2020

Narratives of Black Male Law Enforcement Officers Racial Profiling Experiences

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Walden University
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Abstract

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MA/MA, University of Phoenix, 2011

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Doctoral Study Submitted in Partial Fulfillment

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Abstract

The research problem and purpose of this study was to examine the personal narratives of Black male law enforcement officers with racial profiling and police violence. It was believed that narratives would reveal the existence and negative effects of duality victims and possible offenders for the participants in this study. The theory of social behaviorism by Mead was used as a lens for theoretical foundation and conceptual framework. Mead asserted that racial profiling and police violence acts are forms of social behaviorism and assimilation into law enforcement for Black male officers. The research question for the study inquired about the narratives of Black male law enforcement officers and their experiences with racial profiling and police violence. The research design was a qualitative narrative approach, for which data were obtained through one-on-one phone interviews with 6 recruited participants. The data were then transcribed and coded using NVIVO II software. The results of the study revealed an existing duality among all the participants as being both a victim and witness of racial profiling and police violence. It was recommended that further research be conducted that is inclusive or centralizes on the narratives of Black police officers. Similar research using different racial, ethnic, and sexual orientation groups would be beneficial for societal change in how institutions can reduce or eliminate discriminatory practices.

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Acknowledgments

I would like to acknowledge and thank my committee chairperson Dr. Garth den Heyer and content expert Dr. Tracy L. Jackson. Thank you both so much for supporting and assisting me in growing my study and having the confidence in me in completing my dissertation.

Dedication

I would like to dedicate my dissertation to my best friend, you believed in me from the very start thank you so much for being my hero.

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Chapter 1: Introduction to the Study

Introduction

The highly profiled killings of Michael Brown, Eric Garner, Alton Sterling, Freddie Gray, LaQuan McDonald, Amadou Diallo, and Kendra James by law enforcement officers have caused the spotlight to be turned on the issue of racial profiling (Thomas, Burgason, Brown & Berthelot, 2017). News consumption and social media input through the dissemination of racial profiling and police violence incidents have affected the law enforcement field and have established public perception as a vital priority (Lee, Weitzer, &Martinez, 2018). There is increasing acknowledgment and recognition of racial profiling and police violence occurrences on the national and sometimes global stage (American Civil Liberties Union [ACLU], 2019).

The ACLU's (2019) definition for *racial profiling* refers to the discriminatory practice by law enforcement officials of targeting individuals for suspicion of crime based on the individuals' race, ethnicity, religion, or national origin. *Police violence*, or police *brutality*, refers to the excessive force where government officials legally entitled to use force exceed the minimum amount necessary to diffuse an incident or to protect themselves or others from harm (Pantekoek, 2020). Because both occurrences are often interchangeable and an intertwined phenomenon, it is the viewpoint and experiences of Black male law enforcement officers that has not been extensively researched or explored in-depth.

Widespread use of cell phone technology as a recording device and the effects and influence of social media are the current form of reception of news to which incidents of racial profiling and police violence are often presented in real time (Baldwin, 2018). Acts of racial profiling and police violence are no longer rumors or accusations (Rollins, 2019) because such incidents are being video recorded. However, research into the phenomenon of racial profiling

and police violence has highlighted the inadequacies documentation of blatant inappropriate practices by law enforcement that deter resolution to the problem (Miethe, Venger, & Lieberman, 2018). The improper documentation by law enforcement entities for incidents of racial profiling and/or police violence was also cited by Baldwin (2018).

A study conducted on a Nebraskan police department exposed flaws in law enforcement data collection process revealing issues that were found to be inherent of racial profiling (Arp, 2014). Analysis of a study by Hughley (2015) provided insight into the relationships among police violence and race in relation to the five domains of ideologies, institutions, interests, identities, and interactions proffered how inadequacies of police data collection facilitated inaction in addressing racial profiling. Similarly, Richardson, Schultz, and Crawford (2019) agreed that data inaccuracies in the documenting of racial profiling and police violence incidents could not aid in bringing about a resolution or proactive solutions.

Background of the Study

Many studies reveal and/or discuss statistical and high probability numbers of racial profiling and police violence as being true unknowns. Only a small percentage of law enforcement agencies openly volunteer accurate and tangible information to federal agencies (Brooms & Perry, 2016; Davis, Adams, Alejandre, & Gray, 2017; De Vylder et al., 2017; Dunn, 2016; Robinson, 2017; Woods, 2019). A key component to understanding the effects of racial profiling and police violence on individuals and communities is the demographic information related to the gender and race of the law enforcement officers, of which again is rarely, if ever, cited (Richardson et al., 2019). Robinson (2017) and Dunn (2016) revealed commonalities among submitted data with regard to inconsistencies in provided data for specific law enforcement officer demographics for those involved in traffic stops and arrests. Demographic

information for law enforcement officers was cited as being absent by the Mapping Police

Violence Website (Mapping Police Violence, 2019).

The organization reported that its data cannot be fully divested to the true scale of such

incidents as law enforcement data reporting for racial profiling and police violence is voluntary

and not mandated (2019). The Conner et al. (2019) study indirectly illustrated the absence of law

enforcement officer demographic data while also claiming along with the aforementioned data

sets for cross-referencing the National Violent Death Reporting System (NVDRS). NVDRS has

a comprehensive record of fatal police shootings information. Openly formatted public

secondary data sources such as Fatal Encounters.org, Mapping Police Violence, The Counted by

The Guardian, and *The Washington Post*'s "Fatal Force Database" currently track police

violence and racial profiling incidents across the country. These were also cited as lacking or

absent of police demographic information in contrast to demographic information provided for

the victims (Conner, Azrael, Lyons, Barber, & Miller 2019).

The public presumption within discussions of racial profiling and police violence is that

the typical actors of this phenomenon are White officers and a Black citizen (Knox & Mummolo,

2019; Fryer, 2018). However, with evolving awareness and real-time recording of racial

profiling and police violence incidents, these specific individuals are no longer the main

protagonists (Knox & Mummolo, 2019). Presented by Shjarback, Decker, Rojek. and Brunson

(2017), the 1967 Kerner Commission Report from the National Advisory Commission on Civil

Disorders recommended the hiring of minority officers with the logic that such practice would

produce positive changes in the police culture of the late 1960s. Similar recommendations have

recently been made suggesting that hiring more minority police officers to work in communities

with high minority populations would ease racial profiling and police violence incidents

(Ramsey & Robinson, 2015). However, according to Shjarback et al. (2017), neither recommendation has been successful nor produced the desired results.

Although purpose-driven diversity hiring practices implemented through the years (Reaves & Hickman, 2002) have resulted in Black officers making up 11.9%, an amount in 2007 almost equating to the Black population of the country, of personnel across police departments (Reaves, 2013). In consideration of the latter statement, it can be safely presumed that a growing portion of racial profiling and police violence incidents are more likely to be carried out or observed by minority law enforcement officers. Black law enforcement officers being offenders of racial profiling and police violence is an important aspect that is often overlooked. Such a proposition was believed to be a deserving investigation as to what was the experiences of Black male law enforcement officers in relation to racial profiling and police violence.

A study by Reinka and Leach (2017) examined public attention, attitudes, and reaction to police violence. The researchers examined the shooting of Martavious Banks by three (two Black, one White) male police officers and the physical assault of a Black male in Baltimore, Maryland, by Black police officers (2017). In both incidents, neither the media nor the police department originally identified the officers' race (Reinka & Leach, 2017) which, according to the study, affected how the public perceived the incidents. The race of the officers was only made public due to cell phone video recording of the incidents (Reinka & Leach, 2017).

A salient situation often sidestepped has been presented in which the victim and the offender are of the same race and highly likely share similar life experiences involving law enforcement (Cao & Wu, 2019; Reinka & Leach, 2017). Qualitative interview data from 25 Black men (not law enforcement) focusing on their self-conception of race, stereotyping, and profiling by Brooms and Perry (2016) facilitate the importance of research from the perspective

of these individuals who are often the targets of racial profiling/police violence. After reviewing the Brooms and Perry study, consideration was given to the possibility that many Black male law enforcement officers may have been targets in police violence or racial profiling incidents before their law enforcement careers. Furthermore, viable perspectives may be missing from dialogues for addressing the issue of racial profiling and police violence.

Problem Statement

Contemporary social scientists largely concede that race is a social construct and a dominant feature of U.S. society that permeates many social interactions (Hughey, 2015). Arp's (2014) definition of *racial profiling* presents a clear and concise illustration of the profiling phenomenon as occurring when a law enforcement officer stops a motorist under the premise or suspicion that the motorist has committed a crime or violation solely based upon the motorist's race or ethnicity. Recent definitions, however, for racial profiling include any interactions or engagement by law enforcement that may strongly be induced or influenced by the race of the person (Brooms & Perry 2016; Cochran & Warren, 2012; Eger, Fortner, & Slade, 2015; Legewie, 2016). To reduce racial profiling and police violence incidents, many law enforcement agencies have conducted racial profiling studies focusing on the encountered offender's demographic data when stopped during driving (Withrow & Dailey, 2012).

Gabbidon, Higgins, and Wilder-Bonner (2012) presented racial profiling studies on the perceived prevalence of the practice by law enforcement to which the perspectives held by law enforcement officers and civilians have also been examined in similar studies (Arp, 2014; Brooms & Perry, 2016; Eger et al., 2015; Higgins, Vito, & Grossi, 2012; Hughey, 2015; Withrow & Williams, 2015). Status of litigation involving racial profiling and future litigation procedures examined by Withrow and Williams (2012) provided statistical data for titled

offenders but not arresting officers rendering the study partially applicable to researching racial profiling.

The use of red-light cameras was explored by Eger et al. (2015), who assessed policy enforcement and racial profiling mainly featuring statistical data for the number of Black offenders engaged as opposed to White offenders. Vito, Grossi, and Higgins (2018) examined the processes of more than 36,000 traffic stops in Kentucky to gain further insight into the effects of race on law enforcement decision making. Brunson and Gau (2015) went further into centralizing the importance of law enforcement officers' race presenting two competing hypotheses concerning the influence of an officer's race relative to ecological context shaping African Americans' experiences and perceptions of local law enforcement officers. Exploration of a purposed and tested conceptualized model by Wu and Cao (2017) also stressed the importance of race among law enforcement officers and community citizens as relating to the perception of discrimination and mediating mechanisms.

Although the aforementioned research studies on racial profiling and police violence within law enforcement agencies have illuminated important findings, I found no research that was inclusive of or had solely examined the personal narratives of Black male law enforcement officers' experiences with regard to acts of racial profiling and police violence against Black and other minority citizens. Given such, further research was warranted that could examine the narratives of Black male law enforcement officers and their experiences with racial profiling and police violence to aid in addressing the overall issue (Correl, Hudson, Guillermo, & Ma, 2014).

Purpose of the Study

The purpose of this qualitative study was to explore and examine the narratives of Black male law enforcement officers specific to their experiences with racial profiling and police

violence. I proposed that a stronger understanding of the racial profiling and police violence issue can be gained through a heuristic lens with the inclusion of the narratives of Black male law enforcement officers. It is believed that these law enforcement officers often have a dual experience as both victims (of racial profiling) and potential offenders (the perpetrators of the profiling) in the phenomenon of racial profiling and police violence. Census demographic data for the City of Detroit in 2013 showed that the total number of Black law enforcement officers was 1,581, approximately 63% of the overall police force (Goverance.com, 2018). The entire police force consists of 75% male and 25% female officers (Bureau of Justice Statistics, 2013). It was, therefore, reasonable to presume that Black male law enforcement officers may have had more racial profiling encounters than that of Black female and nonminority (male or female) officers. In consideration that the majority of racial profiling and police violence incidents mostly involve Black men (Bureau of Justice Statistics, 2013), I sought to explore the possibility for the existence of Black male law officers who may have racial profiled and/or committed acts of police violence as well.

Research Question

What are the narratives of Black male law enforcement officers' experiences in relation to racial profiling and police violence?

Theoretical Framework for the Study

The theoretical framework applied to this research was Mead's social behaviorism theory (1934) as a guiding lens in the presentation of Black male law enforcement officers' narratives regarding their experiences with racial profiling and police. Works by Brenner, Serpe, and Stryker (2014) and Brenner and De Lamater (2016) emphasized the similar formation of self-identity development as a socialization process or concept to which an individual's identity is

directly influenced by societal convergence. This form of social behaviorism is also the

underlying theory behind the development of social identity theory, to which in-group members

look for negative aspects of out-groups to improve their own self-esteem (Tajfel & Turner,

1979).

Similar theories explored were Stephan, Ybarra, and Morrison's (2009) intergroup threat

theory, which speaks to the perception of anticipated threats by out-groups fostering prejudice

from in-groups (Makashvili, Vardanashvili, & Javakhishvili, 2018). Chao (2013) posited theories

of organizational socialization to which the learning and adjustment process may create systems

of prejudice within such as police socialization: the process whereby officers learn, internalize

and practice the values, attitudes, and behaviors as a part of the process of their jobs (Conti &

Patrick, 2014). The theories were not applicable to the framework in my study because the

studied behavior in each theory was found to be amenable outside of the work environment.

Similarly, the theories of organizational socialization (2013) and police socialization (2014),

while accounting for the inclusion of current exhibited behavior by law enforcement officers, do

not concentrate on the possible influence of past life experiences or the race of the offending law

enforcement officers.

Hypothesizing that many racial profiling and police violence incidents involve Black

male law enforcement officers, I contended that the social behaviorism theory (Mead, 1934) was

the most appropriate for purposes of the framework. I examined theories of social behavior based

on the foundation of Mead's (1934) work by other researchers but found not to fully support the

work being developed (Brenner & DeLamater, 2016; Brenner et al., 2014; Chao, 2013; Conti &

Doreian, 2014; Makashvili et al., 2018; Tajfel & Turner, 1979; Stephan et al., 2009) because race

was not considered as an influencing factor, and behavior development was consistent only within the social setting.

Nature of the Study

The nature of this research was qualitative. I selected narrative inquiry because this qualitative research approach required the personal narratives of actors within the issue to illustrate the bigger picture of how smaller influences may have created or contributed to the main issue as posited by Clandinin and Connelly (2000). I chose the application of heuristic inquiry design to pursue and obtain more insightful and informative narratives (stories) of Black male law enforcement officers regarding racial profiling and police violence (Dyson, 2020). Exploration by this method is a means of discovery to find meaning within the professional and personal experiences of this particular group of law enforcement officers. I also included my own lived experiences, perceptions, and biases that were recognized and acknowledged. This method of exploration of personal experiences relayed as "stories" has been promoted in similar contextual studies by Bell (2017) and Ellis (2020).

The selection of the heuristic inquiry design for this study was to bridge an existing gap in the literature presented within the depth perspectives of Black law enforcement officers, specifically in relation to their experiences with racial profiling and police violence (Dukes, 2017). I analyzed and examined the introspective provided by Black male law enforcement officers in contrast to descriptive and interpreted views by nonminority officers, analyzers, and researchers. A similar sentiment was shared by LeCount (2017) as he stipulated that existing studies for comparing racial attitudes of police to those of citizens were limited to idiosyncrasies of small and representative samples and not the full breadth of the racial makeup of police departments and communities. Presentation of the lived experiences of Black male law

enforcement officers, including my own narrative, gave new meaning to understanding the effects of racial prescriptive and ingrained systematic practices of the law enforcement field (Carbado & Richardson, 2018).

Definitions

Deployment Practices – Officers are assigned to patrol according to their racial backgrounds and with conscious regard to the racial and gender composition of the places being patrolled (Mbuba, 2018, p. 96).

Disproportionate Minority Contact – Refers to the disproportionate number of minority youth who encounter the juvenile system (Hanes, 2012, p. 1).

Intergroup Threat – Is experienced when members of one group perceive that another group is able to cause them harm (Stephans, Ybarra, & Morrison, 2009, 44).

Institutional Practice – A commonly structured police practice that, while not required by any specific official policy, is supported and legitimated by rules, training, and law and has spread widely to become a commonly accepted activity (Epp, Moody, & Markel, 2017, p. 170).

Organizational Socialization – Defined as a learning and adjustment process that enables an individual to assume an organizational role that fits both organizational and individual needs (Chao, 2018).

Police Socialization – An organization's everyday behavior that serves as the foundation of a culture (Conti & Doreian, 2014, p. 415).

Racial Disparity – The proportion of racial /ethnic groups within the control of the system is greater than the proportion of such groups in the general population (Schrantz & McElroy, 2000).

Racial Profiling – Primarily used to denote police bias and stereotypes in its law enforcement practices on the basis of racial and ethnic consideration; the disparate and disproportionate targeting of racial minorities for traffic stops, searches, arrests, detention, and charges (Kamalu, 2016, p. 191).

Racial Threat Theory – Racialized competition whereby race and ethnic groups are in constant struggles overvalued resources (Dollar, 2014, p. 2).

Social Identity Theory – In groups members tend to look for negative aspects in out-groups, thereby improving their self-esteem (McLeod, 2019; Tajfel, 1979)

Symbolic Threat – Racialized threats in social conduct and to the social order (Mowatt, 2017, p. 56).

Assumptions, Limitations, Scope, and Delimitations

Assumptions

There are certain aspects of this work that are assumed but cannot be attested to as being truth or factual; however, they are essential to this study:

- Black male law enforcement officers have personally experienced or been subjected to racial profiling and police violence themselves (Brunson & Gau, 2015; Barlow & Barlow, 2002; Allen & Schuppe, 2018; Bromwich, 2017; Brooks et al., 2016).

- Black male law enforcement officers have personally been involved in committing acts of racial profiling and police violence (Nicholson-Crotty, Nicholson-Crotty & Fernadez, 2017; Barlow & Barlow, 2002)

These statements cannot be proven as factual and are hypotheses (Epps, Maynard-Moody, & Haider-Markel, 2016). There is no way to state as truth that a personal experience is a direct, specific, and singular contributory factor in decision making and/or behavior of Black

male law enforcement officers in relation to possible direct engagement in racial profiling and police violence (Bryant-Davis et al., 2017; Chaney & Robertson, 2013; Davis, 2018; Donohue & Levitt, 2001). Additionally, considering the conducted literature review revelations that demographic information for law enforcement officers was rarely if at all cited, it is not and had not been documented when Black male law enforcement officers had direct involvement, engagement or incitement of racial profiling and police violence (Knox & Mummolo; 2019; Chaney & Robertson, 2013; Bureau of Justice Statistics: BJS, 2013; Correl et al., 2014; Davis, Whyde, & Langton, 2018).

Scope

The boundaries of this study include the inclusion of only male Black law enforcement officers, who have served in an urban area with a high population of Black citizens and continue to serve in some law enforcement capacity; the study excluded other minority groups and women also as these groups tend to have lower rates of racial profiling and police violence interactions. The Black male law enforcement population was specifically chosen as this group is more likely to have a dual experience as both victim and offender of the phenomenon. Other boundary areas included the theories of police socialization and organizational socialization. Although the aforementioned theories strongly related to the area of my study, I chose not to select either as the main theories or conceptual frameworks because neither included nor mentioned the effect of race as a factor or aspect in developing relationships or assimilation into groups.

In relation to transferability, this work can be conducted with the participation of other groups that I did not include in this study. It must be noted that in terms of capacity of employment roles for these participants, the experience of individuals in excluded minority groups will affect and modify the research problem, the literature review, lens, and

theories/conceptual foundations. However, when researching the racial profiling and police violence phenomenon exploring the personal narratives of individuals affected could shed light on how future policies and practices can be developed to address the issue. Although everyone's experiences differ, key themes, concepts, and/or schemas may develop that may encourage researchers and scholars to view the phenomenon beyond the prima facie perspective.

<div align="center">**Delimitations**</div>

The delimitations of this study in relation to its design and methodological weaknesses are as follows: due to the procedure and methods of qualitative research methodology does not include controls or restraints in procedures; the researcher must be open to new concepts and changing self-preconceptions as the freedom of the design provides an environment to which the researcher's personal biases and views could develop within the work as advised by Creswell (1998). Other limitations of the methodology are the exclusion of coresearchers decreasing any generalizations being made; in contrast to a quantitative study the validity of the work depended on any developed meanings identified by the researcher and not a team of researchers; and due to the extensive review needed when developing meaning out of the data the researcher may miss key data and as a result the development of categories and lists (1998). The sample size for this study also had limitations.

My profession is in law enforcement, and I have witnessed and been a victim of racial profiling and police violence. Therefore, biases that may exist and were acknowledged in the sense of belonging to the "thin blue line" or "being blue" groups; acknowledgment and understanding of professional jargon including terms implying actions that are illegal or racist. Personal experiences as a victim of racial profiling and discrimination not only as a youth but as an adult Black male. In addressing these biases, the researcher noted for the record personal

experiences and feelings about incidents. Noting areas to which personal biases were reflected in the work and enlisted an outside individual to review work was implemented.

Limitations

The limitations to the study were that the research problem involved a limited amount of data or literature that was conducted from the perspective of Black male law enforcement officers and their experiences with racial profiling and police violence. The study only addressed how racial profiling and police violence has been experienced by Black male law enforcement officers within a 60 to 90-minute time constraint. I kept the sample size small due data being collected as personal narratives. Concerns for the privacy and confidentiality of the participants limited the size of the sample as well due to the controversial nature of the study.

Significance of the Study

Most of the research on racial profiling and police violence continued to demonstrate a lack of reported incidents that include demographic information for Black male law enforcement officers (Glover, 2007; Dunn, 2016; Robinson, 2017; Withrow & Williams, 2015). The need for further research was especially heightened by the growing diversity in law enforcement as cited by Equal Employment Opportunity Commission: EEOC (2016) of which Black/African Americans constitute 12.2% of local police departments making this group the largest minority group in law enforcement. However, only a small amount of research has been compiled in reference to how police view racial profiling and even less from the African American police officers' perspectives (Wilson, Wilson, & Thou, 2015).

In examining the personal narratives of Black male law enforcement officers, the contribution of this work presented a viewpoint or perspective of racial profiling and police violence phenomenon from the minority member that has been most affected. The sociological

and psychological impact for Black male officers in relation to racial profiling and police violence cannot be properly addressed without the inclusion of their narratives. Inclusion of these narratives adds to the potential of properly addressing other aspects of racial profiling and police violence, such as: decreasing the growing number of minority officers being involved in such negative actions, bridging community relationships, changing underlying racist law enforcement practices, and development of laws that decrease and deter racial profiling and police violence.

Summary

Racial profiling and police violence as described by Natarajan's (2014) article undermines public safety, strains police-community trust, and are two destructive modes of police misconduct. The research proposed collected and explored the narratives of Black male law enforcement officers and revealed the suspected dual role capacity as both victim and possible offender of racial profiling and police violence as this specific group of law enforcement officers did have shared experiences. By way of interviews with probing open-ended questions, narratives exposed key themes in relation to the psychological and sociological perspectives of a participant that may be both a victim and/or offender of the issue to be examined. I present a comprehensive literature review in Chapter 2, and in Chapter 3 I provide a further description of the methodology, research design, sampling method, data collection instruments, and procedural analysis. The work that I developed strived to fill some of the gaps in the literature of presentation of the perspectives and narratives of Black male law enforcement officers and extend knowledge within the discipline by of Black male law enforcement with regard to their experiences with racial profiling and police violence.

Chapter 2: Literature Review

Introduction

The purpose of this qualitative study was to explore and examine the narratives of Black male law enforcement officers specific to their experiences with racial profiling and police violence. I selected the chosen literature due to the content and concepts being similar and supportive of developing research work. Selections also focused on the viewpoints and the effects of racial profiling and police violence on communities and individuals and argued the need for more inclusive of data from the perspective and experiences of minority officers and victims. Limited qualitative data specific to the lens topic of the work proposed were available. The issue of racial profiling and police violence was initially defined separately and then conjoined as the terminology and professional jargon of law enforcement often overlapped or formalized the terms into new meaning. As a result, the literature included demonstrated overlapping concepts and theories related to race, institutional development of racist practices, promulgating police violence, psychological effects of racism, and societal development within a racial context.

Discussion on the history of racial profiling and police violence and the ramifications of historical discriminatory practices that continue to plague Black communities and individuals is presented. In addition, I explore the history of law enforcement and the development of institutionalized racist practices of the law enforcement field from recruitment. Additionally, the theoretical framework facilitating the research contended that Black male law enforcement officers may be committing acts of police violence and racial profiling as a form of assimilation into the law enforcement field and acceptance in larger society. Last, I discuss the psychological and sociological effects of being a Black male in law enforcement as a conceptual framework for

examining the influence of life experiences on these officers and the development of duality as a law enforcement officer and a Black male in society.

The rise in public perception of the racial profiling and police, and violence phenomenon as well, plays an increasing role in future policy development (McNeeley & Grothoff, 2015). Therefore, the core objectives of this study were:

- To gather the narratives of Black male law enforcement officers.

- To present emerging themes in their experiences; explore patterns that were revealed through narrations.

- Cite the gap in the literature surrounding the non-inclusion of minority law enforcement officers' race.

- To define racial profiling and police violence evolution; explore the developmental history of Black male law enforcement through their experiences as youth with law enforcement.

- Examine the impact of existing duality as victims of racial profiling/police violence and being law enforcement officers and reflect on how this growing aspect of racial profiling/police violence is impacting Black communities and how this work can facilitate developments for future law enforcement policies and practices.

Literature Search Strategy

Starting in March 2017, I initiated this comprehensive literature review with the Walden Library by accessing various databases, as well as the Google Scholar Search engine. Databases included ABI/INFORM collection; Bureau of Justice Statistics; CQResearcher; Criminal Justice Databases; EBSCOhost; PsycINFO; Sage Journals; ProQuest Central; SocINDEX with full text;

Data USA; FindLaw; Federal Agency Participation; General Society Survey: NORC; Homeland Security Digital Library; Nexis Uni (formerly LexisNexis Academic); Opposing Viewpoints in context; and PsycArticles.

Keywords utilized in the search were *Black communities, Black male law enforcement officers, Black police officers, disproportionate minority contact, intergroup relations, law enforcement, minority groups, minority police, police violence, profiling, racial disparities, racial groups, racial profiling, racial profiling in law enforcement, racial threat,* and *social controls, symbolic threat and traffic stops.* Gaps in literature research were found to be works centralizing on the experiences of male Black law enforcement officers in relation to racial profiling and police violence from both professional and personal viewpoints.

Additionally, any works that included demographic information for minority officers involved in racial profiling and police violence were difficult to locate extending the literature gap. Therefore, I searched works that included the keywords or phasing that focused on *historical viewpoints of racial profiling, legal matters of racial profiling, the phenomenon of racial profiling, the impact of social media and technology on racial profiling, police violence, policing in Black communities,* and *psychological impact of racial profiling on Black youth.* This focus enhanced the discussion and led to accessing other articles that could be used to further develop an in-depth review of the literature.

Some of the literature that I examined for my research was quantitative to gain background on the number of occurrences of racial profiling incidents (English et al., 2017; Andrews, 2016) and investigated how many incidents may involve Black male law enforcement officers. The phenomenon of racial profiling and police violence studied from a quantitative approach, however, has been mainly inclusive of the diverse groups within law enforcement by

referencing officers despite racial demographic as a singular entity (Andrews, 2016). Qualitative research on topics such as racial profiling can provide rich and detailed data to which an understanding of racial profiling and police violence and its effect on society can be developed (English et al, 2017). In the review of such qualitative research despite increasing diversity and inclusivity in the law enforcement field, the issue of racial profiling and police violence continues to loom (Vittert & Dolly, 2018; Davis et al., 2018).

The qualitative works that I reviewed suggested that the dynamic of racial profiling was not as simplistic as Black and White and examined the phenomenon from a more in-depth perspective in terms of the effects on communities and individuals such as studies by Bonner (2014) and Jones (2017). Recent qualitative studies also highlighted how the widespread use of technology and social media revealed the changing dynamics within racial profiling and police violence phenomenon as recordings served as evidential sources as proof of involvement of Black, Hispanic and Asian male and female law enforcement officers (Gonzales & Cochran, 2017; Lee et al., 2018).

Researchers have found that the practice of racial profiling and police violence can be regarded as an ingrained law enforcement practice and discover distortion in the attitudes and beliefs among law enforcement officers as to the occurrence of such incidents. For example, Bromwich (2017) examined the growing divide among Black and White police officers regarding attitudes on race found to mirror broader divides within society. A Pew (2017) study supported by research completed by Morin, Parker, Stepler, and Mercer (2017) found that when Black officers are off duty, they are subject to the same indignities, injustices, and outright discrimination that other Black citizens describe experiencing. The 8,000 nationally surveyed participants conveyed that 72% were less willing to stop and question suspicious persons after

the high-profile killings of Mike Brown and Alton Sterling and that the majority of respondents were more concerned with their own safety (Morin et al., 2017).

Bromwich (2017) also shared that African American police officers were more critical of police-Black community relationships contrasting with their White and Hispanic counterparts, finding that only 32% of Black police officers have a positive view. Morin et al. (2017) conveyed that according to the Pew study, only 10% of police officers believed that protestors have a genuine desire to hold police accountable for deaths by police. In stark contrast to general public assessment of fatal encounters by police officers, to which a majority of respondents in a separate study said, the encounters are indicative of a deeper problem, and only two-thirds of police officers view the encounters as isolated incidents (Morin et al., 2017).

Miller (2013) discussed a similar discord among influential factors on how racial profiling has enabled policy research. Miller Examined multiple factors to help explain the current adoption of protocols in addressing racial profiling by law enforcement agencies is one of the ways researchers searched for key themes. Using the data retrieved from the 2003 Law Enforcement Management and Administrative Statistics survey (LEMAS), Miller found diverging data to which organizational factors appeared to have influence and applicability for explaining policy adoption by law enforcement for addressing racial profiling but community influences did not have influence.

Additionally, descriptive data from the survey suggested that implementing a profiling policy has become a standard feature of which 80% of departments have a profiling policy directive and as such have changed several of their ways (2017). Miller (2017), however, contended that the analysis confirms through developed themes that organizational sensitivity to public perception appears to increase the likelihood of implementing anti-profiling policy,

revealing that there appears to be more concern about legitimacy and specific policy implementation.

Diversi (2016) argued that overt acts of racism performed by police officers are tolerated in police departments across the country and should serve as evidence of the continuation of demonization of Black people by the executive, judicial, and legislative systems in the U.S. The description of a systematic problem of the police force and not an individualized case is how Diversi (2016) posited the contrasting attitude of law enforcement about racial profiling. The process and procedures of law enforcement perpetuates the ideology of domination taught to new generations to fear, demonize, and subjugate Black people (2016). Diversi (2016) stressed that racism in practice and policy leads to the heightened occurrences seen in media currently and thrives with each generation because policies and practices remain unchanged. In order to address race issues such as racial profiling, Diversi (2016) recommended deconstruction of colorblindness movement prevalent in most police academies and economic policies of law enforcement agencies were undertaken.

The practice of racial profiling and police violence sustained through a psychological process known as gaslighting and was examined by Tobias and Joseph (2018). In this study, I investigated a Canadian police force linked to the systematic practice of racial profiling through a routine of 'Gaslighting' and revealed that after a year the department was continuing the practice (2018). Providing background, the researchers detailed the history of racial discrimination toward Black Canadians as far back as the 1800s describing it as a pervasive and extremely difficult sociohistorical issue, which led to the current day practice of carding (racial profiling) (2018). Tobias and Joseph (2018) argued that the history of racism is institutionalized

into the practices of the police force so strongly that the appearance of black racial background attracts police attention.

Research by Donnelly (2016), Brooks et al. (2016), and Christie, (2013) discussed the impact of racial profiling through an examination of the experience for the victim who is considered a typical a Black male. Brooks et al. (2016) study presented emerging themes from group discussions and observations of Black male participants, highlighting the continued marginalization of Black people and a lengthy history of the troubled relationship with law enforcement. Tapping into the psychological aspect of the contentious relationship between law enforcement and young Black men Brooks et al. (2016) cited that practicing psychology and education counselors are not preparing youth on how to deal with their experiences. The history of the relationship between Black males and the police is fraught with troubling interactions and the proposed research gave serious consideration to this for exploring the duality of Black male law enforcement officers. These officers were found to have past negative experiences with police and conveyed that these experiences influenced how they performed their jobs.

Depending on the extent of the interaction with law enforcement that Black males have, race continued to be a dominating factor in the outcome which is argued by Christie (2014) as to the troubling relationship among police and the Black community. Christie (2014) contended that the policies of the criminal justice system in the U.S. do have a disproportionate impact on Black Americans and are the result of racist motivations from their adoption. Black males are often the receivers of racial discrimination acts about the criminal justice system, a point cited by Donnelly (2017). The disparity of Black male incarceration among other races has historical roots in the intertwining of politics and criminal justice during the Civil Rights era as civil upheaval and unrest due to protesting and riots rose crime rates in urban areas (Donnelly, 2017).

The perception and experience of Black males in relation to interactions with law enforcement from adolescence into adulthood underscore an existing stressful relationship. There is historical evidence of racism interjection into varying institutions and a number of studies that presented the Black male perspective attesting to experienced racism as a way of life for them (Brooms & Perry, 2016; Brunson & Gau, 2015; Vaughans & Harris, 2016; Chaney & Robertson, 2013; Wu & Cao, 2017; & Robinson, 2017). Black males and adolescents have reported in other studies that their perceptions of law enforcement have been mostly negative and reinforced by the reception of negative behavior toward them by police officers (Ruggs et al., 2016; Bjornstrom, 2015; & Crutchfield, Skinner, Haggerty, McGlynn, & Catalano, 2012). These documented personal accounts have led to the assumption proposed in this work that Black male law enforcement officers have experienced internal conflict when working.

The stresses of law enforcement work have been widely investigated and documented in academia and professional fields, for example research by Magnavita, Capitanelli, Garbarino and Pira (2018). These researchers investigated stressors of the job and found that they lead to a strong factor in the risk of developing cardiovascular disease. The researchers concluded that stress management strategies and promotions should be adopted by departments as there was enough evidence to show correlations between the stress of the job and behavior leading to hypertension, obesity, and impaired glucose metabolism (2018). In another study the effects of occupational stress on cognitive performance of police officers was examined by Gutshall, Hampton, Sebetan, Stein, and Broxtermann (2017) to which the researchers explained the importance of understanding increased stress. The researchers posited that a decline in cognitive function can lead to errors in judgment, impulse control issues, and poor decision making. Gutshall et al. (2017) found that officers with less than 14 years on the job were more apt to

experience burnout than officers employed longer who appear to have developed coping mechanisms such as smoking, alcohol and medication abuse and avoidance behaviors.

Researchers have found that Black officers experience the additional stress of internal conflict of being a police officer and a member of the Black community (Brown & Frank, 2006; Brunson & Gau, 2015; Chamlin & Sanders, 2010). Further examined by Dukes (2018), constructs of identity and identification shape how a person navigates their environment as it pertains to consciousness of belonging to a group in society and defining identity within another group. To subscribe to the assertion of "we are all blue" or "blue is blue" meant that it was the job that shaped the individual's identity and not an individual that defined the job. Individuals, regardless of racial or ethnic backgrounds, contended with the white, masculine, heterosexual stereotype of policing or experienced trouble with being employed as law enforcement officer (Dukes, 2018; Conti & Doreian, 2014).

Works by Barlow and Barlow (2002), Forman (2018) and Gabbidon et al. (2012) contended that Black male law enforcement officers harbor many societal and family influences from their youth in relation to their interactions and engagements within Black communities and believed in the conservative assertion that hard work and achievement will result in equality as a law enforcement officer. Exploration of influences during adolescence and teens were also touted by Henning's (2018) work which examined how race, the 4th amendment, and adolescence intersected. Henning (2018) concluded that police contact with black youth is ubiquitous and not always positive engagement, and that black youth are socialized to comply with authority figures and have less experience with legal matters therefore not sophisticated enough to know they could decline engagement with law enforcement.

Internal conflicts when reflecting on past life experiences and their current life station could arise for Black male law enforcement officers as stipulated by Gabbidon et al. (2012). As means of assimilation, Black male law enforcement officers, as Conti and Doreian (2014) concluded, may perform the negative acts of racial profiling and police violence as a coping method for the stresses of underlying discriminatory practices even at the recruitment level. Conti and Doreian's (2014) research additionally found that during the paramilitary training phase, Black recruits were more likely to strongly identify with being Black as opposed to Latino and White recruits respectively of their race. The researchers concluded that strong adherence to identification of race was due to study evidence of segregation by gossip and rumor of preferential treatment and perceived incompetence of Black people suspected to be promoted by institutionalized White elitism.

Theories of social behavior based on the foundation of Mead's (1934) work by other researchers were examined but found not to fully support my work. The reasoning for not selecting other theories was that race was not considered as an influencing factor, and behavior development was only consistent within the social setting or was based on the perceptions of a countering studied group. Hypothesizing that many racial profiling and police violence incidents involve Black male law enforcement officers, I contended that social behaviorism theory (Mead, 1934) was the most appropriate for purposes of my research foundation.

Theoretical Foundation

Mead's social behaviorism theory asserts that as a person adjusts themselves to a certain environment they become a different individual affecting the community in which they live, for the individual cannot be accepted into the desired group without some degree of change to their character (Parkovnick, 2015). In addition to the self-modification assertion posed within the

social behaviorism theory, Mead's (1934) also communicated that within groups and organizations there exists a sense of comradery to which members with like behavior will be included and rewarded cementing desired behavior (Parkovnick, 2015). Mead's (1934) the theory of behaviorism is solely based on the social aspect of the living experience, in other words we self-constitute through relating to others by taking on their attitudes and perspectives (Glaveanu, 2015).

Variations of Social Behaviorism Theories

Maines, Sugrue, and Katovich's (1983) study utilized Mead's social behaviorism theory to examine how past life experiences are scrutinized for applicability to present life behavior. Aboulafia (2016) also uses social behaviorism theory to analyze the term of "I", a part of Mead's social behaviorism theory, to understand the construct of 'self'. As law enforcement black males may have experiences different than those of the white counterparts that have shaped their viewpoints and behaviors professionally and personally. Applying the social behaviorism theory to my work enabled me to explore the experiences of black male law enforcement officers through the theory of 'development of self', behaviors adopted for social acceptance, and the impact of past experiences on the present self-behaviorism.

Theories of organizational socialization (Chao, 2013), the learning and adjustment process, and police socialization (Conti & Patrick, 2014): the process whereby officers learn, internalize and practice the values, attitudes, and behaviors as a part of the process of their jobs, were researched, however, neither theory was found to be appropriate or facilitated the foundation within this study as the studied behavior in each theory was found to be malleable outside of the work environment. The theories of organizational socialization (2013) and police socialization (2014), additionally accounted for the inclusion of current exhibited behavior by

law enforcement officers; neither theory included or concentrated on the possible influence of past life experiences or the impact of race of the offending law enforcement officers.

The theory of racial threat presented in an article by Eitle, D'Alessio and Stolzenberg (2013) was examined as well as it posited an explanation for the existence of racial disparities along three forms: economic (*racialized threats to job stability and availability*), political (*threats by race in relation to political positions of authority*), and symbolic (*racialized threats in social conduct and social order*). However, this theory asserted that these formations can be individualized and are presented from the perspective of White individuals or groups rendered the theory more objective to racial profiling and police violence (Blalock, 1967; Dollar, 2014; Mowatt, 2017; Weitzer & Tuch, 2006; Bobo & Tuan, 2006).

Application of Social Behaviorism

Social behaviorism theory (1934) supported the speculation that Black male law enforcement officers shared the commonality of experiencing racism and discrimination during their adolescent development and was more than likely during their first contact with law enforcement entities. I believed that through the narratives of Black male law enforcement officers the impact of with racial profiling and police violence experiences in relation to social behaviorism development from the time of adolescence into adulthood this speculation could be shown to be tangible. The speculation was based on the demographic characteristic of the sample population being raised in urban areas and supportive literature that studied disproportionate minority contact and racial disparities in police contact (Hanes, 2012; Crutchfield et al., 2012) included within the literature review.

Black male law enforcement officers have in some way socially developed and experienced racism within a formation of disproportionate social control and cognitive

stereotyping (Thomas et al., 2017) within their communities. The assertion posited by Thomas et al. (2017) facilitated the belief within this study that the impact of racism and discrimination created a dual capacity role within these law enforcement agents as having experienced racial profiling and police violence from the perspective of victim and possible offender. The research question was built upon the social behaviorism theory (1934) which analyzed the background/history of law enforcement officers' adolescence to adult development and asserted that there is influence of this during the development period on current behaviors. The research question within this work also expanded upon the selected theory assertions that Black male law enforcement officers may or may not have been active participants in racial profiling and police violence based on past life developmental influences.

Conceptual Framework

The concept developed within this work proposed that through examination of the narratives of Black male law enforcement officers relating to racial profiling and police violence experiences could aide future efforts in addressing the phenomenon. From this perspective this work would contribute to further research and prompt new studies due to the inclusion of the narratives of a group typically left out of such research on the topic of racial profiling and police violence. A similar sentiment related to the suggestion of the importance of including Black male and other minority law enforcement officers' narratives has been touted by the works of other researchers arguing for more inclusion (Wilson et al., 2015; McNeeley & Grothoff, 2015; Holbert & Rose, 2006; Bowleg, Rio-Gonzalez, Tschann, Agans, & Malebranche, 2017). The narratives of Black male law enforcement officers with regard to racial profiling and police violence supported by Mead's (1934) theory which considered the possible influence of previous

life experiences on current social interactions on this groups' social development in their youth and as adults.

Life experiences of all law enforcement officers should be included when discussing social constructs of race and the phenomenon of racial profiling and police violence as influencing aspects that shape and define their actions or beliefs. Conflicts were cited within this work that arose when the actions and/or beliefs of the participants' home environment were in direct contradiction to their workplace environmental practices, processes, and expectations. Institutionalized racism and discrimination practice of the law enforcement field argued by Epp et al. (2016) are contributory to the larger problem of racial profiling and police violence in law enforcement, exampling investigatory police stops as one such routine practice based not on professional observation of the officers but the 'inchoate suspicion' held.

Institutionalized discrimination and racist practices have in many ways been condoned by higher governmental entities such as the Supreme Court, whom Coker (2013) characterized as being a wholly inadequate entity for addressing racial disparities in the criminal justice system as the court's ruling in many cases sidelined policies addressing discrimination practices. When faced with workplace environments that all but blatantly condone racist behavior toward minority citizens, it was revealed through the utilization of Mead (1934) social behaviorism theory that there is an existence of an internal conflict for Black male law enforcement officers. This internal conflict was indirectly cited by the participants as promulgating racial profiling and police violence incidents possibly due to their own inaction. In provided narrations to which no existing conflict were described by participants, I presumed that full assimilation into law enforcement practices and beliefs had occurred proffering that the perspective that the Social Behaviorism Theory (1934) is most applicable to this work. The presumption of assimilation also

emphasized the negative and problematic impact being experienced by communities that are served by this group of law enforcement agents.

Marginalization, negative perceptions, stereotyping, perceived poised threats held by Whites, along with institutionalized and historical practices in societies bombard Black males early in their childhoods and as a result the experiences of Black men with law enforcement has been unfavorable (Mowatt, 2018; Chaney & Robertson, 2015). Studies have found that Black youths emotionally have felt disrespected and experienced anger mixed with disappointment and shock when coping with racial discrimination (Jones, Lee, Gaskin, & Neblett Jr., 2014). These emotional responses are influential in developmental phases of self-identity and can produce positive and negative racial identities for Black male youths.

In America, the historical depiction and perception of Black males has been one of being hypersexual, aggressive, to be exploited and tamed, a violent individual that must be controlled by institutionalized methods such as racial profiling deemed an effective law enforcement tool (Hackman, 2016; Forman Jr., 2001). This is in direct opposite messaging, strongly promoted by conservative political views that Black citizens must adhere to the adage that traditional values of work, study, and self-improvement will guarantee full and equal membership in society (Barlow & Hickman-Barlow, 2002). These two contradicting viewpoints expose a truth surrounding the issue of racial profiling and police violence experienced by Black male law enforcement officers that it is not as simple as black and white.

Mead's (1934) Social Behaviorism theory facilitated the purpose of this study as the researcher explored the possibility of Black male law enforcement officers' involvement in racial profiling and police violence was a contrived form of assimilation and acceptance within law enforcement agencies. The research question was developed on the premise that social

behaviorism (1934) provided the foundation for understanding the Black male law enforcement officers' experiences with racial profiling and police violence in the dual capacity of victim and possible offender. Open-ended interview questions were developed under the guise of Mead's (1934) theory that obtained responses that enabled the researcher to present narratives that detail experiences that previous research barely cited or delved into further.

Black male law enforcement officers' narratives relating to racial profiling and police violence issues in both their personal and professional lives revealed institutionalized racist practices as a form of assimilation and societal acceptance into the law enforcement field. The lens or perspective of the Black male law enforcement officer was found to be essential to the understanding of the racial profiling and police violence phenomenon as this group conveyed having an existing dual capacity as both victim and observer but not offender. Wilson et al. (2015) presented a similar discussion utilizing a comparative lens based on the thoughts or perspectives of White law enforcement officers, citing the need for minority officers' narratives on the subject, and concluding that the exclusion of such perspectives reveals the possible existence of conflicting issues of race among minority officers.

Literature Review

Law Enforcement History

The establishment of law enforcement as a profession has been cited as having its roots with the implementation of The Metropolitan Police Act of 1829 in London, England; however, the foundation of a law enforcement system can be traced prior to the 1829 act (Thomas, 2017; Lyman, 2019). The creation of the justices of the peace can be found as far back as the 18th century to which it was the obligation and privilege of the Crown appointed and unpaid gentry to uphold and maintain law and order of the land (Lyman, 2019). This older law enforcement system included the creation of local parish constables and justices of the peace; however, with industrial capitalism on the rise this form of law enforcement was deemed ineffective and based on police tyranny.

In 18th century London, increasing population size, urbanization development, new medical advancements, improvements in agriculture, and the start of the Industrial Revolution are regarded as contributing factors for the need of a more established and effective law enforcement system (Lyman, 2019). Lyman (2019) describes the law enforcement system of the time as being held in regard by citizens as harsh bullying, unfit and uneducated individuals who were incapable of properly addressing the societal changes that were occurring. The appointment of inappropriate individuals was attributed to the English gentry previously charged with the responsibility of maintaining the King's laws, finding the role unprofitable cheaply hired others to address local matters with the effect being years of abuse of powers, lawlessness, unstructured enforcement, and no realistic enforcement of laws (2019).

The political and religious activities of Lord George Gordon, regarded as the leader of anti-Catholicism movement, shone a light on the growing unease and religious bigotry growing

in late 1700 London and the 'Gordon Riots' incited more actions be taken to improve the

policing system of the time (Emsley, 2018). In condemning the actions of Lord Gordon, the

House of Commons and Lords cited "the police of Westminster was an imperfect, inadequate,

and wretched system" (Lyman, 2019, p.143); however, despite the outcry no real implementation

of an adequate law enforcement system was established for another 50 years. During the years of

1822 through 1825 law enforcement improved with the induction of Sir Robert Peel; Sir Robert

served as Secretary of Ireland prior to serving in England and it has been reported that his

experiences there influenced his police reform work (Lyman, 2019).

As the creator of the Metropolitan Police Act of 1829, Sir Robert Peel introduced a

centralized and unified system of policing based on a militarized form of enforcement, this

model included an organization effect, uniforms, a code of conduct, and standardized procedures

and practices (Potter, 2013)**.** Until the introduction and implementation of the Police Act of

1829, the city of London experienced large scale political, social and labor unrest, riots, and class

suspicion and agitation for reform (Lyman, 2019), issues that align with many of the issues being

experienced in current times in the United States.

American Policing History and Current Police Culture

The start of policing in America started during the time of Colonial America and was

heavily influenced by the English system of volunteers acting as 'watch groups'. These 'watch

groups' maintain social activities such as capturing runaway animals, running soup kitchens,

recovering lost children and other forms of social services with minimal involvement in crime

control (Potter, 2013). Just as in England, earlier formations of law enforcement were ineffective

and not until the early 1800s was there a more formatted and unified establishment of law

enforcement introduced into America. Different from English policing, was the formation of

slave patrols in America which has been identified as the first publicly funded police agency (Lyman, 2019).

Law enforcement in America was viewed during the same period as being brutal, ruthless, and violent in their actions as overseers of slave populations (Seigel, 2017; Potter, 2013; Miller, 2018). Described individuals in these patrols were white males spanning the social strata of the time from poor to rich plantation owners; and during this period more unified and modern policing systems were being formed, mostly in Northern and Eastern parts of the country. The earlier American establishment of policing agencies Lyman (2019) cited was different from their English counterparts in that these agencies had limited police authority. Local governments had the responsibility of creating and maintaining such agencies, and fragmented law enforcement authorities produced problems in communications, cooperation, and control among organization hierarchy and with other agencies (Lyman, 2019). The previously mentioned characteristics of 18th century policing in America can be seen in current law enforcement agencies as the characteristics have become a part of the police culture.

Police culture is another creation to which knowing the history of how it developed aided in understanding it (Chao, 2018). To further explain organizational culture Chao (2018) said that the term is often used in reference to people or an individual, but it can also apply to a group/organization because culture guides the behavior, values, and beliefs of groups. A culture within organizations can be a strong influence due to its ability to recruit, hire, retain talent, and job satisfaction; the culture in an organization is also associated with psychological strain, order of dress, language, rituals and ceremonies, and an underlying assumption about the organization (Watkins, 2013). The most important factor about organizational culture is that it provides a sense of belonging, identity and can be additive to an individual's self-esteem.

One of the tenets of Sir Robert Peel's unified police agency was the installment of a uniform, the uniform works as an identifier for everyone else outside of this entity but it also creates unity among those inside the entity (Lyman, 2019). The uniform is a tangible item that aids in creating a culture within an organization but is only a part in a bigger organism as discussed by Ingram, Terrill, and Paoline (2018) in their research about police culture and officer behavior. Ingram, et. al., (2018) found that the workgroup culture associated with officers' behaviors represent the collective effect meaning that how one behaves, the group is likely to behave the same. In summation the workplace environment also aids in creating workplace culture. This was reflected in another study of police culture that contributed that individuals in law enforcement share the commonalities of danger in the job, authority to use violence, isolation from the public, shift-work, bureaucracy, internal conflicts among organizational hierarchy, and vague and conflicting mandates (Workman-Stark, 2017). The nature of the work, being mainly investigation, solidarity, and suspicion, also contributed to the work culture of law enforcement. Workman-Stark (2017) discussed how police work created a 'blue wall of silence' and an 'us versus them' mentality as many officers were indoctrinated into this culture at the start of their careers through coded language and partnering with tenured officers.

The environment of solidarity and brotherhood among officers created a reassurance that other officers will defend and support each other in dangerous situations no matter what the adversity which also created an environment of keeping secrets and condoning inappropriate behavior (Workman-Stark, 2017). There was no specific procedure or direction guide into the police culture, which can be a positive one as well; however, the practices and behavior of other established officers over time sets the foundation of what the culture in policing organizations will be (Ingram, et al. 2018). One characteristic that was

strongly regarded with the negative policing culture is 'proving masculinity,' despite gender, race, or ethnicity the nature of police work has also dictated the identity of an individual that is autonomous, brave and strong because of the physical risk and dominant image as male (Workman-Stark, 2017). Research revealed that women in law enforcement presented themselves in a manner that was masculine to prove they are a part of the policing organization and therefore belonging was recognized as a form of assimilation, inclusion, and display of proving they belong or deserved to be a part of law enforcement (Miller, 2019). An unfortunate aspect of 'proving masculinity' however was the development of behavior that is risk taking, making poor decisions, violations of human and civil rights, the marginalization of female officers and alienation of health, emotions and relationships in male officers to which Workman-Stark (2017) addressed in his study.

Differences in rank, individual styles, organizations, and socialization process contributed to the culture of police organizations (Hughley, 2015). The socialization process varied across police organizations, however, it was been determined that there are three stages to which newcomers to the police force all experience: *pre-arrival*: the newcomer entered with preset set of values, attitudes and expectations of police work; *encounter*: during this stage the newcomer reconciled with expectations and reality of police work; and *metamorphosis*: this latter stage set the transformation of the newcomer to replace differences and perspectives formerly held with standardized behaviors of the force (Workman-Stark, 2017). The process happened with all newcomers to law enforcement as well in other organizations. This process also instilled both positive and negative behaviors in law enforcement officers such as the practices of racial profiling and police violence. It also was mentioned by Black male law enforcement officers that

during this process internal conflict or experiences of anomie within law enforcement cultures requiring them to adopt strategies for acculturating into their roles were felt (Dukes, 2018).

Racial Profiling

In order to understand the focus of this study, of which was to explore the narratives of Black male law enforcement officers on the subject of racial profiling and police violence, it was important to understand the definition of racial profiling and police violence. For the purposes of this research the term *police violence* was defined as the excessive and/or unnecessary use of force by police when dealing with members of the public (Black's Law Dictionary, 2019). Racial profiling, however, is a term that has evolved over the past 20 years to encompass more than just a simplistic depiction of a White police officer and a Black motorist violent or discriminatory interaction as offered by Harris (2017). Racial profiling was explained as "a real, measurable phenomenon, that causes real harm to individuals and threatens public safety, of which the use of racial or ethnic appearance by police as a factor to decide who is suspicious enough to attract people attention" (Harris, 2017, p.118).

Racial profiling has been defined by researcher Simmons (2011) as "an elusive practice that can easily remain shrouded from view" and described as a practice having "the most problematic issues within the criminal justice system for multiple points" (p.28). In Simmons' research explored the impact of racial profiling ranged from defining proof of racial profiling and the harm that racial profiling does have on involved groups to examining remedies to eradicate racial profiling. One resounding point Simmons (2011) made is that there is strong evidence that African Americans believe that law enforcement scrutinizes their behavior more than other ethnicities and are fearful of unlawful arrests. The point depicted the elusiveness and problematic characteristic of racial profiling mentioned by Simmons (2011) and in the difficulty in factually

proving that racial profiling has occurred. Difficulty in maintaining accountability measures in law enforcement about racial profiling were also cited by Simmons (2011) and were attributed to law enforcement being bestowed with a wide breadth of discretion when performing their duties (p.27).

Law enforcement officers are endowed with such wide discretion and are expected to use their knowledge, education and perceptions when conducting the duties of their job; however, this endowment has also been found to facilitate potential unknown or known wrongdoing when law enforcement officers perform their duties. The Supreme Court case of Whren v. United States (1996; Findlaw, 2019) granted law enforcement a broad scope of power when conducting motor vehicle stops if the law enforcement individual had probable cause. Probable cause can extend from what the law enforcement officer perceives or observes, such as the motorist may be involved in illegal activity or there is a minor problem with the motor vehicle (e.g. broken lights, invalid plate tags) permitting the law enforcement officers to engage the motorist (Butler, 2018). This was investigated by Dunn (2016) who found that the case of probable cause adds to the difficulty in proving racial profiling because such claims of discrimination are based on the perception of the motorist as being treated unfairly and based solely on their race to which perception is not strong evidence to prove wrongdoing in a court of law.

Simmons (2011) argued that law enforcement agencies are "insular entities that cultivates a culture that is resistant to accountability" (p.30), a point supported the hypothesis of this research that concluded that law enforcement agencies facilitated acts of racial profiling and police violence by White law enforcement officers as well as Black male law enforcement officers. The research conducted by Simmons (2011) and Harris (2017) added an important aspect that highlighted how racial profiling and police violence are hidden acts due to

inconsistent definition, adding to this research exploration as it was suspected and found that

many of the narratives shared this common theme of inconsistencies for defining what

constitutes as acts of racial profiling. Also as previously stated, the definition of racial profiling

as an illegal act of stopping a motorist based on the race of the individual differentiates from the

most current definition presented by the ACLU which defined it as "the discriminatory practice

by law enforcement officials of targeting individuals for suspicion of crime based on the

individual's race, ethnicity, religion or national origin" (2019). ACLU's definition does not

mention the use of a motor vehicle or traffic stop. However, most of the research found implied

that the definition includes traffic and pedestrian stops.

　　　　An article presented by Vittert and Dolly (2018) provided an example of this

disconnect as the researchers utilized the current ACLU (2019) definition but the scope

of the discussion revolved around traffic stops not being correctly or accounted for

appropriately. The Vittert and Dolly (2018) research discussed census-based

benchmarking to identify patterns of racial profiling but again there was the sole focus on

motor vehicle stops, the work did not account for or include pedestrian stops. In contrast,

a growing number of recorded incidents display interactions among law enforcement and

civilians to which there is no involvement of a motor vehicle (Eger et al., 2015; Holbert

& Rose, 2006). In order to understand a problem, there needs to be a resolute definition

of what constitutes the problem (Ramirez, Hoopes, & Quinlan, 2003; New York

Advisory Committee, 2004).

The Americans for Civil Liberties Union: ACLU (2019) defined racial profiling as daily

occurrence across the country, to which law enforcement and private security target people of

color with humiliating and often frightening detentions, interrogations, and searches without

evidence of criminal activity and based solely the on perception of race, ethnicity, national

origin, or religion. The organization further defined the act as patently illegal, violating the U.S.

Constitution's core promise of equal protection under the law to all and freedom from

unreasonable searches and seizures (ACLU, 2019). The NAACP (2019), briefly and broadly

defined racial profiling as the suspicion of people based on race, ethnicity, nationality, religion,

gender, or other immutable characteristics, rather than on evidence-based suspicious behavior

and usually paired with a potentially negative action.

During the undertaking of the literature research for racial profiling and police violence,

it became clear that no precise benchmark or starting point existed for when racial profiling

became a phenomenon. This was spotlighted in the articles of Rushing (2013), Gilbert and Ray

(2015), and Weitzer and Brunson (2015), to which all surmised that the issue of racial profiling

and examples of the phenomenon can be found in history as far back as the 1700s when slavery

had begun; but also, that there is room for debate as to which incidents constituted racial

profiling. For example, Rushing (2013), cited racial profiling incidents being initiated with the

creation of the 'slave patrol' in 1704, to which White men patrol plantations and hunted for

escaped slaves.

Gilbert and Ray (2015), spoke of the rise in deaths "due to legal intervention" after the

Civil Rights Era, and speculated that such incidents occurred earlier but documented increased

numbers may not have appeared until the late 1950s. In contrast Weitzer and Brunson (2015)

broadly mentioned the historical relevance of early incidents of racial profiling but cited

documented incidents as early as the 1990s. Again, there was no agreed upon initiation of racial

profiling and no specific prescribed definition of what constituted racial profiling. For the

purposes of this research the definition provided by the ACLU (2019) was applied and followed

as the guiding definition for racial profiling and police violence as it spoke to the quantity of occurrences, emotional and detrimental impact on communities and individuals.

Analysis of the relationship among Law Enforcement and African Americans

The relationship among African Americans and law enforcement has been one of a contentious nature. Historically in the United States, the existence of law enforcement has been as a tool of deterrent, restriction, containment, and an adversarial overseer going as far back to the introduction of slavery. As previously cited, the creation of 'slave patrols' as a form of law enforcement to regulate the actions and lives of slave facilitated the negative relationship among these two groups (Rushing, 2015). Presently law enforcement continues to be used as a control mechanism for African-Americans which was witnessed in the incidents involving two men sitting in Starbucks, a college student taking a nap after studying, and two women moving luggage out of a house to which police were called simply because all were African-Americans (Butler, 2018). Despite the inclusion of African American/Black law enforcement officers there appeared to be a persistent and automatic cautious nature to the relationship among law enforcement and the African American community.

Research conducted by Weitzer and Brunson (2015), reported that minority groups, also regarded as being a group in a lower economic status, felt that they were treated worse and viewed more critically than individuals from higher class racial groups. Additionally, the research included information that demonstrated that among Whites, Hispanics, Asians, and African Americans, the latter group had the worst relationship with law enforcement (Weitzer & Brunson, 2015). The Weitzer and Brunson (2015) study also asserted that a 'racial hierarchy' pattern developed with regard to how the general public perceived law enforcement views

different racial groups as being on a continuum that follows as White, Asian, Hispanic/Latino, and Black.

Weitzer and Brunson (2015) also claimed that their study was unable to answer as to the differences among police departments with a majority of Black or Hispanics officers and how this composition might be an influential factor as to racial profiling and police violence. Additionally, that despite being aware of police departments in majority urban cities (e.g. Detroit, Atlanta, Washington D.C., and Santa Fe) with higher populations of non-White sworn officers, the study was not able to obtain data from these areas. One of the strongest statements from the study was the assertion that a person's race and ethnic makeup impacts their perceptions, interactions and experiences with law enforcement; this statement supported the assumption made in this study which asserted that Black male law enforcement officers have been influenced by their life experiences prior to entering the law enforcement profession.

Study after study cited that African-Americans/Blacks have communicated more than any other group in the U.S. to feeling that they are viewed more critically, treated unfairly, and were more likely to have a negative interaction with law enforcement (Vaughans & Harris, 2016; Mowatt, 2018; Brooms & Perry, 2016; Jones, Lee, Gaskin & Neblett, 2014; Lichtenberg, 2007; English, Bowleg, Agans, Tschann, & Malebranche, 2017; Legewie, 2016; Lee et al., 2018; Risse & Zeckhauser, 2004; Epps, Marynard-Moody & Haider-Markel, 2016; Gardner, 2014; Wu & Cao, 2017; Robinson, 2017). Additionally, young African Americans/Blacks were more likely to have interactions with law enforcement at higher rates than their racial counterparts (Weitzer & Brunson, 2015). Another commonality found among the researched literature was the notion that in Black and Hispanic communities' orientation to law enforcement varies, but that relationships among these groups with law enforcement were more than likely to be hostile or lukewarm.

Interestingly, the negative view or perception of law enforcement by Blacks and other minority groups included feelings that there was a lack of response by law enforcement in addressing community problems, in which they are verbally assault by law enforcement agents, where misconduct by law enforcement agents was common, and law enforcement officers were not held accountable for their wrongdoing (Allen & Schuppe, 2018; Bjornstrom, 2015; Bryant-Davis et al., 2017; Brooks et al, 2016).

Adding to this difficult relationship beyond historical stature is the recent statistical information promulgated that showed high disparities among unarmed Black killing rates by law enforcement. An analysis conducted on unlawful police killings occurred in 2015 by the Guardian newspaper revealed that while racial minorities make up only 37% of the population in this country, they make up a large percentage in armed and unarmed killings victims (46%) and even higher (63%) in unarmed killing victims by police (Lopez, 2018). Similar studies with statistical data that supported high disparities showed Blacks were more likely to be stopped by police. For example, analyzed data that showed Oakland California Black residents' making up only 28% of the city's population accounted for more than 60% of police stops, and in Falcon Heights, Minnesota where the Black population is only 7% constituted for 47% of arrests in the area (Weir, 2016). In a 2018 June Gallup poll, only 30% of African Americans polled were said to have confidence in police (Brockell, 2018). While the statistical studies examples are all recent, it is an unfortunate truth that the negative relationship between the African American community and law enforcement has existed for an exceedingly long time. In consideration of the previously cited data, it was noted that there is a psychological and sociological impact to those cited statistical numbers that continues to impact the relationship of law enforcement and African American communities.

Many of the research studies cited theories (e.g. critical race theory, fundamental attribution error, contact theory) that posited a differing lens on how racial profiling and police violence can be addressed (Davis & Block, 2018; Gilbert & Ray, 2015), but are also furthering the conversation as how these incidents are impacting the mental health of community citizens and law enforcement officers (Moran, 2018; Thurau & Wald, 2018). A study conducted in June 2018 observed such an adverse effect on the mental health of some Black Americans citing a 'spillover' effect of publicized police shootings of unarmed Black individuals; the effect was evaluated as being potentially a result of heightened perceptions of threat and vulnerability, lack of fairness, lower social status, lower beliefs about one's self worth, activation of prior traumas, and identification with the deceased (Moran, 2018).

The cited 'spillover' effect was supported by Dr. Rahn Bailey, APA Assembly representative of the Caucus of Black Psychiatrists, and Dr. Kimberly Gordon, president of the APA's Caucus of Black Psychiatrists (Moran, 2018). Both professionals were reported within this literature review as they facilitated the presumption that this study is a confirmation that such shooting incidents have had an influential impact on how Black citizens have developed a view of law enforcement. The psychiatrists have also professionally seen many patients that have had a history of trauma related to vicarious exposure to police brutality (Moran, 2018). Researchers Thurau and Wald (2018) concluded that police killings should be regarded as a public health issue as death rates among African-Americans were found to be disproportionately higher than their population, and that this population has some of the highest rates of mental issues within the country. High profile killings of unarmed Black citizens and growing tension among Black communities and law enforcement was also cited as the internal conflict element among Black law enforcement officers these professionals seen as patients (Moran, 2018).

Aligned with the mental difficulty observed in Black civilians in regard to police killings, many Black law enforcement officers maintained they also suffered from mental difficulties as being a part of the law enforcement field (Dukes, 2018; Hall, Hall & Perry, 2016). Many Black law enforcement officers were coming forth in news interviews conveying concerns and having to confront personally and professionally the issue of racial profiling, police violence and disproportionate targeting of minorities (Hall, Hall & Perry, 2016). However, most cited the issue as not being one to which the race of the officer, or community was the problem but the systemic practice within the law enforcement field. Often it was the case that many Black law enforcement officials cited incidents of racial profiling and police violence as an 'institutionalized problem' (Allen & Schuppe, 2018; Moore, 2018).

It was more of an objective viewpoint than one that was subjective - this was spotlighted in a news article by Evan F. Moore, who interviewed three African American police officers in the Chicago area (Moore, 2018). The article highlighted the responses of the officers who appear to have conveyed a sense of being a law enforcement agent and then a Black person (2018). The officers' responses veered between seeing two sides of an issue but did not necessarily commit choosing one side over another and demonstrated an internal conflict (2018). One such exchange that produced conflicted responses from officers was one in which they were advising family members on how to behave with other police officers (2018). During this interview the police officers stated that they tell their relatives to be respectful, courteous, and do as the officer directs; but the officers also conveyed that they felt that they should not have to have such conversations or advise family members in such a way (2018).

The officers also lamented a viewpoint that the civilian should set the tone of the exchange/ conversation, make the officer feel comfortable, and create an environment of trust

(2018). Similar to the Moore (2018) article, was the personal account of former police officer Matthew Horace, whose book "The Black and the Blue: A Cop Reveals the Crimes, Racism and Injustice in America's Law Enforcement" a narrative account of his own personal and professional perspective on racial profiling and police violence (Jones, 2018). Mr. Horace noted that he has been both observer to inappropriate decisions by other officers and a victim of racial profiling (Jones, 2018). Therein lies an important aspect of the African American and law enforcement dynamic - the inherent dual capacity of being both Black and the enforcing agent of an entity, which together carries strong negative connotations (Jones, 2018).

What was not known however was the specific impact of the racist history in the U.S. has affected this group of law enforcement officers. Other literature selected posited differing perspectives of Black male law enforcement officers to which some expressed a strong discomfort with acknowledging the existence of racial profiling and police violence against Black citizens (Barlow & Hackman-Barlow, 2002; Gabbidon et al., 2012; Cochran & Warren, 2012; Yates, O'Neal, Dodson, & Walker, 2016; Hackman, 2016; and Brooms & Perry, 2016). Black male law enforcement officers however, displayed or expressed sentiment of agreement with the racist practice of racial profiling and have been shown to participate in police violence under the context of it being a warranted part of the job (Dukes, 2017; Hughley 2015; Conti & Doreian, 2014; Diversi, 2016; Jan, 2017; Miller, 2013). The sentiment being controversial due to its implication that Black male law enforcement officers find it justifiable to discriminate against Black citizens based on race. Just as controversial was the studied Black male law enforcement officers also strongly identified with the role of law enforcement officers more as opposed to identifying as a Black person.

Summary and Conclusion

The growing awareness of Black male law enforcement officers participating and/or condoning the practice of racial profiling and police violence stressed the importance in addressing the overall issue. The law enforcement profession is becoming more inclusive and diverse and as a result the agents of the profession are faced with the dilemma of duality of potentially having been a victim and potential offender of the phenomenon being studied. How does one address and racially profile an individual to whom they share similar life experience characteristics? How does one justify an institutionalized racist practice against those who are of the same race, gender, or sexual orientation as themselves? The research question posed within this work under the methodology of heuristic narrative inquiry, was developed due to the lack of, or limited amount of data inclusive of personal narratives of minority law enforcement agents (Donnelly, 2016; Kamalu, 2016; Christie, 2014).

Works presented by Christine (2013), Yates, O'Neal, Dodson, and Walker (2016) analyzed the perspectives of Black male law enforcement officers and found their viewpoints within the studies to be more objective than subjective. Risse and Zeckhauser (2004) reported similar findings of officers speaking more to the importance of being a part of their departments, expressing feelings of discord with racial profiling but shared views asserting it as a necessary practice, or conveyed disliking the racist practices within their profession but not something that affected them personally. After conducting an exhaustive review of literature, I concluded there is a need of research inclusive of Black male law enforcement officers' stories.

The reviewed literature shone light as well on the importance of understanding the racist and psychological impact of racial history in the United States which contributes and can be attributed to racial profiling practices and police violence (Harris, 1999; Swaine, Laughland,

Lartey, & McCarthy, 2015; Higgins & Gabbidon, 2015; Vito et al., 2017; Epp, Maynard-Moody, & Haider-Markel, 2014; Lichtenberg, 2007; Horrace & Rohlin, 2016; Gardner, 2014). The importance of tracing lineage of the phenomenon served to develop a foundation of how ingrained racial profiling and police violence is within society. Subtraction of details regarding the psychological and sociological, of the phenomenon studied with regard to addressing the issue through development of any methodology or future policy induction or implementation would be as Allen and Schuppe (2018) a detrimental to fields of social work, psychology, sociology, and law enforcement.

The United States has an extensive history of racial issues and problems much of which have become impregnated into the institutions of our government, educational institutions, businesses, medical professions, criminal justice and law enforcement systems (Arp, 2014; Mbuba, 2018; Brown & Frank, 2006; Campbell, 1980; Donohue & Levitt, 2001; Eitle, Stolzenberg & D'Alessio, 2005; Van Craen, 2013; Jones, 2016; Lee & Gibbs, 2015; Acharya, Blackwell, & Sen, 2016; McNeely & Grothoff, 2015). It was through the study of the history of racial profiling and police violence that the literature selected was found to support the concept of the existence of a psychological and sociological impact on Black male law enforcement officers, if mainly due to their very existence within society. Development and engagement within the United States made it highly possible that this group of law enforcement agents have had some form of contact as adolescents or young adults with law enforcement in a negatively racially charged context.

As a result of the limited amount of literature inclusive of minority law enforcement officers' this study focused on the narratives of Black male law enforcement officers' as they related their experiences with racial profiling and police violence. Throughout the literature

review the recurring theme of the importance of inclusivity was a pronounced, needed, and necessary component for addressing a phenomenon that affects varying groups, especially those phenomena that involve roles and positions that maintain social order and govern societal behavior. The necessity for understanding how impactful racial and cultural factors can impact decision-making, critical thinking, and professional behavior within the law enforcement field and possibly other professions as well, is imperative for addressing racial profiling and police violence, discrimination, and other forms of unfairness and injustice among all groups.

Chapter 3: Methodology

Introduction

The purpose of this qualitative study was to explore and examine the narratives of Black male law enforcement officers specific to their experiences with racial profiling and police violence. Social scientists largely subscribe to the consensus that race is a social construct and is a dominant feature of U.S. society that permeates many social interactions (Hughey, 2015). The issue of racial profiling is regarded as racially charged social interactions among law enforcement officers and community citizens (Brooms & Perry 2016; Cochran & Warren, 2012; Eger et al., 2015). Racial profiling occurs when a law enforcement officer engages a civilian under the premise or suspicion based upon the civilian's race or ethnicity (Arp, 2014).

Gabbidon et al.'s (2012), study on racial profiling was just one of the many that spotlighted how the phenomenon has been historically treated as a vicariously perceived prevalence among Black communities. Findings in this study showed that Black male law enforcement officers have a duality of being a Black citizen and a police officer, but there is limited research from Black male law enforcement officers' perspectives or insight solely. In contrast, other studies have included perspectives and stories of many Black individuals with direct knowledge and experience of such encounters and know racial profiling to be a factual common practice among law enforcement due to its effects psychologically and sociologically (Arp, 2014; Brooms & Perry, 2016; Eger et al., 2015; Higgins et al., 2012; Hughey, 2015; Withrow & Williams, 2015). This chapter will outline the qualitative method that I chose for exploring racial profiling and police violence phenomenon through the collected narratives of Black male law enforcement officers.

Research Design and Rationale

Through the narrative inquiry approach, I sought to discover what are the narratives of Black male law enforcement officers and their experiences with racial profiling and police violence. The phenomenological approach (Husserl, 2020) was not be an appropriate choice because it does not regard cultural and social norms, traditions, or preconceived ideas about racial profiling and police violence, which may be essential elements in provided narratives. Furthermore, I did not select the generic approach because I did not want to focus mainly on 'why' Black male law enforcement officers may commit acts of racial profiling and police violence as highlighted in research by Bell (2018). Likewise, I did not select grounded theory (Glaser & Strauss, 2020) because I did not seek to provide an explanation for why racial profiling and police violence happens as well the phenomenon being studied was not a tangible product.

The ethnographic approach (Malinowski, 2017; Levi-Strauss, 2020) I deemed unsuitable due to the time required and the likelihood for the insemination of personal biases because this approach requires immersion as well as being a Black male and a law enforcement officer myself (Tracey, 2019; Patton, 1990). Last, I did not consider a case study format due to multiple narratives needed for emphasizes of variation, and racial profiling and police violence are not one-size-fits-all events. I decided not to conduct a quantitative study as previously cited during the literature review when it became clear that demographic information for law enforcement officers involved in racial profiling and police violence was not readily available, if included at all and centralized only on the victims and not involved officers (Astroth & Chung, 2018; Harawa, et al., 2018; Murphy, 2018).

I utilized qualitative methods to examine why a phenomenon occurs, what happens, and what it means to the individuals affected by the phenomenon (Patton, 1990). The narrative approach as described by Creswell (2013) weaves together a sequence of events, which I obtained through a one-on-one phone interview with participants. As discussed there have been numerous studies that explored, examined, and analyzed racial profiling and police violence effects on civilians but few that included detailed rich stories from minority officers and their perspectives regarding racial profiling and police violence. For example, there were many news articles that included the thoughts and opinions of Black male law enforcement officers such as ones by Davis (2018), but few studies, such as Wilson et al. (2015), examined the perceptions of Black male police officer in relation to racial profiling and police violence.

It was posited that the integration of minority officers would act as a bridge in repairing the bad relationship among Black communities and law enforcement, which has not been the result according to some studies (Acharya, Blackwell, & Sen, 2016; Barthelemy, Chaney, Maccio, & Church, 2016; Bent-Goodley & Smith, 2017. These studies also reflected the supportive voices of Black police officers and citizens for racial profiling actions and not how opinions, narratives, or recounts of their experience with the phenomenon (Brunson & Gau, 2015; Cochran & Warren, 2012). In other studies, researchers such as Crutchfield et al. (2012) and Epp et al. (2017) found that in many Black communities, Black law enforcement officers were viewed with more disdain than their White counterparts, but these studies did not provide exploratory context for which participants hold those views.

This research is of an exploratory nature, as qualitative research is subjective and people perceive experiences differently and the researcher's own experiences, beliefs, and values are incorporated into the design and analysis of the study (Creswell, 2013). The paradigm selected

acted as a guide as the research is the interpretive paradigm. The aim of interpretive research is to understand the phenomenon through the meaning that individuals assign to them, producing an understanding of the context of the information and focus on the full complexity of making sense of the phenomenon through the participants' perception (Denzin & Lincoln, 2005). The interpretative paradigm was chosen and allowed for understanding how racial and cultural background, as well professional experiences, influence the decision making and perspectives of Black male law enforcement officers and their insight or experience with racial profiling and police violence.

The theoretical perspective of social behaviorism provided a framework that enabled the researcher to gain a better understanding of how exposure to racism, racist practices, and discrimination of professional and educational institutions may have shaped the particular group of law enforcement officers (Mead, 1934). The theoretical perspectives derived from social behaviorism did not objectively allow the researcher to interpret the perspective of the participants and how their shared attitudes, behavior and decision-making were developed and influenced by their professional and personal life experiences as Black men.

Role of the Researcher

There are no existing direct personal or professional relationships with any of the participants in the study. As the researcher in a qualitative study, my role was to reflect articulately what the participants shared with me so that readers can understand the data, analysis, and any findings presented as stipulated by Sutton and Austin (2015). Commonalities and shared characteristics among the researcher and the participants are: Black, male, professional law enforcement officer with a previous employment history with the City of Detroit. As a result of the commonalities and shared characteristics previously mentioned, my

role was also emic; I have an insider's view of the reality of law enforcement work and have shared in the cultural knowledge in terms of jargon in both personal and professional life, which Fetterman (2012) cited as aspects needed when trying to understand realities of narratives being provided.

I addressed and managed biases including my own narrative highlighting similarities and citing noted biases revealed or held prior to the study. Also, I utilized a notebook for documenting my own reactions, surprise feelings, beliefs, and any other emotions or possible influences. Additionally, due to the similarities and commonalities with the participants, my role served as a safeguard and filter for the interpretation of the data provided so as not to diminish the quality of any analysis. My main role as a researcher was to be an active listener and to ask probing questions to get to a deeper meaning and the bigger picture as cited by McLeod (2017).

Methodology

Participant Selection Logic

The expected sample size for this study was six participants. Mason (2010) and Dworkin (2012) cited this range as an appropriate guideline for narrative inquiry as such studies focus on gathering in-depth understanding of a phenomenon or comprising data collected to make connections, but do not generate hypotheses or statements about large populations. Creswell (2013) surmised that the sample size for this form of study is large enough to obtain feedback for most or all perceptions of the phenomenon being studied. Additionally, the sample size I selected was due to the phenomenon being studied, and under the rationale that a larger size could be overwhelming and deem the study implausible or invalid.

Recruitment efforts for the study were based on the following criteria: participants must identify as African-American/Black, male, age range from 21 to 65 years, currently or

previously employed as of 5 years from the current date as a law enforcement officer within a

urban area with a large population of African American/Black citizens, work duties included

traffic assignments within urban jurisdictions, work environment within a major city or urban

area with large law enforcement agencies (for the purpose of my study the selected city was

Detroit, Michigan), and had a strong understanding and knowledge of what constitutes racial

profiling and police violence. The chosen sampling strategy was purposive sampling as I

selected recruited participants that met the required criteria. These chosen individuals matched

the commonalities as a subset of law enforcement officers cited in the listed criteria. This

strategy was utilized in a qualitative inquiry examining female law enforcement officers' leader

self-efficacy and social identity, similar to my study which is examining a subset of law

enforcement officers in terms of their roles professionally and privately (Clark, 2018). Final

selections of participants were based on responses to pre-survey inquiries and meeting the

criteria prescribed previously.

Through research questions posed (Appendix: B) to the participants' narration,

information, or data regarding the witnessed or direct personal act of committing racial profiling

and/or police violence incidents per minority officers were obtained. Insight from the perspective

of the participants' belief as to the impact of such behavior on society within and outside of

Black communities was also collected. The narrative shared by these law enforcement officials

also shed light on the differing dynamic of racial profiling and police violence that may be

counteracting present productive and positive practices or program initiatives for eliminating acts

of racial profiling and police violence by law enforcement agencies.

The narratives of the participants can oppose purported falsehoods or claims that among

minority law enforcement officers racial profiling and police violence does not occur or exist,

therefore quota sampling was not chosen as a sampling strategy (Elfil & Negida, 2017). An adherent criterion for purposive sampling was that the participants were all Black male law enforcement officers with narratives relating to racial profiling and police violence which was viewed as a characteristic. The purposive sampling strategy was selected as it was thoroughly considered due to the phenomenon and participants being studied. Also, it was a non-probability type that enabled me as the researcher to select participants who met the criteria of having witnessed or had direct involvement with racial profiling and police violence to which I was unaware and found to be in alignment to the purpose of the study (McLeod, 2014).

Purposive sampling allowed me to select and identify information rich cases for the most effective use of limited resources, as well as participants that were more open and available to participate was found to be important and detectable utilizing this strategy (Palinkas et al, 2016). The other types of sampling (convenience, snowballing, quota) were not selected as I did not want just anyone to participate (convenience), the issue of the study is a controversial topic, therefore snowballing could have resulted in invalid data or difficulty in securing participants, and quota sampling after careful review was not considered as it was integral to the study that the sample share identifiable characteristics which is not a requirement for this form of sampling (Elif & Negida, 2017).

Instrumentation

Quantitative design approaches collected and presented data as a way of by exploring contextual deficits in statistical information common in quantitative design approaches. My work included structured one on one interviews, observation notes, the participants recorded narratives, all personal written texts that obtained relevant data through posed research questions. The chosen methodology was the purposive sampling method. The purposive sampling method enabled me to select a homogeneous sample that focused on a subgroup of law enforcement by relying on my own judgment in selecting eligible participants (Creswell, 2013). All the participants had similar occupations being employed as law enforcement officers, were of the Black/African American race, and worked directly in Black communities thereby had societal experiences linked to their race (Dudovskiy, 2019).

Respective of the selected phenomenon, the collection of data was obtained through time structured one on one interviews were conducted at secured meeting environments (*This method was updated to phone interviews due pandemic and mandated social distancing orders); notes taken during interviews with open ended questions; and documentation of organizational policies, existing data on demographics of police departments locally, nationally, and statewide. Proper methods for securing privacy and authorization for the use of electronic (e.g. recording devices, cell phone) was implemented. In consideration of the topic, the setting of structure time, interview locations, and technology being utilized were reviewed by the researcher as to how each can produce positive engagement and initiation of communication exchanges.

One of the advantages of purposive sampling is it is a time effective method and in consideration of the sample consisting of current and retired law enforcement officers scheduled and conducted interview times were vital to obtaining a great deal of data. There was a limited number of participants as data sources for this research as such purposive sampling is conducive to the proposed research purposes (Creswell, 2013). The limited pool selected was based on transferability elements of the chosen data collection method to which approximately 6 people were selected from the law enforcement field. There was an appropriate amount of information and description for examining the impact of the phenomenon on the participants. The limitations of this form of sampling were believed to be that it was prone to researcher bias, could be time consuming when transcribing data, and due to use of my own judgment for selecting participants it could have been difficult to convince an audience that any findings would hold true if other methods were employed (Palinkas, Horwitz, Green, Wisdom, Duan, & Hoagwood, 2015).

The analysis of the data was conducted via organization, management, and development of themes and patterns with the use of the NVIVO 11 software program (QSR International, 2019). A narrative analysis conducted examined any development of themes and patterns associated with organizational and professional field practices; and a secondary analysis for coding development participants' responses to interview questions (Elliot & Timulak, 2005). Thorne (2000) provided that through analytic processes the detection of narrative themes within the accounts given by people about their lives can occur as well of how they understand and make sense of their lives.

The collected narratives provided insight as to the after effect and impact of institutionalized racist practices regarding psychological and sociological discrimination and racism in the United States. This is the challenge of narrative research as cited by Greenhalgh,

Russell, and Swinglehurst (2005), not to control for inherent subjectivity, inconsistency, and emotionality of the stories but to capture phenomena as data and interpret them appropriately. The historical context of racial discrimination in the United States cannot be disregard in terms of the impact of such practices that have current reverberations throughout this country's institutions (Jacoby, Dong, Beard, Wiebe, & Morrison, 2017). Through exploration of the collected narrations of experiences with racial profiling and police violence, meaning was made as to how these law enforcement officers addressed the issue or may have been inadvertently promoting the abhorrent discriminatory practice. Information within this work was found to be applicable to other fields of study and governmental or professional policy making not as deterrents but as identifiers of why difficulties in addressing issues may still be encountered or promulgated.

Procedures for Recruitment, Participation, and Data Collection

Interviews were conducted via phone calls as an unforeseen global health emergency (pandemic). This impeded the original method of one on one interviews to obtain relevant data. The method occurred during times that ensured that participants were available, willing to be contacted and interviewed, and able to provide detailed information regarding their personal experiences. Securing privacy and authorization for the use of electronics were implemented through the creation of a letter outlining the study, purpose, and intent of the use of the data obtained. Any instrumentation used in the process of this study will adhere to the guidelines provided by Walden University Independent Review Board (2019).

Research Question

What are the narratives of Black male law enforcement officers and their experiences in relation to racial profiling and police violence?

Ethical Protections

The reliability and validity of my study depended greatly on my adherence to ethical principles set forth by Walden University: Independent Review Board (2019). In reference to respect for persons, beneficence, justice and respect for communities, the core ethical principles, much thought and consideration was given specifically to the well-being - mentally and physically - for the participants of my study (NIH:IRB, 2019; Walden University: IRB, 2019).

The ethical concerns for this work related to the privacy and security of the participants. The issue of racial profiling and police violence is a controversial topic prompting some law enforcement officers to be more than open to discussing the subject and their experiences in relation to racism and discrimination (Acharya, Blackwell, & Sen, 2016; Allen & Schuppe, 2018; Bryant-Davis et al., 2017; Bromwich, 2017; Brown & Frank, 2006). In contrast, there were other officers who may have felt that their participation in my study would designate them as traitors or 'going against the code of blue' (Conti & Doreian, 2014) therefore responses were closed. Other concerns leaned more toward the mental (psychological) impact of the topic (Correl et al., 2014; Davis, 2018; Delgado, 2016; DeVylder et al., 2017). The principles set forth were based on the guiding foundation to "do no harm" (NIH: IRB, 2019; Walden University: IRB, 2019), as the researcher I ensured that the participants felt safe, protected, and what was discussed is confidential.

Procedures for Data Collection

In consideration of the phenomenon being studied the use of a time management structure was implemented as the topic is one that has a psychological and sociological

influence, impact, and effect. Also, held in serious consideration was the interviewing environment with regards to the location in which to conduct interviews, have conversations and make observations (Palinkas et al, 2016). Meeting times and locations also served to develop good interactions and initiation of communication exchanges as these are external factors that can affect communication, emotions, thought processes, and behavior (Tracey, 2019; Creswell, 2013). Selected interviewing locations were based on availability, location away from the work environment, and allowance of privacy and reduction of interruption.

Data was recorded via an audio recording device for in phone interviews. Participants were to be briefed prior to the actual interviewing process to obtain consent to be on record and to be recorded, what the study purported to address, how their narrative will aid in the research and efforts made to secure and ensure their privacy. Along with the briefing efforts participants were provided a written document to meet Walden University Independent Review Board (2019) requirements with regard to recruitment and participation rights.

Data Analysis Plan

The plan for data analysis was conducted using the narrative data analysis, which was selected due to the study design being a qualitative study with a narrative inquiry approach. Upon collection of the data I selected to have coding done automatedly and to ensure that codes were applied selectively as to formulate a story through connecting categories using NVivo II software (QSR, 2019); which was followed by identifying themes, patterns and relationships through words and phrases as often culturally in professional and private lives of law enforcement jargon facilitates behavior and practices. The analysis and coding stages concluded a summation of the data and implemented biographical narrative analysis as a revision of

primary qualitative data (Clark & Veale, 2018; Parish & Candon, 2016) that was a personal history of the participants.

Saturation within the study occurred when no more information was obtained with additional perspectives; or the data collected added nothing new to the understanding of the phenomenon (Clark, 2018). The narrative approach was also selected due to the participants sharing and conveying their narratives as Black male law enforcement officers and their own racial profiling and police violence experiences, which constituted the basis and foundation for this study (Caine et al., 2017). The narrative approach stresses the importance of obtaining accessible, open, and different perspectives on the issue focusing on the emerging story and not the participants (Seiki, Caine, & Huber, 2018); while this study utilized participants that have their own personal experiences with the focused phenomenon they themselves are not the specific subjects, it is their experiences that was the centralized subject.

In being a narrative inquiry study as the researcher, I did not seek to present data as fact, but instead to provide examples and personal narratives of Black male law enforcement officers regarding the phenomenon of racial profiling and police violence. Certain limitations of this study included the rigor of the study and the difficulty to maintain and assess the researcher's own personal experiences and biases regarding the studied phenomenon. As the researcher, it was thought that my own presence during the data collection process could have but was found to have not posed as an interference thereby deterring honest and open responses. The limitations were acknowledged as having facilitated the credibility of the study as well the presentation of narratives and not presented as facts to serve as the data from the participants' experiences with racial profiling.

In regard to ethical considerations, participants received literature regarding informed consent that transcripts of conversations, discussions, notes, and any other tangible documentation held as confidential material as well as anonymity provided via a drop-off meeting point. To ensure personal credibility as a researcher, my professional credentials as a law enforcement field officer were presented, as well as all educational background and professional training.

The reported narrative analysis was presented in three sections: a findings summation according to the relevant themes that were found to be important to the topic, participants that were discussed, and any information conveyed by the participants. Narrative analysis refers to the cluster of analytic methods for interpreting texts and visual data that have a storied form (Figgou & Pavlopoulos, 2015); therefore, the approach selected focused on this proposed study narrative content as emerging themes did arise and do garner future investigation. The discussion section followed for personal interpretations and connections based on the findings. Concluding with the last section of reporting issues or implications, as this study did not assert finality to the problem or to resolve the issue but instead provided recommendations or cited implications of such research. Issues were cited that generated during this study as they were found to be particularly important and added to the validity of the study.

In a heuristic inquiry approach, issues such as getting participants to join conversations, time restrictions and acceptance of a single sample size as being valid did not occur as cited by Djuraskovic and Arthur (2010) as being a possibility. Large sample sizes in contrast could have led to misunderstandings as to the type of research as data could have appeared to hold statistical value (Brenner & DeLamater, 2016). Privacy concerns or getting participants to be open in their conversations was a minor issue that was resolved as the methodology for obtaining the data was

modified. Additionally, a couple of participants did not communicate openly during the beginning stage of the interview and it was presumed they feared or labored concerns about how conveyed experiences may be viewed.

Issues of Trustworthiness

Due to the content of the study consisting of personal narratives, accuracy and correctness in the findings were found to be essential for determining validity. Threats to validity for my study were those things that may have contrasted or contradicted the selected methodology regarding cultural and contextual variables appropriateness (Leung, 2019). For example, if some participants had never worked in urban settings or populations with high minority groups, data collected may have posed a threat to the validity of my study. Also, other external threats for example that included interactions among participants during the interviewing process, unknown prior relationships among participants, or perceived discovery or threats to participating in the study.

To address validity threats, purposive sampling was the chosen method as there are distinct characteristics I sought for the appropriateness culturally and in the context of the issue. Recruitment and pre-screening processes were implemented in a manner that offered privacy, through a flyer placement at local police departments. Recruitment was conducted in this manner as the topic is controversial and participants may have had concerns about other officers becoming aware of their participation. These procedures and processes strengthen the transferability and confirmability of study being proposed (Leung, 2019; Francis, 2018).

Regarding data extraction and analysis, utilization of several methods along with software were applied to ensure trustworthiness and descriptive validity, such employment of a professional transcriptionist that transcribed verbatim recorded audio and allowed the

participants time to review their transcribed interviews. To ensure interpretation validity, an external researcher was secured to review all transcriptions and review interview participants with the same research interview questions. The transcriptionist and external researcher were also provided and required to sign a confidentiality agreement to further uphold confidentiality and privacy. Lastly, documentation of my own biases was conducted as another threat to the qualitative study proposed was researcher bias. I implemented these steps to present and convey context and details as the data relates to transferability and reflexivity of my study (Korstjens & Moser, 2018).

Ethical Procedures

Notification of 'informed consent' by a created document that explains the implications of taking part in study was provided. This document cited potential harms and benefits that may come from being a participant, how the data were to be collected, analyzed, transcribed, used, and how their anonymity was to be protected by pseudo names. The document also conveyed the 'researcher - participant' relationship and how a second interview with another researcher may occur. Collection and storing of data methods and processes were indicated in the document and described that interviews were to be recorded via audio recorder, tapes used in the interview were to be placed in a locked area and will be destroyed after five years as per Walden University policy.

As the researcher I also clearly indicated verbally and highlighted in the document the participant's voluntary right to refuse to participate/withdraw from the study. This was especially important should at any time during the interviewing process participants had become stressed or uncomfortable (Roshaidai, 2018). Additionally, much consideration was given to the cultural influences of both Black/African American culture and Police Culture and as such selected three

different interviewing environments that are some distance (but not presenting inconvenience) from both working and living environments of the participants as another way to ensure confidentiality and privacy. Please note that the interviewing environments changed due to the global pandemic and mandated stay in orders of my state, as such interviews were conducted via telephone and authorizations for participating and modification for conducting the interviews were verbally obtained and recorded.

Summary

The design of this study was a qualitative approach with a narrative design because of the humanistic behavior and experiences in relation to racial profiling and police violence for Black male law enforcement officers (Pathak, Jena, & Kalra, 2013). A secondary analysis of collected data was conducted and continued from the theoretical standpoint framed by social behaviorism theory previously cited. Exploration of the conveyed experiences of Black male law enforcement officers with racial profiling and police violence occurred as I sought to examine how their personal and professional life experiences have influenced their actions and decision making. As the researcher of the study proposed I needed to be aware of the standpoints of the work as referenced by Sutton and Austin (2015) to ensure focus and alignment.

The triangulation method was employed as a way to be consistent, ensure credibility and dependability, and address any threats to trustworthiness and quality of the proposed research with recruitment of experts and applying observation as another data collection method (Denzin & Lincoln, 2005). Narrative inquiry was chosen as the methodology for conveying the narratives of Black male law enforcement officers because this method enabled participants to communicate and express their experiences in their own words (Tracey, 2019). As individual narratives, common themes and context were sought to produce a larger depicture of experiences

by Black male law enforcement officers in relation to of the racial profiling and police violence issue, another method for verification of interpretations and findings was also collaborated with experts and members in the field during the research process (Denzin & Lincoln, 2005). It is important to not generalize when addressing issues that have such a strong social impact on the lives of many people. By choosing the research methodology much was gained and found to be beneficial in many segments that are further discussed in Chapter Four.

Chapter 4: Results

Introduction

The purpose of this qualitative study was to explore and examine the narratives of Black male law enforcement officers specific to their experiences with racial profiling and police violence. In symmetry, the purpose of this chapter is to present the findings related to the research question: What are the narratives of Black male law enforcement officers and their experiences in relation to racial profiling and police violence? Findings were organized by work and personal environments, career role, emotions, and perceptions. This organizing method was found to be a more applicable way to aid in revealing personal insight of each participant. Table 2 outlines data analysis, which I discuss in this chapter.

In this chapter, I present the setting selection and examine the workplace and home environment of the participants who were found to be influential factors in their roles as law enforcement agents. Followed by the sections of demographics, I discuss data collection and data analysis regarding from whom data were collected, how they were collected, and what analysis revealed about provided data. I conclude Chapter 4 with a section on results and I address, present, and discuss what was revealed through the data collection process. I end Chapter 4 with a summation of the responses provided by participants in this study.

Setting

For this study, six black male law enforcement officers (retired/currently employed) shared their narratives regarding racial profiling and police violence throughout their careers and personal lives. The individual narratives conveyed provided personal experiences through a law enforcement officer's perspective. The perspectives were from men who served or currently

serve at local departmental units within the City of Detroit. Detroit is predominantly

Black/African American (78.6%) based on the U.S. Census reporting for 2018 (Census.gov,

2020), and the city police force is predominantly Black/African American (56.3%).

The data from respondents revealed that many of the officers witnessed segregation

among officers within their departments. As youths, the participants either witnessed, learned of,

or had been racial profiled, and they spoke of situations regarding family or friends who

communicated being racial profiled or a victim of police violence. These incidents were found to

be influential factors because some of the participants cited that they adjust their workplace and

home behaviors in accordance. Some of the participants recalled intently choosing to act in ways

that would have lessened the possibility of being hurt or killed during police engagements. With

regard to academy training or workplace environments many of the participants shared feelings

discriminated against for promotions or acknowledgment for achievement. According to recent

reporting (Hunter, 2019) the perspectives provided insight as to how these officers though not

specifically stated by each have been influenced in some ways during their youth and adulthood

as law enforcement officers.

Demographics

Six black male law enforcement officers, four retired and two currently employed in a

law enforcement officer capacity, participated in this study. Each provided their demographic

criteria for the 60- to 90-minute interviews. The participants' demographic information follows

with a brief profile; personal details were kept to a minimum to provide confidentiality and

privacy as such information could serve as identifiers. Participants provided professional history

pertaining to years served as an officer. The information is listed in Table 1. All participants are

Black/African American males, who have grown up in the City of Detroit, and have served as

law enforcement officers with the City of Detroit more than 5 years. I have given all the

participants pseudonyms for confidentiality and privacy.

Table 1

Demographics and Background Summary

Name	Age/gender (years)	Career stats.	Years served
Interview V	Approximately 50	Retired/Former DPD Officer	More than 20 years served
Interview X	Early 40s	Employed/Former DPD Officer	More than 10 years served
Interview Y	Mid-40s	Retired/ Former DPD Officer	More than 7 years served
Interview W	40-50	Retired/Former DPD	More than 10 years served
Interview U	Late 40s	Employed/Current DPD Officer	More than 20 years served
Interview Z	Late 60s	Retired/ Former DPD Officer	More than 30 years served

Individual Profiles

Interviewee V

Interviewee V was approximately a 50-year-old retired corrections officer, who left the

police force after 20 years' service as a police officer. He was not born in Detroit but grew up in

the city when his family relocated here for work. He became a police officer with the city of

Detroit after graduating high school.

Interviewee X

Interviewee X was an approximately 42-year-old officer who was currently employed as

a law enforcement official for a private company. However, he served as a Detroit Police Officer

for 10 years. Interviewee X was born and grew up in the City of Detroit, attended local schools, and lived in the surrounding neighborhoods.

Interviewee Y

Interviewee Y was in the approximately mid-40s and retired from the Detroit Police. He is a Detroit native.

Interviewee W

Interviewee W was a retired deputy of the Detroit Police Department and Sheriff's Department. He was between 40 and 50 years old and a Detroit native.

Interviewee U

Interviewee U was a Detroit native that currently serves with the police department. He entered the police force after serving in the military. He comes from a long line of family members that have served with the Detroit Police Department.

Interviewee Z

Interviewee Z was a retired law enforcement officer who served with the Detroit Police for more than 30 years. He was not born in Detroit but grew up in the city from the age of 7. He joined the police force after serving in the military. For a brief period, he lived in the surrounding suburbs however moved back to living in the city.

<div align="center">Data Collection</div>

The number of participants in study was six. The location of the interview site was from our (participants and me) respective locations due the COVID-19 pandemic. I can factually account for only my own location (my home) but could not state as fact as to the location of the participants. To ensure privacy and confidentiality concerns I instructed each participant to select a location to which they believed they had complete privacy without the possibility of

interruptions. The data were recorded on an electronic recording device to which participants were informed and provided verbal agreement to being broadcasted via speaker function over the phone. Phone interviews were a modification to the original interviewing method, which was face-to-face individual interviews at an agreed upon private location. Data were transcribed by a recruited transcriber and me; the transcriber was given and signed the appropriate confidentiality agreement documentation (Appendix: D). Transcriptions were entered into the NVivo II software for coding and analysis.

Data Analysis

The following key themes were generated from the interview transcriptions based on the research question, "What are the narratives of Black male law enforcement officers and their experiences with racial profiling and police violence?" The prevailing themes provided the foundation for the analysis of the participants' narratives (Figgou & Pavlopoulos, 2015). Table 2 shows categories, themes, and generated codes.

Using the NVivo II software program (2019), the provided narratives of each of the participants were inputted for generating codes, categories, and themes. The codes were automated. Having the data automatedly processed common themes and concepts enabled me to analyze of each of the narratives; thereby gaining a deeper understanding of the underlying events of racial profiling and police violence that had affected each of the participants in the study. Coding the narrative made it easier to interpret what each participant conveyed as the data through the frequency of certain words that appeared within each narrative. Quantifying the data also enabled me to see themes that had emerged through inductive coding. The automated coding process allowed for unbiased coding and key theme development based on participants' responses and not on exact wording.

Once the NVivo II (2019) coding process was completed, I generated through the same software the categorization of the data into a hierarchy format graph. The graphing image allowed me to see how the developed codes related to one another and how the data was organized based on the research interview questions. I selected the hierarchy coding graph as it was easier for me to understand which themes were more prevalent than the others. This type of code categorization also enabled me to understand the themes that emerged from the data. The coding categorization was broken into five data parts that supported the theories within the presented theoretical foundation and conceptual framework in this study. Due to the data being automated coded and formatted into a hierarchy frame the information was displayed in a more granular depiction of what themes developed. I present the codes, categories, and themes that arose in Table 2.

Table 2

Codes, Categories, and Themes

Generated codes	Category	Themes
Officers; Law enforcement	Law enforcement, black officers, white officers, 30 student police officers, hiring	Organizational socialization (inductive)
Profiling; Racial profiling	Racial profiling	Internal conflicts (inductive)
Police violence	Police violence, excessive use of force	
Assimilation	Practices, institutionalized practices, same behavior	Social behaviorism (inductive)
Black man/Black officer	Black man, Black officer	Influencing factor (inductive)
Private life, life, family, personal, experiences	Personal life, private life, family, personal experience	
Racist; Racial discrimination	Racist practices, institutionalized practices	
Environment, workplace environment, personal environment	Work environment, workplace environment, workplace behavior	Social behaviorism (Inductive)

Theme 1 Organizational socialization

Interviewee Y and Interviewee X both replied to not having experienced any institutionalized racist practices or assimilation processes when attending the police academy. As well in response to questions inquiring about the work environment, Interviewee X cited, "To be frank, I've never experienced any type of racial profiling. Professionally I have never experienced that."

Interviewee Y indicated that he was aware of some discriminatory practices within the police force, but did not speak to experiencing it himself:

"Sometimes dealing with different cultures in law enforcement they tend to look at black males or African Americans as second-rate citizens so the opportunities that a lot of white officers get that we don't" (*Interviewee Y*).

However, the other participants recalled observing or experiencing discriminatory practices while at the academy and after entering the police force. Interviewee Z recalled feeling required to do more than his white counterparts and witnessing segregation practices among cadets. Interviewee W also recounted segregation among officers within the sheriff's department stating:

The Black officers stayed with the Black. The Mexicans stayed with the Mexicans. The White officers stayed with the White officers. They basically did not intertwine. From my experience, a lot of White officers did not necessarily live in the community. So, they did not necessarily treat the people the same as the Black officers treated people. They felt like they were here to do a job and they are going back home. I also saw that in management, where Sergeants and Lieutenants allowed that behavior to happen (*Interview W*).

Interviewee V conveyed being aware of institutionalized racist practices and assimilation processes but reasoned that the cause was the hiring police officers from the surrounding suburban areas. In contrast Interviewee U stated that while he was not directly aware of such practices and processes, he had overhead it being discussed by other police officers.

Theme 2 Internal Conflicts

Although not explicitly stated many of the participants implied experiencing some internal conflicts in relation to their career role and personal lives. Interviewee V recalled an

incident of walking to his car in the neighborhood of a state representative he was working. He described that the "special ops police pulled up and accused me and my friends of selling drugs, they assumed because I carried myself professionally I had some drugs". Interviewee W initially stated that he was not conscious of the negative impact of racial profiling and police violence in his life until he became a law enforcement officer. However further into the interview, Interviewee W conveyed that he grew up during the era of "Rodney King and Malice Green…that virtually shaped me where I was like a lot of young black men in the city, where I felt this is what the police did to us".

Interviewee U's perspective regarding potential internal conflict existing for him was more straightforward and compartmentalized. Interviewee U cited that due to his family background within the Detroit Police force he did not experience any internal conflict. He shared:

"I rarely see it from a race perspective because I work with many officers that are Black, Mexican, and White. When I am out in the community I am viewed as a Black detective by everyone, so I see it as just a fact that has little bearing on the job I am doing" (*Interviewee U*).

Similarly, Interviewee V stated:

"It's a predominantly Black city so I have no issues with protecting and serving my own people" but " I was racially profiled by the Detroit Police Special Ops, I didn't envy them nor was I upset. I didn't feel any type of way towards them, I took it upon myself to be a better cop and make different choices".

Theme 3 Social Behaviorism

Interviewee V asserted he believed certain professional practices made him cautious in his decision making at work and home. He stated "especially how I would put myself out there and my reputation" and "but professionally it's just learning as I go, I know what to expect working in a different entity rather than the one I worked for previously so I would say creating a safety net for myself in the future". Interviewee X stated that he didn't think that the workplace environment had an impact on his professional and personal decision making. Whereas Interviewee Y said, "I kind of think a lot of things through with the pros and cons of everything and every action I take". Interviewee W cited that at work "when I see a lot of white officers racial profiling, whether it was right or wrong, I would go the extra mile. When I dealt with someone that was Black, I would have a little more leniency". Interviewee U explained that due to his family and military background he followed directives, lived by the code, and did his job to the best of his ability. Interviewee Z offered "I try to serve as a role model of being a good police officer; with regards to my decision and behavior at work and home, I do the best job I can".

Theme 4 Influencing Factors

Interviewee W cited growing up during a time of highly profiled racial profiling incidents but felt it was not an influencing factor on his job performance. In contrast, Interviewee U mentioned that the experiences of family and friends with racial profiling and police violence was influential. Interviewee U recalled a friend claiming to have been racially profiled but disagreed with the circumstances. He stated: "When I was younger I would hear stories about the guys in the neighborhood; but knowing a lot of them they were being disrespectful toward those police officers". Interviewee U also provided that he also had a family member that was racially

profiled but that the incident was addressed by family members who were police officers. He shared that those example experiences do influence how he does his job currently.

Interviewee Z recounted an experience of a friend as being as a possible influencing factor:

I can remember when I was younger one of my brother's friends had some serious trouble with the police. I don't know what he did, you know, I can remember my father and his father having to go downtown to get him. Then he was hospitalized for a while but when he got out of the hospital, he had some serious problems. Like he didn't walk right, his sight was bad, and he would suffer from bad headaches. I remember my father commenting it was messed up what the police did to him (*Interviewee Z*).

Interviewee V provided a personal experience from his youth about being racial profiled saying "I have been through it and know it and it is not a good feeling at all. It feels like you have the world against you and it's like you are fighting against an army. Terrible feelings". He also stated, "I don't know of any family members or anyone else's experiences personally but I'm pretty sure they went through it, but they did not want to tell me". Despite recalling the negative experience during his adolescence and speculation about negative experiences of family or friends, Interviewee V did not state that any of it was an influencing factor.

Theme 5 Social Behaviorism

Social behaviorism was a common theme among the participants' responses. All the participants mentioned doing their job to the best of their ability and/or just going along with the behaviors and attitudes that other officers displayed. This behavior was cited by Interviewees U (*awareness of wrongdoing by other officers but taking no action to counter*); Interviewee W (*segregation among the officers and adhering to practice*); Interviewee Y and Interviewee Z

(*awareness of racial profiling by other officers*); Interviewee X (*awareness of existence of racial profiling and police violence*); and Interviewee V (*being a victim of racial profiling as a law enforcement officer but choosing to perform his job better as a reaction*).

Evidence of Trustworthiness

Criteria for trustworthiness in qualitative research as Morrow (2005) stated "are closely tied to the paradigmatic underpinnings of the particular discipline in which a particular investigation is conducted" (p. 251). The trustworthiness of this study included review for establishing the four areas of credibility, transferability, confirmability, and dependability.

Credibility

The area of credibility triangulation method was utilized by corroborating evidence from different sources to shed light on a theme or perspective (Creswell, 1998). Themes were searched among similar literature examining the narratives or perspectives of Black male law enforcement officers and was found to align with the findings from this study (Allen & Schuppe, 2018; Baldwin, 2018; Barthelemy, Chaney, Maccio, & Church, 2016; Carbado & Song, 2018; Davis, 2018; Forman, 2018; Gabbidon et al., 2012; Hall, Hall, & Perry, 2016; Hosking, 2017; LeCount, 2017). Credibility established whether or not the research findings represented plausible information drawn from the participants' original view (Anney, 2015) which was done through the triangulation method for this study.

Transferability

In essence this study had transferability. The study can be performed in other iterations and slight modifications with excluded groups in terms of differing job roles, race, experiences, gender, and sexual orientation. Utilizing thick descriptions provided by the participants, key themes evolved from life experiences, workplace environments, career training and

development. This study was to be found applicable to other contexts, circumstances, and situations involving different groups (Bitsch, 2005).

Dependability

Dependability of this study to the extent that it could be repeated by other researchers was found to be valid. This was due to having obtained enough detailed information and data per the design and methodology for this study. I used a recording device to repeatedly listen to the tone and delivery of the participants' responses to the research questions. This was done to acknowledge any long pausing or hesitation in participants replies as I was unable to physically observe any resistance through body language. Dependability was also established by using an audit trail, triangulation, and code-recode strategy to compare if results were the same after a week's time (Ary, Jacobs, Razavieh, & Sorensen, 2010).

Confirmability

The confirmability of this study was conducted having the participants review their transcripts to ensure validity and adherence to the data provided for purposes of triangulation. Coding by NVivo II (2020) software was used to also conduct a review of developed key themes and sentiments to create an audit trail. This was also done to offer as visible evidence that the conclusion or results were not simply what I set out to find (Anney, 2010).

Results

The results from the provided narratives of Black male law enforcement officers showed that the majority of the participants displayed common attitudes. The commonalities of the participants' responses were examples of law enforcement unity and/or comradery. Each participant held disagreeable perspectives about racial profiling and police violence. The participants also revealed feelings of indifference to their white counterparts. Also despite having

personally experienced racial profiling and police violence directly or indirectly in their youth they still pursued careers in law enforcement. Inference was made from the participants responses as indicating forms of social behaviorism. All the participants depicted situations to which each chose to continue performing their duties despite observing other police officers committing acts of racial profiling or police violence. Participants also all cited feeling unable to speak to management regarding feelings about racial profiling and police violence. Indication of some form of compliance with law enforcement practices were noted in some of the participants' responses. Typically this was conveyed when participants acknowledged disagreeable perspectives to family and friends suspicions of racial profiling and police violence by the police.

Summary

This chapter presented findings from organizational socialization to influencing factors in relation to the narratives of the six participants who answered the research question: *What are the narratives of Black male law enforcement officers and their experiences with racial profiling and police violence?* Content was deductively analyzed to determine the presence of the predefined elements of Mead's (1934) social behaviorism theory. The inductive analysis was conducted and revealed five themes from the narratives: organizational socialization, internal conflicts, social behaviorism, influencing factors, and social behaviorism.

Chapter 5: Interpretation

Introduction

The purpose of this qualitative study was to explore and examine the narratives of Black male law enforcement officers specific to their experiences with racial profiling and police violence. The main research question was: "What are the narratives of Black male law enforcement officers in relation to racial profiling and police violence?" The nature of the study and research question was qualitative study. I used narration as the form of study. The sampling method selected was a purposive sample of six Black male current or recently retired law enforcement officers in the city of Detroit. Interviews were one on one conducted via phone (on speaker) with voice recording device at 60- to 90-minute intervals utilizing research questions.

The interviews were followed up by transcription reviews for edits and/or corrections that I hand delivered at agreed upon meeting spots for drop-off and pick-up purposes only. The limitations of this study were due to the limited amount of research literature for providing a fuller interpretative framework, research site, and small number of participants. Also, the findings represented a subjective meaning for a small number of former or current Black male law enforcement officers in Detroit; however it may be possible to transfer to other contexts. Covered in this chapter will be the current study, interpretation, and conclusions of findings, along with recommendation for application and future research studies.

Interpretation of the Findings

I used the theory of social behaviorism by Mead (1934) as guiding lens for examining meaning as to their personal experience in the workplace and in their private lives as to the impact of racial profiling and police violence while being Black males who are also law enforcement officers. Social behaviorism theories informed the researcher about human behavior

through learned patterns, socializing practices, and assimilation process, and practices. Some social behaviorism theories such as Chao's (2013), which suggested learning and adjustment processes are influential on behavior, and Conti and Patrick's (2014), which posited that officers learn and internalize values, attitudes, and behaviors as a part of their careers, were found not to be supportive based on some participants' responses.

Social behaviorism theories by Mead (1934), Brenner et al. (2014), and Brenner and De Lamater (2016), however, did shed light as to the process or concept of self-identity development and was applied to the narratives shared by the participants in this study. Although social behaviorism theories and literature on the processes of social behaviorism development were useful, the information did not provide insight as to how one may unlearn or disassociate from such learnt behavior. The literature conveyed that the acts of racial profiling and police violence has an entrenched history within the law enforcement departments across the nation. In the search to learn how or why such violent acts were committed by law enforcement officers, particularly Black male officers, many theories were posed but no evidentiary or concrete information was provided.

The literature review also revealed gaps existing within demographic information that could have provided more tangible data and aided in limiting the occurrences of racial profiling and police violence whether it be reduction in the actors of victim and offender. Similar sentiment was shared in multiple studies that focused on racial profiling and police violence from a perspective of Black law enforcement officers (not exclusively male) cited the lack of accurate and appropriate demographic information (Arp, 2014; Brooms & Perry, 2016; Eger et al., 2015; Gabbidon et al., 2012).

Findings from racial profiling and police violence from the perspective of Black male law enforcement officers narratives of the six participants in this study revealed answers to the question: What are the narratives of Black male law enforcement officers in relation to racial profiling and police violence? The findings confirmed Chao's (2013) theory of organizational socialization and Conti and Patrick's (2014) theory of police socialization as learning processes for the participants entering the police force with regards to values, attitudes, and behaviors. But all of the participants' interview responses appeared to be in direct contradiction to the hypothesis that as a means of assimilation Black male law enforcement officers may perform negative acts of racial profiling or police violence. The content inductively analyzed did however determine the presence of elements of Mead's (1934) social behaviorism theory. The automated themes emerging from developed analysis were organizational socialization, internal conflicts, social behaviorism, influencing factor, and social behaviorism (inductive).

The results from the responses of participants in this study validated some of the findings from similar studies. Dukes' (2018) measurement of double consciousness among black law enforcement officers studied revealed that race remains a significant factor in law enforcement organizations and cultures despite being conveyed a unity of "being blue." Similar to my own study to which black law enforcement officers maintain an awareness of the existing duality of being a black male and being a law enforcement officer. The duality of being a black male and a law enforcement officer creates what Duke (2018) also asserted as a double consciousness when performing the job duties of law enforcement and identifying one's self with their racial or ethnic group. The study also was similar as it identified behaviors or acts performed for assimilating into law enforcement as a predictor for high levels of anomic behavior within the law enforcement cultures especially among this population. However organizational socialization did

not fully encapsulate how racial profiling and police acts of violence have been promulgated and internalized as values, attitudes and learnt behaviors as just a process of the job.

Additional supportive studies by Bromwich (2017), Morin, Parker, Stepler, and Mercer (2017) were also validated by participants' responses with regard to the perceived ingrained practice of racial profiling and police violence in law enforcement. Some of the participants acknowledged being aware of such practices being institutionalized, recalled being subjected to the practice during their youth and adulthood as an officer, and/or having knowledge of family or friends being victims to such practices.

The Possible Health Effects of Racial Profiling and Police Violence

Racial profiling and police violence is a controversial issue to which the effects of the phenomenon have been felt for years emotionally and physically. Many studies concluded that there is evidence for the far reaching effects racial profiling and police violence has had on the Black/African American community in the United States (Bjornstrom, 2015; Bonner, 2014; Bromwich, 2017; Brooms & Perry, 2016; Brunson & Gau, 2015; Chaney & Robertson, 2013; Christie, 2014; Diversi, 2016; Donnelly, 2017; Jones, 2017; Robinson, 2017; Vaughans & Harris, 2016; & Wu & Cao, 2017) and that such the affects have been found to be detrimental to the health and welfare of Black citizens. Brown and Frank (2006) posited that Black officers experience the additional stress of being Black and as a law enforcement serving in Black communities. The majority of participants within this study acknowledged some form of concern for their own well-being when engaged by law enforcement officers or stipulated some concern of certain situations being stressful attributable to the difference in treatment when recognized as a police officer as opposed to being an off-duty police officer. For example, interviewee W

recounted being racially profiled by police officers when he was younger and being more concerned with his well-being as opposed to just receiving a ticket.

Different studies have examined the physical and psychological manifestations and coping mechanisms attributed to the daily stress experiences of being a law enforcement officer. Magnavita et al.(2018) found that the stressors of law enforcement were a strong factor for development of cardiovascular disease, obesity, and hypertension. A study by Gutshall, Hampton, Sebetan, Stein, and Broxtermann (2017) also highlighted findings of a decline in cognitive functions due to stressors of being a law enforcement officer. The researchers stated that the stressors were similar to the stress experienced due to racial profiling and police violence as a black citizen and were found to be heighten for black male law enforcement officer as a dual stress experience (Gutshall et al., 2017). Although findings of this study reveal the participants did not identify or describe any coping mechanisms or methods for addressing stressors or internal conflict as Conti & Doreian (2014) subscribe that police officers often resort to doing.

Brunson and Gau (2015) presented findings that supported the existence of double stressors among black law enforcement officers as internal conflicts. While participants in this study did not specifically cite experiencing or feeling stressed or having an internal conflict, they did mention incidents that acknowledged the decision of having taken capitulating action or intentionally having a different attitude about what had happened to them. For example, participants conveyed they felt comfortable communicating with family and friends but not with police management or coworkers about racial profiling and police violence incidents they witnessed or became aware of. As well some participants recalled personally being racial profiled or having a family member or friend convey that they experienced racial profiling or

police violence but choose to disbelief what was conveyed or choose to not address their own experience.

Influential Experiences

The findings revealed that while two of the participants indicated experiences in youth were influencing factors in relation to how they performed their jobs, the other four participants did not. The participants that did not indicate specific influential experiences shared some accounts where it could have been concluded that they may have been influenced by societal and family constructs. All the participants recalled situations of direct or indirect encounters with law enforcement to which racial profiling and/or police violence had occurred. However, despite negative experiences in their youth, participants cited that they still chose to become a law enforcement officer as a way to advance in society as asserted by Forman (2018). Barlow and Barlow (2012) and Henning (2018) also examined how the chosen path of law enforcement may have been set in the belief that hard work and achievement would result in equality, especially in adolescence despite ubiquitous and often negative engagements with law enforcement during this time. Interviewee W's overall narrative reflected this of balancing the influential experiences of his youth to being a law enforcement officer.

Findings also revealed participants strongly identified as being a black law enforcement officers and preferring being among other black law enforcement officers. Although the participants recognized that being a Black male exposed them to experiencing racial profiling and police violence; those experiences did not deter them from becoming law enforcement officers. It could be surmised from all the participants' responses that the negative experiences of racial profiling and police violence may have facilitated their decisions to joining law enforcement. A decision that may have stemmed from the standpoint of serving as a role model

and a way of achievement in their lives (Gabbidon et al., 2012). Additionally, participants cited

preference for being or working with other black law enforcement officers was also attributed to

internal police departmental practice of segregation, preferential treatment of white officers, or

white elitism as studied by Conti and Doreian (2014).

Forceful assimilation processes were not prevalent through the participants' responses as

an indicator for racial profiling and police violence. However, social behaviorism as promoted

by Mead (1934) was perceived from the responses. Mead's (1934) theory posited that a person

adjusts themselves to certain environments to become a different individual thereby affecting the

community in which they live. This was evident in most of the participants' replies to the last

interview question relating to the impact on decision making at work and home. Analysis of the

participants' responses revealed that they all molded their behavior to fit within their

environments. Each participant cited some awareness of different behavior and/or attitude at

work and home. The participants also seemed to reflect that they adjusted their decision making

in accordance with how they are perceived within their workplace and home environments. This

was supported by social behaviorism theory to which individuals self-constitute through relating

to others by taking on their attitudes and perspectives as the participants (Mead,1934). Through

the lens of social behaviorism purported by Mead (1934) and argued by Diversi (2016) overt acts

of racial profiling are in some sense tolerated by police departments across the country. These

unethical acts may serve as indications of not being individualized but a collective behavior for

the whole police force. In some respects, the silence or "doing the job" attitude had taken shape

as complicity by some Black male law enforcement officers which was exemplified in some of

participants' responses.

Again, the purpose of this study was to explore and examine the narratives of Black male law enforcement officers in relation to their experiences with racial profiling and police violence. It was found that Black male law enforcement officers do have a dual capacity as a victim and observer. It was not possible to state or confirm that the participants were also offenders as there was no admission of evidence. The demographic data for the city of Detroit police department however showed a higher percentage of Black officers than White officers in relation to the city's 83% Black citizen population (Hunter, 2019) which has been the statistical representation for over 30 years. In consideration of the city's law enforcement demographic history and recent removal from federal oversight decree (2019) it can only be presumed that Black male law enforcement officers are offending actors of racial profiling and police violence. Hopefully, the findings in this study aid in the development programs for the purposes of deterring or lowering incidents of racial profiling and police violence. It is also my hope that findings provide or create larger future input opportunities for minority groups in law enforcement.

The premise of the study was that the narratives of Black male law enforcement officers could provide insight as to the formation of self-identity development as a socialization process or concept through the form of social behaviorism. Through the lens of social behaviorism theory (Mead, 1934) Black male law enforcement officers developed their identity of being a police officer. It was also believed possible that Black male law enforcement officers committed acts of racial profiling and police violence as a form of assimilation into law enforcement field. However, literature lacked in areas of tangible demographics to specifically ascertain if Black male law enforcement officers were in fact committing acts of racial profiling and police violence. Though many studies supported the development of identity by the influence of other

groups in law enforcement none included or focused on the possibility of external life influences as a contributing factor (Conti & Patrick, 2014).

Supportive Literature on Racial Profiling and Police Violence

Past literature on racial profiling and police violence, especially its effect on the African American community, have examined why these acts to continue to be a controversial topic in the law enforcement field. In this study, some participants were not so forthcoming in their response to questions 1, 4, 5, which inquired about experiencing racial profiling as youth, existence of institutionalized practices during their training for law enforcement and any personal racial profiling experience as an adult. During the interview, some participants paused before stating right out or flatly that they had no such knowledge or experience while others openly expressed experiences and acknowledged such practices. For example, interviewee X stated that he was not aware of any institutionalized racist practices at the academy or on the job.

Studies by Bromwich (2017) and Morin et al. (2017) examined how racial profiling and police violence are viewed within Black communities and in law enforcement. Both studies found conflicting views within both Black communities and among Black law enforcement officers. Bromwich (2017) shared that while Black law enforcement officers were found to mirror the sentiment of Black communities in relation to racial profiling they were in contrast to their White counterparts. The researcher also cited that Black citizens were more critical of Black law enforcement officers (Bromwich, 2017). This was a similar perspective Interviewee U stated when describing how he felt the community saw him and how he felt about other law enforcement officers who he had observed committing acts of racial profiling.

Other findings

The findings in this study also illuminated the similarities of experiences and perspectives among the participants as being Black male law enforcement officers. There was a sense conveyed of adopting the values, beliefs, and attitudes of law enforcement despite their own negative experiences. Each participant noted some form of racial profiling whether it was subjective or objectively. Perspectives were also offered by all the participants that were in alignment with the belief that offending Black citizens were more likely to be guilty of some offense than not. All the participants were found eligible to participate in the study and immediately assessed and scheduled for an interview in less than a week of recruitment. I conducted the procedures for informed consent, the interview protocol and upon completion of assessment for participation followed up with a verbal telephone call. Interviews were at least an estimated 60 to 90 minutes, upon completion of each interview participants received a thank you followed by a reminder of confidentiality and determination for a follow up meeting for transcription review to validate responses. It was conveyed to each participant of their right and opportunity to stop the interview at any time and/or withdraw from the study itself without judgment. All the participants completed all the interview questions.

The research question for this study is:

What are the narratives of Black male law enforcement officers in relation to racial profiling and police violence?

Black male law enforcement officers do have a dual capacity of being victim and witness to racial profiling and police violence. While it could not be collaborated that these individual

participants committed acts of racial profiling and police violence themselves, all the participants conveyed being victims (known or unknown) of racial profiling and personally knowing someone who was either the victim or perpetrator of such acts. Five themes developed from the participants responses. Those themes are social behaviorism (inductive), influencing factors, social behaviorism (inductive), internal conflicts (inductive), and organizational socialization (inductive).

Limitations of the Study

This study's limitations included limited amounts of data and/or literature that had been performed. Additional limitations was that past literature excluded the perspective of the Black male law enforcement officer narratives in respect to the individual's experience with racial profiling and police violence. Specific aspects being investigated and analyzed were how racial profiling and police violence had been experienced Black male law enforcement officers; and what were the currently held perspectives of Black male law enforcement officers. Other aspects being investigated were perspectives of racial profiling and police violence with regard to job performance and the impact on community relationships as Black male police officers.

The study's boundaries were maintained as the participants met the requirements of being Black male law enforcement officers. All the participants served as law enforcement officers in an urban or city area with a high population of Black citizens. Some of the participants continue to serve in some law enforcement capacity or had recently retired. The study excluded other minority groups and women due to the generalization that these groups have lower rates of racial profiling and police violence interactions. The Black male law enforcement population was specifically selected due to higher potential duality of being a possible victim and offender of the

phenomenon. This generalization was found to be substantiated as the majority of the participants attesting to being victims and witnesses of racial profiling and police violence.

Limitation to generalizability that arose with the secondary data set was that this study utilized a small sample population as per the recommended size (Leung, 2019). The study's sample was however found to be representative of the larger population of Black male law enforcement officers; as well the participants provided responses that were in alignment with explored research literature of similar studies. In areas of discomfort, the participants' responses demonstrated an unease with the observing or learning of the practice the of racial profiling and police violence against Black citizens (Brooms & Perry, 2016; Hackman, 2016; Yates, O'Neal, Dodson & Walker, 2016). Additionally, the participants' responses appeared to express sentiment of agreement with racial profiling and police violence under the context of those acts just being a part of the job environment (Hughley, 2015; Conti & Doreian, 2014; Diversi, 2016; Jan, 2017). The findings in this study again are not presented to convey truth but to present narratives of a population that was found to be relevant.

Recommendations

Based on the literature reviewed in chapter 2 and the findings of this study the following three recommendations includes that further narrative research be conducted on exploring the personal experiences of Black male law enforcement officers; and that more detailed demographic information be made available regarding police departments. Additional recommendations are that programming be developed that aid police departments in evaluating their hiring practices and recruiting processes. The presented recommendations are to aid practitioners in the human services field as well.

The first recommendation stressed for more research to be conducted on exploration of Black male law enforcement narratives. Moen (2006) discussed the three basic claims about narrative research: that human beings organize their experiences of the world into narratives; that the researcher maintained the narratives were told based on many aspects of the experience, the values' of the narrator, the audience, the readers, time and environment in which the stories are told. The narratives provided in this study gave inference to the possibility of obtaining more detailed stories of the experiences of Black male officers. Many of the narratives were brief and did not divulge insight to personal involvement of actions of racial profiling and police violence. At least two of the participants completely denied awareness or having experienced acts of racial profiling or police violence. In contrast other participants in the study were more forthcoming in their responses however under the time constraints of the study the replies were brief. The exchanges detailed past experiences of self, family, and friends of dealing with racial profiling and police violence as a way of life of being a Black male living and working as a law enforcement officer. The data from the participants that provided more detailed responses highlight the possibility of learning more with extended time and more private interviewing environments in the future.

The generating and making publicly available detailed demographics for law enforcement agencies is the second recommendation. As cited by the ACLU (2019) there is increasing acknowledgement and recognition of racial profiling and police violence on a national and global scale. This was evident in some of the narratives of the participants which revealed either some form of ingestion through media presentation of such events or acknowledgement of awareness of the impact of media's promotion of the phenomenon. This has been influential on how law enforcement conducts itself publicly and privately. Despite growing media attention, the serious

lack of racial profiling and police violence data and demographic information for law enforcement departments has been revealed (Baldwin, 2018; Rollins, 2019).

Within the extensively conducted literature research regarding racial profiling and police force demographics, I found supportive evidence that aligned with the conveyed data of the participants in this study. Interviewee W provided evidence regarding the growing number of White police officers in the city. Interviewee W stated in two different instances that there appeared to be more hiring of White officers from the surrounding suburbs of Detroit. The growth in hiring White officers was not substantiated by the police department's demographics as research revealed the only available released data was from 2013 (Governance.com, 2018; Detroit Mi.gov, 2020; USCensus.gov, 2020). However, a recent news article detailing Detroit's difficulty in hiring more Black police officers provided insight into what may be the more current demographics for officers in Detroit. The article revealed a decrease in the hiring Black officers and an increase for White officers (Hunter, 2019).

The hiring of more White officers could increase incidents of racial profiling and police violence in a predominately Black population city. This was cited not only by the participants in the study as to witnessing or observing such negative activity among White officers but also in the literature (Brunson & Gau, 2015; Wu & Cao, 2017). Therefore, it is important to record and make publicly available demographic information that accurately reflects all parties involved with incidents of racial profiling and police violence. Actual recording and detailing could facilitate programming that addresses deterrence or mediation among the police force and communities by properly allocating attention to the areas warranted.

The third recommendation is for more thorough evaluation of hiring and recruiting practices. Along the lines of recommendations similar to Shjarback et al. (2017) and Ramsey and

Robinson (2015) aggressive hiring of minority officers could ease some racial profiling and police violence issues. However just implementing the sole practice of aggressive hiring was not and may not be successful due in part to the potential involvement of Black officers in such unethical actions. Therein lies the bigger picture of the issue of racial profiling and police violence, that it is not unique to the paradigm of White officers versus Black citizens. Programming and training need to be developed that can be executed at the cadet level that instructs cadets on the aspects of cultural appreciation and understanding, mediation processes, and some psychological training. Initiating such programming and training at the entry level could encourage less discriminatory and abusive practices at the intermediate level of actual policing. Such developments could also lead to changes within the workplace culture of many police departments.

Also, when hiring other officers from different precincts or districts, background investigations as to training and workplace engagement would be beneficial. Changes in pre-hire processes could reduce the possibility of hiring officers that may have past issues with racial profiling and police violence. Exhaustive background checks may also reveal a pattern of negative behavior or the development of potential issues. Such hiring and recruiting practices are transferable to potential recruits regardless to sex, religion, sex orientation, and race/ethnicity as the purpose is to recruit and/or hire the appropriate candidates.

Final recommendations are for practitioners in the field of Human Services, which are to support and advocate for further studies similar to mine that provide perspective and introspective of a Black male law enforcement officer narrative. Practitioners in the field of Human Services should also engage or enter into conversations for the importance of having inclusive narratives around the phenomenon of racial profiling and police violence. These

conversations should have the objective to resolve the issue and not simply discuss it. Human Service practitioners should as well advocate for more detailed demographics pertaining to law enforcement encounters with community citizens with regards to highlighting demographic details on the law enforcement end. Advocacy for such demographic information is vital in applying the proper treatment, developing the appropriate programming and engagement tactics, and as well holds the law enforcement accountable for unconstitutional and possibly illegal practices.

Implications for Professional Practice and Social Change

The implications of this research study include bringing about more awareness of the Black male law enforcement officer as an individual having the dual role of being an insider within an organization and a minority group member. Black male law enforcement officers have unique insight as to what it means to be a potential victim of an unethical practice of their profession. Black male law enforcement officers also simultaneously are a part of the group vested with power to enforce and uphold the laws that deem racial profiling and police violence illegal in some areas of the United States. This study could change how communities view Black male law enforcement officers. The study could also lead to more extensive research and development of training for current officers and police departments. The data from the study is not coming from external entities to the organization but from internal sources of the organization. Therefore data could not be easily ignored by the law enforcement field as it is not scholars that are making hypotheses about the organization. Data could also initiate the development of changes within police departments with regard to channels of communication. As noted in some of the provided narratives there is the perception of participants of not feeling able to openly communicate with co-workers or management.

The theoretical framework and foundation for this study posited Mead's (1934) social behaviorism theory as a guiding lens exploring the provided narratives. Application of the theory was also used in purporting the study implications as the recommendations require modification or development in the social behavior of law enforcement officers, organization leaders, and community stakeholders. Social behaviorism provides that self-identification is developed through a socialization process to which the identity is directly influenced by societal convergence (Brenner et al., 2014; Mead, 1934). Modifications to the core values, attitudes, and behavior of law enforcement organizations or work environments can produce positive outcomes that extend into the communities they serve, throughout external organizations and influence societal policies.

The participants in the study also shared experiences that included Black community members' perception of them as being suspicious or untrustworthy. This study could change how Black male law enforcement officers (also White officers) are perceived within the communities they serve. The findings of this study are not just applicable to Black communities or Black male law enforcement officers. While the focus of the study is on Black male law enforcement officers narratives and perspectives, the findings reveal the possibility of duality among other 'subgroups' within law enforcement (for example: women, gay or lesbian, Mexican, Arab, Asian).

Implications from this study relating to the practice of human services could usher in the development of stronger methods for psychological and sociological treatments. For example, for those individuals or groups that specialize in the treatment of child development, counseling, or behavioral management, treatment plans or programming could address matters that formulated from trauma of being racial profiled or experienced police violence. Especially in

matters involving Black adolescents as a group has been found to have an earlier initiation or engagement with the fields of law enforcement and judicial (Allen & Schuppe, 2018; Bell, 2014; Brooks et al, 2016; Henning, 2016; Ingmire, 2017; Jones, 2016). Child life specialist could be better versed in the understanding of the phenomenon of racial profiling and police violence from the perspective of individuals that had these experiences as youths and are of the same racial background. Human Service professionals could also develop youth programming that offers forms of outreach and counseling.

The studies cited earlier within this study found emerging themes of contentious relationships between law enforcement and Black males (Brooks et al., 2016). This study's findings could aid psychologists, counselors, social workers, community outreach workers in bridging negative relationships and working with city officials in how to resolve community distrust of law enforcement and vice versa. Child advocates could cite this work to argue for better engagement practices and policy development for the treatment of minors within law enforcement entities. Public health educators could advocate for educational programming that centers around preparing youth to deal with their experiences as it was cited by a few participants that first interaction with law enforcement was negative.

Conclusion

At the beginning of this study the highly profiled killings of Michael Brown, Eric Garner, Freddie Gray and Kendra James were listed among other racial profiling and police violence cases. Unfortunately to date that list has grown. It was believed that with growing awareness these unconstitutional acts would decrease, that has not been the case nor has there been an increase of available demographic details racial profiling or policies to address such acts (SPLC, 2018). It must be stated that despite any recent changes within police departments to specifically

address racial profiling and police violence matters, officers are continuing in the abusive and violent behavior.

This is a costly matter in terms of community relations and financial currency. For example, a lengthy federal oversight investigation of the City of Detroit Police Department beginning in 2003 and ending in 2016 cost the city $50 million dollars; an investigation initiated only after a local newspaper uncovered excessive use of force, illegal dragnet arrests and improper treatment of prisoners (Baldas, 2016; Cwiek, 2016; Domonoske, 2018). However, the current presidential administration ended all such oversight of policing agencies in 2019 with no replacement of such investigatory efforts (Balko, 2019). As a result, the city has not been successful in decreasing incidents of racial profiling or police violence and the community's distrust of law enforcement flourishes (Hunter, 2019).

The findings from this study, while not being a completely exhaustive and lengthy study, has revealed that the phenomenon of racial profiling and police violence is not as cut and dry as White officers discriminating against Black men. Social behaviorism guided the exploration Black male officers' narratives that revealed the participants' ability to compartmentalize being a law enforcement officer and Black male. It was also found that such social theories did not fully encapsulated why Black male officers may be actors in racial profiling and police violence incidents, nor why Black male officers do not actively counter such behavior or actions when observing them.

Further research is warranted by the progression and evolution of such unconstitutional and violent acts being carried out on a more visible platform. There needs to be an understanding of why this is happening, and in particular, why it is occurring mainly to the Black/African Americans. Racial profiling and police violence are an additional stressor to the job of policing.

By not including or analyzing the voices of a population that represents both the victim and oftentimes offender would be a disservice to the law enforcement, human services, psychological, sociological fields, and society as a whole. The acts of racial profiling and police violence are still occurring at disproportionately high numbers which were highlighted this year with the killings of Ahmaud Arbrey, Breonna Taylor and at the ending of this study George Floyd. Mr. Arbrey who was gunned by a former white police officer and his son while jogging (Aretakis & Hauck, 2020). Ms. Taylor was gunned down in her home as (unidentified) police mistakenly raided the wrong apartment (Michaels, 2020). Mr. Floyd was asphyxiated by four police officers during an arrest to which one officer showed in a video with his knee on Mr. Floyd's neck for 8 minutes and 47 seconds limiting his breathing and leading to his death (Murphy, 2020).

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Appendix A: Recruitment Statement

Hello (name of prospective participant)

My name is DuJuan Brown, and I am a doctoral candidate at Walden University. I am conducting dissertation research on the narratives of Black male law enforcement officers in relation to racial profiling and police violence. There have not been many studies that have included the narratives of Black law enforcement officers and their experiences with racial profiling and police violence in their personal and professional lives. The purpose of this research study is to collect and examine the stories of personal and professional experiences with racial profiling and police violence for Black male law enforcement officers to be used as a resource for future development of programs, policies, and practices addressing racial profiling and police violence.

I realize that your privacy and time is especially important, and I appreciate any consideration you give to participating in my study. Please understand that I will need to fully understand how your experiences may have been impacted by cultural upbringing, beliefs, child rearing, family and/or friend dynamics, educational background, and work interactions may have impacted your work performance and decision making. To avoid any discomfort or hesitation interview session will be kept to 60 to 90 minutes maximum and conducted at an agreed upon location of your choosing*. You do not have to reveal any information you do not feel comfortable sharing or discussing. The purpose of this study is to convey narratives for which real names will not be used and pseudo names will be randomly assigned. Follow up interviews will be held three weeks after the first session for the purposes of the researcher and participants to review recordings and transcripts for accuracy, as well as correct any inaccuracies.

If you are willing to participate, I need for you to identify if you are a professional within law enforcement current or retired within past five years; have work consistently in an urban setting with a large black population, routinely worked traffic and/or patrol, between the age of 21-65, lived in the City of Detroit or other similar populated urban areas as an adolescent, teen and adult, and willing to share your experiences with me. Should you be willing to participate I would like to contact you by phone or email to further discuss the nature of this study and arrange for scheduling the interview. As a participant please know that this is a voluntary process and as such you are free to choose whether not to participate at any time. All information provided will be kept strictly confidential. I will be employing the following data collection methods: time structured interviews, observational notes, and documentation through audio recordings which will enable me to examine the issue as thoroughly as possible. As a participant you will also receive a copy of the participant statement attesting to your agreement to participate or withdraw from consideration.

Should you have any questions or concerns do not hesitate to contact me at 248-579-3341 and you can email me at dujuan.brown@waldenu.edu.

DuJuan Brown

Doctoral Candidate

Walden University

*Due to the pandemic school officials have authorized that all interviews be conducted via telephone. Potential participants have been notified of this updated change as of 04/2020.

Appendix B: Interview Protocol

Date: _____

Location: _____

Name of Researcher: _____

Name of Interviewee: _____

Interview Session Number: _____

1. Are you aware of any institutionalized racist practices and assimilation processes (during work) that have created a different perspective of racial profiling and police violence for you and if so, describe your experiences?

2. What has been the impact of racial profiling and police violence for you during work and in your private life?

3. As a black man and law enforcement officer can you explain or describe how being both has affected your professional and private life?

4. Can you please describe any personal experiences that you have had with any forms of police violence or racial profiling as a youth and explain how that impacted you personally and professionally?

5. Can you please share your experiences with racial discrimination in your professional and personal life, and explain how has that impacted your professional and personal life?

6. Can you please describe any experiences of personal friends and/or family members that experienced racial profiling and/or police violence?

7. Can you please explain if you were you able to communicate your feelings or perspective about racial profiling and/or police violence at either your workplace or in your personal environment?

8. To what extent has your workplace environment impacted your decision making at work and at home?

Thank you for participating in this interview, please be assured that all identities and information will be kept strictly confidential and throughout the duration of the research study.

Appendix C: Consent Form

Narratives of Black Male Law Enforcement Officers and their Experiences with Racial Profiling and Police Violence

Walden University

You are invited to participate in a research study collecting the narratives of Black male law enforcement officers and their experiences with racial profiling and police violence. You were selected as a possible participant because of your knowledge and/or experiences related to the topic. Please read this form and ask any questions you may have before acting on this invitation to be in the study.

This study is being conducted by DuJuan Brown, Doctoral Candidate at Walden University.

Background Information:

The purpose of this study is to examine and explore the narratives of Black male law enforcement officers and their experiences with racial profiling and police violence.

Procedures:

If you agree to be in this study, you will be asked to:

- participate in one in-depth session for a maximum of 60 to 90 minutes at a location of choosing*
- all interviews will be audio-taped
- documentation collected will be kept strictly confidential and all recording locked in a secure lockbox in the researcher's home office
- review transcriptions of individual interviews for accuracy
- possibly have a follow up interview three weeks after initial to accuracy as well

The following are sample questions:

- Have you personally experienced any forms of police violence or racial profiling as a youth and how has that impacted you personally and professionally?
- Have you personally experienced any forms of race discrimination in your professional and personal life, and if so, how has that impacted your professional and personal life?
- Have any of your personal friends and/or family members experienced any form of racial profiling and/or police violence?

Voluntary Nature of the Study:

This study is voluntary. You are free to accept or turn down the invitation to participate. No one at Walden University or other parties will treat you differently should you decide not to participate in the study. In addition, if you initially decide to participate in this research and then decide to withdraw your participation at any time during the research process, your decision will be honored, accepted and there will be no hurt or harm done. In addition, in the event, you decide

not to answer any of my questions you deem intrusive, invasive, or biased, this will be honored by the researcher.

Risks and Benefits of Being in the Study:

As a potential participant in this type of study, please be aware that some risk is involved such as minor discomforts that can be encountered in daily life, such as stress, becoming upset, or uncomfortable with the dissertation topic. Should you feel any discomfort please be aware that withdrawal can be done at any time during the study, as well as a reference/referral for professional assistance will be made available should you want to explore any feelings further. The potential benefits of participating in this study may come in the forms of organization developing programming or practices to be implemented that address racial profiling and police violence, cultural sensitivity programming and community building training, and improving workplace environments.

Compensation:

No form of compensation for participation will be given.

Confidentiality:

Reports stemming from this study will not share identities of individual participants or organizations. Details that might identify participants/organizations, such as the location of interview sessions/organizations, also will not be shared. The researcher will not use your personal information for any purpose outside of this research project. Data will be kept secure by keeping all materials in a locked box kept in the researcher's home office. Collected data filed via the researcher's personal computer/laptop can only be accessed by the researcher, such as the researcher will create files on his computer/laptop that can only be accessed by the researcher with a password. The researcher will be the only person with knowledge of the password code, which will not include any identifying characters known by others. The names of the participants and organizations will be coded to eliminate any chances of revealing the participants and organizations. Data will be kept for a period of 5 years as required by Walden University. All data will be destroyed after the required time period by shredding paper documents and permanently erasing all audio tape recordings. In any report of this study that might be published, the researcher will not include any information that will make it possible to identify participants or organizations.

Contacts and Questions:

You may ask any questions you have now. Or if you have questions later, you may contact the researcher via 248-579-3341 and/or dujuan.brown@waldenu.edu. Additional contacting resource: Dr. Garth den Heyer via email at garthdenheyer@waldenu.edu. If you want to talk privately about your rights as a participant, you can call the Research Participant Advocate at my university at 612-312-1210. Walden University's approval number for this study is, _____, and it expires on _____

The researcher will give you a copy of this form to keep.

Statement of Consent:

If you feel you understand the study well enough to decide about it, please indicate your consent by signing below.

Printed Name of Participant _____

Date of Consent _____

Participant's Signature _____

Researcher's Signature _____

Date _____

* Due to the pandemic school officials have authorized that all interviews be conducted via telephone. Potential participants have been notified of this updated change as of 04/2020.

Appendix D: Confidential Agreement

CONFIDENTIALITY AGREEMENT

Name of Signer:

During the course of my activity in collecting data for this research: "Narratives of Black Male Law Enforcement Officers Racial Profiling Experiences" I will have access to information, which is confidential and should not be disclosed. I acknowledge that the information must remain confidential, and that improper disclosure of confidential information can be damaging to the participant.

By signing this Confidentiality Agreement, I acknowledge and agree that:

1. I will not disclose or discuss any confidential information with others, including friends or

    family.

2. I will not in any way divulge, copy, release, sell, loan, alter or destroy any confidential information except as properly authorized.

3. I will not discuss confidential information where others can overhear the conversation. I understand that it is not acceptable to discuss confidential information even if the participant's name is not used.

4. I will not make any unauthorized transmissions, inquiries, modification or purging of confidential information.

5. I agree that my obligations under this agreement will continue after termination of the job that I will perform.

6. I understand that violation of this agreement will have legal implications.

7. I will only access or use systems or devices I am officially authorized to access, and I will not demonstrate the operation or function of systems or devices to unauthorized individuals.

Signing this document, I acknowledge that I have read the agreement and I agree to comply with all the terms and conditions stated above.

Signature: **Date:**

Appendix E: Recruitment Flyer

RESEARCH PARTICIPANTS NEEDED

Black Male Law Enforcement Officer Study

Dissertation Research Study

This educational research study aims to examine the narratives of Black Male Law Enforcement Officers experiences. Participants need to be:

- Black/African American
- male
- between the ages of 21-65
- currently or previously employed as a law enforcement officer
- whose work duties were within the jurisdiction of Detroit or Metro Detroit

Participation in the study will require a brief (maximum 2 hours) interview in person by appointment.

Please call for more information:

xxx-xxx-xxxx