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Diverse Backgrounds and Policing

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ABSTRACT
Diverse Backgrounds and Policing
By
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December 2021

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In recent years high profile cases of police violence against the communities they serve havecreated national debate around the future of policing and how to address racial/ethnic bias. Current police recruiting campaigns are targeting diversity, hiring racially and ethnically diverse officers, as a solution to the ongoing tensions between officers and the communities they serve. However, bias is present in all people as race has culturally constructed society in America. It is questionable to rely on an officer's physical racial/ethnic identifier to combat bias that is present in police organizations, conversely can officer's diverse experiences before they were sworn in effect their internalization of prejudice? Officers from a southeastern city are assed on their exposure to diversity as children/adolescents and on their current implicit racial bias levels. The Exposure to Diversity Scale (EDS) was constructed to pinpoint diverse experiences children/adolescents have during primary socialization to correlate with Harvard's Race Implicit Association Test (IAT). Officers with more diverse experiences, tended to have lower levels of implicit racial bias. Experiences with Black police officers, Black businessmen and women, and Black community leaders were negatively significant with IAT scores. Future research should adapt the diversity exposure scale used in this study and test its relationship with implicit bias among a much larger sample of police officers.

DIVERSE BACKGROUNDS AND POLICING

BY

MAYA IDA WILSON

A Thesis Submitted in Partial Fulfillment
of the Requirements for the Degree
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ACCEPTANCE

This thesis was prepared under the direction of the candidate's Thesis Committee. It has been approved and accepted by all members of that committee, and it has been accepted in partial fulfillmentof the requirements for the degree of Masters of Science in Criminal Justice in the Andrew Young School of Policy Studies of Georgia State University.

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December, 2021

Dedication

This thesis is dedicated to Auden & Aven Gilliam, Journey & Jade Barron, Khepri Wilson, and Justice

Dorsey. It is my love for our family that has allowed me to reach this milestone in my life. I hope to

inspire you to be your best self no matter the path you choose. You are the next generation of this

family with the world in your hands. You can be all that you inspire to be. I love you.

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Chapter 1: Introduction

As the United States continues to grow as a heterogenous country, so too do the needs of its unique population. The criminal justice system is no stranger to the evolution of needs and often adapts to the changes the country experiences. One vital approach to tending to the changing needs of civilians is creating solutions through local police organizations. Currently, police organizations are focusing on recruiting diverse individuals to respond to issues of racial tension between officers and minority civilians. However, these efforts have yet to be proven as a foolproof solution to addressing historical issues between officers and minority civilians. For example, Baltimore stands as a model of a diverse police force, with a 44 percent population of Black officers (Fifield, 2016). This diversity, however, did not result in a reduction in stops, searches, and arrests of minorities, leading to the U.S. Justice Department finding unjustified racial disparities amongst African American civilians in Baltimore. The U.S. Justice Department reported that the Baltimore Police Department stopped African American pedestrians three times as often as white residents (U.S. Department of Justice, 2016). The investigation revealed that 86 percent of all criminal offenses charged involved African American civilians, though they only make up 63 percent of the Baltimore population (U.S. Department of Justice, 2016). The investigation unveiled the need for research on police officer demographics and how it impacts policing in heterogenous communities. It revealed that implicit bias is not solely reserved for the dominant cultural group, but can be internalized and acted upon by those deemed oppressed by institutionalized powers. Can overall organizational socialization practices that normalize the over policing of Baltimore's Black residents account for the racial dyad discrepancies?

This is where I introduce the term implicit bias. Implicit racial bias is defined as the unconscious internalization of racialized prejudice due to cultural influences around stereotypes.

So yes, an officer may be phenotypically diverse and even hold true to their racial identity, but they can also act on internalized stereotypes represented by greater societal influences on race. Diversity is important to incorporate into the organizational culture of police organizations as the country pushes to have police organizations racially reflect the communitiesthey serve. However, it is not sufficient to have police organizations symbolically represent the diverse American population, it is also crucial to create a culture that embraces heterogeneity in thought/beliefs and its practices. However, it appears that racial and ethnic background, alone, cannot be proposed as significant variables that combat racism and prejudice within police organizations without first assessing its implications to the issues of race in the country.

Police socialization, per the purpose of this research, is defined as the subcultural organizational practices that indoctrinate a civilian into a police officer. This socialization is for the purpose of defining police organizational roles, establishing organizational hierarchies, and explicitly distancing officers from the reality of the civilian to the reality of the police officer. Research has focused on the impact of police socialization processes regarding the development of police cynicism and the detrimental effect the job role has on interpersonal relationships outside of the police subculture. Graves' (1996) research on police cynicism discussed the dangers of the job role, pressures of fulfilling department needs, and the lack of financial upward mobility within the role as stressors that contribute to police cynicism, which are all contributing factors in prolonged police socialization. Little research has analyzed transitional phases of socialization, mostly due to the lack of monitoring that new police initiatives tend to have. As traditional police organizations are looking to expand their reach to more women and college graduates, as well as broadening police tactical approaches like community policing; socialization practices also are expected to align with these new initiatives. However, these

changes may not have an impact on traditional police socialization practices that are indoctrinated into the commonalities of policing. This is due to the stringent collectivistic culture displayed by police organizations and the taboos of discussing race and its institutionalized impact on non-White citizens. Many police innovations such as body camera policies, de-escalation training, and community policing tactics are reactions to public acts of police brutality. Being that policing initiatives are based in reactive practices, diversity hiring aligns with this theory as it is for the purpose of quelling political tensions between citizens and police. But mere physical representation does not mean that the organizational culture is shifting to accommodate the rise in women and racial/ethnic officers and the needs of the everchanging communities they serve.

To date, research has failed to examine the impact of the increasing number of minority group members joining police organizations across the country, and how this influx of diverse racial identities and backgrounds may challenge the typically White male belief systems, customs, and expectations around which police organizations are structured. An example of this would be the theorization of broken windows policing or the theorization that having diverse officers will strengthen the trust between communities who have been plagued by police presence while denying the active role police organizations have in perpetuating stereotypes around urban communities. These White male organizational normalcies are described as such due to police organizations traditionally majority White male organizational structure. Due to their marginal presence within police organizations, minority and female officers lack influence in shifting organizational culture. Reproduction of cultural normalcies through hiring practices at police organizations are present as police officer demographics have only increased by 2% for female officers from 1997-2016 and only 1 in 4 officers and 1 in 5 first-line supervisors are

Black or Hispanic (Hyland & Davis, 2019). Traditional police organizational culture is shaped

by White male normalcies because of this absence of other cultural influences and input as well

as the mainstream cultural acceptance of White male dominated organizations. Organizations,

though they comprise their own unique subcultures, are influenced by the greater mainstream

culture as individuals within the organization bring the greater cultural values with them (Vadi,

Allik, & Realo, 2002) Carbado and Richardson (2018) explored the dangers of relying solely on

racial diversity stating, "racial diversity without meaningful reallocations or redistributions of

power might not only limit the possibilities for social transformation but also potentially

reproduce and legitimize the very forms of inequality the pursuit of racial diversity was intended

to address" (p. 2). As researchers and policymakers theorize the transformation of American

police organizations, solutions based upon simplistic modeling can no longer be accepted

without further assessment as it adds to the detriment of citizens' trust in police.

  This pilot study further examines the role socialization processes that occur in the

indoctrination of police officers, and that are reinforced through organizational culture, may have

on acting as a barrier against diversity police reforms. By diving deeper into officer

backgrounds,such as how officers were socially influenced in their formative years prior to being

socialized into the police occupation, the current study aims to shed light on the legitimacy of

increasing diversity to reduce implicit bias in policing. Though police organizations are

increasingly becoming more diverse with 27 percent of local police officers belonging to a racial

or ethnic minority group, most police organizations are majority White males (Reaves, 2015).

Without the authority of white male dominated police organizations being challenged by higher

societal institutions, much is deemed normal or as a part of the job. Myrdral's 1964 ethnography

of police officers in America revealed that officers behaved in an overtly prejudice manner;

however, it was noted that these behaviors reflected the attitudes of mainstream society toward Black people and participation in these behaviors were not culturally taboo. Being that the police role has been defined and curated from the dominant viewpoint of White males in police organizations, White male normalcies will be utilized as the standard of ideology to compare the occupational identity assimilation non-White officers experience when being socialized into a police organization. Normalcies are indicative of the absence of symbolic power struggle that White males joining police organizations will go through as their phenotypical identities do not challenge the status quo, compared to the intersectional identities of non-White non-male officers.

This has proven to be an issue when developing police strategies and targeting crime. As one example, the emergence of broken windows policing promised proactive policing that would directly impact crime rates (Kelling & Coles, 1996; Wilson & Kelling, 1982); however, in practice this tactic heavily focused on fighting crime through the perception of poverty (Harcourt, 2001). As a result, low-income minority communities experienced the brunt of broken windows policing, which resulted in massive misdemeanor crackdowns (Howell, 2016). The same behavior that would be ignored in more affluent communities, was treated as criminal in communities that could not afford the influx of misdemeanor citations (Howell, 2016). Broken windows policing provides no proof, outside of assumption, that different socioeconomic demographic groups have different rates of criminal activity; however, it allows officers to target individuals based on appearance and neighborhood demographics (Howell, 2016). Similar critiques about lower-class minorities bearing the brunt of targeted enforcement efforts have been leveled at hot spots policing (Rosenbaum, 2006). In this context, increased diversity in police agencies seems unlikely to rectify inequalities propagated by police tactics and strategies

formulated from bias. This is the case because, despite an ongoing push for more diversity in law enforcement agencies, there is still an expectation of assimilation into the police subculture. Differing from other organizational cultures, the police subculture is one that extends outside the boundaries of the job role and bleeds into the everyday reality of an officer whether on or off duty. This probes the need for defining the subculture in itself, as the police subculture stands to be a unique extension of occupational identity. Assimilation into the subculture requires a stripping of the self; however, the components of identities encapsulated by minority officer recruits are not simply deniable as their phenotypical appearances challenge the ability to distance one's self from the prejudice of others. The persistent struggle between officer phenotypical identity and officer occupational identity is not one that is addressed in hiring minority officers. Minority officers are expected to deny institutionalized powers of oppression that directly impact them for the sake of the police organization as a whole. The processes of socialization into traditional police subculture are predicted to stymie the efforts of diversifying police organizations.

Command staff will greatly influence officers' understanding of their role within the organization and their relative autonomy as patrol officers, and actively solidify lessons officers are taught in the subculture's socialization process. When assessing the relationship between supervisor and officer attitudinal beliefs in officer role ambiguity, Ingram (2013) found that patrol officers with supervisors that highly accepted order maintenance activities had low role ambiguity. Conversely, officers experienced higher role ambiguity when both patrol officers and sergeants failed to view order maintenance and law enforcement as important factors within the police role (Ingram, 2013). Autonomy, as used per this research, is loosely defined within police

organizations as it does not stand true to its original definition. Autonomy is defined through the boundaries and permissions granted by the organizational powers (command staff) on discretionary practices and will differ depending on the needs of the organization. Autonomy is thus defined as an officer's ability to assimilate for the longevity of their career through promotions, as it is the officers' discretionary practices (autonomy in the field) that will spotlight their ability to be committed to the organization. True autonomy is not present in police organizations, conversely the autonomy accumulated from diverse values and cultural beliefs that officers from varying racial, ethnic, and gender backgrounds bring to police organizations as new recruits are consistently constrained. As minority officers tread the line between their occupational identity and the symbolism attached to their phenotypical appearances within a White male dominated field, they will be forced to develop an occupational identity for acceptance and survival in the police subculture that may or may not reflect their explicit beliefs. Conversely, there is a lack of research on police organizations whose officer demographics are highly diverse and may challenge this argument of White male normalcies dominating police organizations. Surely the Baltimore police department is not the only example; regional experiences and influences on race/ethnic diversity issues differ from one environment to the next.

This study aims to shed light on these issues through research carried out in a Southeastern city with a majority Black population and a diverse police organization. Black individuals who are born and raised in the Southeastern metropolitan city are heavily exposed to Black people due to the city's cultural make-up. The city is also known for its socioeconomic diversity with an established and politically-present Black middle class. Higher Educational attainment is also present as the region houses highly accredited historically Black colleges and

some of the largest Black college student graduation rates in the region. This encompasses the exposure to minority civilians within various occupations, socioeconomic statuses, and levels of educational attainment. This research aims to look at diversity exposure in primary socialization that occurs for officers working in a large police agency in this Southeastern city. This research will examine the possible relationships between officers different racial and ethnic backgrounds, officers differing primary socialization backgrounds, experiences during their adolescence, (refer to Appendix A: Demographic Survey) and implicit racial bias levels. The preliminary findings will be used to inform a larger data collection effort that will facilitate research formally testing hypotheses related to the impact of exposure to diversity during primary socialization on implicit bias among police officers.

Chapter 2: Literature Review

To address the psychological development of implicit bias, we will explore its origins and phases through normalized social manipulation. First, implicit bias will be defined and set into the American cultural context. Next, there will be a discussion of socialization and how racial biases are rooted into the foundation of primary American socialization and how this in turn influences cultural bias. Last, we will discuss the development of occupational identity in the police subculture and dissect the variables that likely contribute to its socialization processes.

Implicit Bias

Implicit vs. Explicit Bias

In the discipline of psychology, decision making processes are separated into two categories: conscious and unconscious. Much research has focused on measuring conscious processes, or processes that can be explicitly observed, but unconscious processes are beginning to gain recognition for the part they play in everyday routines. Unconscious thoughts and feelings that are not bound to social acceptability are referred to as implicit social cognition. Emerging from research on implicit memory, implicit social cognition is the accumulation of experiences that influence responses that are not explicitly expressed (Hahn & Gawronski, 2018). Implicit bias is embedded in implicit attitudes and implicit stereotypes (Greenwald & Krieger, 2006). Implicit biases can be favorable or unfavorable and are capable of producing behavior that diverges from how an individual openly endorses their beliefs (Greenwald & Krieger, 2006).

For example, a White American may explicitly state that criminal stereotypes of Black Americans are not true and are the result of over policing in Black communities, but if walking

down the street at night and a Black male is walking on the same street towards them, they will likely cross the street to avoid contact. Thus, in that situation, they are relying on their implicit bias and not their explicit beliefs. Another concept would be W.E.B. Du Bois' (1897) theory of double consciousness, which is the experience of the minority citizen having to change their speech and physical appearance to combat implicit bias White Americans have of them and, thus, helping them appear less ethnic and threatening. Minority citizens may not explicitly believe their inferiority to White citizens, however, they are implicitly biased towards the cultural standards of White citizens which may result in dropping African American Vernacular English or wearing one's hair a certain way.

Rudman (2004) proposes that early life experiences and affective experiences are indications of why implicit attitudes reveal more bias. As individuals expand into larger social group influences, social desirability conflicts with socially unacceptable explicit expressions of beliefs; however, this does not eradicate the ability of undesirable beliefs to influence conscious processes. Implicit biases are not restricted to the unconscious realm, and individuals can have a conscious awareness of their biases even if they are not explicitly expressed by that individual. Hahn and Gawronski (2014) found that when participants were asked to predict their implicit evaluations, they were highly successful in predicting how they would score (Hahn & Gawronski, 2014). What implicit measurements intend to do is discern between socially acceptable explicit beliefs and the beliefs that are suppressed to the unconscious realm voluntarily and involuntarily. Though there are some individuals who may be aware of the implicit biases they hold, there are many who are not aware of these biases.

The goal of the current research is to investigate implicit racial biases in police officers. Like other occupations that rely on the interactions between different people, police officers are

subject to have biases stemming from their unique life experiences. It is not socially permissible to be open about one's biases and some individuals may not be aware that they have a bias towards one group over another. High-stress situations, which officers at some point will experience within their careers, are prone to stereotype activation. Stereotype activation is the reliance of stereotypes to influence one's behavior. Officers may not believe they are racially biased but still revert to implicit biases that easily emerge in high-stress environments. James (2018) investigated officers results from the Race-Weapons Implicit Association Test (RWIAT) on four different occurrences and their level of sleep prior to taking the test. The study's goal was to measure the stability of implicit racial bias regarding officers' associations of weapons with White and Black Americans. It revealed that implicit bias is variable, thus changing depending on the state (mentally and physically) of an officer. Officers that were experiencing sleep deprivation demonstrated higher association between Black Americans and weapons (James, 2018). In a high-stress environment, threat perception tends to be higher. It can be suggested that a possible reasoning for James' results with sleep-deprived officers is the reversion to stereotypes when one experiences fatigue, thus making an officers' threat perceptionhigher and aiding in the body's stress response to potential threats. Implicit behaviors in situations of stress and fatigue may be the result of immediately referencing one's implicit memory, instituted in primary socialization, of individuals of different racial groups. Socialization's impact on implicit bias is further explored in the next section.

Socialization

Primary Socialization

  Having defined implicit bias, it is now important to consider how these biases areinstilled in individuals within a society. Socialization is the navigational tool that teachesindividuals how to act and interact with others socially (Pescaru, 2018). Socialization is continuous and subject to

varying takes on what is and is not socially acceptable as one navigatesthrough various institutional settings (Pescaru, 2018). It helps structure a person's worldview, life goals, and the approaches taken to fulfill these goals. Primary socialization integrates individuals into existing social arrangements exemplified by their immediate environments which tend to be the nuclear family (Wasson, 2007). Children born into a family learn the attitudes, values, and behaviors that pertain to their culture and the society that surrounds their subcultural values. "Socialization has a main purpose, the realization of the ability to obey the exigencies of social norms and ideals materialized in the cultural values of the group to which man belongs" (Pescaru, 2018, p. 19) Those who belong to minority groups, populations of individuals who are not represented by popular culture and lack political power, develop their attitudes and behaviors differently. This difference is rooted in varying influences, like societal pressures to conform to the majority. Majority group members will, being that they are already apart of the majority, experience less pressures to conform. The stratified status of minority group members in the U.S. leads to differing processes of socialization. While assimilating to mainstream culture for the purpose of survival and accessing social mobility, minority groups also instill subcultural pride that does not reflect mainstream society. Conversely, majority groupmembers (White, middle class, performers of traditional gender roles) will likely not have to use subcultural values to deflect opposition to their mainstream cultural socialization.

Race in America

Though it is not socially acceptable to be explicitly influenced by race, race is a factor that influences the lives of all Americans, whether they are aware of it or not. The concept of race in America is rooted in division and difference, as noted by Thompson (2006) who stated, "(t)he motivating logic of racial classification is to place individual bodies into differentiated groups" (p. 2). Race has no scientific basis; however, it is structured around historical, social,

cultural and political values (Guess, 2006). Mainstream American culture encompasses whiteness as ideal and the norm. This mainstream normalcy is projected onto non-White minorities. "Part of our commonsense knowledge about 'race' and whiteness in America is that interaction between the 'races' is generally perceived in terms of hierarchical relations between blacks and whites" (Guess, 2006, p. 657).

As race has solidified itself into normal American social interactions, it grew into institutionalized social practices that warranted the separation of Black and White people (Guess, 2006). As the country continuously goes through waves of immigration, the issue of race has expanded to include other ethnic groups. Though the lines of Black and White have become more blurred, the lack of representation of other minority group members speaks to the issues of racial stratification even for those classified as "model minorities". Waves of immigration continuously challenges the normalcies of American society. The intersection of race/ethnicity and social class belonging within the social construction of America are impactful in how generations of youth are raised. Even if one may feel that they are not influenced by race and are "colorblind," it is ignorant to deny the institutionalized social construction of whiteness and its impacts on daily American lives, regardless of racial/ethnic and socioeconomic background.

Higher socioeconomic class belonging for minority group members may deter some negative racialized experiences; however, race is not determined by other social factors such as income, education, or religion, it is a social construction dependent on physical appearance. Race plays conscious and unconscious roles in the lives of everyday Americans and intersects with the interactions between different people. It is a factor that continuously influences sociopolitical policies and frames the beliefs of American people. Being that the recognition of differences via race is currently being implemented as a solution to shifting homogenous work cultures, it is

important to understand how race is conceptualized within American society

Cultural Socialization

Cultural socialization is the process of children and adolescents learning about their culture and the development of ingroup belonging. Cultural socialization, though a normal process, can contribute to developments of cultural bias. "For members of dominant and minority groups alike, societal evaluations appear to have an assimilative effect on automatic (but not controlled) attitudes, suggesting that cultural biases inform implicit attitudes more than explicit attitudes" (Rudman, 2004, p. 80). Definitively, familial attitudes that project how to feel about the relationships between ingroup (majority) and outgroup (minority) members aids in shaping cultural biases. Implicit biases towards mainstream culture will be evident in the evaluation of minority members, but this implicit bias is not informed from cultural biases explicitly but of efforts of outgroup assimilation.

Rudman (2004) found that minority individuals, who reported their group's social status in the U.S. as low also implicitly favored the dominant majority group (White, fit, wealthy, Christian, straight, and male). This indicates assimilation to mainstream preferences. However, there is a unique relationship between minority American's implicit biases and their explicit cultural views. Livingston (2002) found that Blacks who perceived prejudice and discrimination from Whites exemplified strong automatic pro-White bias while also having strong Pro-Black bias in their self-reports. Ulerio and Mena (2020) evaluated the cultural socialization processes of individuals from minority groups and the perceived effect of their belonging to a White rural community. The study revealed that White-normative and exclusionary environments directly impacted how minority families in the neighborhood approached cultural socialization (Ulerio &Mena, 2020). Minority families assimilate to mainstream culture due to their societal

racial/ethnic positions, while also implementing strong cultural socialization to combat their children's experiences of negative stereotypes and discrimination. These early life developmental experiences are integral in developing ones understanding of self and others and are impressionable upon how individuals interact with others as they progress through life. Within a society everyone is exposed to and impacted by the sociopolitical forces that shape reality, regardless of group status. These forces, however, will shape varying realities for different people.

The community also plays a significant role in the process of socialization. The exposure to like-minded or diverse community members contributes to racial attitudes and the development of implicit bias. Barr (2010) established that for African American college students, growing up in a neighborhood with predominately Black neighbors was associated with community members being exposed to more cultural pride messages. Smith, Atkins, and Connell (2003) analyzed how wealth and educational attainment contribute to perceived barriers and success. The study found that with African American fourth graders, growing up within a community with many college-educated residents influenced positive perceptions concerning having fewer racial barriers in regard to academic success (Smith, Atkins, & Connell, 2003). Additionally, the higher the neighborhoods' socioeconomic status, the less likely individuals would develop racial and ethnic distrust (Smith, Atkins, & Connell, 2003). Growing up in diverse neighborhoods with neighbors that have higher levels of education and wealth are impactful factors in the development of Pro-Black attitudes.

Researchers have assessed the effects of cultural socialization by comparing parents' and children's implicit attitudes. Sinclair, Dunn and Lowery (2004) aimed to analyze how children reflect the racial attitudes of their parents. The study looked at parents' pro-White/anti-Black

attitudes that contributed to implicit prejudices and the parent's amygdala activation when

presented with the faces of Black and White Americans (Sinclair, Dunn & Lowery, 2004).

Children in this study were found to strongly identify with their parents' racial implicit bias

behaviors (Sinclair, Dunn & Lowery, 2004). This, nevertheless, does not suggest that children

are not capable of developing different responses towards ingroup bias as they age. When

assessing older (9-12) White children's implicit racial attitudes, Williams, Steele, & Lipman

(2016) found weaker positive responses to the racial ingroup, compared to strong positive racial

ingroup responses for White children age 5-8 years. This is attributed to older children beginning

to develop perceptions of others outside of race as they broaden their categorization of others

based on likes and differences (Williams, Steele, & Lipman, 2016). This is important to note,

because individuals are capable of not solely becoming the products of their immediate

environments. All people, regardless of group status, are subject to developing biases as they are

developed for the purpose of socializing. However, as one progresses through life, their methods

of assimilating may need to adjust to their current environments such as in the workplace.

Secondary Socialization, Occupational Identity, and Occupational Culture

      Secondary socialization are the influences that shape one's worldview and behaviors

outside of their immediate household. Secondary socialization takes place during youth's

exposure to different social environments as they gain autonomy as adolescents and continue

their education, gain different employment opportunities, and travel outside of one's immediate

areas of exposure during primary socialization (Crisogen, 2015). Unlike primary socialization,

secondary socialization is not restricted to childhood and is continuous throughout the lifetime

(Crisogen, 2015). One influence on the shifting dynamics between primary and secondary

socialization that is particularly salient to the current study is the acquisition of an occupation.

Occupations produce subcultures of their own, deciding on work norms, appropriateness, and disciplining those that deviate from occupational standards. Within this environment, there is a process of occupational identity formation, which is recognized as a contributing factor to the construction of one's identity (Christiansen, 1999, 2004; Kielhofner, 2008a; 2008b, Unruh et al., 2002).

Organizational culture is the accumulation of shared knowledge, norms, values and practices within an organization (Hess, 1993). New recruits in an organization go through a process of organizational culture assimilation. This encompasses learning one's role within the organization and a decrease in anomie (Hess, 1993). Organizational culture is not immune to the greater culture it surrounds. Vadi, Allik, and Realo (2002) define organizational culture as a reflection of the general cultural environment as organizational members incorporate general cultural values into the values of the organization. However, as general cultural norms shift, organizational culture will not always reflect these changes, as organizational culture tends to not waiver outside of major sociopolitical events that may influence changes to organizational policy (sexual harassment conduct, workplace discrimination).

Collectivistic organizational culture promotes group success of the organization, not the individual members (Omar, Idrus, & Noordin, 2015). Collectivistic occupational identities encompass aligning oneself to the working goal of their organization (Omar, Idrus, & Noordin, 2015). Thus, occupational identity in collectivistic organizational cultures reinforces members of the organization as part of the ingroup and supporting ingroup cultural dynamics. Occupations that promote collectivistic social environments have a strong influence on the development of occupational identity (Iwama, 2003). In their explanation of the self, Iwama (2003) described the self as "…oriented toward adjusting and adapting to the social environment,rather than

controlling and altering environments to suite one's self" (p. 585). Individuals utilize social cues

to reconstruct their identity, thus postulating that identity is not solely dependent on the self but

is influenced by the immediate environment (Burr, 2003). Occupational identity is the realization

of the transformation of "I" to "us" (Gergen, 2000, p. 156). It is also key to the emergence of

understanding the interdependence between an individual and others which forms the relational

self. Gergen (1994; 2004) coined the term relational self, describing it as a replacement of the

self and an adjustment to the focus of being relatable. Occupational identity not only

encompasses the identity of an individual as a worker, but blends with one's self prescribed

identity and understanding of others. This stands true even for occupations that aim tobe

objective in their practices, like policing. Occupational identity development for police officers

is not separate from the greater sociopolitical conceptualizations and utilizations of race.

Police Subculture

Research on police subculture has tended to veer from discussing the implications of

police socialization for officers (Van Maanen, 1975). Much research has focused on police

personality, which some academics have argued contributes to the common behaviors of police

officers. Police personality researchers have argued that police organizations attract a certain

type of person, which contributes to the similarities in police officers. Twersky-Glasner (2005)

explored police organizations processes of choosing officers, revealing that through the various

screening assessments potential candidates are compared to the organization's current

experienced officers. Through this process, Twersky-Glasner (2005) argued that the

psychological assessments used in these screenings contribute to deciphering unfit recruits which

ultimately narrows the recruitment search to a specific type (personality) of person. Conversely,

others have argued that the kind of socialization unique to the police subculture is responsible for the major similarities across police organizations and police officers across the country.

Much of the focus of similarities in police subculture has explored the development of police cynicism. Bennett & Schmitt (2002) attributed the development of cynicism to the discrepancies experienced between the unrealistic expectations that administrators have for patrol officers and patrol officers' realization of these unrealistic expectations that do not consider the daily demands of their jobs. It was presumed that these types of discrepancies result in the development of police cynicism and officers disconnect from society and administration standards (Bennet & Schmitt, 2002). However, outside of researchers varying speculations of influence in police subculture, it can be attested that modern police subculture and organizational structure are paramilitary-bureaucratic in nature, exhibiting similarities with how the American military functions (Chappell & Lanza-Kaduce, 2010). Paramilitary organizations are structured around collectivistic beliefs, as it is believed that collective thought of the organization, such as in a military setting, fosters obedience and professionalism (Austen, 1981). Collectivism is the feeling of belonging to an ingroup which in return loyalty is displayed (Darwish & Huber, 2003). Group beliefs are prioritized over individual needs and thoughts and it is imperative that one knows their role within the group (Darwish & Huber, 2003).

For police organizations, the reconstruction of the self begins in the police academy where collectivistic subculture values are first revealed, and the construction of occupational identity begins. This entails instilling police subcultural customs that facilitate the isolation of police recruits from the civilian world, thus beginning the socialization process from civilian to police officer (Chappell & Lanza-Kaduce, 2010). Hodgson (2001) described training in the police academy as the dedication of the recruit to give up personal liberty and "become a part of

or an expression of the organizations' social self" (p. 528). This socialization process is often overlooked in the development of an overall occupational identity, outside of the development of officer cynicism. The police academy acts as a filtering system, recruiting those who display the conformity required as an ingroup (police organization) member. This organizational filtering system limits the organizations' ability to truly diversify its culture. Officers of varying racial/ethnic backgrounds may be hired; however, they are hired on their ability to conform to the current organizational culture, not to transform it.

Police Socialization

Renowned ethnographic researcher Van Maanen specialized in observing the police subculture, working to decipher unique socialization components for officers. Van Maanen (1974) expressed that the police occupational culture is structured into four socialization processes: entry, introduction, encounter, and metamorphosis. Through these stages police socialization practices are solidified. Recruits are first processed through entry socialization, where individuals align themselves with the qualifications of the position. This includes salary and the basic understanding of what the police role encompasses (salary, job security, etc.) (Van Maanen, 1974). Recruits are then processed by the police organization which further narrows theselection of recruits. Van Maanen noted this reiterates the influence of the police academy, describing it as the first real contact with the police organizational environment (1974).

Resocialization, to which recruits are exposed, is a two-step process. It begins with what ErvingGoffman (1961) termed mortification of the self. This requires the recruit to be stripped of attitudes, perspectives, and behaviors they previously held (Goffman, 1961). The second step is to rebuild the recruit with the morals and norms of the police organization (Goffman, 1961). Attitudinal changes are marked as signifiers in a recruit's transition into a police mentality. "Hence, the Academy impresses upon the recruit that he must now identify with the new group- his fellow patrolmen. Furthermore, he learns that when the department notices his behavior, it is

usually to administer a punishment, not a reward. The solution to this collective predicament is to "stay low and avoid trouble"(Van Maanen, 1976, p. 222). Individual identity and the heterogeneity associated with one's identity is no longer welcome. Assimilation into police organization is dependent upon a recruit's willingness to become a homogenous unit. Going outside the bounds of what is prescribed will impact the success of a potential officer's career.

Chappell and Lanza-Kaduce (2010) conducted a series of observations on socialization in a police academy, implementing community policing into their trainings and coursework. Though the curriculum was geared toward community policing, war stories and the mimicking of the police organizational structure contradicted the new principles community policing was introducing (Chappell & Lanza-Kaduce, 2010). War stories from seasoned and traditionally socialized police officers perpetuated stereotypes; some stories were biased for the sake of safety ("assume there's a bad guy on every call") and others were stereotypes that lacked legitimacy ("when addicts are cracked up, they are crazy and they can't feel any pain") (Chappell & Lanza-Kaduce, 2010, p. 201). Biases that provided cynical views of civilians were used consistently to distance recruits from individuals outside of the police subculture (Chappell & Lanza-Kaduce, 2010). The line between the civilian and the officer is clearly drawn. Not only does one shed their multiplicity of identities to conform to organizational needs, but they are positioned to no longer see themselves as the individuals they will come across throughout their careers.

Socialization does not stop after the academy, it continues into on-the-job police training when a recruit becomes a rookie officer (Radelet, 1986). The continued acquaintance of fellow police officers assimilates rookies into "ways of acceptable and unacceptable behavior" (McNamara, 1999, p. 7). This is where recruits transition into the encounter phase of socialization (Van Maanen, 1975). The encounter phase is the process of solidifying police

subcultural practices as it is ritualistic for patrolmen to train new patrolmen; "the flow of influence from one generation to another accounts for the remarkable stability of the pattern of police behavior" (Van Maanen, 1975, p. 222). Supervisors further specify expectations of officers and delegate rewards for their performance (Engel & Warden, 2003). Supervisory roles influence the socialization processes of the recruit as they determine the kind of officer a recruit is. This is determined based off the work ethic exhibited by a new officer. Recruits that showed the least motivation were viewed as better policemen than recruits that were overzealous and "gung-ho" (Van Maanen, 1975). New recruits who adopt the group norm of "staying out of trouble" reciprocate loyalty to the organization and are marked by sergeants as better performing officers (Van Maanen, 1975). This is coined transactional leadership (Engel & Warden, 2003).

Supervisors play an integral role in solidifying and transforming socialization norms to which patrol officers adhere. Supervisors shape the occupational identities of officers by curating the needs of the executive command staff into the wanted behaviors of patrol men. The intersection of the different norms that recruits are exposed to indoctrinates the role they will play within the organization, as well as an understanding of how to navigate the stark complexities between executive command socialization processes and patrolmen socialization processes. Supervisors also tend to be relied upon for the implementation of new police policies and procedures (body-cameras, de-escalation training) and transitioning patrolmen culture based on these implementations. With the push for community policing initiatives in various police organizations, there is a focus on executive command staff and front-line supervisors' influence on these cultural changes. For example, as police reform aims to change the subcultural values of police organizations in South Korea, community policing was an attempt to reconfigure police cultural norms. Though it was assumed that police organizations with traditional police values

would lack the capacity to transform traditional officers into community policing oriented

officers, Moon (2006) found positive relationships between the degree of organizational

socialization and components of community policing. Contrary to the hypothesized outcome, top

Korean police administrators cooperated and assisted in transitioning the Korean police

subculture. Community policing was successfully integrated into the Korean police force and

revealed the influence command staff have on fostering new work cultures.

The final stage of socialization, according to Van Maanen, is metamorphosis (1975).

After six months or so of exposure to police experiences, rookie officers begin to mimic the

cultural attitudes of seasoned officers (Van Maanen, 1975). Appropriate and inappropriate

behaviors are thus institutionalized through punishments and rewards systems. However, these

behaviors will vary depending on the organizational supervisory styles that are present. This is

important because officers experience varying levels of acculturation reinstituting organizational

norms and taboos. Officer decision making will be influenced by the impression of their police

peers, as well as the needs and expectations of their command staff even if practices diverge

from an officer's individual beliefs.

Officer Reward Systems & Officer Decision Making

Like any prescribed work culture, police officers are motivated by rewards systems that

solidify their belonging to the ingroup. These reward systems align with the present police

culture within a police organization and act as officers' proof of organizational loyalty. This

proof, nevertheless, can tap into biases about civilians and possibly reinforce racial stereotypes

around crime and poverty. Reward systems do not solely act as incentives, but they stand as a

measure for ingroup members to perceive organizational support of their success. These reward

systems align with supervisory styles that are implemented within an organization, as

supervisors act as mediators between organizational goals and patrolmen behaviors. Perceived

organizational support (POS) has a positive relationship with work performance, indicating that

the stronger one feels tied to the organization the higher their performance. Armeli et al. (1998)

found that officers who displayed higher needs for socioemotional resources (need for esteem,

need for affiliation, need for emotional support) had a positive relationship between POS and

performance. Officers who had higher numbers of DUI arrests and speeding citations were

capable of reciprocating POS through their performance, which indicates their need for

socioemotional resources (Armeli et al. 1998). Conversely, POS will be determined by the

cultural expectations of officers from supervisors and may not replicate in arrests or citations.

Going forward, one can predict that the need to reciprocate loyalty through work

performance indicates the organizational culture's influence on officer decision-making, even

when utilizing discretion. The accumulation of citations and arrests are all accepted or rejected

through the eyes of the organization. Filing citations may be the immediate need of the

organization, but this does not mean that it is fulfilling the purpose of the organization and

benefits the communities it serves. Discrepancies in the trickledown effect of police command

have introduced issues of racial discrimination in the use of citations as performance measures.

Officers who do not align themselves with being racist or biased still tend to participate in

organizational practices that have been proven to be racially discriminatory.

The Ferguson Police Department (FPD) is an example of a police department whose

practices were found to violate the constitutional rights of its citizens and contributed to an

abusive culture of policing which disproportionally impacted African American citizens

(Department of Justice Civil Rights Division, 2015). FPD was found to frequently stop and

detain individuals without reasonable suspicion or probable cause (Department of Justice Civil

Rights Division, 2015). Unreasonable stops tended to be influenced by officers checking civilians for warrants pending, a system FPD heavily relied on for all stops made unconstitutionally (Department of Justice Civil Rights Division, 2015). The FPD severely monitored individuals for warrants and wrote citations at the cost of citizens' needs and well-being. The report generated by the Civil Rights Division of the United States Department of Justice on the FPD concluded that the police organization was shaped and motivated by the city's focus of generating more revenue (through citations and court fees) rather than the public safety needs of the Ferguson community (Department of Justice Civil Rights Division, 2015). Police practices were structured around aggressive enforcement of Fergusons' municipal code which thus contributed to an organizational culture of authoritative discretionary abuse, even when officers lacked legal authority in their civilian encounters (Department of Justice Civil Rights Division, 2015).

Though the investigation into the Ferguson Police Department brought awareness to its detrimental operations, it also brought to light the complexity of officer buy-in versus officer compliance. When new programs, policies, or trainings are implemented officers either buy-in or comply. Officer buy-in is determined by the level of trust and fairness in treatment (organizational justice) officers perceive from their organization (Rosenbaum & McCarty, 2017). Higher levels of organizational justice tend to result in higher officer buy-in (Rosenbaum & McCarty, 2017). Buy-in depends on an officer's positive view of a program or policy. Officer compliance differs because an officer can comply with a policy, to please supervisors, but not think it is beneficial to their job role. In Chanin & Welsh's (2021) study, they assessed officer compliance in submitting data describing every traffic stop they conduct to meet the police organization's push to identify race-based disparities. There was evidence of underreporting and

a 19% error rate in stop data submitted between 2014 and 2015 (Chanin & Welsh, 2021).

Officers felt that by documenting their traffic stop behaviors they were being labeled as racist

(Chanin & Welsh, 2021). Some officers felt that the costs of documenting traffic stop data

(negative light on the police organization) outweighed benefits to them and the organization

(Chanin & Welsh, 2021). However, there were officers who complied with the new policy.

Officers that complied with the policy explained doing so because their supervisors asked them

to, thus reciprocating loyalty even if they did not agree with the policy (Chanin & Welsh, 2021).

As discussed previously, there is a push to diversify police organizations in an effort to dissolve

racial tensions and issues between police organizations and minority communities. The history of

their relationship cannot be ignored; however, this solution does not prove that discretion will be

utilized differently depending on the officers' racial and ethnic demographic.

Brown and Frank (2006) observed the use of discretion between Black and White

officers in Cincinnati, Ohio and found differences in how race played a part in how officers

operated. Despite officer race, arrests were likely to increase if the "encounter involved a suspect

who committed a felonious offense, if the encounter was with a visibly intoxicated person, if the

suspect showed disrespect or hostility toward the police, or if the interaction involved a juvenile

suspect" (Brown & Frank, 2006, p. 119).Though the study concluded that White officers made

more arrests overall than Black officers, there were significant findings in how officers

differentiated in their processes of choosing to arrest. The study found that Black officers arrests

were influenced by "[their] length of service, suspect gender, whether a crime was committed in

their presence, and by the number of citizen bystanders witnessing the encounter, none of which

significantly influenced the behavior of White officers in the study" (Brown & Frank, 2006, p.

119). Arrests by White officers, in comparison, were predicted by the amount of evidence and if

they were dispatched tothe encounter, which were not significant predictors for Black officers. (Brown & Frank, 2006). Years of service at the Cincinnati Police Department (CPD) significantly influenced Black officers' arrest decisions whereas it had no effect on arrest decisions for White officers (Brown & Frank, 2006). Black officers with fewer years of service were found to have significantly higher arrest rates than comparable situations with White officers (Brown & Frank, 2006). The study also revealed that a Black officer's racial identity does not deter them from arresting Black civilians. The probability of White officers arresting White civilians was 88 percent compared to 93 percent for arresting Black civilians (Brown & Frank, 2006). Surprisingly, when controlling for the same conditions, the probability of a Black officer arresting a White civilian was 36 percent and jumps to 98 percent when a Black officer encounters a Black civilian, disseminating the same race dyad as a solution to racially-biased arrest rates (Brown & Frank, 2006). It can be argued that arresting Black civilians at higher rates than White officers may be proof of Black officers loyalty to the organization and symbolically shedding their racial belonging. More research needs to be conducted and discussed regarding how an officer's race is an active variable in officer decision making.

The extant research explicitly details the negative impacts of discretionary powers, but has yet to produce evidence of the benefits of heavily-enforced citation laws, diverse police organizations, and random stops and seizures that all depend on an officers' use of discretion. Essentially, this approach to policing is justified in its prediction of reducing crime; however, crime reduction would not benefit the police department as it threatens the need for high enforcement. Thus, if the need for revenue is still the organization's goal, officers will extend their efforts to reciprocate organizational loyalty. This was clearly seen in the investigation of the Ferguson Police Department. This is not to say that all police organizations do not benefit their

communities; however, there is not much monitoring or evaluation on the benefits that police organizations add to communities and whether they are successfully addressing community issues.

Additionally, community demographics, socioeconomic status, educational attainment average, and regional demographics all play a part in how discretion will vary across each police organization and each patrol officer. Though research on diverse officers' effects on the practices of police organizations are needed, researchers need to not neglect primary socialization's influence on how one behaves and what one believes regardless of self-identified race. What this research aims to assess is how exposure to diversity in primary socialization shapes one's implicit bias into adulthood. Can diversity exposure combat the development of implicit racial bias as one becomes engulfed in different subcultures, including the police subculture, in adulthood? This question is explored in the next section of the chapter.

Diversity Exposure

Does exposure to diversity combat implicit bias?

As police organizations strive to reflect the diverse populations they serve, recruiting diverse officers is promoted as a partial solution to the tension between officers and citizens. However, as Baltimore has shown us, relying on the assumption of phenotypically diverse individuals as prospect officers might be just as detrimental. An officers' race does not signify the value they will bring to the communities they serve; however, an officer's upbringing and interaction with various types of people over their lifetime may influence their capability to handle their daily interactions with citizens. An officer's primary socialization environment is often overlooked during recruitment, but it does pose as a possible variable which could impact

implicit racial bias. The key question is as follows: Does exposure to diversity during primary socialization impact one's development of implicit racial bias?

Primary socialization exposes one to different people and environments through the lens of one's immediate parental/guardian environment. As children, we learn to process the world through a bank of accumulated experiences in our schematic memory. One can propose that exposure to diversity whether it be religion, gender, socioeconomic status, race, or disability status will shape a child's/adolescent's perspective and prejudice of their world. Aberson, Shoemaker, & Tomolillo (2004) examined the IAT scores (level of implicit bias) of individuals who did and did not have interethnic friendships with Blacks and Latinos. Overall, participants displayed implicit bias; nevertheless, participants who had close African American or Latino friends tended to score lower than those who did not (Aberson, Shoemaker, & Tomolillo, 2004). The researchers pointed to one's environment stating, "[that] implicit attitudes tap associations that the individual is exposed to in his or her environment" (p. 344). The researchers suggested that individuals who had interethnic friendships had positive associations with African Americans and Latinos, consequently impacting how they scored on their IAT (Aberson, Shoemaker, & Tomolillo, 2004).

It is evident that forming relationships with diverse individuals is impactful in how one develops implicit racial bias, but the longevity of these bonds and how children continue to be influenced by these bonds are also important factors. Gaias et al. (2018) examined the longitudinal development of cross-race friendships and racial bias in preschoolers who learned in a diverse classroom with diverse learning materials. They were assessed again when they reached the first and third grade levels (Gaias et al., 2018). First grade cross-race friendship and implicit racial bias predicted cross-race friendship and racial bias in the third grade, providing

proof of the stability of these variables in childhood (Gaias et al., 2018). The study also revealed the importance of establishing diversity in the preschool classroom setting, which predicted children's cross-race friendships in first and third grade (Gaias et al., 2018). However, researchers have also noted that mere exposure to diverse classmates does not guarantee a negative relationship with racial bias.

Gaias et al. (2018) found no association between diverse classmates in preschool and racial bias in first grade and a positive direct association between diverse classmates and racial bias in the third grade (for those who were exposed to diversity in the first grade). They suggested that their findings imply that exposure to diversity is not a reliable solution, as it does not guarantee the formation of cross-race relationships or foster intergroup interactions that will reduce implicit racial bias (Gaias et al., 2018). The researchers also suggested that their findings indicate that without the mediation of friendships, exposure to diversity in preschool may lead to increased racial bias in the third grade (Gaias et al., 2018). Aligning with these findings, preschool classroom curriculum did not have an association with cross-race friendships, revealing again that just the mere exposure to diversity will not be a strong predictor of racial bias (Gaias et al., 2018). The development of cross-race relationships fosters commonality and outgroup understanding that typically is not nourished through simple exposure or diverse activities within the classroom setting (Gaias et al., 2018).

Though friendships are imperative in diversity exposure, they cannot be the sole piece of the equation. As a result, research has extended to deciphering the most impactful modes of diversity exposure. Some research proposes that facilitating positive attitudinal approaches to diversity may be a solution. Murrar, Campbell, & Brauer (2020) relied on reconfiguring social norms through exposure to peers' pro diversity attitudes at a large public university in the U.S.

Social norm interventions throughout the study consisted of six randomized trials that promoted the university student population's pro diversity attitudes, the university's pro-diversity policies, and the university's inclusive environment. The study aimed to measure non-marginalized students' diversity attitudes and marginalized students' sense of inclusion following the completion of the social norm interventions (Murrar, Campbell, & Brauer, 2020). The results of the study revealed an increase in pro-diversity attitudes for non-marginalized students and an increased sense of belonging, and more inclusive treatment from peers (Murrar, Campbell, & Brauer, 2020). What this research was capable of revealing was how impactful positive reinforcement can be on altering human perception through social propaganda. However, this research was limited to explicit beliefs. This is important because non-marginalized students' high exposure to pro diversity messaging may act as a deterrent to expressing non-diversity beliefs. Aside from this limitation, the interventions nurtured an inclusive learning environment that resulted in better grades for marginalized students (Murrar, Campbell, & Brauer, 2020). The university's pro-diversity environment positively impacted marginalized students; where it can be suggested that self-esteem and confidence increased, thus aiding in their academic success.

Though this research focused on restructuring diversity attitudes through secondary socialization (college), it entailed the importance of the environments to which we belong. Pro-diversity attitudes can be instituted within the home, in the second-grade classroom, or at the middle school assembly. What these interventions by Murrar, Campbell, & Brauer (2020) essentially pinpointed is the importance of reinforcement in diversity exposure. The conclusion from all the research explored in this section is that one interaction or one lesson will not necessarily assist in lessening the development of, or decreasing, one's implicit racial bias. Long-term exposure to diversity and pro-diversity environments will likely produce lower levels

of implicit racial bias. However, police organizational culture may possibly be a barrier to these cumulative factors that may lessen one's implicit bias. In this regard, it may nurture the reliance on these biases for the sake of threat perception. This stands as an issue as it challenges the reliability of hiring phenotypically diverse officers. Officer identity, regardless of their racial/ethnic background, will be expected to be rooted in the collective homogenous whole of the police organization. Officers within major metropolitan cities will likely have long-term exposure to diversity through the urban communities they patrol and even amongst the individuals they work with. Nevertheless, it can be argued that traditional police organizational culture does not encourage pro-diversity environments outside of the appearance of their officers. Diversity of thought will ultimately be challenged due to the collectivistic nature of police organizations.

The Present Study

The current study explores how the accumulation of these experiences impact implicit racial bias among a sample of police officers. Put simply, does the accumulation of diversity exposure throughout primary socialization influence how an officer scores on the Harvard Race IAT? Or is it possible that secondary socialization practices that occur within the police subculture influences one's score on the IAT, even among those with a background of long-term exposure to diversity? This study examines the cultural influences of police organizations and how the acquisition of a police occupational identity interacts with ones' demographic background and their exposure to diversity. Overall, its goal was to generate preliminary findings to guide a broader data collection effort to facilitate testing the integrity and often assumed solution of diversity hiring initiatives by police organizations. Though it is imperative that diversity is regularly incorporated for the purpose of representation, further research should seek

to add to our understanding of the relationship between diversity and implicit racial bias in police officers. The current study explored the impacts of diversity exposure on officers that belong to a police organization situated in a diverse southeastern city. The region encompassed by the police organization provides an array of diversity exposure and acted as a prime location to implement this pilot study. Specifically, this pilot study examined whether patterns and correlations in data collected from a sample of officers in a southeastern city supported the following hypotheses.

Hypotheses

Hypothesis 1: Officers with more diversity exposure will exhibit less implicit pro-White bias than participants with no diversity exposure.

Hypothesis 2: Officers of diverse racial ethnic background will exhibit less implicit pro-White bias than White officers.

Hypothesis 3: Officers raised in racially and ethnically diverse neighborhoods will exhibit less implicit pro-White bias than officers who were not born in a racially and ethnically diverse environment.

Chapter 3: Methods and Data

Methods

Participants

Convenience sampling was utilized in this pilot study. The participant pool consisted of 264 sworn officers who participated in a police leadership institute at Georgia State University. Officers tend to have bachelor's degrees and all worked for the same police organization. Patrol officers were excluded from the participant pool as the police leadership institute was comprised of officers who held supervisory positions (sergeants or above). Former police leadership institute cohorts were contacted via email four times. Table 1 in Chapter 4 provides descriptive statistics for the full sample. A total of N=59 participants responded to the recruitment email and fully participated in the study. A total of N=22 participated fully by completing both the survey and taking the IAT test and reporting their score. Participants' ethnic backgrounds consisted of White participants (*n* = 36), Black participants (*n* =22), and Hispanic participants (*n* =1). The sample consisted primarily of men (76%). Two participants did not signify their gender. Participants were not compensated for taking part in this study and participation was voluntary.

Procedures

Participants were recruited through email, with emails sent on four dates from November 2020 to February 2021. Participants were ensured that their involvement with the study was not related to current social and political events. The police department had recently been put in the spotlight via nationwide Black Lives Matter protests and a high-profile officer shooting of an unarmed black man. Following these events, the police chief stepped down, thus further placing the police organization on a national political platform. Participants were instructed to respond to the e-mail with "yes" if they would like to participate. Participants who responded "yes" to the recruitment email were subsequently sent a Qualtrics link to the demographic survey and

Harvard Race IAT measure. Participants were instructed to access the survey through the

Qualtrics link along with a password to ensure the confidentiality of the survey. The

demographic survey (See Appendix A) consisted of questions that asked officers to record their

gender, racial and ethnic background, whether they were born and raised in the southeastern city

where the police organization is located, and their recollection of experiences of diversity

exposure during their childhood (primary socialization).

Following the completion of the demographic survey, participants were then provided a

link to complete the Harvard Race IAT. Participants had access to the link for seventy-two hours

after beginning the survey before their assessment results were officially input as data. The Race

IAT measure was developed by Harvard University and measures implicit social cognition.[1]

Participants self-reported their results from the measure by copying and pasting their results into

the final section of the demographic survey as instructed. Participants completed the assessment

following the Harvard Race IAT measure and the recording of their results. Officers'

participation was voluntary; they were not required to complete both parts of the assessment. The

results of officers across racial demographics and varying backgrounds are used to assess the

relationship between officer race and amount of diversity exposure with officer IAT results.

Implicit Attitude Measurement

Implicit bias is measured through association tests. Due to its unconscious nature, self-

report surveys do not serve as reliable sources of implicit social cognition (Hahn & Gawronski,

2014). Implicit measures aim to activate automatic processing and assess the strength of reaction

between presented stimuli and the associations the assessment is measuring (Hahn & Gawronski,

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[1] The implicit bias test may be found at https://implicit.harvard.edu/implicit/index.jsp

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2018). Popular measures that are used to assess implicit bias include Sequential Priming tests, Implicit Association Tests (IAT), the Extrinsic Affective Simon Task (EAST), Go/No-Go Association Task (GNAT), and the Affect Misattribution Procedure (AMP) (Hahn & Gawronski, 2018). For this discussion we will focus on the Implicit Association Test.

The IAT specifically measures implicit attitudes. The IAT entails two categorization tasks where participants sort stimuli that signify two diverging concepts (Hahn & Gawronski, 2018). Participants are measured by how quickly they can respond to the associations and the difference in response times between the two diverging concepts (Hahn & Gawronski, 2018). Participants' scores on the IAT reflect the level of preference they have towards the diverging concepts. The IAT does not guarantee that results predict explicit behaviors but it does provide insight into how individuals' response rates are influenced by how strongly they associate the diverging concepts with positive and negative stimuli.

The Race-IAT consists of two parts: the explicit racial belief questionnaire and the categorization of Black and White American faces with negative and positive words. The latter of the instrument's entails having faces from each racial group (European Americans and African Americans) grouped with bad words or good words. Each image of a racial group member is interchanged with bad and good words. The instrument primes the participant to categorize the faces of each group with a negative or positive word (African American faces & positive words, African American faces & negative words, European American faces & positive words, European American faces & negative words). Bad words consisted of: Disgust, Yucky, Failure, Disaster, Abuse, Angry, Horrific, and Hatred. Good words consisted of: Celebrate, Pleasing, Beautiful, Fabulous, Spectacular, Happy, Friend and Glorious. This section of the instrument is

comprised of seven parts. According to the categorization task, participants that do not categorize each group's face with a word properly (according to given instructions) are told they are incorrect and are made to correct their categorization. The categorization task measures the speed in which individuals can make correct categorizations. The goal is to test the participants' assimilation to what the assessment deems correct categorization. Following the completion of the assessment participants are given a score of slight, moderate, or strong preference for European Americans compared to African Americans. Slight preference is regarded as a low score on the Race IAT, meaning that an individual has low levels of implicit bias (preference) towards European Americans compared to African Americans. Strong preference indicates a high score thus meaning that an individual has a high level of implicit bias towards European Americans compared to African Americans. Scores do not predict an individual's explicit behaviors

Demographic and Diversity Exposure Survey

A survey was administered to collect data on officer demographic information and their experiences of diversity exposure (See Appendix A). The survey consisted of four sections: Participation Consent, Demographic Information, Diversity Exposure, and the Harvard Race IAT link. Participants were first asked for their consent to participate. Those who consented were then taken to the first section of the survey. The survey consisted of eleven questions and one open- ended prompt. The open-ended prompt was used for participants to record their IAT Race results.

Demographic measures in the survey were officers' race and gender. Race is dummy coded as 0= White, 1= Black. Race was important to include to reiterate that implicit bias is intrinsic in the American socialization experience, but to also show the varying levels of possible

explicit bias expressed in different racial groups. The same stands true for the inclusion of gender by assessing possible variations in implicit bias results depending on the officers' gender. Officers were also asked whether they were born and raised in the southeastern city they policed in, as the city acts as a unique space for diversity exposure due to its racial demographics. The diversity exposure questions aimed to explore the different arenas in primary socialization where a child would be exposed to diversity. Eleven questions were included in the exposure to diversity survey where participants are asked: How racially and ethnically diverse would you describe your neighborhood growing up; While going to school (K-12) I experienced having Black teachers; I have experienced Black police officers in my neighborhood; I have experienced Black business women/men in my neighborhood; Going to school (k-12) my student body was diverse; I have experienced Black community leaders in my neighborhood: Church leaders, community organization leaders, politicians; Growing up I did not feel disadvantaged because of the color of my skin. Responses were ranked on a Likert scale of: often, sometimes, rarely, and never. Responses were thus transformed into a score and reflected in the Exposure to Diversity Scale (EDS), which is the summation of questions 5-10 (see Appendix A).

Data

Data were collected through Qualtrics and exported to SPSS for analysis. Officers' identities are not revealed, and their data is stored using ID numbers randomly assigned on the surveys through the Qualtrics system. Information was stored in Qualtrics and downloaded to a secure password- and firewall-protected computer. No responses are exempt in the assessment, even if the assessments are not completely filled out. However, response rates were low, as is common with online surveys. Of the 264 officers in the recruitment pool, a total of 59 took the demographic survey for a response rate of 24.4%. However, only 22 respondents reported IAT

scores, for a full participation rate of 8.8%. This limitation will be discussed further in the discussion section.

Data analysis was done in SPSS to carry out a preliminary, pilot analysis of the interaction between police officer exposure to diversity and the development of racial implicit bias as a result of socialization into a police occupational identity. The key predictors are officers' race and measures of exposure to diversity during primary socialization. As this research is a pilot study with a small sample of officers, bivariate correlations were used to explore the relationship between implicit bias, diversity exposure and demographics. Results, however, must be interpreted with caution due to the small sample size.

Chapter 4: Results & Discussion

Results

The goal of this study was to better examine the venues that best address issues with diversifying efforts by police organizations. To decipher the significance of the exposure to diversity assessment and officers scores on the Harvard Implicit Association Test, a two-tailed bivariate correlation was conducted to explore the relationship between each question asked and the cumulative results of officers IAT scores. As the COVID-19 pandemic necessitated moving data collection from in-person to online it impacted response rates (which raises concerns over non-response bias) and we were unable to collect a sufficient sample size to allow for multivariate analyses. Of the 59 participants, 37 (63%) were excluded from the analysis as they did not complete enough of the study material to be included in analyses. Population descriptive variables are demonstrated in Table 1. Inclusion in analyses required participants to complete both the demographic survey, as well as self-report their IAT results in order to have data for both the dependent and independent variables.

When assessing the lack of completion of the assessment from the 37 excluded participants, black participants were less likely to complete or report their IAT scores with a 32% response rate compared to a 38% response rate from White participants. Regarding gender, female participants had a 50% response rate in recording their IAT scores compared to 33% response rate for male participants. The variance in response rates due to race and gender, I argue, is due to an officer's positionality. A Black officer's identity as a Black person as well as an officer creates a pressure to further display their loyalty to the police organization. Results from the IAT may be perceived as a threat to their loyalty. Black officers may also experience cognitive dissonance from their IAT results due to their racial proximity and avoid participating.

Gender also plays a significant role as male officers tend to be those in the spotlight for police brutality which consequently may have impacted their response rate. With low assessment completions, the research ran into the issue of Type II error due to small sample size (N=22); therefore, the statistical significance tests reported in this pilot study are questionable and should be interpreted with caution. However, the variance of scores displayed in the Exposure to Diversity Scale is significant and worth exploring to help inform a future study that can obtain a larger sample.

Table 1. Sample Descriptive Statistics

N=59		
Gender (%)		
Male	45	(76.3)
Female	14	(24.0)
Race (%)		
Black	22	(37.0)
White	36	(61.0)
Hispanic	1	(2.0)

Table 2. Distribution of Exposure to Diversity Scores

Exposure to Diversity Scale

Gender	Race	Score	Born and Raised inSoutheastern city
Male	White	0	No
Male	White	6	No
Male	Black	12	Yes
Male	White	12	Yes
Male	White	3	No
Male	White	7	Yes
Male	White	0	No
Male	White	4	No
Female	White	7	No
Female	Black	18	Yes
Male	White	7	No
Male	White	12	No
Female	White	0	No
Male	White	3	No
Male	White	2	No
Female	Hispanic	3	No
Male	White	4	No
Male	Black	11	Yes
Female	Black	13	No
Male	Black	7	Yes
Female	Black	10	No
Female	Black	7	No

The Exposure to Diversity Scale (EDS) is the sum of questions 5-10, which were each scales ranging from 0 to 4 with higher values meaning more diversity exposure. The observed range on the summated scale was 0 to 18. A total of 18 points signifies a high level of exposureto diversity and a score of 0 signifies no exposure to diversity. Table 2 shows the variation in scores across participants. On average participants had some exposure to diversity during primary socialization (M= 6.7, SD= 4.9). Exploratory factor analysis was not conducted due tothe small sample size. Looking at demographics, 73% of participants were not born or raised in the southeasterncity (Table 2)[2]. From the self-reported IAT results, participants tended to have a strong or moderate automatic preference for European Americans compared to African

Americans (M= 1.77, SD= 1.1). This is displayed in Table 4. where participant scores did not

show much variation.

Table 3[3] shows the bivariate correlations for each question asked to participants in the

survey and its correlational significance between recorded IAT scores. Though these results are

not conclusive and are subject to Type II error, examining the relationship of the exposure to

diversity items and the IAT scores can be utilized as a blueprint to fine tune the development of

such an assessment to be used in a larger study. Due to low participation, these results reflect the

significance within the small participation pool of officers and cannot be generalized to the study

or agency as a whole or other police populations.

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[2] Population demographics were not provided for the recruitment pool of 264 officers. Officer demographics were only available amongst participating officers.

[3] The correlational analysis was conducted without the semi-outlier score of 18 included. This showed that thishigh score (the next largest was 13) has some influence on the significance of the correlation between the exposure to diversity scale and implicit bias; however, it was not a dramatic effect as the p-value with that observation removed only rose to .06.

Table 3. Bivariate Correlations

Bivariate Correlations for Study Variables and Harvard Race IAT Scores

Variable	N	Pearson Correlation	Significance(2-tailed)
Exposure to Diversity Scale	22	-.43*	.05
Race	22	-.15	.49
Gender	22	-.23	.30
Raised in southeastern cityor metro area?	22	-.53*	.01
Q5- Neighborhood Diversity	22	-.17	.50
Q6- Teacher Diversity	22	-.39	.07
Q7- Police Officer Diversity	22	-.46*	.03
Q8-Business Women/Men Diversity	22	-.47*	.03
Q9- Student Body Diversity	22	-.15	.52
Q10- Community Leader Diversity	22	-.52*	.01

* p < .05

Consistent with hypothesis 1, looking at the relationship between the Diversity Exposure Scale and IAT scores shows that officers with more diversity exposure exhibit less implicit pro-White bias than participants with no diversity exposure, which is supportive of hypothesis 1 ($r=$ -.43, $p=.05$). While negative associations were observed for all of the individual items that madeup this scale, the coefficients and significance levels show this finding was driven primarily by

exposure to diversity in the form of police officers, businessmen and women and community leaders; as those three items were negatively and significantly related to IAT scores.[4] Neighborhood and student body diversity were not significantly related to IAT scores, while teacher diversity was marginally significant (p.=.07). Race was not significantly related to Harvard IAT scores, which does not support hypothesis 2. Officers who were born and raised in the Southeastern city and metropolitan area tend to have less preference for European Americans compared to African Americans (r= -.53, p=.01) while participants raised in racially and ethnically diverse neighborhoods was not significantly related to the Harvard IAT. Combined this offers mixed results for hypothesis 3.

It is important to contextualize further the significance of an officer being born and raised in the southeastern city and metropolitan area. Individuals growing up within the cultural bounds of the city are exposed to its rich history in civil rights, Black entrepreneurship, an established Black middle class, an established Black political presence, and prestigious Historically Black Colleges. For those growing up within this environment pro-diversity is reinforced consistently through their experiences and interactions with others. It can also be argued that an officer's familiarity with the areas they police and understanding of the community dynamics of these areas contributed to officers' levels of implicit bias. Officers who were not born or raised within the Southeastern city and metropolitan area may have grown up in racially- and ethnically-diverse areas; however, one's familiarity with how people from one's own environment behave and are culturally socialized will not necessarily apply to other diverse environments in different regions. Thus, possibly resulting in a reliance of biased stereotypes to gauge interactions within

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[4] All of the items of the exposure to diversity scale were significantly correlated with each other, thus the lack of significant relationship between some of the individual items and implicit bias is unlikely to be indicative of some items not fitting well as part of the scale. However, future research with a larger sample size should conduct factor analysis, as well as consider potential other measures of exposure to diversity.

foreign (foreign to the officer) diverse communities for officers working in a new state or new region of a state they grew up in.

Table 4 displays the variation in IAT scores across race and gender. The results indicated a variation in responses to the IAT assessment depending on an officer's race or gender (see Table 4)that warrants further caution in interpreting the results reported above. Female officers tend to score slight or moderate preference for European Americans compared to African Americans. Only male participants had results of no preference; however, male participants show cased higher levels of implicit bias compared to female participants. As stated previously, race is not a significant factor which is displayed in Table 4 explicitly. Regardless of race, participants tend tohave at least a slight preference for European Americans compared to African Americans.

Table 4: IAT Scores by Race and Gender.

RACE	Black				White				Hispanic			
GENDER												
Male				2	2	5	4	2				
Female	1	1	2		1	1					1	
IAT TEST RESULTS	Slight	Moderate	Strong	None	Slight	Moderate	Strong	None	Slight	Moderate	Strong	None

Discussion

This research explored the topic of diversity and racial/ethnic representation within police organizations and whether it is a benefit or detriment to the future of policing. Despite limitations due to the small sample size and low complete participation rates due to the study being moved to an online format due to the COVID-19 pandemic, this pilot study acts as a blueprint for future assessments of officer socialization and officer selection processes. By looking into a recruit's scope of diversity exposure, not their phenotypical diverse appearances, diversity initiatives may have an impact on transforming future police subcultures. There is a lack of understanding around the complexity of race in American culture and how it filters down into our basic interactions with individuals in society. Bias is not an issue that should solely be placed on White officers, as prejudice is human nature and not solely a function of one's ethnic or racial background. The future of police research lies in assessing the many initiatives, policies, and programs blindly implemented as solutions to issues that only address surface level issues. The Exposure to Diversity Scale piloted in this study is an assessment that can grow by fine tuning question selection through factor analysis in future studies with larger samples. Such an assessment can facilitate the understanding of diversity and how to properly define it.

Phenotypical assumptions and mere proximity to diversity, as expressed in studies discussed previously, do not guarantee an understanding of inclusivity or foster diverse relationships. The survey is not specific to race, as it is encouraged to expand on the realms the survey assessed. It may act as a blueprint for exposure to diversity specifically for disabled communities or LGBTIQQ communities. As society attempts to shift to a more inclusive and understanding one,biases are a factor that must be addressed to move forward. This survey can assist in cultivating work culture and ethics for organizations looking to expand their diversity

efforts outside of appearances.

Though the current research was limited in its scope due to the lack of participation, it still highlights the need for further assessment development for the police role. Low participation rates, though unwanted, are typical for virtual survey recruiting. Police officers also tend to be a demographic of participants that are not openly willing to participate in research studies analyzing their profession. Having an established relationship with police organizations will help with this issue and this is explored further later in the discussion. Currently, dialogue around the sociopolitical climate between officers and the communities they serve, specifically Black communities, are front page news on mainstream media and social media platforms and are becoming more of a prominent focus in American politics. This police organization specifically was scrutinized nationally due to a high-profile police shooting of an unarmed Black man during the height of the Summer 2020 Black Lives Matter protests. Due to this climate, the low response rate from the pool of 264 officers was likely to occur, especially on an online format. Unfortunately, this limitation was not one that could be accommodated as the COVID-19 pandemic prevented the in-person assessments that were initially planned and the current sociopolitical climate around policing could not be avoided

As police reform continuously surfaces in political circles and calls for defunding thepolice are increasingly more common, the police role can no longer be privy to ambiguity. Tangible solutions can only be found through the assessment of the police role, subculture, trainings, and the individuals entrusted with the job. Without all these components, programs andpolicies will continue to falter in their ability to address issues that have long been overlooked. The hope is that the assessment piloted in this study can act as a foundation for future researchersand police organizations to build upon when selecting officers in efforts to diversify.

Outside the issues of policing, race tends to be a topic where many Americans are not willing to explicitly express their views. The discrepancies between the survey response rates and the self-reporting of IAT score responses explicitly display this issue. Overall, there is a general apprehension towards implicit bias concepts within the police profession. The argument that everyone holds bias and that it can influence officers outlook on other people threatens the integrity of the police role as it has been traditionally dominated by White males. More officers were willing to reveal their demographic background information, even when discussing their exposure to diversity during primary socialization, than were willing to self-report their IAT scores. 37 officers completed the demographic background survey, while only 22 reported their IAT scores. This is an important limitation as we can attest that the cognitive dissonance that one may experience when told they have any level of implicit bias likely acted as a deterrent for some officers to complete the IAT assessment or to not record their results for the survey. Though participants were given randomized I.D. numbers that did not reveal their identity, the research results display the collectivistic cultural values of police organizations. For example, from the perspective of a participant, a report of strong bias may have been a deterrent to self-reporting their scores.

The pool of participants consisted of high-ranking officers who started in the police leadership academy as sergeants and lieutenants and many have progressed in their ranks since their involvement in the program, ranking as high as Deputy Chief. One could imagine that their score could compromise the perceived integrity and accountability of the police organization, therefore making their participation a threat to their job role and organization. Priming effects are also a limitation of the Harvard Race IAT. I suggest that future research should explore using other Implicit Association assessments whose priming effects are not as influential. The initial

explicit racial beliefs survey participants are exposed to in the Harvard Race IA, before the categorization tasks that measures their implicit bias, may be a section to exclude in the future. The explicit racial beliefs survey may trigger the need to not appear biased or racist within a society attempting to move past its historicity of race. Seeing this section could have deterred officers from taking the assessment and/or influenced their responses, thus also contributing to discrepancies between the survey response rates and self-reporting IAT results.

Moreover, due to the long-standing collaborative relationship between my academic department and the police organization involved in this study, participation was likely higher than what many other researchers may have obtained due to the trust previously established. Currently, in-person assessment survey projects for the department are yielding response rates as high as 85%. As noted above, difficulties were still present and full participation low; however, it is suggested that future researchers establish relationships with police organizations before beginning studies on sensitive topics such as racial bias in efforts to produce objective research around the police role. This can be achieved through continued involvement with the department, such as participating in ride-alongs or participating in research with researchers who have established relationships with police organizations. Trust will always be a crucial factor when researching collectivistic cultures. However, trust did not prevail in the current study after the shift to an online format due to the pandemic.

An overarching limitation to the study was the issue of recruiting participants via email and participants being required to self-report their IAT results as it was not feasible to incorporate the Harvard IAT test within the Qualtrics survey. It can be assumed that the in-person assessments proposed prior to the pandemic would have wielded more participation and complete assessments. Another issue presented in the study was the capabilities of the online

survey platform. In question 12, the redirection to the Harvard IAT test likely acted as a deterrent for higher result recording. Participants were redirected to the Harvard IAT website making them responsible for navigating back to the survey tab. In addition to potentially being reluctant to report negative results, participants were responsible for copying and pasting their results from the Harvard IAT onto the Diversity Exposure Survey in Qualtrics manually as there was no way to embed that interactive test within the survey so scores were automatically recorded[5]. There were also technical issues with the redirection to the Harvard IAT for participants completing the survey on mobile devices. With these technical issues present it cannot only be assumed that officers did not record responses because of cognitive dissonance or threats to role integrity as the technological issues and barrier of having to self-report scores were likely responsible for some of the missing IAT data. As more ways of life and research collection were forced to transition online, digital literacy arose as an issue. When conducting online studies in this areas, future researchers should take in to account their population's level of digital literacy by creating online assessments that are user accessible (mobile or desktop) and developed with the ease of the user in mind.

In conclusion, while results have to be interpreted with caution due to the small sample who fully completed the survey and reported their IAT scores, the results of the current pilot study suggest that exposure to diversity is negatively related to implicit racial bias among a small sample of police supervisors in a large southeastern city. The impacts of demographics and other variables were difficult to assess given the small sample. Future research should adapt the diversity exposure scale used in this study and test its relationship with implicit bias among a much larger sample of police officers. Ideally future studies would use a multi-site design

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[5] We are unsure how or if embedding the test within the survey would allow participants to know their scores and what it means. This is also a potential limitation for future research.

featuring agencies of varying sizes in different states to enhance external validity. Methodologically, the issues encountered with the current study moving online suggest that future studies should utilize in-person data collection efforts where the survey is completed and the IAT test taken with results recorded directly by the researcher (or the software program used to administer the test). The low rates of self-reporting IAT scores in the current study suggest that the methodology settled upon due to the pandemic is problematic, whether the low reporting was due to technological barriers/hassles or officers perhaps being reluctant to report results that indicated bias. This was especially troubling as the data showed that reporting IAT scores was lower for Black officers than White officers and lower for males compared to females. This made it difficult to have any confidence about the impacts of race and gender on the relationship between diversity exposure and implicit bias. If future studies must be conducted on an online format, researchers must find a way to embed the implicit bias test within the online survey so that scores are recorded automatically to ensure valid and reliable data.

Despite these major limitations, the finding of a significant correlation between diversity exposure and implicit bias highlights the importance of this area of research. Future studies are warranted and should heed the methodological advice above and collect data on a larger sample of police officers to confirm that exposure to diversity during primary socialization may reduce implicit bias. If this is confirmed in larger, multi-agency studies, it would suggest that police agencies should measure diversity exposure during their recruitment and screening procedures as one mechanism to help reduce racial bias in police agencies.

Appendix A

Exposure to Diversity Demographic Survey & Implicit Association Test

For this survey, please answer questions to the best of your ability. If you have questions, please ask the researcher. Your responses to this survey are confidential and voluntary.

For each item below, please circle or write in your response.

1. What is your race?

Black/African AmericanWhite /Caucasian Native American IndianAsian/Pacific Islander

Other:⎯⎯⎯⎯⎯⎯⎯⎯⎯⎯⎯⎯⎯⎯⎯⎯⎯⎯⎯⎯⎯⎯⎯⎯

2. Are you Hispanic?

Yes No

3. Are you male or female?

Male Female

4. Were you raised in Atlanta and the Atlanta Metropolitan area?

Yes No

For question 5, racial and ethnic diversity are defined as being around people who are not apart of themajority group (White Americans).

5. On a scale of 1-4 how racially and ethnically diverse would you describe your neighborhood

growing up.

1.Very racially and ethnically diverse

2.Somewhat racially and ethnically diverse

3- Rarely racially and ethnically diverse

4- Not racially and ethnically diverse

For this section questions will be asked about your experiences growing (childhood to young adult). Please circle the response that best describes these experiences.

6. While going to school (K-12) I experienced having Black teachers.

Often

Sometimes

Rarely

Never

7. I have experienced Black police officers in my neighborhood.

Often

Sometimes

Rarely

Never

8. I have experienced Black business women/men in my neighborhood.

Often

Sometimes

Rarely

Never

9. Going to school (k-12) my student body was diverse.

Often

 Sometimes

Rarely

 Never

10. I have experienced Black community leaders in my neighborhood: Church leaders, community

organization leaders, politicians.

Often

Sometimes

Rarely

 Never

11. Growing up I did not feel disadvantaged because of the color of my skin.

Often

Sometimes

Rarely

 Never

Next, please take the Harvard IAT HERE. Read the preliminary information and select *I WISH TO PROCEED*. Select the Race IAT and follow all given directions. Copy your results in the box below (Slight, Moderate, Strong preference) Your survey is anonymous and will not have any personal identifying information attached to it. Your results do not reflect personal actions or thoughts towards other people.

Please Copy your test results here:

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Vita

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