-sponsored activities in the neighborhood they lived in their teen years and another 14.0% stated that they were not sure.

For the 25.6% that did take part in police-sponsored programs, the most heavily reported activity was Police Athletic League (PAL), as well as other sports programs including football, basketball, track, and cheerleading. Drug Abuse Resistance Education (DARE) was also included as a program offered and the youth police academy was mentioned. One respondent described a more personal involvement stating that, “We benefited from a Christmas Tree drive

where officers came to our home, provided us with funds to shop for things for Xmas, and spoke to us about our lives. It was really cool and definitely needed in a time when we were struggling.”

Table 4.8

Frequency Distribution Heavy Police Presence and Police Sponsored Activities in Their Teen Neighborhoods (N =121)

Variable	Response	N	%
Heavy Police Presence	Yes	48	39.7
	No	72	59.5
	Not Sure	1	0.8
Police Sponsored Activities	Yes	31	25.6
	No	73	60.3
	Not Sure	17	14.0

Seven other sources were included in the regression analyses exploring influence on opinion of police. These variables were the respondents’ perceived influence of social media, TV/Internet/Newspaper, family, neighborhood, church, school, and after-school community programs on their opinions of police.

In terms of moderate to major influences on the respondent’s opinion of police, on a scale of 1 (*not an influence*), 2 (*a minor influence*), 3 (*a moderate influence*), and 4 (*a major influence*), the TV, Internet, or newspaper category was selected by 68.6% of the respondents, with a mean score of 3.01. Social media (64.5%), the influence of family (51.3%), and their neighborhood (49.6%) categories were also selected by close to or more than half of the respondents as influencing their opinion of police (Table 4.9).

Table 4.9*Moderate and Major Influences on Opinion of Police (N=121)*

Influence Source	<i>M</i>	<i>N</i>	%
TV, Internet, or Newspaper	3.01	83	68.6
Social Media	2.98	78	64.5
Family	2.52	62	51.3
Neighborhood	2.53	60	49.6
School	2.15	43	35.6
After School Community Programs	1.98	35	28.9
Church	1.83	30	25.0

It is interesting to note that a high proportion (75%) indicated that the church did not influence their opinion and close to two-thirds also thought that after school community programs (71.0%) and their school (64.4%) were not an influence on their opinion of police (Table 4.10).

Table 4.10*Not an Influence on Opinion of Police (N=121)*

Influence Source	<i>M</i>	<i>N</i>	%
Church	1.83	90	75.0
After School Community Programs	1.98	86	71.0
School	2.15	78	64.4
Neighborhood	2.53	61	50.4
Family	2.52	59	48.8
Social Media	2.98	43	35.5
TV, Internet, or Newspaper	3.01	38	31.4

The independent *t*-test comparing the two age groups shows a statistically significant difference between the two age groups for both the school and social media variables.

Respondents under the age of 30 perceived that their opinion of police was more influenced by

social media, $t(99) = 2.572, p < .05$), as well as their school, $t(99) = 2.643, p < .01$) than the over 30 age respondents. There was no significant difference for any of the other “influence” variables listed in Table 4.10 by age.

Regression analysis was used to address Research Question 3. Table 4.11 summarizes the regressions run and the findings showing the relationships between the variables. The control variables were *Recoded Age*, *Recoded Education*, *Gender*, *Recoded Single Parent*, and *Recoded Neighborhood*. The independent research variables in the first three regressions were *Recoded Heavy Police Presence* and *Recoded Police Sponsored After School Programs*. The dependent variables were *Opinion of Police During Teen Years*, *Teen View on the Helpfulness of the Police*, and *Current Opinion of Police*. The first three regressions showed that the police-sponsored after school programs had a small influence on all three opinions. The total variance explained (Adjusted R^2) by the model was 9.7%, $F(2, 98) = 6.392, p < .01$ for opinion in the teen years. Participating in police-sponsored after school programs made the strongest unique contribution to explaining the view of police in their teen year’s dependent variable ($\beta = .320, p = .01$).

For perceived helpfulness in their teen years, the total variance explained (Adjusted R^2) by the model was 7.4%, $F(1, 99) = 9.024, p < .01$. *Recoded Police Sponsored After School Activities* ($\beta = .289, p < .01$) contributed to explaining their view of helpfulness of police during their teen years. Lastly, participating in police-sponsored after school programs also contributed to their current opinion of police making a small contribution to the total variance explained (Adjusted $R^2 = 5\%$), $F(1, 99) = 6.263, p < .05$. ($\beta = .244, p < .05$). Those with experience in police-sponsored after school programs were more likely to have a positive opinion of police in their teen years, view police as helpful in their teen years, and have a positive current opinion of police.

The second three regressions—4, 5, and 6—looked at the respondents' perceived influence of social media, TV/Internet/newspaper, family, neighborhood, church, their school, and after school community programs on the respondent's opinion of police in their teen years, the helpfulness of police during their teen years, and their current opinion of police. There were no control variables used in these regressions. Regression analysis 4 showed that respondents perceived that TV/internet/newspaper and neighborhood had statistically significant influences on the respondent's opinion of police during their teen years. In regression 5 there was no significant influence of independent variables on the dependent perception of police helpfulness variable. Regression 6 showed that TV/Internet/newspaper and after school community activities had a significant influence on respondent's current opinion of the police.

The total variance explained in regression 4 (Adjusted R^2) by the model was 6.5%, $F(2, 117) = 5.168, p < .01$. In the final model, TV/internet/newspapers made a significant contribution to explaining the view of police in their teen year's dependent variable ($\beta = .203, p < .01$). There was a positive relationship between TV/internet/newspapers and opinion of police in the respondents' teen years. Neighborhood had a negative relationship with opinion of police in teen years, with total variance explained ($\beta = -.255, p < .01$). Following the news through the TV, Internet, or newspaper and after school community programs affected their current opinion of police and also made a contribution to the total variance explained (adjusted R^2) by the model: 5.9%, $F(2, 117) = 4.757, p = .010$. However, for current opinion, TV/Internet/newspapers were associated with a more negative current view of police. The beta for TV explained ($\beta = -.276, p = .010$). The beta for the school variable explained ($\beta = .194, p < .05$). School was associated with a more positive current view of police.

Table 4.11*Summary of Regression Analyses for Research Q*

Regression Number	Control Variables	Independent Variables	Dependent Variables	Results
1 (N = 101)	Recode Age, Recode Education Gender Recode Single Parent Recode Neighborhood	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Recoded Heavy Police Presence $\beta = -.240, p < .05$ • Recoded Police Sponsored After School Programs $\beta = .320, p = .01$ 	Teen Opinion	$F(2, 98) = 6.392$ $p < .01$ Adj R ² = .097
2 (N = 101)	Recode Age, Recode Education Gender Recode Single Parent Recode Neighborhood	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Recoded Heavy Police Presence • Recoded Police Sponsored After School Programs $\beta = .289, p < .01$ 	Teen View of Helpfulness	$F(1, 99) = 7.871$ $p < .01$ Adj R ² = .064
3 (N = 101)	Recode Age, Recode Education Gender Recode Single Parent Recode Neighborhood	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Recoded Heavy Police Presence • Recoded Police Sponsored After School Programs $\beta = .271, p < .01$ 	Current Opinion	$F(1, 99) = 6.263$ $p < .05$ Adj R ² = .050
4 (N = 120)	Not Included	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Social Media • TV, Internet, News $\beta = .203, p < .05$ • Family • Neighborhood $\beta = -.255, p < .01$ • Church • School • After School Programs 	Teen Opinion	$F(2, 117) = 5.168$ $p < .01$ Adj R ² = .065
5 (N = 120)	Not Included	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Social Media • TV, Internet, News • Family • Neighborhood • Church • School • After School Programs 	Teen View of Helpfulness	No significant influence of independent variables on dependent variable.
6 (N = 120)	Not Included	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Social Media • TV, Internet, News $\beta = -.276, p < .01$ • Family • Neighborhood • Church • School • After School Programs $\beta = .194, p < .05$ 	Current Opinion	$F(2, 117) = 5.659$ $p = .010$ Adj R ² = .073

Regression analysis was used to address Research Question 3. The independent demographic variables included *Gender, Recoded Age, Recoded Education, Recoded Neighborhood, Raised in Housing Project, and Recoded Raised by Single Parent*. Two independent research variables related to police presence and sponsored activities in the respondents' teen neighborhood were also included in the regression analyses. Seven other sources were included in the regression analyses exploring influence on opinion of police. These variables were the *Respondents' Perceived Influence of Social Media, TV/Internet/Newspaper, Family, Neighborhood, Church, School, and After-School Community Programs* on their opinions of police.

Findings were that only a small percentage of respondents had a heavy police presence in their neighborhoods. Most of the respondents also did not have police-sponsored programs in their neighborhood during their teen years. For the quarter of respondents that did have police-sponsored activities, the most reported was Police Athletic League (PAL), as well as other sports programs. Heavy police presence in their neighborhood had a negative influence on their teen opinion of police and being involved in police-sponsored activities had a positive influence on both teen and current opinion of police.

Based on respondents' perception of influence on their opinion of police, TV, Internet, or newspaper had the largest percentage and church had the lowest percentage indicating a moderate to major influence on their current opinion of police. In the regression analyses, participating in police-sponsored after school programs made the strongest unique contribution to explaining their opinion of police in their teen years. Participating in police-sponsored after school programs also contributed to their current opinion of police. Those with experience in police-sponsored after school programs were more likely to have a positive opinion of police in their teen years and currently.

Regression analyses with sources of influence showed that TV/Internet/newspaper positively influenced, and neighborhood negatively influenced opinion of police during their teen years. On the other hand, TV/Internet/newspaper had a negative influence on current opinion of police. After school community activities had a positive influence on respondent's current opinion of the police. These findings led into Research Question 4, "What influence did respondents' early experiences on perception of police in their youth? And now?"

Research Question 4—Influence of Early Experiences

Research Question 4 was, "What influence did respondent's early experiences on perception of police in their youth? And now?" Regression analyses were used to address this research question. Regression analyses were used to summarize the relationship between independent and dependent variables. The independent demographic variables were not included in these regressions since they were not found to be significant influences for any of the three opinion of police dependent variables. The research independent variables relating to teen experiences were: *Did Not Trust Police Officers*, *Was Told to Be Afraid of Police Officers*, *Heard Kind Talk about Police Officers*, and *Had Positive Encounter with Police Officers*.

Table 4.12

Percentage Distribution for Participants Teen Experiences on Their Perceptions of Influence on Current Opinion of Police (N=121)

Question	<i>M</i>	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neither Disagree or Agree	Agree	Strongly Agree
		%	%	%	%	%
Positive encounter with Police Officer when teen	3.45	6.6	16.5	15.7	47.9	13.2
Knew Police Officer when teen	3.14	22.3	16.5	7.4	32.2	21.5
Told not trust Police Officer when teen	3.12	9.1	20.7	30.6	28.1	11.6
Heard kind talk about Police Officers when teen	2.98	12.4	20.7	30.6	29.8	6.6
Was afraid of Police Officers when teen	2.83	14.9	27.3	24.8	26.4	6.6

When asked about the degree to which certain events influenced their current opinion of police, about 60% of respondents *agreed* or *strongly agreed* ($M = 3.45$) that having had a positive encounter with police during their teen years influenced their current opinion of police. About 54% *agreed* or *strongly agreed* that knowing a police officer in their teens influenced their current opinion of police, with a mean score of 3.14. Close to one third of the respondents (36.4%) *agreed* or *strongly agreed* that hearing someone close to them talk kindly about police during their teen years influenced their opinion, with a mean score of 2.98. This information is presented in Table 4.12 and Table 4.13.

Table 4.13

Percentage That Strongly Agree or Agree With Influence of Early Teen Experiences

Influence Source	<i>M</i>	<i>N</i>	%
Told not to trust Police Officer when teen	3.12	48	39.7
Having a positive encounter with Police Officer when teen	3.45	44	61.1
Knew a Police Officer when teen	3.14	65	53.7
Heard kind talk of Police Officers when teen	2.98	44	36.4
Was afraid of police officers when teen	2.83	40	33.0

Multiple regression with the stepwise enter method was used to explore the ability of five measures of influence from respondent's early experience to predict one's perception of police when they were a teen. Table 4.14 summarizes the regressions run and the findings showing the relationships between the variables. These early experience independent variables, with all referring to the respondent's teen years, were as follows: *someone close to me told me not to trust the police, someone close to me told me to be afraid of the police, they knew a police officer, they heard kind talk about police, and they had a positive encounter with a police officer.* The total variance explained (Adjusted R^2) by the model was 23.2%, $F(2, 118) = 101.70, p < .001$. In the final model, positive encounters with police made the strongest unique contribution to explaining the view of police in their teen year's dependent variable ($\beta = .438, p < .001$). Being afraid of police when they were a teen also made a small negative contribution ($\beta = -.182, p < .05$) to explaining their current view of police.

Multiple regression with the stepwise enter method was used to explore the ability of five measures of influence from the early experience independent variables to predict one's perception of the helpfulness of police when they were a teen. The total variance explained (Adjusted R^2) by the model was 21.4%, $F(3, 117) = 11.87, p < .001$. In the final model, positive encounters with police made the strongest unique contribution to explaining the helpfulness dependent variable ($\beta = .259, p = .003$). Being afraid of police when they were a teen also made a small negative contribution ($\beta = -.228, p = .026$) to explaining their teen view of the helpfulness of police. Lastly, heard kind talk as a teen made a small positive contribution ($\beta = .240, p = .006$) to explaining the dependent variable.

Multiple regression with the stepwise enter method was used to explore the ability of five measures of influence from the early experience independent variables to predict one's current perception of police (Q9). The total variance explained (Adjusted R^2) by the model was 10.6%, $F(1, 119) = 8.101, p < .001$. In the final model, hearing someone close to the respondent talk kindly about police had the strongest unique contribution to explaining the dependent variable ($\beta = .235, p \leq .01$), followed by positive encounter with police ($\beta = .191, p \leq .05$).

Table 4.14

Summary of Regression Analyses for Influence of Teen Experiences on Opinion of Police (N = 121)

Regression Number	Independent Variables	Dependent Variables	Results
7 (N = 121)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Did not trust police officers PO • Was afraid of police officers $\beta = -.182, p = .026$ • Knew police officers • Heard kind talk about police officers • Positive encounter w/police officer $\beta = .438, p < .001$ 	Teen Opinion of Police	$F(2, 118) = 19.12, p < .001$ Adj. ² = .232
8 (N = 121)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Did not trust police officers • Was afraid of police officers $\beta = -.228, p = .006$ • Knew police officers • Heard kind talk about police officers $\beta = .240, p = .006$ • Positive encounter w/police officers $\beta = .259, p = .003$ 	Teen view of Police Helpfulness	$F(3, 117) = 11.87, p = .003$ Adj. ² = .214
9 (N = 121)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Did not trust police officers • Was afraid of police officers • Knew police officers • Heard kind talk about police officers $\beta = .235, p <= .01$ • Positive encounter w/police officers $\beta = .191, p <= .05$ 	Current Opinion	$F(1, 119) = 8.101, p < .001$ Adj. ² = .106

Regression analysis was used to address Research Question 4. The independent demographic variables were not included in these regressions since they were not found to be significant influences for any of the three opinion of police dependent variables. The research independent variables relating to teen experiences were: *Did Not Trust Police Officers, Was Told to Be Afraid of Police Officers, Heard Kind Talk about Police Officers, and Had Positive Encounter with Police Officers.*

The majority *agreed* or *strongly agreed* that having had a positive encounter with a police officer during their teen years influenced their current opinion of police. About half *agreed* or *strongly agreed* that knowing a police officer in their teens influenced their current opinion of police. Only one third *agreed* or *strongly agreed* that hearing someone close to them talk kindly about a police officer influenced their current opinion. In the regression model, positive encounters with police made the strongest unique contribution to explaining the view of police in their teen years. Being afraid of police when they were a teen also made a small negative contribution to their opinion during their teen years. Having heard kind words about police and having had positive encounters with police had a positive influence on their current opinion of police. After identifying what teen year influences most affected opinions in Research Question 4, Research Question 5 turned to look at what more recent experiences affected their current opinion of police. Research Question 5 asked, “What influence did respondents’ more recent experiences have on their current perception of police?”

Research Question 5—Influence of Recent Police Experiences

Research Question 5 was, “What influence did respondents’ more recent experiences have on their current perception of police?” Respondents were asked in a survey question, “How much do you think each of the following sources influenced your current opinion of police?” The sources included: had anyone close to the respondent been in trouble with law, was the respondent present when the person close to them had the interaction with the police, had the respondent ever been stereotyped by the police, or had they ever had a positive experience with the police? The final question related to more recent experiences focused on how the Black Lives Matter Movement and the Insurrection at the Capitol affected the respondent’s current perception of the police.

Person Close to Respondent Had Trouble with Law

The first current experience focused on whether anyone close to the respondent had ever been in trouble with the law. This question was followed by inquiring about whether the respondent was present during this encounter. A high percentage (87.6%) stated that someone close to them had been in trouble with the law. The majority (59.5%) of the respondents stated that they were present when a person close to them had an encounter with a police officer (Table 4.15).

Table 4.15

Frequency and Percentage Distributions for Person Close to Respondent Had Trouble with Law (N = 121)

Variable	Category	Frequency	%
Person close to respondent had trouble with law	Yes	106	87.6
	No	13	10.7
	Not Sure	2	1.7
Respondent was present when person close to them had trouble with law	Yes	72	59.5
	No	9	40.5

There were 63 respondents that gave a narrative response on how the person close to them reacted during their encounter with the law enforcement officer. Based on their narrative responses, about one-third of the respondents indicated that the person remained calm and complied. Several examples were given of “compliance,” including those respondents thought the person close to them “remained as calm as possible” and “the situation was handled well.” Some specific statements were: “They remained calm and followed the police instructions even though they did nothing wrong;” “They complied because they were nervous and scared for their

life;” “They tried to remain calm, but the police officer kept calling him ‘monkey boy,’” and “He complied with tear filled eyes.”

About one-fourth of the respondents indicated that the person close to them reacted “aggressively,” or “badly,” or “poorly.” One respondent stated that they have seen people close to them handle the encounter both compliantly and aggressively.

Many situations were more complex, with police mishandling the situation, and no clear information about whether the person close to the respondent’s behavior influenced police behavior. For example, respondents stated that “They ended up being maced and handcuffed for not following orders;” “The irritation level was on an all-time high and elevated tones while speaking back and forth but no police brutality;” “The person went to jail;” “The police eventually left without an arrest;” and “He was murdered.”

Examples of more complex situations included statements such as, “The person close to me was trying to be understanding and cooperative but the police were being very mean and rude” and “They tried to listen, but the police officer was so aggressive.”

Another respondent described the following challenging situation:

My brother who is non-verbal was almost arrested when he refused to comply with an officer’s request. He didn’t understand them, they didn’t understand him. They refused to listen to us [his sisters]. Eventually, another officer was patient enough to hear our request and released him. But the emotional and mental damage was already done.

Was Respondent Ever Stereotyped or Friendly Encounter?

As presented in Table 4.16, another type of influence on their current opinion of police related to whether the respondent had ever been stereotyped by the police or had a positive friendly encounter with a law enforcement officer. A large majority of respondents (82.2%)

indicated that they had been stereotyped by the police. An equally large majority (83.1%) of respondents also stated that they have had a positive interaction with a police officer.

Table 4.16

Frequency and Percentage Distribution for Stereotyped by Police and Had a Positive Friendly Encounter (N = 118)

Variable	Category	Frequency	%
Stereotyped	Yes, definitely	75	63.6
	Yes, possibly	22	18.6
	No	21	17.8
Positive Friendly Encounter	Yes	98	83.1
	No	20	16.9

Based on narrative descriptions of the positive experiences, many recalled something about police involvement in organized activities while others noted assistance given during a traffic stop, or just having a friend or relative who was a cop or in law enforcement, and many other types of interactions. Some positive interactions occurred at school or church events. One respondent noted that, “When my church has outdoor events the police always come to protect us. Also, my high school dance coach was a police officer.”

Having a family member or friend was another way respondents had positive experiences with police. For example, one respondent stated, “My fraternity brother is a cop. I trust him with my life,” and another respondent stated, “I have a family friend that is a police officer. She is often helpful.”

Others interfaced with police officers through their school or work or other events. For example, one respondent stated, “I deal with police officers on a daily basis during my work shift and most of the interactions I encounter are positive;” “Officers are usually nice and respectful;” “At my school there was always a police officer, and he was really kind;”

“Directing traffic after events, maintaining security at events;” and “I know a police officer who is also the head of my son’s wrestling club. He is an asset to the community.”

Several respondents indicated they had positive experiences with traffic or auto related stops. One respondent noted that police “assisted me with my disabled car” or helped “during a traffic stop.” Another noted that, “A police officer pulled me over for speeding and looked up my driving record. He realized that I had a good driving record, so he allowed me to leave with a warning and told me to slow down.”

Several more detailed examples were given of positive encounters, including:

I’ve had multiple positive experiences with police. From my family being provided Christmas gifts as a child, to the fact that my grandfather was an officer. I also have two relatives that work in corrections. I also had a great relationship with crossing guards as a kid and have partnered with officers in my adulthood to offer direct services to homeless people, youth, families, and etcetera. I also accidentally dated a corrections officer, which was a positive experience for me as long as it lasted.

I have on more than one occasion had a positive experience with a police officer. I can remember being in a city that I was unfamiliar with, and I needed directions to get back to the hotel from the hospital emergency room. I was not in the best shape; I was a bit disoriented and could’ve been looked at as being on pills or drugs. I wasn’t, I had just opted to leave the hospital on medication. It was one or two in the morning, and I saw a police car, I blinked my lights, and he pulled over. I explained my situation and he told me to follow him. I did, he drove me to my hotel room and made sure I got in safe. I was afraid of asking for help, but I had to. I was grateful for the assistance. I will say My situation turned out positively, but I WOULDN’T recommend it to my peers.

A knock-on the door, asking to speak to my son in regards to the company he keeps. A minor incident that he was identified in but since the police knew my son, the police came by to talk to him, and cleared him from getting arrested, and no charges were given. They were trying to help him identify that he is a good child with family support. Also, the fact that my son played on the neighborhood sport teams, which the police was his coaches, so they knew our family.

Influence of Black Lives Matter/Insurrection at Capitol on Current Opinion of Police

Table 4.17 shows the results of the respondents’ answers as to how the Black Lives Matter Movement and the Insurrection at the Capitol in Washington D.C. and affected their

current perception of police. The survey questions were: “On a scale of 1 (*negatively*) to 10 (*positively*), how have current events related to Black Lives Matter affected your perception of police?” and a similar question “related to the attack on the Capitol.” Over half (56.2%) of respondents stated that the Black Lives Matter Movement negatively affected their perception of police, while 24.9% stated that they remained neutral in their opinion. Only 15.7% of respondents stated that the movement had a positive effect on their opinion. On a scale of 1 (*very negatively*) to 10 (*very positively*), the overall mean score for influence of Black Lives Matter movement on current perception of police was 3.68.

Almost three quarters (71.9%) of respondents stated that the Insurrection at the Capitol in Washington, D.C. had a negative effect on their current perception of police. This difficult to interpret finding is addressed in Chapter V. About one-fourth (19.9%) remained neutral in their opinion and very few (8.3%) stated that it had a positive effect on their perception of police. On a scale of 1 (*very negatively*) to 10 (*very positively*), the overall mean score for influence of the Insurrection at the Capitol on current perception of police was 2.55. Both the Black Lives Matter Movement and the Insurrection at the Capitol negatively influenced the respondents’ current perception of police.

Table 4.17

Mean Score and Percentage Distribution for Influence of Black Lives Matter and Capitol Insurrection on Current Perception Opinion of Police (N = 121)

Question	M	Negative %				Neutral %			Positive %		
		1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
Black Lives Matter Movement	3.68	40.5	9.1	6.6	5.0	14.9	5.0	3.3	6.6	1.7	7.4
Insurrection at the Capitol in DC	2.55	59.5	8.3	4.1	6.6	11.6	1.7	0	5.0	.8	2.5

Note. Opinion scale = (1 = Very Negatively affected current opinion to 10 = Very Positively affected current opinion)

Table 4.18 summarizes the regressions run and the findings showing the relationships between the variables. The total variance explained (Adjusted R^2) by the model was 17.3%, $F(3, 111) = 9.098, p < .001$. In the final model, the Capitol Insurrection ($\beta = .276, p = .002$) had a negative effect on the respondents' current view of police. While having had a positive experience with police ($\beta = .249, p = .004$) was associated with a more positive current view of police. Having had a negative experience with police in their teen years ($\beta = -.198, p < .05$) was associated with a more negative current view of police.

Table 4.18

Summary Regression Results for Influence of Events on Respondents' Current Perception of Police (N = 121)

Regression Number	Independent Variables	Dependent Variables	Results
10	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Black Lives Matter • Capitol Insurrection $\beta = .276, p = .002$ • Positive Friendly Interaction w/ PO $\beta = .249, p = .004$ • Personal Negative Interaction w/ PO $\beta = -.198, p = .023$ 	Current Opinion of Police	$F(3, 111) = 9.098,$ $p < .001$ Adj. $R^2 = .173$

Personal Interaction with Police

There were 117 respondents that answered the personal interaction with a police officer question. While 83.1% of the respondents indicated that they had had a positive encounter with police, a majority also (59.8%) stated “Yes” that they had a personal negative interaction with a police officer. Less than half (40.2%) stated “No,” they never had a personal negative interaction with a police officer (Table 4.19).

Table 4.19

Frequency and Percentage Distribution for Personal Negative Interaction with Police (N =117)

Variable	Category	Frequency	%
Negative Interaction	Yes	70	59.8
	No	47	40.2

Table 4.20 shows that a total of 70 respondents indicated they had a personal negative interaction with police. Respondents selected one or more reasons for the negative interaction, with auto related incidents as the most common response. Of the auto related incidents, a speeding ticket was the most frequent (34.3%) answer. Parking tickets (21.4%) and other auto related incidents, such as having a broken taillight, were next at 21.4%, and driving without a license (12.9%) followed. Of the non-auto related incidents, loitering was selected by 12.9% and a serious crime such as assault, arson, or robbery had the least number of respondents (4.3%) giving these as reasons that led to the negative experience with the police officer.

Table 4.20*Percent Reason for Experiencing Negative Interaction with Police (N = 89)*

Experience	<i>N</i>	%
Speeding Ticket	24	34.3
Parking Ticket	15	21.4
Driving without a License	9	12.9
Other, auto related	15	21.4
Loitering	9	12.9
Shoplifting	4	5.7
Serious Crime	3	4.3
Other, all other	10	14.3

At least half of the respondents had an auto or traffic related negative experience. There were several respondents who gave narrative examples of reasons why the auto-related incidents were negative interactions with police. Narrative descriptions for being pulled over included “making the officer suspicious,” “not having on headlights or appropriate license plates,” and “being illegally parked,” or “being parked in a handicapped space.” One respondent noted, “I have been stopped before because the cop says I was going too slow and was making him suspicious because of my tint,” and, “getting pulled over because he thought I was speeding but just seen a Black man in a nice car.” Another respondent noted that “the officer arrested me because I fit the description of someone who had shoplifted in a store across the parking lot from where my family and I were eating. I was seven months pregnant and about 5 inches shorter than that tall skinny girl that was on a rampage.” Lastly, a respondent stated, “I was pulled over for turning too wide at a light. First thing the officer asked me was did I have any drugs or weapons in the car. I was working third shift and was tired. He was definitely racially profiling.”

Narrative descriptions of being stopped due to headlights being out or having the wrong license plates include, “I experienced being pulled over while driving on the highway. I was informed that it was due to my lights not being completely turned on, but it wasn’t completely dark. The sun was setting. As result of being pulled over the officer asked for my license and insurance.” Another respondent stated, “The cop pulled me over for a broken taillight and his light was out too” and “DWB (Driving While Black).” Others stated, “I was driving without my headlights on, and I got stopped by eight police officers around me until I told them who my mentor was,” “I was driving a car without tags on it,” “I had my sorority plates on the front of my car,” and “my head headlight was out on my vehicle.”

Negative experiences with police while being parked included, “Parking in a disabled parking spot and being judged by my appearance of not being disabled. Having to explain why the placard was issued to me.” Another respondent offered:

I pulled into the parking lot of a coffee shop, parked, got ding[ed] that someone responded to a FB message that I sent so I kept my car running so I could keep the air on while I answered the FB message. Police car pulled up beside me, were antagonistic, were escalated when I pulled out my phone to record and became even more aggressive over the course of our interaction. I was anxious, fearful of the outcome, unsure of why things were happening without being offered a proper explanation and was shaking and crying afterwards. This interaction has completely shaped my perception of inappropriate and dangerous interactions.

Non-auto-related encounters were attributed to “just walking around,” “truancy,” “sexual advancements,” “thinking I was a wanted person,” and being “suspected of drug dealing . . . guilty by association.” A few more complicated examples were also given, such as “Contractor at my home damages my home and called the police on me. Instantly the cops were rude to me because the contractor was White, but I handled the business at hand” and “I was falsely accused of domestic violence, and the responding officer was very rude and did not allow me to tell my side.”

How Respondent Felt During Negative Encounter with Police

A large majority (87.9%) of the respondents strongly agreed or agreed that they felt like complaining during the negative encounter with the police, with a mean score of 4.33 on a scale of 1 (*strongly disagreed*) to 5 (*strongly agreed*). Most (81.8%) respondents *strongly agreed* or *agreed* that they felt powerless during the encounter, with a mean score of 4.26. A high percentage (84.8%) of respondents *strongly agreed* or *agreed* that they felt angry, with a mean score of 4.24. Similarly, a large number (77.3%) of respondents *strongly agreed* or *agreed* that they were afraid of becoming a victim of police brutality during their personal negative experience with the police.

Most of the respondents (75.7%) *strongly agreed* or *agreed* that they felt nervous during their personal negative experience with the police, with a mean score of 4.14. Finally, almost half (44%) of respondents *strongly agreed* or *agreed* that they felt like fighting during their negative experience with police, with a mean score of 3.26 (Table 4.21).

Table 4.21

Mean Score and Percentage Distribution for Feelings Respondent Had During Personal Negative Experience with the Police (N = 121)

Question	<i>M</i>	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neither Disagree or Agree	Agree	Strongly Agree
		%	%	%	%	%
Felt like Complaining	4.33	1.5	0	10.6	39.4	48.5
Felt Powerless	4.26	1.5	6.1	10.6	28.8	53.0
Felt Angry	4.24	4.5	4.5	6.1	31.8	53.0
Felt Afraid of Becoming a Victim	4.17	1.5	7.6	13.6	27.3	50.0
Felt Nervous	4.14	6.1	3.0	15.2	22.7	53.0
Felt like Fighting	3.26	12.1	21.2	22.7	16.7	27.3

Respondent Reaction During Negative Personal Experience with Police

The majority (78.7%) *strongly agreed* or *agreed* that they were compliant during their personal negative experience with the police, with a mean score of 4.09 on a scale of 1 (*strongly disagreed*) to 5 (*strongly agreed*). Three fourths (75.7%) of respondents *strongly agreed* or *agreed* that they reacted nervously during their negative experience with police, with a mean score of 3.94. Most respondents (80.3%) *strongly agreed* or *agreed* that they reacted with frustration, with a mean score of 3.94. Additionally, (75.8%) of respondents *strongly agreed* or *agreed* that they reacted with a level head during their personal negative experience with the police, with a mean score of 3.85.

A large percentage of the respondents (69.7%) *strongly agreed* or *agreed* that they reacted respectfully, with a mean score of 3.80. There were fewer respondents (24.2%) that *strongly agreed* or *agreed* and slightly less than half (48.5%) that *strongly disagreed* or *disagreed* that they reacted calmly, with a mean score of 3.36. About half (53%) of the respondents *strongly disagreed* or *disagreed* that they were being confrontational, with a mean score of 2.70. Finally, the majority of the respondents (62.1%) *strongly agreed* or *agreed* that they did not react disrespectfully during their personal negative experience with the police, with a mean score of 2.48. This information is presented in Table 4.22.

Table 4.22

Mean Score and Percentage Distribution for How Respondent Reacted in Their Personal Negative Experience with Police (N = 121)

		Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neither Disagree or Agree	Agree	Strongly Agree
Question	<i>M</i>	%	%	%	%	%
Compliantly	4.09	0	4.5	16.7	43.9	34.8
Nervously	3.94	1.5	12.1	10.6	42.4	33.3
Frustratedly	3.94	9.1	0	10.6	48.5	31.8
Level-Headedly	3.85	1.5	6.1	16.7	57.6	18.2
Respectfully	3.80	1.5	12.1	16.7	43.9	25.8
Calmly	3.36	3.0	21.2	27.3	33.3	15.2
Confrontationally	2.70	21.2	31.8	15.2	19.7	12.1
Disrespectfully	2.48	28.8	33.3	12.1	12.1	13.6

How Respondents Think They Would React to Future Police Interaction

Table 4.23 shows how respondents rate their feelings with respect to future incidences from *not at all afraid* to being *very afraid* of becoming a victim of police brutality. Almost two-thirds of the respondents (61.5%) stated that they are very afraid of becoming a victim of police brutality. Only a small percentage of respondents (11%) stated that they were not afraid of becoming a victim, with a mean score of 5.41 of a scale of 1 (*not at all afraid*) to 10 (*very afraid*).

Table 4.23

Mean Score and Percentage Distribution for Afraid of Becoming a Victim of Police Brutality (N = 109)

Question	M	Not at all Afraid				Neutral			Very Afraid		
		%				%			%		
		1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
Afraid of Becoming a Victim of Police Brutality	5.41	6.42	2.75	1.83	.92	8.26	9.17	9.17	8.26	4.59	48.6

NOTE: Opinion scale = (1 = Not Afraid at all to 10 = Very Afraid of becoming a Victim of Police Brutality)

Table 4.24 shows how respondents' rate how they think they will feel in the future if they are in a police encounter. Three-fourths (76.5%) of the respondents *strongly agreed* or *agreed* that they think they will feel afraid of becoming a victim of police brutality in the future, with a mean score of 4.12. Similarly, three quarters (75.5%) of the respondents either *strongly agreed* or *agreed* that will feel nervous in a future police encounter, with a mean score of 4.04. Over half (60.8%) *strongly agreed* or *agreed* that they would feel powerless, while only (16.7%) *strongly disagreed* or *disagreed*, with a mean score of 3.65. Slightly below half (45.1%) of respondents indicated that they *strongly agreed* or *agreed* that they will feel like complaining, with a mean score of 3.34. Also, substantially less than half (38.3%) *strongly agreed* or *agreed* that they will feel angry, with a mean score of 3.31. Lastly, a small percentage (13.7%), *strongly agreed* or *agreed* that they will feel like fighting, while (53%) *strongly disagreed* or *disagreed* with this statement, for a mean score of 2.43.

Table 4.24

Mean Score and Percentage Distribution for How Respondents Think They Will Feel in Future Police Encounters (N = 121)

Feeling	<i>M</i>	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neither Disagree or Agree	Agree	Strongly Agree
		%	%	%	%	%
Feel afraid of becoming a victim of police brutality	4.12	2.9	4.9	15.7	30.4	46.1
Feel Nervous	4.04	2.9	1.0	20.6	40.2	35.3
Feel Powerless	3.65	6.9	9.8	22.5	33.3	27.5
Feel like complaining	3.34	7.8	12.7	34.3	27.5	17.6
Feel Angry	3.31	6.9	9.8	45.1	21.6	16.7
Feel like fighting	2.43	25.5	27.5	33.3	5.9	7.8

Table 4.25 shows how the respondents think they will react in future police encounters. Roughly three-fourths (76.5%) *strongly agreed* or *agreed* that they think they will react nervously in a future police encounter, with a mean score of 4.04. Similarly, 75.4% *strongly agreed* or *agreed* that they will react leveled headedly, with a mean score of 3.93. Over half (71.5%) *strongly agreed* or *agreed* that they will react compliantly, with a mean score of 3.87. Similarly, 65.7% *strongly agreed* or *agreed* that they will react respectfully, with a mean score of 3.71. As well as 64.7% *strongly agreed* or *agreed* that they will react calmly, with a mean score of 3.65. Over half of the respondents *strongly agreed* or *agreed* that they will react frustratedly, with a mean score of 3.62. Only, 18.6% *strongly agreed* or *agreed* that they will react disrespectfully, while almost half (47.1%) *strongly disagreed* or *disagreed*, with a mean score of

2.64. Lastly, 13.7% *strongly agreed* or *agreed* that they will react confrontationally, while over half (52%) *strongly disagreed* or *disagreed*, with a mean score of 2.49.

Table 4.25

Mean Score and Percentage Distribution for How Respondents Think They Will React in Future Police Encounters (N = 121)

Reactions	<i>M</i>	Strongly Disagree %	Disagree %	Neither Disagree or Agree %	Agree %	Strongly Agree %
Nervously	4.04	2.9	2.0	18.6	42.2	34.3
Level-Headedly	3.93	1.0	2.9	20.6	52.9	22.5
Compliantly	3.87	2.9	2.0	23.5	48.0	23.5
Respectfully	3.71	4.9	4.9	25.4	46.1	19.6
Calmly	3.65	5.9	5.9	23.5	47.1	17.6
Frustrated	3.62	3.9	8.8	29.4	37.3	20.6
Disrespectfully	2.64	16.7	30.4	34.3	9.8	8.8
Confrontationally	2.49	16.7	35.3	34.3	9.8	3.9

As shown in Table, 4.15, a large majority (87.6%) stated that they had a person close to them that had been in trouble with the law. Slightly over half (59.5%) were present when this person had trouble with the law. There were 63 respondents that provided a narrative on how the person reacted during their encounter with the law enforcement officer. Based on their narrative, about one-third (20.0%) of the respondents indicated that the person remained calm and complied.

Four-fifths (80.2%) also felt that they had been stereotyped by the police and virtually all (97.5%) had had a positive interaction with a police officer. Over half stated that the Black Lives Matter Movement negatively affected their perception of police. Almost three quarters (71.9%) of respondents stated that the Insurrection at the Capitol in Washington, D.C, had a negative

effect on their current opinion of police officers. Slightly, over half (59.8%) stated that they had a personal negative experience with a police officer. Most negative experiences were auto related incidents (90.0%), such as a speeding ticket, parking ticket, driving without a license, etc.

Close to three-fourths *agreed* or *strongly agreed* that they reacted compliantly, nervously, frustratedly, level-headed, and respectfully during their personal negative interaction. They were much less likely to *agree* or *strongly agree* that they would react confrontationally or disrespectfully. As shown on Table 4.24, a large majority (76.5%) stated that they were afraid of becoming a victim of police brutality. Just over half (53.0%) stated that they would feel nervous or powerless in future police encounters. Slightly under half (45.1%) stated that they would feel like complaining or be angry in future police encounters. Only a small percentage (13.6%) stated that they would feel like fighting.

Research Question 6—Conditions That Could Influence Compliant Response

Research Question 6 was, “What narrative responses point to conditions that could influence a compliant response to a police encounter?” These two scenarios were given at the end of the survey for respondents to read each and give some thought to how they perceive they would respond in each of these real-life experiences. The scenarios were thought provoking and gave several possible responses for each respondent to write in an answer to fully explain how they would handle each of the scenarios. Conformity or confrontation were both given as possible actions that the respondent could select. Tables 4.26 and 4.27 present the responses given for the following scenarios.

The first scenario was as follows:

Suppose you are at a family gathering in an upper-middle class neighborhood and a White neighbor calls the police to complain about the noise and cars being parked in front of their house. When the police arrive, they go next door and speak with the neighbor on their porch. The neighbor continues to watch from their porch as the police come over to your family gathering and tell your family members that they have to turn

off their music and everyone who is parked in front of the neighbor's house must move their cars or they will be towed. How would you react if you were one of the family members who parked in front of the neighbor's house? (Please select all that apply)

The actions included: confront the neighbor and tell them they're racist and do not own the street; confront the officer and tell them they're harassing your family; confront the officer and tell them the neighbor is racist; refuse to move your car or tell the police officer he is wrong; confront the officer but still move your car; comply with the officer's request or other and please explain. The possible actions were: No, would not take this action, may possibly take this action, and yes, would definitely take this action.

The majority of the respondents (65%) stated that they would "Not confront the neighbor and tell them they're racist that does not own the street." Furthermore, 61.2% stated that would refuse to move their car. Slightly over half (52.4%) indicated that they would definitely comply with the officer. Just under half (47.6%) stated that they would "confront officer and tell them they're harassing your family." Percentages for the responses are shown in Table 4.26.

Table 4.26

Percentage and Frequency Distribution for How Respondents May React in Scenario One

Action Option	No, would not take this action		May possibly take this action		Yes, would definitely take this action	
	<i>N</i>	%	<i>N</i>	%	<i>N</i>	%
Confront neighbor & tell them they're racist that does not own the street	67	65.0	19	18.4	17	16.5
Confront officer & they're harassing your family	49	7.6	38	36.9	16	15.5
Confront officer & tell them the neighbor is racist	54	52.4	35	34.0	14	13.6
Refuse to move your car	63	61.2	23	22.3	17	16.5
Tell the police officer he is wrong	34	33.0	46	44.7	23	22.3
Confront officer but still move your car	34	33.0	46	44.7	23	22.3
Comply with the officer	17	16.5	32	31.1	54	52.4
Other (please explain)	55	58.5	26	27.7	13	13.8

The *Other (Please Explain)* response included either complying with the officer or questioning the officer. Most of the respondents' narratives referred to complying. For example, "Best practice is to comply. Although, it's been shown that complying hasn't always resulted in a positive outcome, even where it's shown that an individual complied." Another respondent stated, "Follow commands and be respectful." Some of respondents stated, "I always follow the laws, not raising your voice to authority," or "I don't want any involvement with the police." There was only one respondent that stated, "I have a right to question authority."

The second scenario was:

Suppose you are in an urban neighborhood, and you do not come to a complete stop at the stop sign. You are then pulled over by a very aggressive White police officer who is ordering you to get out the car. The officer hasn't given you a ticket or explained why he is telling you to get out of the car. How would you react? (Please check all that apply)

The action choices were as follows: questioning the officer as to why he is asking you to get out of the car; getting your phone and start recording your interaction with the police; confronting the officer and refuse to get out the car; politely complying with all orders given by the officer in hopes of diffusing the situation; and other, please explain. The possible actions were as follows: *No, would not take this action*, *may possibly take this action*, and *Yes, would definitely take this action*.

There was an almost even split, with half indicating they that would question the officer as to why he is asking you to get out of the car (52.4%) and the other half indicating they would not or would only possibly take this action. Then another 54.4% would get their phone and start recording your interaction with the police. The majority (62.1%), however, indicated they would not confront the officer and refuse to get out the car. And almost half (49.5%) replied that they would politely comply with all orders given by the officer in hopes of diffusing the situation.

Table 4.27

*Percentage and Frequency Distribution for How Respondents May React in Scenario Two (N=103 except as noted with *)*

Percentage and Frequency Distribution for How Respondents May React in Scenario Two Action Option	No, would not take this action		May possibly take this action		Yes, would definitely take this action	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
Question the officer as to why he is asking you to get out of the car.	19	18.4	30	29.1	54	52.4
*Get your phone and start recording your interaction with the police.	14	13.6	33	32.0	56	54.4
Confront officer & refuse to get out the car.	64	62.1	30	29.1	9	8.7
Politely comply with all orders given by the officer in hopes of diffusing the situation.	8	7.8	44	42.7	51	49.5
Other, please explain (N=101)*	64	63.4	23	22.8	14	13.9

The *Other (Please explain)* responses included requesting another officer or supervisor, filing a complaint afterwards, and complying in an effort to defuse the situation. The response of requesting another officer included, “Call 911 to explain the situation, but also let them know that the officer is aggressive;” “I want to comply, but I’m scared;” and “Please send someone else so that I can comply.”

Another respondent stated, “request a supervisor.” Some narrative responses indicated they would file a complaint after the incident occurred, including, “Definitely follow up with a

complaint and get the name/badge number of the officer and follow up with a complaint” and “continue to question the officer.” Lastly, a respondent stated, “I would comply with the officer, in this situation there is no win, the officer has already decided what the outcome will be” and “Try to defuse the situation.” Two respondents stated, “I would be upset and afraid of being shot,” and “Why are the White officers so upset and mad at us?”

In the first scenario, a slight majority (67%) agreed that they may possibly or definitely would take the action of telling the police they were wrong, and the same percentage stated they would confront the officer but still move their car. A large percentage (83.5%) stated that they would comply with the officer’s request.

In the second scenario, a large majority (81.5%) stated that they would question the officer as to why they are being asked to get out of the car. An equally large percentage (86.4%) would get their phone to start recording their interaction with the police. Only three quarters (37.8%) stated they would confront the officer and would refuse to get out the car. An overwhelming percentage (92.2%) stated that they would politely comply with all orders given by the officer in hopes of diffusing the situation.

Summary Quantitative and Qualitative Results

Two-thirds of the respondents were female, virtually all respondents were Black, and the majority were between age 36–40 years old. A large majority of respondents had some college or an advanced degree. Almost half of the respondents were raised by their mother only. Just over half did not live in a neighborhood with a heavy police presence and three-fourths did not participate in any police-sponsored after-school programs. For those respondents who did have police-sponsored after-school programs, the most popular programs were Police Athletic Leagues (PAL) and other sports related programs.

Only a small percentage of the respondents had police-sponsored after-school programs offered; however, for those that did have access to these there was a positive influence on their opinion of police. Furthermore, these programs had a positive influence on respondents' teen and current view of police. On a scale of 1 (very negative) to 10 (very positive), the mean score for opinion of police was 5.40 in teen years, 4.88 for the helpfulness of police during their teen years, and a much lower 3.33 for their current opinion. Respondents' current opinion of police was significantly more negative than in their teen years. There were no statistically significant differences by age group, education, or gender on any of the opinion questions about police.

The TV/Internet/newspaper, social media, and family all had a major or moderate influence on respondents' current opinion of police. TV/Internet/newspaper had a positive influence on respondents' teen opinion of police and on helpfulness of police in their teen years. However, positive influence of TV/Internet/newspaper on opinion of police in the teen years changed to a negative influence for current opinion of police. Those age 35 and under were more influenced by social media and school than the age 36 or older respondents. The neighborhood and the heavy police presence during their teen years was associated with a more negative opinion of police.

The variables of having a positive encounter with police, knowing a police officer, and hearing someone close to the respondent talk kindly about police officers in their teens had a positive influence on respondents' current opinion of police. The variable of having someone close to the respondent during their teen years tell them not trust the police was associated with a more negative current opinion of the police. Being afraid of police during their teen years was also associated with a more negative current opinion of the police.

Most of the respondents had a person close to them have trouble with the law and were present when an encounter with the police happened. A large majority (80.2%) of the respondents felt they have been stereotyped by the police. However, at the same time, most of the respondents (97.5%) also acknowledged that they had also had at least one positive encounter with a police officer.

Well over half of the respondents indicated that the Black Lives Matters Movement and the Capitol Insurrection led to a more negative view of police. Regression analysis showed that the strongest influences on current opinion of police were the capitol insurrection and having had a positive or negative experience with police. The capitol insurrection was associated with a negative view of police; this result is difficult to interpret and is further discussed in Chapter V. In the regression analyses, this negative view translated to a “positive” influence on the largely negative current view of police. Having had a previous positive encounter with police had a negative influence on respondents’ current opinion of police. Having had a previous negative experience with police led to a more negative current opinion.

Most negative encounters with a police officer were related to an auto incident, such as a speeding ticket, parking ticket, or driving without a license. Respondents reported they felt like complaining or felt powerless during their negative encounter with the police. On the one hand, over three-fourths (78.7%) reported reacting to their personal negative experience with a police officer compliantly. On the other hand, a significant proportion (70.6%) were afraid to some degree of becoming a victim of police brutality during the encounter. For those who had a negative experience with police, 60.8% stated that they felt powerless, angry, nervous, and afraid of becoming a victim of police brutality. About three quarters of respondents stated that they were compliant, nervous, frustrated, had a level head, and respectful in their previous encounters

with police. Most people (78%) stated they would comply, while only 32% stated that they would confront.

The narrative showed that respondents knew that the best practice was to comply, be respectful, and follow all orders given by the police officer. Thinking about how they will feel in future encounters with police, about three-fourths (75.5%) think they will be afraid, nervous, or feel powerless. Slightly less than half (45.4%) felt that they would feel like complaining or be angry, and a small percentage (13.7%) stated that they will feel like fighting. Thinking about how they will feel in future encounters with police, about three quarters think they will react nervously, level-headedly, and compliantly (75.5%). About two thirds will react respectfully and calmly. About half stated they will react frustratedly and less than a quarter will react disrespectfully or confrontationally. About two-thirds responded to the first scenario that they would not confront the neighbor nor the police officer. Close to half stated that they would comply with police officer in the first scenario. In the second scenario, about half of the respondents reported that they would question the officer. However, half stated that they would still politely comply. The narrative responses included requesting a supervisor and getting the officers name and badge number to follow up with a complaint. Lastly, their narrative responses included being upset and being afraid of being shot.

In Chapter V, I will discuss how the key findings relate to the existing literature that was discussed in Chapter II. This will include the implications of my findings regarding the various stereotypes of African Americans, theories of differential association, and the need for adaptive leadership, that emerged in the Chapter II literature.

CHAPTER V: DISCUSSION OF FINDINGS

The purpose of this study was to uncover the life experiences and demographic factors that may have influenced People of Color to either comply or confront law enforcement officers when interacting with them. In this study People of Color, Blacks, and African Americans are all terms used interchangeably to describe the respondent's race. The idea of this study started with the viewing of a televised incident involving an officer who shot a Person of Color. As the use of technology expands, the number of incidents of African Americans being victimized by police on camera grows rapidly and brings forth the need for a solution to this serious social problem.

“A choice of paradigm is based on a researcher's ontology or belief system that guides the way we think about and do research” (Pringle & Booyesen, 2018, p. 21). With this in mind, my doctoral research is related to those issues that I find most important to me. African Americans being victimized and oppressed is a major concern. No doubt my interest in these issues is partially due to my being African American as well as a criminal justice professional. Therefore, my scholarship and my research are influenced by these factors. For this dissertation, I have chosen to use the symbolic interactionism paradigm. The paradigm focuses on the meanings attached to human interaction which may be both verbal and non-verbal. Verbal possibly being adjectives used toward a person/group and non-verbal can include violent actions toward a single person or group. I believe symbolic interactionism addresses the actions that are found within this study between Persons of Color and law enforcement.

This concluding chapter is organized as follows. I first present an overview of the findings with a focus on themes. I then discuss the contribution of the results to the existing differential association and adaptive leadership literature, revisiting understandings from existing literature and everyday stereotypes about African Americans and the key findings of this study. Study findings are then discussed in terms of their contribution to the Leadership and Change

field as well as possible ways to lend the findings from this study to other concepts that can inform future actions and research. This discussion is followed by a consideration of future actions and research and study limitations, including changes in the research design due to the global COVID-19 pandemic. In the final section of this dissertation, I add personal reflections guided by my reaction to conducting this research study.

Research Questions

This study addressed the following research questions:

1. What are the characteristics of survey respondents?
2. What was the respondents' perception of police in their youth and their current perception of police?
3. What influence did demographic characteristics have on respondents' perception of police in their youth? And now?
4. What influence did respondents' early experiences have on perception of police in their youth? And now?
5. What influence did respondents' more recent experiences have on their current perception of police?
6. What narrative responses point to conditions that could influence a compliant response to a police encounter?

Interpretation of Findings

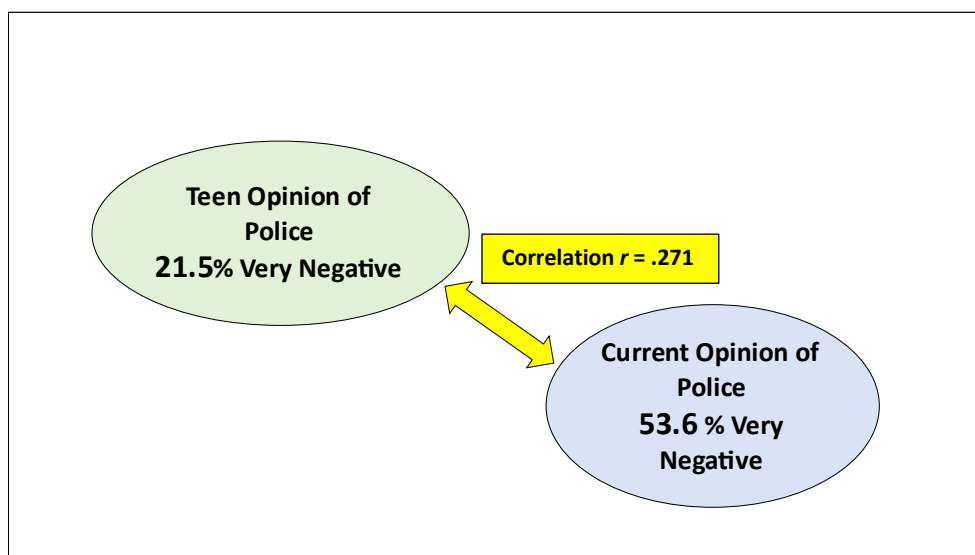
Overall, about two-thirds of the survey respondents were female and almost all identified as African American. Of the 121 respondents, only 102 (84%) answered most of the demographic questions, which included race, age, where raised, and who raised them. Of the 102 that responded to the demographic questions, 98 respondents identified as African American and

four stated they were Persons of Color who self-identified as Asian, Pacific Islander, Latino, Hispanic, and Moor. There was an even age split, with about half under 30 and the other half over 30 years old. Participants were roughly evenly spread across educational levels. A majority (64.5%) were raised in an urban area, but generally not in a housing project. There was an even split between those raised in a two-parent household and those raised in a single parent, primarily mother only, household. About one fourth were raised by someone other than their parent. This demographic information helped paint the picture of the respondent's background and suggests who these findings can be generalized to as well as who will receive the most benefit from this study. This demographic data led to Research Question 2, "What was the respondents' perception of police in their youth and their current perception of police?"

Overall, respondents currently had a more negative opinion of police than they did during their teen years, as can be seen in Figure 5.1. There was no statistically significant difference by age group for any of the police opinion questions, which included: their opinion of police as a teen, their opinion on helpfulness of police as a teen, and their current opinion of police. Furthermore, there was no statistically significant difference by gender or educational level for any of the opinion of police questions. Helpfulness of police during their teen years was strongly positively correlated to their opinion of police during this same period. Opinion regarding the police during their teen years had a low correlation ($r = .271$) with their current overall view of police. About one-fifth of the respondents had a very negative opinion of police in their teen years compared to over half currently having the same very negative opinion. Figure 5.1 illustrates the respondents change in percentage of very negative opinion of police from their teen years and currently.

Figure 5.1

Change in Percentage with Very Negative Opinion of Police between Teen Years and Currently



This information led to Research Question 3, “What influence did demographic characteristics have on respondents’ perception of police in their youth? And now?”

Regression analysis was used to address Research Question 3. The findings indicated that about two-fifths (39.7%) of respondents had a heavy police presence in their neighborhoods. A somewhat lower percentage (25.6%) knew they had police-sponsored programs in their neighborhood during their teen years. For the quarter of respondents that had been in police-sponsored programs, the most commonly reported was Police Athletic League, as well as other sports programs. Heavy police presence in their neighborhood had a negative influence on their teen opinion of police, while being involved in police-sponsored activities, had a positive influence on both teen and current opinion of police. Many respondents (64.5%) lived in an urban environment during their teen years while only 15.7% lived in a housing project. Social structure theories hold that most people share common values and beliefs but the ability to achieve them is differentiated throughout the social structure. Cultural deviance theories hold

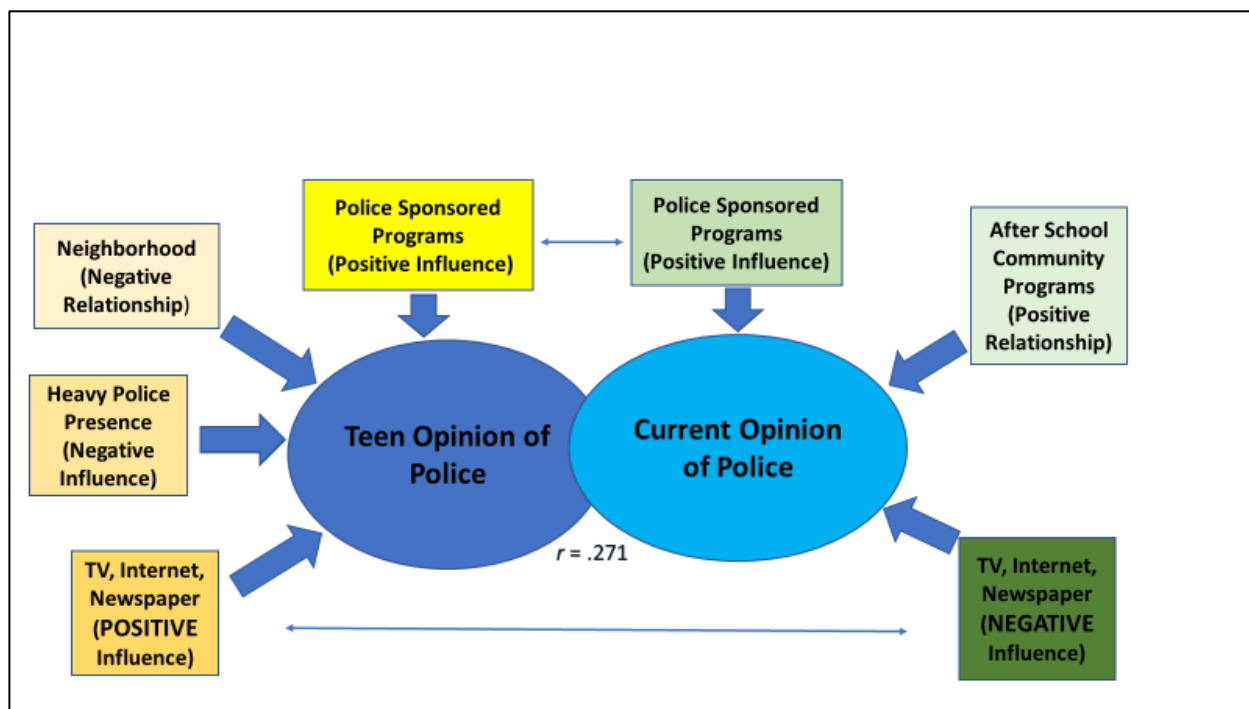
that a unique value system develops in lower class areas. Lower class values approve of behaviors such as being tough, never showing fear, and defying authority (Siegel, 2015).

Based on respondents' perception of influence on their opinion of police, the TV, Internet, or newspaper variable had the largest percentage (68.6%) thinking it was a *moderate* to *major* influence and the lowest percentage thinking that the church was a moderate to major influence on their current opinion of police. In the regression analyses, participating in police-sponsored after school programs made the strongest unique contribution to explaining their opinion of police in their teen years. Participating in police-sponsored after school programs also contributed to their current opinion of police. Those with experience in police-sponsored after school programs were more likely to have a positive opinion of police in their teen years as well as in their current view.

Regression analyses with sources of influence showed that the TV/Internet/newspaper variable positively influenced their teen opinion of police, while type of neighborhood negatively influenced that opinion during their teen years. On the other hand, the TV/Internet/newspaper variable had a negative influence on current opinion of police. In addition, after school community activities had a positive influence on respondent's current opinion of the police. These findings led to Research Question 4, "What influence did respondents' early experiences on perception of police in their youth? And now? Figure 5.2 illustrates the neighborhood and media factors that contributed to the respondent's opinion of police.

Figure 5.2

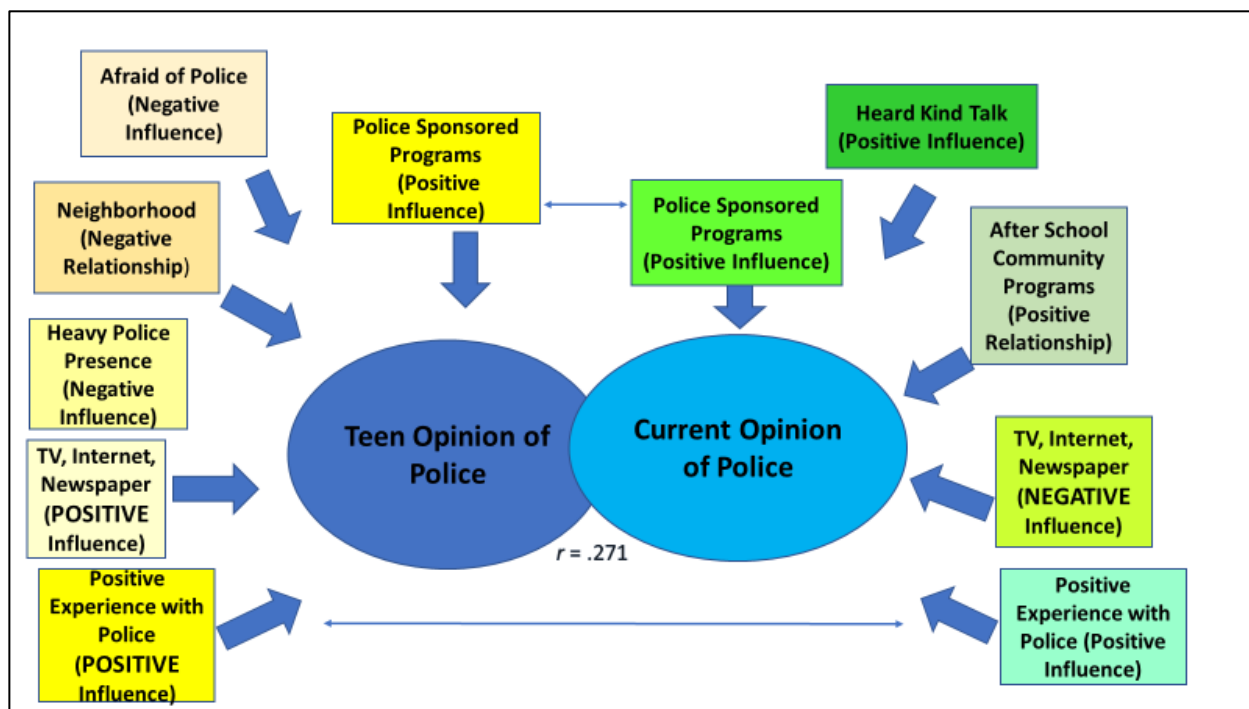
Neighborhood and Media Factors that Contributed to Opinion of Police



Regression analysis was used to address Research Question 4. The majority (61.1%) *agreed* or *strongly agreed* that having had a positive encounter with a police officer during their teens influenced their current opinion of police. About half (53.7%) *agreed* or *strongly agreed* that knowing a police officer in their teens influenced their current opinion of police. Only one third (36.4%) *agreed* or *strongly agreed* that hearing someone close to them talk kindly about a police officer influenced their current opinion. In the regression model, positive encounters with police made the strongest unique contribution to explaining the view of police in their teen years. Being afraid of police when they were a teen also made a small negative contribution to their opinion during their teen years. Having heard kind words about police and having had positive encounters with police both had a positive influence on their current opinion of police. Figure 5.3 illustrates all the factors that contributed to the respondent's opinion of police.

Figure 5.3

All Regression Analyses Results for Factors that Contributed to Opinion of Police



After identifying what teen year influences most affected opinions in Research Question 4, Research Question 5 asked, “What influence did respondents’ more recent experiences have on their current perception of police?”

A majority (59.5%) of the respondents stated that they had a person close to them that had been in trouble with the law; slightly over half of these respondents were present when the person had trouble with the law. There were 63 respondents that gave a narrative response on how the person close to them reacted during their encounter with the law enforcement officer. Based on their narrative responses, about one-third of the respondents indicated that the person remained calm and complied.

A large majority (82.2%) also felt that they had been stereotyped by the police and an equal number also stated that they had a positive interaction with a police officer. Over half

stated that the Black Lives Matter Movement negatively affected their current perception of police. According to Shullman (2020), “the deaths of innocent Black people targeted by police specifically because of their race are both deeply shocking and shockingly routine” (para. 3). The impact of these repeated horrific incidents is inflicting trauma on the broader African American community. Almost three quarters stated that the Insurrection at the Capitol in Washington, D.C. also had a negative effect on their current opinion of police officers.

Slightly over half stated that they had had a personal negative experience with a police officer. The majority (90%) of the personal negative experiences with police were auto related incidents, such as a speeding ticket, parking ticket, driving without a license, etc. Over half of those with a previous personal negative experience stated that during the encounter they acted compliantly (78.7%), level-headedly (75.8%), respectfully (69.7%), and calmly (48.5%) during their personal negative interaction. Similarly, 75.7% also indicated that they acted nervously or frustratedly (80.3%).

Thinking about possible future encounters, only a small percentage stated that they would react confrontationally (31.8%) or disrespectfully (25.7%). Also, in future encounters a large percentage (75.4%) stated they would react with a level-head, compliantly (71.5%), respectfully (65.7%), and calmly (64.7%). A very large majority (76.5%) stated that they were nevertheless afraid of becoming a victim of police brutality. The findings of this study support research that shows “that compared with Whites, Blacks feel more negative stereotype threats and more racial profiling when interacting with the police” (Shullman, 2020, para. 6). The majority stated that they would feel nervous (75.7%) or powerless (81.8%) in future police encounters. Slightly under half stated that they would feel like complaining or be angry in future police encounters. Less than half stated that they would feel like fighting.

Two hypothetical situations of real-life scenarios were presented at the end of the survey. The respondents were asked to reflect on how they might react if faced with these types of real-life situations. In the first scenario, a slight majority (67%) agreed that they might possibly or definitely would take the action of telling the police they were wrong, and the same percentage stated they would confront the officer but still move their car. Nevertheless, at the same time, 83.5% stated that they would possibly or definitely comply with the officer's request with no further action(s).

In the second scenario, four-fifths (81.5%) stated that they would question the officer as to why they are being asked to get out of the car. An equally high percentage (86.4%) would get their phone to start recording their interaction with the police. Only one-third (37.8%) stated they would confront the officer and would refuse to get out of the car. An overwhelming percentage (92.2%) stated that they would politely comply with all orders given by the officer in hopes of diffusing the situation. Figure 5.4 gives the percentages of how respondents complied and confronted police officers in given situations.

Figure 5.4*Quantitative Evidence about Complying or Confronting*

Evidence of Respondents Reacted Compliant in Their Past Police Experience	Evidence of Respondents Reacted Confrontational in Their Past Police Experience
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Compliantly – (78.7%), Level – Headed (75.8%), Respectfully – (69.7%), and Calmly – (48.5%) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Nervously – (75.7%) and Frustratedly – (80.3%)
Evidence of How Respondents Will React Compliant in Future Police Encounters	Evidence of How Respondents Will React Confrontational in Future Police Encounters
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Level headed – (75.4%), Compliantly – (71.5%), Respectfully – (65.7%), and Calmly – (64.7%) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Confrontational – (31.8%) and Disrespectful – (25.7%)
How Respondents Will React to Scenario 1	How Respondents Will React to Scenario 2
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> In the first scenario a slight majority (67%) agreed that they may possibly or definitely would take the action of telling the police they were wrong and the same percentage stated they would confront the officer but still move their car. A large percentage (83.5%) stated that they would comply with the officer's request. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> In the second scenario a large majority (81.5%) stated that they would question the officer as to why they are being asked to get out of the car. An equally large percentage (86.4%) would get their phone to start recording their interaction with the police. Only one-third, (37.8%) stated they would confront the officer and would refuse to get out the car. A overwhelming percentage (92.2%) stated that they would politely comply.

Research Question 6 asked, “What narrative responses point to conditions that could influence a compliant response to a police encounter?” Opportunities for narrative feedback were included in each survey section and particularly for questions asking respondents to reflect on their likely response to the two hypothetical scenarios. The scenarios were thought provoking and gave several possible responses as well as an opportunity for each respondent to write in an answer to fully explain how they would handle each of the scenarios. Conformity or confrontation of the officer were both given as possible actions that the respondent could select. Figure 5.5 gives the narrative statements of how respondents felt they had complied or confronted police officers in given situations.

Figure 5.5*Narrative Evidence of Complying or Confronting*

Complying	Confronting
<p>Evidence of Respondents Person Close to them Complied</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • “They remained as calm as possible.” • “They complied because they were nervous and scared for their life.” • “They remained calm and followed the police instructions even though they did nothing wrong.” • “They tried to remain calm but the police officer kept calling him Monkey Boy.” • “He complied with tear filled eyes.” <p>Evidence of Complying from Scenarios</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • “Not raising your voice to authorities.” • “I always follow the laws.” • “I don’t want any involvement with the police.” 	<p>Evidence of Respondents Person Close to them Confronted</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • “The irritation level was on an all-time high and elevated tones while speaking back and forth but no police brutality.” • “The person went to jail.” • “The police eventually left without an arrest.” • “He was murdered.” • “They ended up being maced and handcuffed for not following orders.” • “They were angry and not handled well. The police knew my family so interactions were bad.” <p>Evidence of Confronting from Scenarios</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • “I have the right to question authority.” • “Definitely get neighborly revenge in a few days.”

The next section of discussion and overview of findings by themes will discuss the influences that shaped the respondent’s opinion of police and the impact that the Black Lives Matter Movement and the Capitol Insurrection had on respondents’ current opinion of police. Lastly, the theories that led this research is matched with the findings of this study, along with theories that will be used in future research that has been identified in this study.

Discussion and Overview of Findings by Themes

The respondent’s opinion of police was more favorable during their teen years than their current opinion. Most respondents did not live in a housing project, but they did live in an urban area during their teen years. Of the respondents that had access to participate in police-sponsored after-school programs, this participation fostered a relationship with police and those respondents had a more positive opinion in their teen years as well as currently. The most common

police-sponsored programs were sports related. However, those respondents that lived in neighborhoods that had a heavy police presence had a more negative opinion of police during their teen years.

During their teen years, the use of TV, the Internet, or newspaper had a positive influence on their opinion of police; however, these same sources had a negative effect on their current opinion. A conclusion can be drawn that there is much more access to news about negative police encounters now than in the past. For this reason, the President of the American Psychological Association issued a statement urging,

those who are experiencing trauma in the aftermath of these tragedies to practice self-care. Connect with family, friends, and other community support people, talk about your feelings and limit your exposure and that of your children to news media and viral videos. (Shullman, 2020, para. 8)

The findings of my study support limiting exposure to news media because it can have a negative effect on individuals' opinion of police.

A large majority felt stereotyped by the police in past encounters, but an equally large percentage had a positive encounter with police in the past. Both the Black Lives Matter Movement and the Capitol Insurrection negatively affected their current opinion of police. The Black Lives Matter Movement has further demonstrated the injustices that unarmed People of Color have suffered at the hands of police. The Capitol Insurrection demonstrated that there is still so much hatred, prejudice, and racism in America as well as how far some Americans are willing to use violence to prove a point; this demonstration of hatred also negatively affected the current opinion of police. The former President Trump supporters that participated in the Capitol Insurrection was a current and in your face reminder of the racism that still exist in the United States. In the Capitol Insurrection the police were the victims of violence, the victimization of police officers appears to have had little effect on sympathy from the respondents.

Findings in Terms of Adaptive Leadership and Compliance

Adaptive leadership is about encouraging people to create change that then enables them to thrive (Heifetz et al., 2014). This study asked respondents about their past and possible future behavior with respect to encounters with police. The findings overwhelmingly suggest the respondents' plan to comply in future police interactions. Over half stated that they were compliant (78.7%), level-headed (75.8%), and respectful (69.7%) during their personal negative interaction. Thinking about possible future encounters, only a small percentage stated that they would be confrontational (31.8%) or disrespectful (25.7%).

Adaptive leadership is an informal, relational leadership process (Uhl-Bien, 2011). African Americans must see themselves as informal self-leaders with the power to determine the outcome of police encounters through compliance in an effort to de-escalate elevated police interactions. Consequently, when African Americans feel that they are being targeted or harassed by a police officer, it is up to them to employ adaptive leadership skills and adjust their behavior in meaningful ways that can defuse the situation. Study findings from both the scenario questions on the survey show that the vast majority of respondents would comply with officer's requests in these given situations.

There are a host of negative stereotypes about African Americans that are believed by many people to be factual, such as the inability to comply with police orders or to approach police interactions with high levels of trust and diligence (Price & Payton, 2017). According to Hall et al. (2015), these stereotypes include that African Americans have superhuman strength, African American youth appear to be older than they are, and African Americans are violent criminals. These negative stereotypes can be proven false if African Americans always carry themselves in positive ways, and most importantly in police confrontations. Conforming to all

orders given by the officer when in police confrontations is the key to de-escalating these encounters and keeping them from becoming violent. The findings of this study refutes these stereotypes in that only a small percentage (4.3%) of respondents had been involved in a serious crime. Some of the respondents' quotes included,

I have on several occasions asked police officers for help, and they have helped me out. I have also not received traffic tickets when dealing with police officers in a kind and friendly manner.

I was driving a rental car while my car was being repaired and they forgot to put tags on the rental car. I was pulled over by a police officer, I was polite and listened as he told me to proceed home and call the rental car dealership in the morning so that they could fix the issue.

Findings in Terms of Differential Association

According to Sutherland (1973), differential association theory is the view that people commit crime when their social learning leads them to perceive more definitions favoring crime and deviance than favoring conventional behavior. Therefore, criminal behavior is learned and has a direct correlation with frequency, priority, duration, and intensity (Sutherland, 1973).

In this context, it is evident that many African Americans learn at a very young age to distrust the police from their family/friends, stories they have been told, or from firsthand experiences. One respondent recalled, "My family member was cuffed and put in the back of the police car. The police officer took a picture of him. My family member was crying, however, they let him go afterwards." Although, mistrusting the police is not criminal behavior, it is learned behavior illustrating why differential association theory can be used to explain how African Americans come to be suspicious of the police. This study's findings further add to the literature in that the majority (87.6%) stated that a person close to them that had been in trouble with the law, with over half (59.5%) present when the person close to them had their encounter with the law. Seeing

someone close to them in a police encounter had a negative effect on the respondent's current opinion of police.

Implications for Leadership and Change

The findings in this study suggest that the vast majority of African Americans believe that it is very important to comply with police officers when involved in a police confrontation. The overwhelming majority of respondents have acted in this way during their previous experience in police encounters. The majority also stated that were afraid of becoming a victim of police brutality in future encounters with police. People of Color are afraid of police and have been taught to be afraid of the police at a young age. This fear transfers forward with each generation continuing to carry the mistrust of the police into future generations; this shows that differential association theory is a useful tool in order to move forward in the African American community as well as in the culture of policing. According to differential association theory, the individuals that a person spends most of their time with and holds in a high regard are the individuals from whom they will learn behaviors.

Some of the quotes from respondents that were present when a person close to them complied in an encounter with a police officer include:

“They remained calm and followed the police instructions even though they did nothing wrong.”

“They complied because they were nervous and scared for their life.”

“As expected. Calmly and safely for both the officer and my family member.”

This idea of learning from people you spend time with holds true for both People of Color and police. As both groups are further educated by the other there can be positive lasting changes. The idea of differential association is further supported by the respondents who

participated in and had access to police-sponsored after-school programs having a more positive opinion of police during their teen years. These police led activities fostered a positive relationship with those who participated. This same group also had a more positive view of the helpfulness of police during their teen years. Examples of the police-sponsored programs that respondents participated in were the following:

“During elementary school, I participated in Drug Awareness Resistance Education (DARE). The DARE Officer was very kind and understanding.”

“My high school football coach was a cop for my city as well as the high school I attended. It was all love then and is still the same way today.”

Future Action and Research

Looking at study findings in relation to other concepts such as anomie (Bernburg, 2002), social structure, and emotional intelligence theories points to ways study findings can be used in future teaching efforts designed to improve relations between African Americans and police officers. These theories can be used to gain insights to address and develop self-regulation skills in ordinary citizens as informal leaders. It is important that leaders, who work to combat police brutality, have a strong sense of their own purpose and engagement with this work. Individuals who approach the fight to combat police brutality will require commitment to the work. It is difficult to stay committed to this work when challenges arise if one does not have a sense of purpose in performing the work.

Future Action and Research Using Anomie Theory

Anomie theory advances the core idea that elements in society's structure promote deviance by making deviant behavior a viable adaptation to the social environment. The theory argues that deviance arises because of social and structural strains (including racism) presents

individuals and groups from acting consistently with societal norms. Bernburg (2002) defined anomie as “widespread lack of commitment to shared values, standards, and rules needed to regulate the behaviors and aspirations of individuals” (p. 729). Anomie theory sees such deviant behavior as disproportionately common in the lower class, specifically in groups who are unfairly excluded from society’s benefits by discrimination. The findings in this study were that most respondents resided in urban areas, maybe not in a housing project but in areas where there were a majority of People of Color against whom day-to-day and historical discrimination occurred. A few quotes from respondents included:

“Police officers could have treated me like a citizen instead of a criminal.”

“The police officer should have followed protocol and waited for his female colleague to speak with me. He could have talked to me like I was a human being and a grown woman. He could have also been less judgmental.”

People of Color are associated with being the minority group in the United States of America. Understanding that People of Color are especially prone to anomie could prove useful going forward to combat the pressures they may feel to seek illegal material gains or become victims of substance abuse. The theory justifies this assumption by reasoning that members of the lower class experience the greatest gap between pressure to succeed and the reality of low achievement. Considerable evidence certainly suggests a disproportionate likelihood that members of the lower class and minority groups will be seen as delinquents, criminals, alcoholics, drug addicts, and mental patients as compared to members of middle and upper classes who may engage in the same behavior (Clinard & Meier, 2016). Most respondents in this study felt stereotyped as deviant by the police, which exacerbates anomie.

People of Color must understand that this is the way society is structured for them to live in these conditions and that it also explains why there is a heavy police presence in their communities. The findings in this study further support this theory because virtually all respondents were Black and over half had had one or more negative experiences with police. A large majority had an encounter with police due to a driving related incident. One respondent stated,

It is sad that in America us Black men have to succumb to 19-year-old White cops that just got out of the police academy and are looking to make their mark by pulling over as many Black men as possible. So, when a police officer is approaching you know he has his hand on his weapon, also know that you because you are Black, you're already stereotyped to be dangerous. It doesn't matter if you're young or old, we scare those who don't understand us. So, you do as your told. Keep your hands where they can be seen, don't make any movement without the cop saying so, make sure all your paperwork is correct, and that your license is legit. Most of all pray that you drive away and not carried away. It's sad but it is the truth.

Police officers understand social structure and are aggressively trying to apprehend wrongdoers in these communities even if that means lumping the innocent and the guilty together. Criminologists, psychologists, and sociologists have routinely argued that the police profession attracts people with personality traits of machismo, having to look "brave" and masculine, authoritarianism, cynicism, and aggression (Twersky-Glasner, 2005). White police officers often work in predominantly African American neighborhoods where they are unfamiliar with the residents. Many of these White police officers have never lived in a neighborhood where there are African Americans. This means Whites have limited social interaction with African Americans, largely because of living in highly segregated neighborhoods (Gilbert & Ray, 2015). White police officers have been found to hold more racially biased attitudes than White citizens who are police (LeCount, 2017).

Once members of African American communities understand social structure and the way they are viewed by the police, they can work to change their positions in life. They can

change their circumstances by not falling into the trap of doing something illegal, furthering their education, obtaining a trade, or continuously working to make ends meet. They can also change the perception of the police officers by demonstrating self-control, complying, and being respectful.

Future Action and Research on Social Structure Theory

There are various social structure theories that seek to explain the plight of urban neighborhoods, such as social disorganization theory and strain theory. Social disorganization theory focuses on the urban conditions that affect crime rates. “Social disorganization theory suggests that slum dwellers violate the law because they live in areas where social control has broken down” (Siegel, 2015, p. 172). A disorganized area is one in which institutions of social control, such as the family, commercial establishments, and schools have been broken down and can no longer perform their expected or stated functions. Indicators of social disorganization include high unemployment and school dropout rates, deteriorated housing, low-income levels, and large numbers of single part households. Residents of these areas experience conflict and despair, and as a result, antisocial behavior flourishes (Siegel, 2015). Respondents gave quotes about their neighborhood and interactions with police illustrating this:

“The police should have respected my home when they were called and asked the homeowners which was my husband and I what was going on? Instead, he instantly went to the contractor who was White.”

“I was framed by the police for a crime I had no knowledge of.”

“I was racially profiled and was asked by the police how can I afford my car? And this isn’t going to be a big drug bust, is it?”

The findings in this study suggests that there are very few police-sponsored programs in urban neighborhoods. Only 25.6% of respondents stated that they had access to police-sponsored programs in their neighborhood. It was also found that the schools in these neighborhoods had very little influence on the opinions of the respondents. Those who did have an opportunity to participate in police-sponsored programs had a more positive opinion of police in their teens and currently. The major police-sponsored program mentioned in this study was sports related. An increased offering of police-sponsored programs and the resulting more positive relationships formed with police in schools in urban communities, would improve rapport between People of Color and police.

Future Action and Research on Emotional Intelligence

Emotional intelligence is one of the most important recent theories relevant to self-regulation because individuals must be able to control themselves in various situations especially ones that create fear and uncertainty. Emotional intelligence is needed in managing feelings so that they are expressed appropriately and effectively, enabling people to work together smoothly toward their common goal (Goleman, 1995). The goal for citizens is to walk away from the police encounter unharmed, and the goal for the officer is to do their job successfully. The findings in this study shows that most respondents are afraid of becoming a victim of police brutality. The majority also stated that they plan to comply with police in future police encounters, they just need to be equipped with the behaviors that convey this to the police during these encounters. With African American community members learning how to manage their emotions in police encounters, they are less likely to provoke the officer, thereby decreasing their chance of becoming a victim of police brutality.

Emotional intelligence is not fixed genetically, nor does it develop only in early childhood. “Emotional intelligence refers to the ability to perceive, control, and evaluate emotions. Some researchers suggest that emotional intelligence can be learned and strengthened, while others claim it is an inborn characteristic” (Okafor & Okoli, 2020). Unlike IQ, which changes little after our teen years, emotional intelligence seems to be largely learned, and it continues to develop throughout life. As experience accumulates, emotional intelligence keeps growing. In fact, studies that have tracked people’s level of emotional intelligence through the years show that people get better in these capabilities as they grow more adept at handling their own emotions and impulses, at motivating themselves, and at honing their own empathy and social adroitness. There is an old-fashioned word for this growth in emotional intelligence: maturity (Goleman, 1995). The emotional intelligence of People of Color will flourish more and more as they use it daily in their day-to-day interactions with others. With regular practice using emotional intelligence, African Americans will be better equipped to employ it when a police encounter occurs.

My Future Actions and Research

Having completed this research I am much better prepared to conduct and evaluate future trainings that may well save lives. I plan to offer a one-day training to include People of Color as well as police officers to discuss the findings of this study. The study findings can serve as a guide on how to prepare for the training, laying out what is already known about People of Color and their opinions of police. I will begin developing training on self-regulation of informal and formal leaders on taking an active but measured stance against police brutality in their communities by convening community leaders and public servants into a representative panel. The panel will co-create a plan to execute the training. Everyone on the panel will need to

acquire a basic understanding of social structure theory, and adaptive, social justice, and authentic leadership, to present this information to the trainees. With this knowledge, the panel members will be able to better understand how to serve as leaders with a population that has specific needs of self-regulation. Learning to keep calm in intense altercations with the police will help many people win an intrapersonal battle that has cost so many young African Americans their lives.

Exposing members of urban communities to social structure theories will help them understand how their social system work and how citizens may engage with it meaningfully. With a more solid understanding of the social structure theories, People of Color can start engaging in conversations with those in power to cooperatively develop solutions on how to correct some of the injustices suffered by minorities. The theories I plan to include in the training are adaptive leadership, social structure theory, and emotional intelligence. Understanding these leadership theories and how they can be applied will equip community members with a new perspective. They will learn to understand that they cannot control the behavior of law enforcement officers but can use these leadership approaches to control their *own* behavior. Some strategies they will learn are following the orders given by the police officer, being sure to never make any sudden moves, and act respectfully at all times.

The training will be given to adults using contemporary ideas on andragogy, the art and science of helping adults learn (Knowles, 1980). According to Knowles (1980), the foundation of andragogy is a fivefold perspective on the adult learner as someone who has an independent self-concept and who directs his or her own learning; has accumulated a reservoir of life experiences that is a rich resource for learning; has learning needs closely related to changing social roles; is problem-centered and interested in immediate application of knowledge; and is

motivated to learn by internal rather than external factors. Techniques of andragogy are especially relevant in contexts of longstanding oppression (Freire, 1981). Training adults gives them tools they can take with them and educate others including their own children. The training will be given from an informal learning perspective. Informal learning is intentional but not highly structured. Examples include self-directed learning, networking, coaching, mentoring, and performance planning that includes opportunities to review learning needs (Marsick & Watkins, 2001).

Adults that choose to attend the training hopefully will have a strong desire to learn to do what is needed to help combat police brutality as well as a willingness to think outside the box and come up with ideas that can also be useful in the training. Because adults manage other aspects of their lives, they are capable of directing, or at least assisting in planning, their own learning (Merriam, 2001).

Officers who participate in the planned training outlined above will also gain a great deal of insight from and about People of Color whom they serve in the community. They will get a chance to hear from the community members how afraid they often are of police and that the behaviors that they exhibit are not necessarily defiant but are out of fear. They will have an opportunity to learn how to interact with members of the urban community and see that they are not all criminals. The officers will be exposed to the African Americans culture and their ways of communicating.

Limitations of the Study

A limitation of this study was the scope as it was a one-time only online survey. This means there was only one opportunity to influence change and to collect data. This cross-sectional study also relied on a nonprobability convenience sample. These convenience

samples are especially useful because they are typically cheaper and easier to assemble. However, “Their major limitation is that results cannot be generalized beyond the group being tested” (Healey, 2015, p. 145). Another shortcoming was that the sample was slightly older than the typical “young adult” population, with half the respondents being between the ages of 35–40. This age group may not be considered as reactive or confrontational in a police encounter. Also, this older age group may not be familiar with the current police-sponsored programs being offered.

While my original intent for this study was to have a face-to-face training given to a large group of young African Americans by a panel of criminal justice professors, police officers, and African American clergy, it had to be completely revamped due to COVID-19. This training would have included a pre- and post-test to have an opportunity to uncover what was actually learned after the training as well as the effectiveness of the training. The data collection process was on track to begin in early 2021, but by that time due to the on-going pandemic, it was impermissible for people to gather. Having to change the research study into an online format had a substantial impact on this study.

Final Reflections

As a criminal justice professor and a mother/stepmother of African American children, I was deeply inspired to conduct this research study. Through the study I learned that exposure to police officers as well as police-sponsored after-school programs leads to a more positive opinion of police. I also learned that the overwhelming majority of African Americans feel as though at some point in their life experience they have been stereotyped by the police, yet that the majority of African Americans are compliant in police encounters. The findings in this research suggest that People of Color are very afraid of becoming a victim of police brutality and

that this fear may cause them to act erratically during police interactions. Such reactions driven by fear can be misinterpreted as resistance to or disrespect of police officers; it is very important to convey the message that People of Color do not want to harm police officers.

People of Color are scared of police officers, and they wish to avoid any contact with police. Thus, when African Americans have no choice but to interact with police, they must learn how to use adaptive leadership to turn this fear into power to defuse these encounters through compliance before the encounter escalates. African American are going to have to learn to self-regulate their behavior by complying with all orders given by the officers, including not making any sudden moves; asking the officer for permission before they make any misinterpreted act such as reaching in their glovebox; getting on the ground with their hands up; and, generally, not appearing aggressive in any way that the officer could misunderstand and use against them as a reason for using their weapons. All of these things may seem belittling—but is it not better to be belittled and alive than dead? The place for action or resistance is outside of individual encounters.

The findings in this study include that TV/Internet/newspaper had a positive effect on the respondent's opinion of police during their teen years but a negative effect on their current opinion of police. What is being portrayed in the media is affecting the opinions of many on both sides. There should be an understanding by police officers that People of Color are not what the stereotypes portray, these stereotypes are believed by many people. Even with the Black Live Matters Movement, the Capitol Insurrection, and the current race pandemic negatively affecting respondents' current opinion of police, there are still actions that can be taken by police officers to improve the attitude to police among People of Color. In a press release after the killing of

George Floyd, on what she termed a “racism pandemic,” APA President Sharon L. Shullman suggested,

Psychological research also points to possible solutions. Studies find that when police act in a procedurally just manner and treat people with dignity, respect, fairness and neutrality, people are more likely to comply with their directives and accept any outcome, favorable or unfavorable. (Shullman, 2020, para. 7)

People of Color are mothers, fathers, sisters, brothers, and a child of someone, they do not want to cause a police officer harm and spend their lives in prison nor, certainly, have their lives ended. The trainings that I am proposing in the future will help disseminate these messages using technology to reach as many people as possible in an effort to improve the relationship between African Americans and police, with the overall goal of saving lives. My plan is to disseminate the message from these trainings as based on this study’s findings, to many through mass communication such as social media or other internet avenues. If the narrative can be changed from negative to more positive, the opinions of People of Color and the police can be shifted positively, violence averted, and lives that matter, saved.

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Appendix A: IRB Application**Jefferson IRB****1. Name and mailing address of Principal Investigator(s):**

La'Shelle Jefferson

Address

[REDACTED]

Dayton, OH 45417

For faculty applications, Co-Principal Investigator(s) name(s):

N/A

2. Academic Department

Graduate School of Leadership and Change

3. Departmental Status (Click one)

Student

4. Phone Numbers a)work

[REDACTED]

b) home

[REDACTED]

5. Name & email address of research advisor:

a) Name of research advisor

Lize Booyesen, DBL, Committee Chair

b) E-mail address

[REDACTED]

6. Name & email address(es) of other researcher(s) involved in this project:

a) Name of Researcher(s)

N/A

b) E-mail address(es)

7. Title of Project

What Factors Contribute to African Americans Decision to Comply or Confront Law Enforcement Officers When in Police Encounters?

8. Is this project federally funded (Click one)

No

Source of funding for this project (if applicable)

N/A

9. Expected starting date for data collection (Start date cannot be prior to IRB approval.)

02/22/2021

10. Anticipated completion date for data collection

03/29/2021.

11. Project Purpose(s): (Up to 500 words) Describe: 1) the question or phenomenon you are investigating, 2) the project purpose, and 3) how the research will be disseminated or used.

The question that this project is investigating is as follows: What factors contribute to African Americans decision to comply or confront law enforcement officers when in police encounters?

The purpose of this study is twofold. The first purpose is to find out how African American young adults obtain their perceptions of police and how these perceptions effect their behavior in police encounters. The second purpose is to inform the reader on compliance and how it can be employed in police encounters to defuse the situation from becoming elevated.

The research findings will be disseminated in a dissertation report to be published via OhioLink and AURA.

12. Describe the proposed participants- age, number, sex, race, or other special characteristics. Describe criteria for inclusion and exclusion of participants. Please provide brief justification for these criteria. (Up to 500 words)

The proposed participants will be both male and female African Americans as well as other People of Color (anyone who is not White) that are forty years or younger. The goal is one hundred participants, with a minimum of sixty. This study focuses only on People of Colors life experiences and how these experiences affect their behavior when in police encounters. There has been more and more televised cases of People of Color specifically African Americans becoming victims of police brutality and officer involved shootings. These events have led to the Black Lives Matter Movement and other social protests. Whites have been excluded in this research study because they are not experiencing these issues with police in the way that People of Color are being affected.

13. Describe how the participants are to be selected and recruited. (Up to 500 words)

This study will use an availability sampling of African American young adults that are former college students from Central State University and other young adults that have been identified through my professional networks. As a former Professor of Criminal Justice at Central State University I am still in communication with several former students. These former students and other identified young adults will be contacted via email and asked to participate in this study by completing the survey via Survey Monkey. The link to the survey will be emailed to each participant.

NOTE: If the participants are to be drawn from an institution or organization (e.g., hospital, social service agency, school, etc.) which has the responsibility for the participants, then documentation of permission from that institution must be submitted to the Board before final approval of the project. This document should be scanned and attached to this application (final section below)

14. Do you have a prior or current relationship, either personal, professional, and/or financial, with any person, organization, business, or entity who will be involved in your research? (Yes/No)

Yes No

If YES, complete 14a and 14b:

14a. If yes, describe the situation that presents a potential personal, professional, and/or financial conflict of interest in the proposed research study, (e.g., if you are or have been employed at the research site, have received compensation from a participating organization, have a personal or professional relationship with any participants).

Yes, I had a prior professional relationship as a former Criminal Justice Professor to some of these participants prior to their graduation. There is no potential personal, professional, and/or financial conflict of interest in this proposed research study because I am no longer their professor, teaching or employed at Central State University.

14b. Describe how you will mitigate the bias caused by any conflicts of interest in your study and how you will protect the participants against real or potential bias (e.g., you will not recruit anyone who works directly for you or in your direct team, results will be reported in the aggregate so that participants will remain anonymous, any compensation received is independent of the study and its results).

There is no potential personal, professional, and/or financial conflict of interest in this proposed research study because I am no longer their professor, teaching or employed at Central State University. Also, the results will be reported in the aggregate so that the participants will remain anonymous.

15. Describe the process you will follow to attain informed consent.

I will seek voluntary informed consent from potential participants. In the introduction to the survey on Survey Monkey it states, "By clicking "NEXT" below, you are indicating that you are eligible and agree to participate in this research study. Otherwise, please exit the survey."

16. Describe the proposed procedures, (e.g., interview surveys, questionnaires, experiments, etc.) in the project. Any proposed experimental activities that are included in evaluation, research, development, demonstration, instruction, study, treatments, debriefing, questionnaires, and similar projects must be described. USE SIMPLE LANGUAGE, AVOID JARGON, AND IDENTIFY ACRONYMS. Please do not insert a copy of your methodology section from your proposal. State briefly and concisely the procedures for the project. (500 words)

The participants will be emailed the link to complete a thirty-seven-item survey via Survey Monkey. The survey has both open and closed ended question. The closed ended will be used to perform qualitative analysis and the open-ended questions will be used to perform the qualitative analysis portion of this mixed methods research study. The survey is full online, however; if there are not at least sixty respondents it will be necessary to issue pen and paper survey to willing participants.

17. Participants in research may be exposed to the possibility of harm physiological, psychological, and/or social please provide the following information: (Up to 500 words)

a. Identify and describe potential risks of harm to participants (including physical, emotional, financial, or social harm). NOTE: for international research or vulnerable populations, please provide information about local culture that will assist the review committee in evaluating potential risks to participants, particularly when the project raises issues related to power differentials. For international research provide information about the regulatory environment (for reference see the [International Compilation of Human Research Standards](https://www.hhs.gov/ohrp/international/compilation-human-research-standards/index.html) <https://www.hhs.gov/ohrp/international/compilation-human-research-standards/index.html>).

There is no risk of harm to participants in terms of physical or financial harm. There is minimal emotional or social harm risk as the participants will be reflecting on their own experience, individually while completing the survey.

b. Identify and describe the anticipated benefits of this research (including direct benefits to participants and to society-at-large or others)

The direct benefits to the participants are social benefits of connecting which life experiences has influenced their perception of law enforcement officers. This study provides participants the opportunity to reflect on various life experiences and identify which of these life experiences affect their decision on whether or not to confront or comply with law enforcement officers when in police encounters.

c. Explain why you believe the risks are so outweighed by the benefits described above as to warrant asking participants to accept these risks. Include a discussion of why the research method you propose is superior to alternative methods that may entail less risk.

The risk of this study is minimal compared to the potential benefits. This research has the potential to improve the relationship between African Americans and law enforcement officers. It also has the ability to shape educational pedagogy within the context of Criminal Justice Programs.

d. Explain fully how the rights and welfare of participants at risk will be protected (e.g., screening out particularly vulnerable participants, follow-up contact with participants, list of referrals, etc.) and what provisions will be made for the case of an adverse incident occurring during the study.

The particularly vulnerable participants will be screened out in the introduction of the survey because they have the option of exiting the survey.

18. Explain how participants' privacy is addressed by your proposed research. Specify any steps taken to safeguard the anonymity of participants and/or confidentiality of their responses. Indicate what personal identifying information will be kept, and procedures for storage and ultimate disposal of personal information. Describe how you will de-identify the data or attach the signed confidentiality agreement on the attachments tab (scan, if necessary). (Up to 500 words)

This research study is not collecting any identifying information on the survey. The respondents will be assured that all answers will be anonymous and kept in the strictest confidence. Also, no responses will be individually attributed to anyone all data will be reported in the aggregate.

19. Will audio-visual devices be used for recording participants? Will electrical, mechanical (e.g., biofeedback, electroencephalogram, etc.) devices be used? (Click one)

Yes No

If YES, describe the devices and how they will be used:

N/A

20. Type of Review Requested (Click one)

Exempt Expedited Full

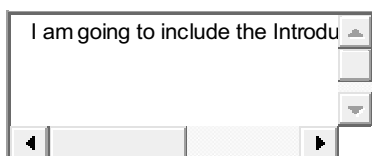
Refer to the definition of review types in your paper documentation.

Please provide your reasons/justification for the level of review you are requesting.

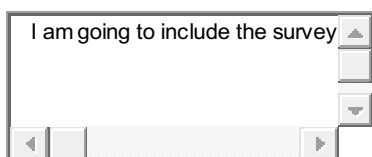
I am seeking an expedited review. The current research is conducted using commonly used interview procedures.

An empty rectangular text box with a light gray background and a thin border. It features a vertical scrollbar on the right side and horizontal scrollbars at the bottom.

21. Please attach any recruitment flyers, letters, recruitment scripts, or other materials used to recruit participants. Attach informed consent, assent, and/or permission forms. If a consent form is not used, or if consent is to be presented orally, state your reason for this modification below. In cases when oral consent will be used, include the text to be used for the oral consent. *Oral consent is not allowed when participants are under age 18.

A rectangular text box with a light gray background and a thin border. It contains the text "I am going to include the Introdu" followed by a small upward-pointing triangle. It features a vertical scrollbar on the right side and horizontal scrollbars at the bottom.

22. If questionnaires, tests, or related research instruments are to be used, then you must attach a copy of the instrument at the bottom of this form (unless the instrument is copyrighted material), or submit a detailed description (with examples of items) of the research instruments, questionnaires, or tests that are to be used in the project. Copies will be retained in the permanent IRB files. If you intend to use a copyrighted instrument, please consult with your research advisor and your IRB chair. Please clearly name and identify all attached documents when you add them on the attachments tab.

A rectangular text box with a light gray background and a thin border. It contains the text "I am going to include the survey" followed by a small upward-pointing triangle. It features a vertical scrollbar on the right side and horizontal scrollbars at the bottom.

Appendix B: Informed Consent Form/Survey

Introduction

Hello,

All of us have experience and thoughts about potential interactions with police. My name is La'Shelle Jefferson and I am currently a student at Antioch University in the PhD in Leadership and Change Program. My research is focused on improving the relationship between African Americans and police when they have encounters.

This survey will give you an opportunity to think about factors in your life experiences that affect your decision to comply with or confront law enforcement officers when police encounters. Please be assured that all your answers will be anonymous and kept in the strictest confidence. No responses will be individually attributed to you and all data will only be reported in the aggregate.

The survey will take approximately 10 to 15 minutes to complete.

You are eligible to participate in this survey if you are between 18 and 40 years of age and self-identify as a Person of Color.

Your participation is voluntary, and you may elect to discontinue your participation at any time. If you have any concerns about this study, please contact the Chair of the Institutional Review Board Dr. Lisa Kreeger: kreeger@antioch.edu. If you have any questions about this survey or the program, please contact La'Shelle Jefferson at [REDACTED].

By clicking "NEXT" below, you are indicating that you are eligible and agree to participate in this research study. Otherwise, please exit the survey.

Teen Year Experiences

1. Thinking back to your teen years, on a scale of 1 (very negative) to 10 (very positive) how would you rate the ideas you had about police when you were a teenager?

1 -- Very Negative	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10 -- Very Positive
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

2. In what type of neighborhood did you primarily live during your teen years?

- Urban
- Suburbs
- Rural
- Other (please specify)

8. Thinking about how you formed your thoughts about police, how strongly do you disagree or agree with each of the following statements?

	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Agree	Agree	Strongly Agree
a. A family member or person close to me told me that I should not trust the police.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
b. A family member or person close to me told me that I should be afraid of police.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
c. Growing up I knew a person I respected who was a police officer.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
d. I often heard other people talk kindly about police officers they knew.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
e. I had positive encounters with police, such as the crossing guard or school resource officer while I was growing up.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
f. Other	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

Other (please specify)

View of Police

9. Thinking about how you feel now, on a scale of 1 (very negative) to 10 (very positive), what is your overall view of police at this time in your life?

1 – Very 10 – Very negative 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 positive

10. How much do you think each of the following sources influences your current opinion of police?

	Not an influence	A minor influence	A moderate influence	A major influence
Social Media	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Television, internet or newspaper news	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Family	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Neighborhood	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Church	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
School	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
After School/Community Programs	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Other	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

Other (please specify)

Current Events

11. On a scale of 1 (negatively) to 10 (positively), how have current events related to Black Lives Matter affected your perception of police?

1 – Very 10 – Very negatively 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 positively

12. On a scale of 1 (negatively) to 10 (positively), how have current events related to the attack on the Capitol affected your perception of police?

1 – Very negatively 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 – Very positively

Personal Experience with Police

13. Has a family member or someone close to you ever been in trouble with the law?

Yes No

Not sure

14. Have you ever been present when someone close to you was in an altercation with the police?

Yes

No

How altercation with police was handled

15. If yes you were present when someone close to you had an altercation with the police, how was the altercation handled by the person close to you?

Personal Experience

16. Do you feel you have ever been stereotyped or racially profiled by a police officer?

Yes, Definitely

Yes, Possibly

No

17. Have you ever had a positive, friendly personal interaction with a police officer?

Yes

No

Description Positive Experience

18. If yes, you have had positive experiences with police, please describe.

Ever Personal Negative Experience

19. Have you ever had personal negative interactions with the police?

Yes

No

Description Personal Negative Experience

20. If yes, you have had a negative interaction about police, which, if any of the following types of actions was the initial reason for the interaction? (Please check all that apply)

- Parking Ticket
- Driving without a license
- Speeding ticket
- Shoplifting
- Loitering or hanging around
- More serious charge such as assault, arson, robbery
- Other
- Other (please specify)

21. Thinking about how you felt when you personally had a negative interaction with a police officer, how strongly do you disagree or agree that you had each of the following reactions?

	Neither Disagree or				
	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Agree	Agree	Strongly Agree
I felt nervous.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
I felt angry.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
I wanted to complain.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
I felt like fighting.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
I felt powerless.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
I was afraid of becoming a victim of police brutality.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

22. Thinking about how you reacted to the police officer while the encounter took place, how strongly do you disagree or agree with each of the following reactions.

	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Agree	Agree	Strongly Agree
Disrespectful	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Nervous	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Confrontational	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Frustrated	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Respectful	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Calm	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Compliant	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Level-Headed	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

23. If the outcome of your interaction with police was negative do you think there was anything that you or the police officer could have done to affect a more positive outcome?

- Yes, Definitely
- Yes, Possibly
- No
- Not Sure

Other Reaction Could Have Had

24. If yes, you or the police officer could have done something to definitely to result in a positive outcome, what could **you personally** have done?

25. If yes, you or the police officer could have done something to definitely to result in a positive outcome, what could the **police officer** have done?

Becoming a Victim

26. Thinking about a possible interaction with a police officer, on a scale of 1 (not at all afraid of becoming a victim) to 10 (definitely afraid of becoming a victim) how afraid are you of becoming a victim in an interaction

with police?

becoming a victim

1 –
Not at all
afraid of

10 –
Definitely
afraid of
becoming a



27. STATEMENT ABOUT COMPLYING AND CONFRONTING

Scenarios

Please read the following scenarios and select the answer choice that most closely corresponds to how you would react in the described situations.

28. You are at a family gathering in an upper-middle-class neighborhood and a White neighbor calls the police to complain about the noise and cars being parked in front of their house. When the White police arrive, they go next door and speak with the neighbor on their porch. The neighbor continues to watch from their porch as the police come over to your family gathering and tell your family members that they have to turn off their music and everyone who is parked in front of the neighbor's house must move their cars or they will be towed. How would you react if you were one of the family members who parked in front of the neighbor's house?

	No, would not take this action.	May possibly take this action.	Yes, would definitely take action.
Confront the neighbor and tell them they are racist and that they don't own the street.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Confront the officer and tell them that they are only harassing them because they are African American.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Confront the police officer and tell them that the neighbor is a racist.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Refuse to move your car and tell the police officer that the neighbor does not own the street.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Confront the officer by telling them they are wrong but still move your car.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Comply with officer's request and move your car.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

Other (please specify)

29. Suppose you are in an urban neighborhood and you do not come to a complete stop at a stop sign. You are then pulled over by a very aggressive White police officer who is ordering you to get out of the car. The officer hasn't given you a ticket or explained why he is telling you to get out of the car. How would you react?

Yes, would definitely take this

	No, would not take this action.	May possibly take this action	Yes, would definitely take this action.
Question the officer as to why he is asking you to get out the car.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Get your phone and start Recording your Interaction with the police.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Confront the officer and Refuse to get out of the car.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Politely comply with all Orders given by the Officer in hopes of Diffusing the situation.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Other	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

Other (please specify)

How you would feel when interacting with police

30. Thinking about how you would feel in the future if you have a personal interaction with a police officer, how strongly do you disagree or agree that you will have each of the following feelings?

Neither Disagree or

	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Agree	Agree	Strongly Agree
I will feel nervous.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
I will feel angry.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
I will want to complain.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
I will feel like fighting.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
I will feel powerless.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
I will be afraid of becoming a victim of police brutality.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

31. Thinking about how you will feel in the future if you have a personal interaction with a police officer, how strongly do you disagree or agree with each of the following reactions?

	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Agree	Agree	Strongly Agree
Disrespectful	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Nervous	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Confrontational	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Frustrated	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Respectful	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Calm	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Compliant	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Level-Headed	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

Demographics

32. What gender do you identify yourself as being?

- Male
- Female
- Other (please specify)

33. What is your race?

- Black
- White
- Other (please specify)

34. What is your highest level of education

- High School Diploma or GED
- Some college
- Bachelor's Degree
- Master's Degree or higher
- Other (please specify)

35. Were you raised in a single-family household?

- Yes, Mother only
- Yes, Father only
- No

36. Were you raised by someone other than your parent?

- Yes, Grandparent
- Aunt or Uncle
- Foster Parent
- Adopted Parent
- Other (please specify)

37. What is your age group?

- Under 18
- 18-25
- 26-30
- 31-35
- 36-40

THANK YOU

Appendix C: IRB Recruitment Email

“Comply Now, Complain Later”

Survey Invitation Email

Hello,

As a Person of Color, you are invited to participate in this short survey. All of us have experience and thoughts about potential interactions with police. My name is La'Shelle Jefferson and I am currently a student in at Antioch University in the PhD in Leadership and Change Program. My research is focused on improving the relationship between People of Color and Police when they have encounters.

The potential benefits of this survey are that it will give you the opportunity to think about factors in your life experiences that affect your decision to comply with or confront law enforcement officers when in police encounters. There are minimal if any risks to you from participating. Your identity will be anonymous. You will not be asked for your name, and all demographic data collected will be reported as aggregated information. No personally identifiable information will be associated with your responses in any reports of the data.

You are eligible for this survey to participate in this survey if you are between 18 and 40 years of age and self-identify as a Person of Color. This survey is part of my dissertation research at Antioch University in the PhD in Leadership and Change Program. The data collected may be used for future research without additional consent. Your participation is voluntary, and you may discontinue your participation at any time.

If you have any questions about this survey, please contact La'Shelle Jefferson at [REDACTED]. Please do not contact me to notify that you have completed the survey as this would create a barrier to anonymity.

I encourage everyone participating in this survey to forward the link to other age and race eligible potential participants. The language suggested to the participants when forwarding the survey link to others will be the following: “A research study has come to my attention that may interest you. I’m forwarding the link. If you have any questions, please contact the researcher.”

By clicking the “survey link” below, you are indicating that you are eligible and agree to participate in this research study. Otherwise, please exit the survey.

<https://www.surveymonkey.com/r/R2DB5N8>

Thank you for your thoughts on this very important topic.

Appendix D: CITI Modules Certificate

COLLABORATIVE INSTITUTIONAL TRAINING INITIATIVE (CITI PROGRAM) COMPLETION REPORT - PART 1 OF 2 COURSEWORK REQUIREMENTS*

* NOTE: Scores on this Requirements Report reflect quiz completions at the time all requirements for the course were met. See list below for details. See separate Transcript Report for more recent quiz scores, including those on optional (supplemental) course elements.

• **Name:** La'Shelle Jefferson (ID:)
 • **Institution Affiliation:** Antioch University (ID: 684)
 • **Institution Email:**
 • **Phone:**

• **Curriculum Group:** Human Participants in Research
 • **Course Learner Group:** AU Graduate School of Leadership & Change - Human Participants in Research
 • **Stage:** Stage 2 - Refresher Course

• **Record ID:** 24901561
 • **Completion Date:** 12-Oct-2020
 • **Expiration Date:** 12-Oct-2023
 • **Minimum Passing:** 70
 • **Reported Score*:** 100

REQUIRED AND ELECTIVE MODULES ONLY

	DATE COMPLETED	SCORE
SBE Refresher 1 - Instructions (ID: 943)	12-Oct-2020	No Quiz
SBE Refresher 1 – History and Ethical Principles (ID: 936)	12-Oct-2020	2/2 (100%)
SBE Refresher 1 – Federal Regulations for Protecting Research Subjects (ID: 937)	12-Oct-2020	2/2 (100%)
SBE Refresher 1 – Informed Consent (ID: 938)	12-Oct-2020	2/2 (100%)
SBE Refresher 1 – Defining Research with Human Subjects (ID: 15029)	12-Oct-2020	2/2 (100%)
SBE Refresher 1 – Privacy and Confidentiality (ID: 15035)	12-Oct-2020	4/4 (100%)
SBE Refresher 1 – Assessing Risk (ID: 15034)	12-Oct-2020	2/2 (100%)
SBE Refresher 1 – Research with Prisoners (ID: 939)	12-Oct-2020	2/2 (100%)
SBE Refresher 1 – Research with Children (ID: 15036)	12-Oct-2020	2/2 (100%)
SBE Refresher 1 – Research in Educational Settings (ID: 940)	12-Oct-2020	2/2 (100%)
SBE Refresher 1 – International Research (ID: 15028)	12-Oct-2020	2/2 (100%)

For this Report to be valid, the learner identified above must have had a valid affiliation with the CITI Program subscribing institution identified above or have been a paid Independent Learner.

Verify at: www.citiprogram.org/verify/?k0dedf3e8-9867-4ebb-8bde-940d1e2cd058-24901561

Collaborative Institutional Training Initiative (CITI Program)

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 Web: <https://www.citiprogram.org>