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African American Law Enforcers' Perceptions About Crime in Minority Communities

Shantae Coppock
Walden University

Walden University

College of Social and Behavioral Sciences

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Shantae' Coppock

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Dr. Carolyn Dennis, Committee Chairperson,
Public Policy and Administration Faculty

Dr. Michael Klemp-North, Committee Member,
Public Policy and Administration Faculty

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Public Policy and Administration Faculty

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Sue Subocz, Ph.D.

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Abstract

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MPhil, Walden University, 2020

MHS, Lincoln University, 2012

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Dissertation in Partial Fulfillment

of the Requirements for the Degree of

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Abstract

There is a problem with law enforcement and the African American community in the United States, and African American law enforcement employees perpetuate more tension in these communities. The aim of this qualitative study was to learn how African American law enforcement personnel perceived high-crime or poor urban communities and the bond shared among law enforcement agencies, as seen through African American supervisors' viewpoints. Twelve African American law enforcement supervisors from a Philadelphia County law enforcement agency completed questionnaires. Bureaucratic representation and the racial threat or minority threat framework grounded the study. Participants were evaluated based on supervisory level or quasi-military rank. African American supervisors were essential to this research because they understand organizational experiences and had faced racial threat experiences in their communities. The findings indicated that the most important reasons that African American law enforcers' presence perpetuated tension in urban neighborhoods was due to community members' past negative encounters with law enforcement and the belief that African American law enforcers work with the enemy. Another important reason on the impact of the organizational bond shared by employees has had on racial misconceptions of African Americans is due to a lack of trust with personnel. The findings of this study may be used to promote social change by police administrators to better serve their communities.

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Dedication

Thank you, Lord and Savior, Jesus Christ. This journey has been challenging, but I am grateful for the support of many people. First, this dedication goes to my late husband, Len Coppock, who helped build confidence and inspire three beautiful daughters. Laija, as my first daughter, you inspire me to remain competitive and truthful. La'Joir, as my second daughter, you inspire me to be accurate and make intelligent decisions. Le'Dream, as my last daughter, you inspire me to love others and remain unorthodox. To my sister, Amina, you encouraged looking at a cup half full rather than half empty. To my brother, Tarik, and his wife, Sonya, thank you for your love and example of togetherness. To the best role models a little girl could ever have, Mom and Dad. You two are amazing, and I pray that I continue to bring honor to your name. Lastly, thanks to my special friend, Mr. Frank, for your constant support, love, and appreciation.

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Chapter 1: Problem in Policing

Problem Statement

There is a problem with law enforcement and the African American community in the United States, and African American law enforcement employees perpetuate more tension in these communities (Barrick, Hickman, & Strom, 2014; Brunson & Gau, 2015). Trochmann and Gover (2016) suggested that law enforcement racially profiles the African American community at higher rates than other groups. By applying the qualitative research method to analyze African American law enforcement supervisors through the lens of bureaucratic representation theory and a racial or minority threat framework, I sought to develop an understanding of the tension that exists between urban communities and law enforcement personnel. Residents of high-crime and poor urban communities lack respect for the criminal justice system, and many exhibit unlawful behaviors that challenge law enforcement practices (Barthelemy, Chaney, Maccio, & Church, 2016; Reynolds, Fitzgerald, & Hicks, 2017). Faced with problems in these communities, law enforcers try to combat crime, but many African American law enforcers have succumbed to either aggressive policing practices or de-policing methods. Implementing an active policing style has resulted in the use of excessive or deadly force, mass arrests, illegal searches, mass incarceration, and mass community supervision (DuVernay, 2016; Haberman, 2016; Hattery & Smith, 2018; Hinton, 2016). As representatives of both a racially threatening community and a bureaucratic law enforcement agency, African Americans in law enforcement have been expected to mediate the tension between groups.

African American law enforcers navigate different cultures and learn to survive on the job (Horace & Harris, 2018). Horace and Harris found that as minority law enforcers, African Americans are internally trained to "watch their backs" when dealing with other law enforcement officials. Despite being a member of both the African American and the law enforcement community, the fact of the matter is minorities are perceived either dangerous or suspect (Bloom, 2014; Ozkan, Worrall, & Piquero, 2015). Therefore, in high-crime or impoverished communities, African Americans are reluctant to comply with law enforcers' requests, regardless of the race of law enforcement personnel (Haas Van Craen, Skogan, & Fleitas, 2015; Trochmann et al., 2016). Due to past experiences that have damaged their trust, residents of urban areas have come to expect unfair treatment from law enforcement (Bailey, 2017). Negative perceptions of minorities are social issues that may be explained using a racial or minority threat framework.

Bureaucratic representation theory may be applied to understand law enforcement agencies that recruit representatives who share the same values and demographic backgrounds with people in the local communities they serve (Trochmann et al., 2016). A racial or minority threat framework focuses on one ethnic group strategically oppressing another racial group (Grabiner, 2014, 2016). This framework conceptualizes race as a social structure that actively prevents certain groups from meeting their basic needs (Grabiner, 2014, 2016). Manipulating economics, education, and equal opportunities on a mass level effectuates oppression (Forman, 2017).

Researchers in the late 1960s described oppression as challenges faced by many in African American communities (Gardiner & Hickman, 2017). The 1968 Kerner

Commission Report and the 1976 National Minority Advisory Council on Criminal

Justice focused on the community. The report described urban communities lack

fulfillment of essential human needs, facing low education levels, unemployment,

discrimination, discriminatory housing, limitations on social services, and unequal justice

practices (Brown, 2012). The report also emphasized that African Americans' social

status had caused agitation within African American communities. The combination of

historical racial discrimination and segregation within the United States, European

American customs and culture, and practices of law enforcement (even by African

American enforcers) has perpetuated tension within urban communities.

      According to Gross et al. (2017), leveraging criminal sentencing as a threat is a

useful tool in reducing crime. Some criminologists subscribe to deterrent theory,

emphasizing the need to establish fear of incarceration as a means to deter crime.

DuVernay (2016), however, disagreed with the notion of using criminal penalties as a

means to prevent crime. DuVernay, contradicting Gross et al., asserted that fear of prison

does not deter citizens from committing crimes. DuVernay advocates against sentencing

guidelines for incarceration, claiming that judicial rules are strategically focused and

racially motivated. However, Gross et al.'s research did not suggest that the deterrent

theory targets mass incarceration for citizens living in urban or poverty-stricken areas.

Gross et al.'s theory of mass supervision focused on criminals and retribution.

      Gross et al. (2017) endorsed President Richard Nixon's use of law-and-order law

enforcement practices in the 1960s to stabilize crime but pointed out that there was a

spike in crime in the late 1980s to mid-1990s. The spike in crime, according to DuVernay

(2016), contributed to an increase in drugs in urban communities, as well as poverty

promoting crime. An approach to handle these social problems was addressed within the broken glass theory that ultimately spiked mass incarceration. In theory, broken glass avoids visible criminal infractions and social dilapidation to focus on aggressive law-and-order enforcement practices especially on high-priority crime (Brown, 2012). Later, zero-tolerance policies were applied to specific crimes in targeted groups living in poverty (Jenkins, 2016). Gross et al. not only found that the spike in crime resulted from recidivism among inmates released from prisons, but also claimed that prisoners, affected by aggravated sentences, strategically networked with other inmates while incarcerated in plots to commit future crimes.

Depicting extreme hostility in urban areas, Nix and Pickett (2017) pointed out that media coverage has influenced negative perceptions specifically on African American men. Media depictions have caused not only urban communities, but also law enforcers of various races, to de-police in targeted minority communities. Although de-policing is a strategy that law enforcement administrators do not endorse, Hattery et al. (2018) contended that personnel view combative incidents through a negative lens and then lean on self-preservation reactions. As a result of internal safety mechanisms, law enforcers may display behaviors whereby they not only avoid the public, but also cause crime to increase as proactive policing initiatives and revenue for their municipalities decrease (Hattery et al., 2018). Nevertheless, minority communities support hiring African American law enforcement personnel as a means to create change. African American law enforcement employees may be expected to explain cultural competencies, address sensitivity issues with counterparts, be less abusive, and convey respect toward urban communities by preventing harassment of innocent people (Forman, 2017).

However, many African American law enforcement employees aim to prove themselves worthy within the "thin blue line" model or law enforcement culture by displaying behavior that conflicts with urban communities (Dorsey, 2018). Ozkan et al. (2015) suggested that African American law enforcement personnel who trust organizational standards are one-sided and dominated by the policing culture. Within the workforce, and at the expense of cultural consistency, these officers overcompensate in seeking approval from their peers. The practices of these employees are not received well by urban communities. Forman (2017) questioned why most African American law enforcement employees were desensitized and made aggressive. Dorsey attributed such behaviors to the law enforcement culture that is intensified in the police academy.

In the book *Black and Blue, Volume II: The Creation of a Social Advocate, a Law Enforcement Memoir*, Dorsey (2018), an African American woman, recalled her experience of attending the academy for the Los Angeles Police Department. In the 1980s, Officer and later Sergeant Dorsey observed the management of a quasi-military institution. She recalled how the academy created law enforcement employees in an image to meet departmental standards. In so doing, the academy unofficially condoned racial profiling and created a mindset that led those in law enforcement to target certain groups, use harsh language, and overlook types of excessive force (Dorsey, 2018). Additionally, Horace et al.'s (2018) research indicated that academies guide personnel to use biases, whether implicit or explicit. Instructors mold attitudes and assumptions to influence decisions in order to persuade compliance (Bailey, 2017). Despite internal relationships in law enforcement, the focus of this study is on how African American law

enforcers perceive urban communities and the organizational influences of racial misconceptions of African Americans.

Purpose of the Study

The aim of this qualitative research study was to learn how African American law enforcers perceive high-crime or poor urban communities, focusing specifically on African American supervisors. I explored supervisors' point of view because these personnel understand the organization and face racial threat experiences in their communities.

In the book *The Black and the Blue,* Horace et al. (2018) explained that when African Americans first became law enforcers, they were segregated from and discriminated against by both their peers and the public. Early African American law enforcement personnel only patrolled urban neighborhoods. According to Gardiner et al. (2017), these employees could not arrest European American residents, ride in police cars, or sit during roll calls. Dulaney (1996) found that many avoided sharing sensitive racial experiences after they became integrated into law enforcement. He determined that many African American enforcers viewed incidents involving African Americans and police officers as controversial and with that conflicts with the law enforcement culture. This study explored supervisors' viewpoints on African American law enforcers' perceptions of urban communities affected by environmental factors that contribute to racial threat (Gardiner et al., 2017).

Some law enforcers neither embrace the law enforcement culture nor engage in unethical or unlawful practices (Siver, Roche, Bilach, & Ryon, 2017). By remaining culturally competent, they present behavior that is a model of accountability as well as

policy change. Dorsey (2018) recalled an experience while on duty that illustrates such principled conduct. When she sided with the community's complaints against a peer for choosing to implement an ineffective style of enforcement practice, her brother and sister law enforcers singled her out. As a result, she experienced the consequences of challenging the Los Angeles Police Department's organizational norms. In her book, she described how responding enforcers avoided assisting her when she was on patrol and needed help. Additionally, she was penalized by upper management and skipped over for opportunities. She even discovered fellow employees targeting her and her family.

Although Siver et al.'s (2017) findings support the notion that many African American law enforcers avoid conforming to the organization's culture, members of the community may disagree. Instead, community members may view these law enforcers as integrating into law enforcement and adopting the law enforcement culture, including attitudes, values, and norms that differ from the traditional lifestyles of urban communities (Rose & Monaye, 2017). An understanding of African American law enforcers' impressions of their communities and enforcement practices is important for eliminating aggressive and unpractical policing practices (DuVernay, 2016).

In poor communities where crime levels are high, African American law enforcers are perceived as harsher than those of other races due to implementing aggressive law enforcement practices. Research shows that most African American law enforcers racially profile their community, overcompensate for peers, and promote organizational goals to a higher standard (Barrick et al., 2014; Gardiner et al., 2017; Ozkan et al., 2015). Fyfe (1978, as cited in Gardiner et al., 2017), along with Wilkins and Williams (2008, as cited in Trochmann et al., 2016), contended many African American

law enforcement personnel talk about crime in urban communities but avoid finding solutions to problems in the community. Given that African American enforcers lack support from urban neighborhoods, researchers have determined that these employees may embark on actions only aimed to maintain job security (Fyfe, as cited in Gardiner et al., 2017; Wilkins & Williams, as cited in Trochmann et al., 2016).

Significance of the Study

The significance of this research resides in its description of African American law enforcement personnel navigating law enforcement and urban culture, using bureaucratic representation theory within a racial or minority threat framework. These employees share values with the majority group and seek to maintain a formal social control system through laws, criminal justice processing, and sanctions on the African American community (Horace et al., 2018).

This research was conducted with the aim of addressing problems in law enforcement by reforming law enforcement authority and legitimacy among African Americans. Law enforcement agencies may benefit from improving their quality of service and restoring their relationships with urban communities. Ozkan et al. (2015) suggested that minority representation is beneficial for diversity and found that maintaining organizational representation improves services over the long term (Gardiner et al., 2017).

In response to an increasing number of community complaints, pioneers such as Sir Robert Peel decided to draft law enforcement bylaws and track enforcers' performance by incorporating feedback to determine organizational flaws (Brown, 2017; Smith & Holmes, 2003/2015; Wade, 2017). Peel's discovery-initiated community

policing that had a focus on resolving complaints and improving relationships within the community (Ozkan et al., 2015; U.S. Department of Justice Civil Rights Division, 2016). This research was conducted with the aim of improving problems in law enforcement so that African Americans in urban areas can develop trust in authority.

Agencies can improve services through organizational representation, officer performance, and relationship development. Organizational representation, coupled with law enforcement fundamentals, can result in public-approval gains (Gardiner et al., 2017). Peel's theory of public safety emphasized maintaining the public's respect and cooperation as a means to reduce physical force (Gardiner et al., 2017). Improvements in officers' performance ensures legitimacy and models practices. The President's Task Force on 21st Century Policing (2015) found that this is shown by enforcers proactively documenting, tracking, reporting, and using discretion to resolve incidents. Lastly, respect for law enforcement may be promoted by instructing personnel to develop relationships in urban communities. When these relationships are positive, law enforcers are viewed differently, as guardians instead of warriors (Gardiner et al., 2017; President's Task Force on 21st Century Policing, 2015). Organizational representation, enforcers' performance, and positive relationships improve the quality of service for law enforcement agencies as well as encourage community cooperation.

Bentham and Fielding also determined that law enforcement legitimacy is established when the community collaborates with law enforcement to deter crime, gain social control, and restore order (Gardiner et al., 2017). Be that as it may, when legitimacy and confidence are diminished in communities, it is difficult for law enforcers to motivate neighborhoods. As much as complying with laws, or gaining social control

and order without resistance, reinforcements such as the implementation of better training, establishing higher standards, and reducing political involvement motivate cooperation (Gardiner et al., 2017). In the professional reform era, law enforcement training formalized in 1895, New York City and San Francisco established a police academy that taught topics on technology, women in policing, and public safety to improve community cooperation (Gardiner et al., 2017). Peel, Bentham, and Fielding are a few writers whose philosophies have contributed to an understanding of how a community can cooperate with law enforcement to establish legitimacy (Gardiner et al., 2017).

Background of the Study

In the history of the American colonies, European Americans established supremacy over other groups. They used White supremacy and oppression to control the socioeconomic and political system. This movement led to minorities being monitored, first as indentured servants and then as slaves until slavery became illegal with the Emancipation Proclamation.

Law enforcement in the United States evolved from slave catchers to full-service law enforcement organizations (DuVernay, 2016). Bailey (2017) offered firsthand descriptions of how some African American law enforcers implemented practices to combat cultural violence from impoverished minority communities. However, Haberman (2016) contributed to a problem-oriented policing approach. In this practice, law enforcers focused on reducing crime by implementing strategies such as foot and motor patrols, field investigations, and enforcements. Nevertheless, Forman (2017) found that members of minority communities lack satisfaction with law enforcement practices.

DuVernay's (2016) documentary highlighted the strained relationship between law enforcement and minority communities by displaying aggressive law enforcement styles in urban neighborhoods.

With the media focusing on violent incidents in urban areas, MacDonald (2016) found that an increasing number of spectators had begun to record personal footage of confrontations between law enforcement and African American communities and shared it over the World Wide Web. Depictions from spectators' point of view caused many incidents to go viral. Noteworthy videos of this type include footage taken on June 19, 2018 in Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, involving the police and Antwon Rose. Another important recording was taken on November 22, 2014 in Cleveland, Ohio, depicting the police and Tamir Rice. A third incident occurred on August 9, 2014, in Ferguson, Missouri, involving the police and Michael Brown. Yet another significant video depicted an incident on July 17, 2014 in Staten Island, New York, involving the police and Eric Garner (Lowrey-Kinberg & Buker, 2017; Ozkan et al., 2015; Rembert, Hill, & Watson, 2016). Victims in other incidents included Akai Gurley, Walter Scott, Freddy Gray, Quintonio LeGrier, Frank Jude, and countless others (see Table 1 for examples; Menifield, 2017; Shajarback, Pyrooz, Wolfe, & Decker, 2017; Trochmann et al., 2016). In the current societal and cultural climate, it is essential to determine why incidents between minorities and law enforcement employees have brought much animosity.

Table 1

African American Men in Incidents With the Police

City and state	Name
Brooklyn, NY	Akai Gurley
North Charleston, SC	Walter Scott
Baltimore, MD	Freddy Gray
Chicago, IL	Quintonio LeGrier
Milwaukee, WI	Frank Jude

An ontological worldview determines how individuals understand the nature of reality (Creswell, 2013). For this research, I assessed reality through an ontological lens by measuring how cultural dominance affects law enforcement's bureaucratic representatives. African American law enforcers have the potential to address deep-seated racial discrimination in law enforcement organizations.

Contemporary law enforcement practices have historical links to the slave patrol dating back to the early 1800s, when African Americans were used to monitor the movements of slaves (DuVernay, 2016). Initially, early law enforcement agencies commonly employed ex-Confederate soldiers, and members of the Ku Klux Klan served as law enforcers, lawyers, and judges in the criminal justice system (Glass, 2018; Rembert et al., 2016). Under the framework of the criminal justice system, law enforcers commonly used fear of excessive and deadly force to motivate communities.

Discriminatory practices triggered low levels of trust in law enforcement among minority communities.

After implementing slave-catcher enforcement, capturing and returning slaves, African American law enforcement employees transitioned through. After the Civil War's ended in 1865, the Emancipation Proclamation freed African American slaves, enforcement efforts transitioned into enforcing Black codes following Jim Crow laws between 1865 and 1965 (DuVernay, 2016; Gardiner et al., 2017; Glass, 2018). Black codes racially segregated the African American community. These strict codes cut off compensation for indentured servitude, restricted voting rights, limited employment opportunities, limited access to residential areas, and confined travel options (DuVernay, 2016; Hinton, 2016). The sanctions and regulations of these codes resulted in dehumanization and stereotyping for members of African American communities. Strict enforcement led to mass incarceration, chain gangs, and mass killings (Rembert et al., 2016). With enforcement ideologies linked to the slave patrol, African American enforcers were seen as tokens by law enforcement agencies and communities (Bloom, 2014; DuVernay, 2016; Mears, Stewart, Warren, & Simons, 2017).

In a law review, Glass (2018) argued that developments in the criminal justice system in the United States have mirrored England's common social constructs from the past to contemporary times. Nevertheless, reforming the social constructs modified laws (CriminalJustice.com, 2016). Glass reviewed editorials from a large sample of lawyers and abolitionists from Massachusetts who determined that the state had an obligation to protect its citizens from the slave trade industry in New England. In contrast to these assertions, law enforcement apprehended African slaves and then returned them to states

such as South Carolina, Louisiana, and Alabama. However, the reciprocity agreement to apprehend and return slaves became compromised, and so abolitionists led to many modifications to laws. Correspondingly, politicians against slavery and lawyers advocated the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Amendments to the U.S. Constitution (Glass, 2018). Politicians and lawyers pushed legislation to establish that every natural citizen is protected by due process provisions (Glass, 2018). The Thirteenth Amendment made criminals exempt from involuntary servitude except when being punished for a crime, while the Fourteenth Amendment implemented steps of legal due process.

In "A Trilogy of Trepidation: Diverse Perspectives on Police Violence Targeting African American Males," Rembert et al. (2016) used collected literature to discuss problems associated with law enforcement and African American males from the past to the present. They found that initially, African American people were not considered citizens of the state because they were slaves (Glass, 2018). During that period, African American people were treated as "three-fifths of all other persons" as stated in the U.S. Constitution of 1787, Article 1, Section 2 (Rembert et al., 2016). Consequently, members of African American communities started to view the criminal justice system through a dim lens and challenged legal proceedings.

In the book *Policing for the 21st Century: Realizing the Vision of Police in a Free Society*, Gardiner a et al., (2017) pointed out that in the American south, patrol in the urban area was significant, and in some areas, minority enforcers worked in law enforcement. Gardiner and Hickman reviewed archival materials in an effort to understand the history of law enforcement in America. They found that the first known African American law enforcer was a City Guard in New Orleans in 1805, and the first

African American Commissioner of New Orleans was Charles Courcelle in 1867.

Gardiner and Hickman added that as racial tension increased in the southern region of the

country, segregation and differences in political views prevailed, causing White

communities to vote against the Republican Party, resulting in the removal of African

American law enforcers from the force in 1910.

Although political influence resulted in the elimination of African American

employees from law enforcement, the public eventually demanded that African

Americans be reintegrated into law enforcement roles. Mastony (as cited in Gardiner et

al., 2017) and Vila and Morris (as cited in Gardiner et al., 2017) determined that the

demands of the public motivated minority employees to reintegrate into law enforcement.

Violet Hill Whyte, in 1937, was the first African American woman to work in Baltimore,

MD as a law enforcer.

Dulaney (as cited in Gardiner et al., 2017) pointed out that law enforcement

agencies in the northern region of the United States collaborated with politicians to

incorporate minority law enforcement personnel. Chicago, in 1872, and Pittsburgh, in

1875, supported a patronage system that helped African American enforcers integrate

into law enforcement; however, this system ceased when the civil service examination

was initiated (Dulaney, as cited in Gardiner et al., 2017). African American enforcers

faced problems in passing the civil service exams due to low levels of education

(Dulaney, as cited by Gardiner et al., 2017). Agencies such as the International

Association of Chiefs of Police endorsed the civil service test, protected many officers in

lawsuits, and established standards for job performances among law enforcers (Gardiner

et al., 2017). Although there were many barriers in the past for African American law

enforcers, diligent African American personnel set a precedent for future individuals in law enforcement.

DuVernay's (2016) documentary *13th* included many interviews with activists, professors, and politicians on the issue of mass incarceration. These individuals addressed historical flashpoints of the Civil War, Emancipation Proclamation, and Jim Crow laws that led to the passage and implementation of the Thirteenth Amendment. DuVernay pointed out that the Thirteenth Amendment solidified that those who commit crimes are criminals and that crimes are graded either as a first, second, or third-degree violations. Additionally, crimes are assessed as summary, misdemeanor, or felony offenses. The status of criminals has a direct link to involuntary servitude. Although America's law enforcement and criminal justice systems have undergone continuous change, DuVernay noted that over several decades, the United States faced several periods of social tension related to policing and public safety reforms.

However, as Horace and Harris's (2018) research showed, many members of African American communities did not plan to become police officers dating back to the 1980s to the present day. Those who decided to apply for law enforcement positions primarily did so because they had limited employment opportunities or a need for job security. However, in the past, African American law enforcement employees were perceived as tokens, and because of this, few were promoted (Gardiner et al., 2017). Gardiner Hickman found that between the 1950s and 1960s, there was an increase in African American politicians, and that change led to African American law enforcement employees getting promoted. In 1970, the Civil Rights Act increased African Americans'

representation in law enforcement because employers were prohibited from discriminating on the basis of race and gender (Gardiner et al., 2017).

In *Locking Up Your Own: Crime and Punishment in Black America*, Forman (2017) agreed with both Horace et al., (2018) and Gardiner et al., (2017) by noting that African American law enforcers could not arrest European American residents, ride in cars, or sit during operational meetings in the mid 1900s; these enforcers set a precedent for future minority employees. Forman used empirical evidence and a body of literature to report observations from cities with large minority populations in the United States. He found that African American law enforcers lacked sensitivity regarding the experiences that minorities face within the criminal justice system and among law enforcement personnel. Forman found evidence of this in a study by Bannon and Wilt from Detroit in 1973. In this study, African American law enforcers compared themselves to European American enforcers and practiced class division among their group, on and off duty. As representatives of both law enforcement and urban communities, African American law enforcement personnel perpetuated tension by duplicating strategies of past law enforcement personnel (Forman, 2017).

Jenkins (2016) described how anger among law enforcement administrators also extends to politicians. In an attempt to resolve interrelated problems, administrators concentrated on removing politics from law enforcement operations, which motivated the reform era between the 1900s and 1970s. In Jenkins's study, there was a large sample of 227 sworn minority law enforcement employees of different rank, education, gender, years of service, and assignments surveyed from two urban police departments, one from the Mid-Atlantic region and the other from the Midwest. Jenkins found that minority

enforcers preferred the reform era because law enforcement departments hired racially and ethnically diverse representatives of the community, with the intent to prevent unnecessary deadly and excessive force by integrating neighborhood representation.

Forman (2017) pointed out how activists encouraged and celebrated hiring minority officers as representatives of the community. These employees were expected to be passive when enforcing laws. Jenkins (2006) and Forman (2017) found that African American law enforcers limited their discretion to the extent that they adopted and accepted law enforcement practices. However, Jenkins found that minority employees with at least 5 years of investigation experience rejected practicing the broken window theory while acknowledging their department's nuanced role in responding to disorder in urban communities. Simultaneously, crime and riots progressively increased in the 1960s; therefore, Jenkins described community policing, problem-solving policing, and broken window policing as three useful strategies for public safety.

Forman (2017) stated that community policing is a practice that involves law enforcement personnel collaborating with neighborhoods to set priorities and determine ways to achieve them. The paradigm of problem-solving policing emphasizes law enforcement using discretion and employing various types of practices to solve problems (Horace et al., 2018). Although popular, the broken window theory methodology has been criticized the most because law enforcers are redirected from typical investigative practices and redirects them to avoids minor social or physical disorders. These petty disorders cause severe problems. In 1982, Wilson and Kelling discovered the standard to avoid petty disorders, measuring the number of misdemeanor arrests and citations (Gardiner et al., 2017; MacDonald, 2016).

Horace et al., (2018) found that politicians had pushed for harsher law enforcement policies. Even though internal problems exist in law enforcement, Henry and Franklin (2017) suggested that it is vital for law enforcement to maintain legitimate authority and determined that individuals who view law enforcement personnel as legitimate readily comply with laws, remain neutral in face-to-face encounters, and are willing to share information. In "Police Legitimacy in the Context of Street Stops: The Effects of Race, Class, and Procedural Justice," Henry and Franklin used existing research from surveys, reported that out of 9,271 people stopped, only 210 reported contacts with law enforcers within 12 months, as well as reported high-profile experiences with law enforcement in large cities involving the African American and Latin American community.

In "Informal Social Control and Crime Events," Groff (2015) discussed social control theory. Groff described social and behavioral patterns that highlight group self-regulation. According to Groff, delinquency occurs when individuals deviate from social norms, rules, or laws. He also found that social control effects have internal-external or direct-indirect dimensions of regulations formed by familiarity, cohesiveness, and commitment to neighbors. Groff's research reviewed a large body of literature from several streams of micro communities or small-scale social systems. In another article, Mears et al. (2017) addressed a different large body of literature pertaining to several streams of racial or minority threat and formal control dimensions related to street code adherence, crime, and the criminal justice system. Their findings determined that the racial or minority threat theory indicates that when the majority group is threatened,

politically or economically, by the minority group, social control is intensified and causes the minority to become a targeted group that is viewed as dangerous or prone to crime.

Procedural justice practices have impacted perceptions about legitimacy. African Americans, Latin Americans, and economically disadvantaged respondents may be treated differently or unjustly due to prior experiences with law enforcement (Henry et al., 2017). In studying 434 large police departments in the United States, Barrick et al. (2014) saw an increase in assaults on law enforcers due to an increase in minority representation in law enforcement departments. They discovered that most African American personnel were more aggressive or harsh during encounters with members of urban communities. When law enforcers are abrupt, community members, in turn, become more assaultive toward police personnel. Although leaders in law enforcement have strived to reinforce and maintain legitimacy with communities, there remains a need for collaborative procedural justice practices for urban communities.

Framework

This qualitative research was conducted to address how or why African American law enforcement's presence perpetuates tension in urban neighborhoods. I sought to discover how or why the bond shared among law enforcement personnel influences racial misconceptions of African Americans. I believed that African American law enforcement supervisors might shed light on significant issues concerning how African American communities learn to accept trust and authority from law enforcement, as well as describe resolutions challenging law enforcement practices (Barthelemy et al., 2016; Bloom, 2014; Reynolds et al., 2017). I purposively sampled 12 African American law enforcement supervisors to answer questions on an online questionnaire. Using

MAXQDA 2020 software, I analyzed responses and developed themes to reach saturation from participants employed at a Philadelphia, Pennsylvania law enforcement agency.

The theoretical framework for this study was composed of bureaucratic representation theory and the racial threat or minority threat framework. According to bureaucratic representation theory, law enforcement agencies recruit representatives from key demographics to become sworn law enforcers who share values with the local communities that they serve (Trochmann et al., 2016). The racial or minority threat framework indicates that the majority group controls African American community members out of fear of this minority group achieving political and economic success, thereby using laws to establish a formal social control system. In the system, the criminal justice processing and sanction attachment was implemented resulting in African American men as a predator, super predator, or criminals first and victims last (Bloom, 2014; DuVernay, 2016; Mears et al., 2017). Bureaucratic representation theory and the racial or minority threat framework indicate that African American law enforcement employees are members of a bureaucratic structure within law enforcement, and as such, these employees navigate different cultures (Horace et al., 2018). This study measured African American law enforcement personnel's perceptions of tension in the community as bureaucratic representatives of law enforcement and as members of a racially threatening group.

Research Questions

1. How or why does African American law enforcement's presence perpetuate tension in urban neighborhoods?

2. How or why does the bond shared among law enforcement personnel

    influence racial misconceptions of African Americans?

Nature of the Study

In this exploratory, qualitative research, I sought to understand how African American law enforcement supervisors perceived high-crime or poor urban communities and the bond shared among law enforcement agencies. African American law enforcement supervisors' viewpoints are important because they understand organizational experiences in law enforcement and face racial threat experiences in their communities. Babbie (2007) pointed out that in an exploratory analysis, the researcher analyzes a problem and develops a method to apply in future studies. Although there are different ways to conduct social science research, the method selected for this study is qualitative research. This style of research involves the use of inductive reasoning to infer explanations. By collecting data from relatively few participants, supporting conclusions, and using verbal descriptions with details about social problems, researchers conducting qualitative studies can gain a more in-depth understanding of problems and possible solutions (Frankfort-Nachmias & Nachmias, 2008). This research involved an ontological philosophical worldview, bureaucratic representation theory, and racial or minority threat framework aimed at using inductive reasoning to bridge the gap between law enforcement and African American neighborhoods.

Creswell (2013) pointed out that the goal of an ontological worldview is to determine the nature of reality. In bureaucratic representation theory, key relationships are developed between groups, such as being a member of both the African American community and law enforcement (Creswell, 2013; Frankfort-Nachmias et al., 2008). The

racial or minority threat framework conceptualizes race as a social structure that a group in power can leverage to actively prevent another group from meeting basic needs. Restrictions are imposed by using oppression to hold back one ethnic group through manipulation of economics, education, and equal opportunities on a mass level (Grabiner, 2014, 2016). DuVernay (2016) referenced racial or minority threat through the lens of social control theory by explaining that majority groups have enough power to control minority groups due to fear, formal social control, and attachments to the criminal justice system (Bloom, 2014, Mears et al., 2017).

This study was conducted to gather evidence from 12 purposively sampled African American supervisors of different ranks within law enforcement from the Philadelphia County law enforcement agency in Pennsylvania. The instrument used in this study was a questionnaire (see Appendix B).

Although members of the minority group are stereotyped as criminals, bureaucratic representation theory is useful in identifying behavioral patterns in law enforcement. This perspective highlights group self-regulation leading to delinquency by deviating from social norms, rules, or laws (DuVernay, 2016; Groff, 2015). After administration of the online questionnaire, the data were transcribed to create new categories through a primary coding system, which was compared to the existing literature for configuring the final findings (Creswell, 2013). This qualitative research explored African American law enforcement personnel's perceptions of high-crime or poor urban communities through the eyes of African American supervisors.

In this effort to bridge the gap between law enforcement and urban communities, I followed deliberate and ethical research practices. The study protocol ensured

authenticity, transferability, confirmability, and triangulation. I obtained informed consent from voluntary participants. I worked to ensure that I followed protocols in a manner that was transparent, respectful, and private, and I shared the data with the participants (Babbie, 2007; Creswell, 2013; Frankfort-Nachmias et al., 2008; Rudestam & Newton, 2015). However, with having experience living in a high-crime urban community as an African American and law enforcer, self-disclosure was avoided.

I sought to ensure the transferability of this study, meaning that it should be possible to duplicate it with similar research techniques, which might involve other law enforcement organizations that experience the same concerns with urban communities. Intentionally recreating a study is a process of transferability (Creswell, 2013). This might be done by implementing an online questionnaire that purposively samples similar participants and uses similar questions, with the resulting information transcribed to develop themes and codes.

Confirmability is measured by identifying problems relative to other law enforcement agencies and urban communities. Lastly, the triangulation methods embedded in this study includes comparing the multiple answers from the questionnaires to interpret understanding from the volunteers. Thus, 12 African American law enforcement supervisors completed a questionnaire online. The questions addressed whether African American law enforcers perpetuate tension in urban areas, in addition to exploring the bond shared among law enforcement agencies.

Validity and reliability involve maintaining integrity, transparency, and ethical obligations. Researchers should prove themes through substantive validation, credibility, authenticity, transferability, dependability, and confirmability (Angen, 2000, as cited

Creswell, 2013; Lincoln, Lynham, & Guba, 1985, as cited Creswell, 2013). This study included practices that supported ethical research and ensured authenticity, transferability, confirmability, and triangulation because the goal was to bridge the gap between law enforcement and urban communities.

In social research, there are ethical concerns that can affect the outcome of a study. Moral interests that may impact research include research validity, researcher competency, research beneficence, special populations, and informed consent (Babbie, 2007; Creswell, 2013; Frankfort-Nachmias et al., 2008; Rudestam et al., 2015). The participants in this study included law enforcers of different ranks to determine perceptions of urban communities. I sought to convey respect in discussing law enforcement personnel and enforcement practices. Moreover, I sought to minimize harm and promote beneficence, report clear benefits and burdens or justice elements, and maintain autonomy or respect for persons with each of the law enforcement supervisors who participated in data collection (Walden University, 2015).

First, law enforcement supervisors remained aware that their participation was voluntary. The informed consent material indicated that their involvement could stop at any time. Second, participation occurred on a confidential and anonymous basis. Third, I explained to each participant that the research would involve neither harm nor deception. Last, participants' feedback was debriefed, analyzed, and reported (Rudestam et al., 2015). Transparency eliminates ethical concerns that may affect the outcome of research when validity, competency, beneficence, special populations, and informed consent are protected and remain clear to all participants (Babbie, 2007; Creswell, 2013; Frankfort-Nachmias et al., 2008; Rudestam et al., 2015).

Possible Types and Sources of Data

I used multiple works of literature, electronic sources, and online questionnaires. Many tools were required to analyze the perceptions of law enforcement personnel in urban communities, trust in law enforcement authority, and challenges to law enforcement practices (DuVernay, 2016). The goal was to reduce problems between African American law enforcement employees and urban communities, as well as discuss factors associated with the bond shared among law enforcement personnel influencing racial misconceptions of African American groups. This review may benefit law enforcement agencies because the feedback from African American law enforcement supervisors can improve the quality of service in law enforcement (Barthelemy et al., 2016; Bloom, 2014; President's Task Force on 21st Century Policing, 2015; Reynolds et al., 2017). I analyzed data collected through an exploratory, qualitative, ontological approach through the lens of bureaucratic representation theory and a racial threat or minority threat framework (Babbie, 2007; Creswell, 2013, Frankfort-Nachmias et al., 2008; Rudestam et al., 2015). The types and sources of data included literature, electronic sources, videography, and online questionnaires.

In this study, I analyzed African American law enforcement personnel's experiences as bureaucratic representatives of a minority community who enforce the law in a racially threatened urban community. Supervisors' points of view were essential in this study because these personnel had organizational experiences in law enforcement and faced racial threat experiences in their communities. The duties of law enforcement personnel range from protecting people, liberty, and property to providing social services, securing emergency health care, and maintaining quality of life (Gardiner et al., 2017).

In light of well-publicized incidents involving African Americans and law enforcement, many minority law enforcement employees have expressed concern about training and have been heavy hearted about known conflicts between the mission, vision, and goals of their organization and the values, virtues, and qualities of their community. Although there are different feelings and attitudes associated with each significant case, officers have remained silent in the aftermath of these incidents. Because African American law enforcers were integrated into departments relatively late in the history of law enforcement, most minority enforcers avoid sharing opinions or experiences about race because they see it as a controversial topic and fear that discussion may violate the "blue code." For instance, the killing of Michael Brown in Ferguson, Missouri caused the Ferguson Effect, which influenced many law enforcement agencies nationwide. As a result, employees in law enforcement organizations started to de-police or become less active in reducing or responding to crime because of being publicly scrutinized and facing civil unrest (Shajarback et al., 2017).

Definitions of Terms

Bureaucratic representation theory: A theory whereby law enforcement agencies recruit representatives from key demographics to become sworn law enforcers in the hope that they will share values with members of local communities (Trochmann et al., 2016).

Cultural dominance: A phenomenon whereby members of a minority group adopt another ethnic or racial group's experiences, expressions, and history (Forman, 2017).

Explicit biases: Affects the consciousness as a held continuous ideal (S. Moorberg, personal communication, October 21, 2019).

Implicit biases: Biases that are unconscious and may result in "kneejerk effects" (S. Moorberg, personal communication, October 21, 2019).

Racial or minority threat: This framework indicates that the majority group controls members of a minority community by establishing formal social control by-laws associated with the criminal justice processing and then punished with sanctions (Bloom, 2014; DuVernay, 2016; Mears et al., 2017).

Limitations

This study's limitations were the availability of the volunteers and the finding of comprehensive data on organizational policing practices rather than a focus on collaborative community policing practices. The availability of the volunteers were limited due to ramifications of the COVID-19 pandemic. The crisis caused a public health risk not only to the volunteers but also to their family members. There was a challenge getting the volunteers to commit to completing the questionnaire.

Additionally, this study's limitations did not include collaborative policing practices that are acceptable amongst the African American communities. Because reducing conflict decreases crime, research should focus on the impact of race and the roles that cultural norms play in building trust to sustain legitimacy and authority in relationships between urban communities and law enforcement. Incidents involving excessive or deadly force are stressors for both law enforcement and the public. Such incidents have led to lawsuits that specifically relate to injury, disability, disease, or death. There is a problem with trust between law enforcement and urban communities.

Given this problem, can urban communities collaborate with law enforcement? If so,

what does such collaboration look like to an African American law enforcement

employee (Casady, n.d.; Pegues, 2017; Van Craen, 2016)?

There have been many studies on perceptions of crime and urban communities;

there have been limited studies that have explicitly described African American law

enforcement personnel's perceptions of crime from the perspective of those who patrol in

urban communities. Although there has been research on law enforcers' opinions from

the shared policing perspective, there have been few studies addressing law enforcement

supervisors in ways that address both the ethnicity and personal experiences of African

American employees (Rose et al., 2017). This study was essential because research may

determine that these law enforcers disagree with the overarching enforcement ideologies.

Nevertheless, social disparities have influenced perceptions that most members of the

African American community are criminals (Bloom, 2014; DuVernay, 2016; Mears et al.,

2017).

Chapter 2: Literature Review

Problem with Law Enforcement

There is a problem with law enforcement and the African American community in the United States, and comparatively African American law enforcement employees perpetuate more tension in these communities (Barrick et al., 2014; Brunson & Gau, 2015). This qualitative research study was conducted with the aim of learning how African American law enforcers perceive high-crime or poor urban communities, as seen through African American supervisors' eyes.

African American law enforcement employees have been recruited in an effort to ensure that their agencies represent urban neighborhoods better. Sharing experiences with members of minority groups, these enforcers may be well situated to neutralize problems in urban areas for stakeholders (Trochmann et al., 2016). Minorities have been integrated into law enforcement to balance social order in urban, high-crime, and impoverished communities. Within a paramilitary culture, African American law enforcement employees have been stigmatized along with the urban communities. African Americans have been stereotyped as dangerous and suspect (Bloom, 2014; Ozkan et al., 2015).

Horace et al., (2018) described how minority enforcers struggle to learn daily survival skills. These law enforcers struggle to maintain awareness on and off duty. They avoid being perceived as criminals or getting killed in what is called "friendly fire" by other law enforcement personnel. Despite policing minorities in impoverished communities, law enforcers and the criminal justice system is not trusted and appears to operate under biased treatment (Haas Van Craen, Skogan, & Fleitas, 2015; Trochmann et

al., 2016). African American personnel are essential to law enforcement and African American communities due to working within the bureaucratic structure of their department and belonging to a racially threatening group.

According to racial or minority threat theory, one ethnic group strategically oppresses another racial group by exposing members' vulnerabilities (Grabiner, 2014, 2016). In this theory, a race is conceptualized as a social structure that brings forth change, and, in this manifestation, the structure is in a position to actively prevent another race from meeting basic needs such as food, clothing, water, shelter, economic stability, and education (Grabiner, 2014, 2016).

Although there have been many studies on perceptions of crime and urban communities, there have been limited studies that have explicitly described how or why African American law enforcers' presence perpetuates tension in urban neighborhoods, as well as how or why the bond shared among law enforcement personnel influences misconceptions of African Americans. Nevertheless, there has been research on law enforcers' opinions as they relate to a traditional law enforcement culture that shares attitudes, values, and norms (Rose et al., 2017; Siver et al., 2017). Yet and still, some law enforcement employees are perceived as racial representation of the community or tokenism in the African American community (Bloom, 2014; DuVernay, 2016; Mears et al., 2017).

In a study of 434 large police departments in the United States, there was an increase in assaults on law enforcement due to an increase in minority representation in the police department (Barrick et al., 2014, as cited in Ozkan et al., 2015). Interestingly enough, Barrick et al. (2014/ 2015) determined that most African American law enforcers

are more aggressive toward the urban community. Additionally, Ozkan et al. (2015) and

Gardiner et al. (2017) found that not only are these employees treated as "tokens," but

they may also overcompensate in their interactions with coworkers and avoid giving

preferential treatment or discretion to the community of which they are part (Gardiner et

al., 2017; Barrick et al., 2014, as cited in Ozkan et al., 2015).

S. Moorberg (personal communication, October 21, 2019) described implicit

biases as being unconscious or having a kneejerk effect, whereas explicit biases affect the

consciousness as held, continuous ideals. As in all other professions, law enforcers are

affected by implicit and explicit biases. These biases are stimulated by perceptions of

race and experiences with race in urban communities (Barthelemy et al., 2016). Implicit

and explicit biases have shaped impressions of both law enforcement and the justice

system.

In tracing the history of urban communities and law enforcement in the United

States, one finds that personnel of European descent integrated African American

employees to carry out orders primarily developed for the greater good of the majority

group instead of the minority group. In a multifaceted criminal justice system,

fundamental public safety resolutions evolved from a paramilitary structure in its aim to

enact retribution for victims (DuVernay, 2016; Gardiner et al., 2017). In the past, a slave

master might be perceived as a victim and a runaway slave as a criminal. Punishment or

retribution for capturing the "criminal" was fundamentally up to the slave owner's

discretion.

Since the 16th century, African Americans in their communities have challenged

law enforcement practices and the criminal justice system (DuVernay, 2016; Rembert et

al., 2016). These practices and the system have involved overlapping oppressive stigmas. During the 16th century, people were captured from Africa and bought to America on ships. According to Brown (2012), the first group of Africans brought to America arrived in 1619 in Jamestown, Virginia. They initially came as indentured servants but soon became human slaves, with slavery remaining as an institution until the Emancipation Proclamation in 1863. Article 1, Section 2 of the U.S. Constitution of 1787 categorized African slaves ass three-fifths of all other persons, and regardless of whether their children were born on American soil, leaders in colonies rejected them from citizenship (Glass, 2018; Rembert et al., 2016). Later, the Civil War (1861-1865) unified America, changing the name of the country to the United States of America. This led to the Emancipation Proclamation (1863), which freed the slaves and gave citizenship to African Americans. At the same time, northern states took over the economic development from the south and combined and controlled total revenue (Phillips, 2009). With these changes, law enforcement and the criminal justice system embarked on unusual practices relating to enslavement and economic procurement. These practices led to the redirection of labor from slavery to incarceration and chain gangs, as well as the implementation of Jim Crow laws and monitoring of African Americans' movements from 1865 to 1965 (DuVernay, 2016).

From 1865 to 1965, Jim Crow laws racially segregated African Americans under the auspices of Black codes (History, 2018). In the book *Policing Black Bodies,* Hattery (2018) pointed out that Black codes strived to marginalize a racial minority to genocide by restricting access to basic needs and humanity. The codes were laws designed to control and regulate African Americans' movements. In addition to codes that were

discriminatory and created segregation, social problems had a gross impact on African

Americans, who were targeted with residency restrictions in specific neighborhoods,

bank loan refusals from preparatory lenders, and diminished employment opportunities.

Moreover, this group was negatively impacted by limited education, watched

congressional districts being redrawn through gerrymandering, and was precluded from

political participation. Disenfranchisement laws fundamentally impacted those who were

charged with felonies making them ineligible to vote (History, 2018). These laws

impacted the African American community by increasing confinement, establishing chain

gangs, and advancing supervision within the correctional system and community system

of probation or parole (DuVernay, 2016; Melamed et al., 2019). Although they were

overruled by the Civil Rights Act of 1964 and Voting Rights Act of 1964, Jim Crow laws

had a lasting effect that racially divided minorities in the United States from 1865 to 1965

(Hinton, 2016).

Interested in the dynamics of the urban community, former U.S. President Lyndon

B. Johnson researched the types of people in this group. As a result, an advisory board

identified different social classes and created guidelines for better policing in these

neighborhoods. However, V. Muhammad (personal communication, October 28, 2019)

pointed out that although groups were divided into wealthy and poor, there were limited

improvements made toward the betterment of lower class communities. In 1968, the

National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders constructed the Kerner Commission,

and later, the Law Enforcement Assistance Administration of Justice designed

recommendations for administrators in law enforcement in the 1970s (Barrick et al.,

2014). Under the review of the U.S. Congress, the National Advisory Commission on

Criminal Justice Standards and Goals was established to monitor grants for supporting

law enforcement practices (Barrick et al., 2014). The commission explored social classes

and set guidelines to improve law enforcement practices in urban neighborhoods.

Because African Americans were counted as three-fifths of all other persons

under the U.S. Constitution, they were not citizens of their state (Glass, 2018; Rembert et

al., 2016). Abolitionists led revolutions against slavery throughout the United States. The

Civil War resulted in the Emancipation Proclamation freeing African American slaves.

However, by eliminating slaves, this resulted in sovereignty, regulating products,

imposing criminal sanctions, and establishing Jim Crow laws (Glass, 2018; Phillips,

2009). During that time, the country focused on economic growth between the southern

and northern states that reflected on the free labor market and the goal of procuring

industries, protecting specific racial equality, and unionizing agencies (Phillips, 2009;

Rembert et al., 2016). Since 1839 the southern states generated over 140 million dollars

of traded goods due to the slave trade representing agricultural dominance. Economic

gain was a motivation for northern states to unify with southern states (Glass, 2018;

Phillips, 2009). Eliminating slavery allowed African Americans to become citizens of the

state and unified the government to regulate products, impose criminal sanctions, and

establish Jim Crow laws (Glass, 2018; Phillips, 2009).

Black codes were crimes embedded in Jim Crow laws that law enforcers

implemented to monitor African American communities and restricted movements.

"Black codes were strict laws detailing when, where, and how freed slaves could work,

and for how much compensation. The codes appeared throughout the south as a

legitimate way to put African American citizens back into indentured servitude, to take

voting rights away, to control where they lived and how they traveled, and to seize children for labor purposes (History, 2018)." With gaining independence and unifying states, natural rights were protected and ensured under the criminal justice system, thereby establishing laws and policies aimed to corroborate African American partnerships with law enforcement, yet, Jim Crow laws continued to separate urban communities (Glass, 2018; Hinton, 2016). Jim Crow laws racially divided African Americans. Actions led to law enforcement employees enforcing laws and incarcerating criminals on a mass level. DuVernay (2016), Hinton (2016), and Rembert et al. (2016) suggested that the United States Congress imposed criminal sanctions for purposes of creating a mass population to stabilize the economic growth in which law enforcement and the criminal justice system implemented (DuVernay, 2016; Hinton, 2016; Rembert et al., 2016). These laws embarked on urban communities by increasing confinement and establishing chain gangs in the correctional system, causing animosity to build among law enforcement officials (DuVernay, 2016).

With a social issue on the rise, researchers developed studies on race riots, drug crimes, and gang violence in urban areas (DuVernay, 2016; Vila & Morris, 1999 as cited by Gardiner et al., 2017). However, before the early1960s, the African American community and law enforcement faced turmoil due to social conditions circumventing inequalities in education, economics, and residential placement (Dukes, 2018; Gardiner et al., 2017). The racial divide and tension between the law enforcement and minorities led to high violent crime, distrust of government, and distrust of law enforcement (Wade, 2017). However, crime reduced as law enforcers practiced foot patrols in targeted areas. The administrators of law enforcement agencies depended on random patrolling, rapid

responding, and investigating retroactive criminal investigations (Jenkins, 2016;

DuVernay, 2016; Chronopoulos, 2018). With racial tension at a climax, crime, and the

prisoner population increased, police hiring and training practices improved, and African

American leaders started to rebel against the criminal justice system.

   In an article, *Police Officer-Civilian Confrontations Caught on Camera,* Baker

(2017) summarized that two-way communication helps bridge the gap between law

enforcement and the community. Haas et al., (2015) added that when supervisors create a

two-way communication system, enforcers, regardless of race, are more likely to foster

trust and treat people reasonably in a procedurally just way. However, community

policing is a practice that informally employs two-way communication skills. The

enforcers learn to share organizational strategy, priorities, and activities with the

community (Jenkins, 2016). Although Jenkins found that community policing is the

second most popular tenant implored in public safety, the broken window theory is the

primary choice. However, Benforado (2015) describes the broken window theory, as a

practice, targets people as potential criminals based on the elements in their environment

to the extent that the conditions of the area strongly indicate the projection of criminal

behavior (Benforado, 2015).

   In a documentary, DuVernay (2016) captured images of African American

communities in the 1960s and throughout the United States, who struggled with the

ramifications of oppression. Although destructive, DuVernay (2016) and Gardiner et al.,

(2017) described the race riots as a form of expression that ultimately caused the Law

Enforcement Assistance Administration of Justice to improve relationships among the

policing agencies and African American communities. DuVernay (2016) motion picture

depicted the dynamics of urban neighborhoods as areas where groups avoid law enforcement. Rejecting the credibility of law enforcement, the community avoids enforcers from fear of the government, desensitized by enforcers' presence and familiar with law enforcement misconduct. Displaying issues around legitimacy, trust, and representation at the forefront, the United States government effectuated aid to law enforcement agencies to integrate minority law enforcers, training, and equipment to repair turmoil (Gardiner et al., 2017; Wade, 2017).

In the article *Social Unrest and Community Oriented Policing Services,* Wade (2017) found that before the program abolished in 1982, law enforcement agencies initiated specific units. Since Congress allotted federal funding to both the Law Enforcement Assistance Administration of Justice, and the Violent Crime Control and Law Enforcement Act of the 1990s, that resources were given to departments for purposes of redirecting personnel and targeting criminal activities in specialized units. The method to ensure public safety converted from a problem policing model to a community policing model. Although abolished in the 2000s, Wade (2017) found that Community Orientated Policing Services and the Drug Abuse Resistance Education programs were implemented to build relationships and educate children in schools. Social conditions in urban neighborhoods led to increased criminal activities and race riots, but federal funding resources strived to improve relationships between the public and law enforcement agencies.

The System

The authority of law enforcement is ascertained by governmental regulations. With funding as a necessity for law enforcement, the United States government grants

Congress the authority to negotiate appropriation laws. Congress has the burden to

allocate the local, state, and federal government with federal funding. Thereby, it makes

law enforcement agencies more accessible to use the funding for operational needs such

as hiring, training, and equipment acquisitions (Hinton, 2016). In addition to operation

needs, creating capabilities to explore new technology, as well as using tools to

collaborate intelligence with other law enforcement agencies (Martin, 2018; Wade,

2017).

Under this scope, law enforcement agencies used federal grants to improve public

safety and community partnerships with their stakeholders by initiating the community-

orientated policing services, COPS. The COPS initiative practiced community

partnership by encouraging the youth to have positive interactions with the police under a

program called the drug abuse resistance education, DARE, program (Wade, 2017). As

crime and the prisoner population increased, police agencies used social science research

to learn urban qualities of life with studies like the Kerner Commission Report,

President's Task Force on 21st Century Policing of 2015, and the Investigation of the

Baltimore City Police Department of 2016 (Henry, 2017; President's Task Force on 21st

Century Policing, 2015; U.S. Department of Justice Civil Rights Division, 2016).

Although America's law enforcement and its criminal justice system have

undergone a constant change, Brown (2012) explained that the first established law

enforcement was Native Indians. Since the culture rested on a strong sense of community

responsibility, community-oriented culture was the model to maintain order and respect a

tribe, religion, and culture. Directives were oral, and codes were not written, resulting in

few tribal code violations. Consequently, in 1879, the United States Congress

appropriated funding to the American Indian police to maintain order on government created reservations. Alternatively, law enforcement practices mirrored England's policing experiences in America (Brown, 2012; Gardiner et al., 2017). In England, the law enforcement practices circumvented recruitment, volunteers, stipends, officer appearance, weapons, and uniforms (Gardiner et al., 2017). Brown found that members in communities were duty-bound to keep the peace, as law enforcers when the hue and cry or posse comitatus responses rang out where families of 10 or tythings gathered. Lastly, newspaper notices were used to report and share information.

Initially, policing was a method for maintaining social control. With a surge in law enforcement functions, the focus evolved towards problem-solving social economics, criminal sanctions, and vigilante justice. However, the identity of America ascribed from the name of the *13 Colonies* to the *United States of America*. Gardiner et al. (2017) describe that the modifications were a derivative of the Revolutionary War and the Civil War. In the Revolutionary War, 1775-1783, the 13 colonies and the British went to war. Later, the Civil War battle occurred 1861-1865, battled. The fight was a battle between the *Union* and the *Confederate*, also referred to as the *North* against the *South*.

Nevertheless, the *Preamble of the Constitution* set expectations of freedom, reformation, and equal rights in the United States. However, the succession of the Revolutionary War declared territory boundaries and described natural rights for American citizens. The succession of the Civil War used the *Emancipation Proclamation* to free African slaves while also focusing on stabilizing economic growth, diversifying industries, protecting equality, and unionizing agencies (DuVernay, 2016; National Park Service, 2015; Phillips, 2009). Therefore, the criminal justice system

corroborated the goals from the Revolutionary War and Civil War in that human rights would not be violated from promises set forth by the *Preamble of the Constitution* and the *Emancipation Proclamation* fundamentally for the *United States Constitution* (Hinton, 2016; Rembert et al., 2016).

With establishing territory boundaries and natural rights, law enforcement was responsible for enforcing laws that protect life, liberty, and property, as well as, establish policies and procedures (Hinton, 2016). Composition of the criminal justice system compiled specifications of crimes and retribution or punishment (Gardiner et al., 2017; Rembert et al., 2016). In turn, the *Bill of Rights* was created to focus on laws, rules, and management in a multi-level branch of government concentrating on protecting the inalienable rights of all-American citizens (Gardiner et al., 2017; The U.S. Criminal Justice Resource Page, 2016). Alternatively, between 1865 to 1870, amendments were added to the *Bill of Rights* that specifically created stipulations on the African American community with the 13th, 14th, and 15th Amendments (Hinton, 2016).

Gardiner et al. (2017) found that there are law enforcement practices that remain in use today. Practices like the Frankpledges, shift changes, watch systems, stipendiary policing, decentralized or centralized policing, theories, and standards of operational procedures, SOP's. The Frankpledge or pledge is a promise made by law enforcers to uphold the law. Best practices were implored through rotated shifts specific to morning and evening patrol within hotspot areas, targeting or profiling criminals (Groff, Ratcliffe, Haberman, Sarg, Joyce, & Taylor, 2017). The watch system encouraged separate or specialized agencies. Stipendiary policing embarked on privatized law enforcement. Law enforcement unions, along with the federal, state, and local government-run agencies,

created change that manifested into decentralized policing. Using the deterrence theory as a fundamental infrastructure for the judicial system, categorizes crimes, processes, and punishment. Lastly, Robert Peel developed guiding principles that are intertwined with current-day SOP's. Members of the community are selected to work within the criminal justice system, in that law enforcers enforce social control through measures of public safety.

However, in the United States, public safety concerns differed in geography. According to Gardiner et al., (2017), safety concerns in the northern region focused on apprehending, serving warrants and subpoenas, court appearance, supervising elections, and tax collecting. The southern region focused on slave patrol, literacy, trade, gambling, and reduction of urban crime. Lastly, the western region focused on federal jurisdiction against mail crimes, railroad property, or federally charged murders. In many agencies, initial African American law enforcers had limited authority. Since the second amendment allows them to carry a weapon, they carried a weapon but could not wear a uniform or arrest European American criminals. African Americans wore plain clothes and arrested criminals except European Americans.

Law Enforcement Pioneers

As the first law enforcer in America, Native Indians contributed to community-oriented culture as a model for policing due to maintaining order and respecting tribes, religions, and cultures. Later, Sir Robert Peel, a scholar in law enforcement from England, focused on tracking officers' performances to redirect policing practices from community complaints (Brown, 2017; Wade, 2017; Gardiner et al., 2017). Peel's discovery measured the quality of the enforcer and community law enforcement

programs as a remedy to problems with corrections, extortion, concealing evidence,
swearing false oaths, and blackmailing (Henry & Franklin, 2017; Jenkins, 2016; U.S.
Department of Justice Civil Rights Division, 2016). Critiquing training, standards, and
political involvement led to unifying police academies (Gardiner et al., 2017).

In 1895, areas like New York City, and San Francisco focused on improving
technology, integrating women in law enforcement, individualized public safety
practices, and expanding Peel's principles (Gardiner et al., 2017). Peel developed the
organizational mission and promoted a need to gain public approval. He discovered that
gaining the public's respect creates cooperation, and cooperation reduces physical force.
Robert Peel expressed sustaining favor but cautioned catering to the audience. He
professed using the minimum amount of force necessary to restore order, honoring
historical traditions, strictly adhering to job functions, avoiding avenged powers, yet
mimicked efficiency is absent from crime but not law enforcement action (Henry et al.,
2017). Stakeholders identified community complaints as a means to address poor
performances among enforcers.

However, in the City of Berkeley, California, August Vollmer was a pioneer in
America in 1905 (Brown, 2012). According to Dr. Brown, Vollmer began his work as a
Marshall and then the Chief of Police incorporating police radios with the
implementation of policing practices via bicycles, motorcycles, and patrol vehicles. With
investigations, he founded tools like handwriting, fingerprinting, polygraphs, and crime
lab tools. Recruitment practices were focused on college graduates, advocating for police
social science programs at California University and community delinquency programs.
Vollmer opposed law enforcement practices that used force to gain confessions and racial

or gender discrimination, which ultimately motivated the city to hire women. In addition to August Vollmer serving as a faculty member at California University and Illinois University, he authored two books on policing while serving on the board of Wickersham Commission and the National Commission on Law Enforcement (Brown, 2012).

Many African Americans made contributions to law enforcement, but Chief Reubin Greenberg and Dr. Lee Brown stand out. As the first African and Jewish American Chief Reubin Greenberg, is best known for leading the South Carolina police department. There he implemented an effective yet controversial type of community policing that entailed many practices: following the criminals instead of constantly re-arresting them (Dr. Delacy Davis and Dr. Tyrone Powers, personal communication, July 14, 2020). Chief Greenberg's approach is explained in his 1989 book, Let's Take Back Our Streets (Dr. Tyrone Powers, personal communication, July 14, 2020).

Earning a bachelor's degree, two master's degrees, and a doctorate degree, Dr. Lee was the first African American appointed Sheriff of Multnomah County in 1975, Oregon. Afterward, he was appointed Director of Justice Service in 1977. As the Director of Justice Service, he influenced the local Sheriff, district attorney, courts, corrections, juvenile probation and detention, and legal aid services. In 1978, he was appointed Public Safety Commissioner for Atlanta, Georgia. Later, in 1982, he was appointed the first African American Police Chief of Houston, Texas. In the 1990s, he was appointed Police Commissioner of New York City. However, in 1994, he influenced public policy in the United States by serving as the Director of the White House Office of National Drug Control Policy under President William Clinton's administration. Then returned to Texas in 1998 to served three more years, but instead of fulfilling the role of Police Chief, he

became the first African American Mayor for Houston, Texas. Currently, he is a

consultant and pioneer in the industry.

In a bureaucratic system and regimented organizational structure, leaders in law

enforcement not only rest on the philosophers but also theorists, including Jeremy

Bentham, Henry Fielding, Max Weber, Peter Blau, and Edward R. Marguire. Although in

1785 Robert Peel developed standards of operations, he also implemented walking the

beat in neighborhoods, patrolling day and night, centralizing agencies, hiring full-time

officers, developing uniforms, paying civil service enforcement personnel, and creating

different ranks from constable or officer to sergeants and inspectors (Gardiner et al.,

2017; Gross et al., 2017). However, Brown (2017) found that before Robert Peel, in

1748, Jeremy Bentham explored theories on deterring crime, gaining social control, and

restoring order, but focused more on the deterrence theory. According to Wade (2017),

Bentham found that crime occurs when the risk is lower than the reward. Afterward, in

1750, Henry Fielding expounded on strategies to deter crime and prevention, but

contributed the most to establishing salaries for constables, adding a detective unit to the

rank- and- file, formulating a semiprofessional police force, and using newspapers as a

communication system (Gardiner et al., 2017).

Max Weber, in 1946, explored ideas of the division of labor within a hierarchy of

authority in ways that utilized economic rationality and efficiency with economic growth

for long-term and large-scale planning (Gardiner et al., 2017). Then in 1970, Peter Blau

focused on measuring performances, organizational size, and structure, initiating spatial

decentralized headquarters and districts, spatial differentiation, sworn versus civilian

personnel, functional developments, and the hierarchy of authority (Gardiner et al.,

2017). However, Blau's theories were further expounded on by Edward R. Maguire in 1997, who encouraged law enforcers to use discretion even with among formal rules, but added that administration should explore vertical span of control instead of horizontal control (Gardiner et al., 2017). Pioneers in law enforcement stimulated bureaucracy and organizational structure for policing practices.

Thus, incorporating ideas from Jeremy Bentham's deterrence theory, Robert Peele's guiding principles, and August Vollmer's innovative policing practices, simulated fundamentals in policing for managing disorder in urban communities, and mentoring law enforcement personnel. Other practices for law enforcement have embarked on broken window theory, problem-oriented policing, community-oriented policing, and offender-focused theories (Brown, 2017; Jenkins, 2016; U.S. Department of Justice: Funding Opportunities, n.d.). Although a widespread practice, James Q Wilson and George L. Kelling, discovered the broken window theory in 1982, this practice is criticized for aggressive policing styles (Mac Donald, 2016). First, the focus of the broken window theory aimed at reducing crime by using aggressive policing on infractions but avoids petty disorders that leads to severe social or physical disorders (Brown, 2012; Gardiner et al. 2017; Hillyer, 2017; Jenkins, 2016; Mac Donald, 2016). Secondly, Herman Goldstein, in 1979, influenced the problem-oriented policing approach by discovering interventions of control methods that expanded the role of law enforcers from preventing crime to improving quality of life problems (Freilich, & Newman, 2018; Gardiner et al., 2017; Groff et al., 2015; Jenkins, 2016).

Third, Robert Trojanowicz initiated the community-oriented policing practice in 1982. Under this style of management, law enforcement agencies hired over 100,000 law

enforcers and increased criminal offenses or categories of crimes punishable to the ultimate penalty, the death penalty (Gardiner et al., 2017). This program practiced decentralized authority, expanded law enforcement mandates, and focused on solving problems by partnering with communities to find unkempt areas (Groff et al., 2015; Wade, 2017). According to Systma Piza (2017), these neighborhoods invite crime and disorder. Lastly, the offender-focused policing style targets areas and monitors activities to prevent crime by focusing extra attention on repeat violent offenders as a small group (Groff et al., 2015; Wolfgang, Figlio, & Sellin, 1972 as cited by Groff et al., 2015). Practices in law enforcement centers around bureaucratic and organizational structure, organizational theories and methods, and technology and equipment to prevent crime and disorder.

Nevertheless, over time the minority community protested for hiring African American law enforcement personnel, even though crime increased in the 1960s and throughout the present day. However, serious crimes occurred like race riots, drug crimes, and gang violence in which caused for many research and studies to be conducted (Vila & Morris, 1999 as cited by Gardiner et al., 2017). The 1968 Kerner Commission report determined that the minority community lacked basic human qualities and were "deeply hostile" from low education, employment, discriminatory housing, limited social services, and unequal justice practices, but also found that the riots were triggered by tension from law enforcement (Hattery et al., 2018; Uchida, 2004 as cited by Gardiner et al., 2017). In response to research and court cases, the federal government provided grants to agencies to improve public safety and purchase equipment and personnel with officer training and education credits (Gardiner, 2014 as cited by Gardiner et al., 2017).

In the late 1960s, former U.S. President Richard Nixon implemented the law and order concept to stabilize crime. Although there was a spike in crime in the late 1980s to mid- 1990s, Gross et al.'s (2017) research supports President Nixon's zero-tolerance style of policing approach. However, DuVernay's (2016) findings suggest that the spike in crime is associated with the increasing number of drugs made available in urban and impoverished communities. The crimes identify poverty as a stimulant for crimes that evolved into mass incarceration and mass community supervision (Jenkins, 2016; Melamed et al., 2019). In the adverse, Gross et al.'s article suggests that the spike evolved from recidivism and prisoners when serving aggravated sentences, strategically networked with other inmates about committing future crimes.

Later, William Bratton, the chief of the New York City Transit Police Department, advanced technology by creating the *CompStat* system in 1996 (Gardiner et al., 2017; Jenkins, 2016). The *CompStat* system contributed to law enforcement endeavors state-wide due to analyzing evidence-based crimes, assessing deterrent strategies to reduce crime, incorporating intelligence-led research, collaborating with federal agencies like Homeland Security, and sharing information with other agencies in different jurisdictions (Gardiner et al., 2017; Jenkins, 2016). Consequentially, the advancements in technology coincided with expanding equipment from duty weapons and vehicles to uniforms, ballistic vests, batons, aircraft, drones, armored vehicles, combat gear, assault rifles, and night vision equipment (DuVernay, 2016, Bloom, 2014, Gardiner et al., 2017). As more and more agencies received federal funding from Congress, the evolution of law enforcement changed the look of the law enforcer into a militarized unit instead of a keeper or guardian of the peace (Gardiner et al., 2017).

Law enforcement increased the use of military tactics. In 1980, the United States presidential administration for Ronald Reagan modified the law for the Posse Comitatus Act of 1875 to allow the military to integrate with law enforcement (Gardiner et al., 2017). Militant groups gained access to patrolling in neighborhoods. However, the media described changes in the organizational mission for the militant groups and law enforcers in urban communities as combating the war on drugs, to a war on crime, and then a war on poverty. Members of these communities' identities changed from public enemy number one, predator to super-predator (DuVernay, 2016; Brown, 2017; Chronopoulos, 2018; Hinton, 2016). Stereotypes impacted the African American community, and at the same time, the evolution of law enforcement changed the appearance of law enforcers to resemble soldiers (President's Task Force on 21st Century Policing, 2015).

Characteristics of African American Law Enforcers

Initially, as indentured servants to slaves or property, African immigrants migrated to America. A European American master or another authority figure controlled the interests of African slaves. Treated inhumane and inequitable, they were publicly lynched, raped, mutilated, and lobotomized (Rembert et al., 2016). However, once slavery ended, law enforcement personnel, even African American personnel, became secondary oppressors to the urban and impoverished areas. In an official role, many believe that law enforcement and officers of the court persecuted minority criminals unfairly. Rembert et al. found that these employees were affiliated with vigilante groups that supported racist practices. As statuses changed from property to citizen, perceptions of the world circumvented social problems like racism, discrimination, and dehumanizing biases (S. Moorberg, personal communication, October 21, 2019).

Under the Wickersham Commission in 1931, the study *National Commission on Law Observance and Enforcement* found that recruiting minority representatives of law enforcement is essential for agencies and urban communities as a passive enforcer and at the same time keep perspective of the culture, customs, language, and habits shared in the community (Brown, 2012). Contrary to the *National Commission on Law Observance and Enforcement* study, S. Nicholson-Crotty et al. (2017) conducted a study and found that African American law enforcers discriminate against African American citizens. The study proved that demographic characteristics of urban, high crime, and impoverished communities affect law enforcers attitudes to the extent that biases integrate into confrontations (Baker & Bacharach, 2017). Not only are law enforcers affected by biases, but communities formulate judgments and presumptions about policing practices. Urban communities view law enforcement practice excessive due to regularly stopped, searched, arrested, sentenced, fined, and given pre and post releases at higher rates than any other race (Goffman, 2014). Therefore, this community shares past experiences of incidents that are violent and fearful. In this anomie, law enforcement agencies have different social standards than many African American communities. Guidance for law enforcement evolved from a formal social control system, dating back to protecting human slave investments for the majority population (Dukes, 2018; Goffman, 2014). As a bureaucratic representation, African American law enforcement personnel have succumbed to discriminating practices of predecessors (Dukes, 2018; Gardiner et al., 2017; Ozkan et al., 2015).

In the book, *Black and Blue,* Pegues (2017) traced the history of law enforcement back to the year 1704. African bondservants participated in the slave patrol to help

wealthy landowners recover and punish their slave-property in the colony of Carolina. The Fugitive Slave Act of 1793 and 1850, were federal laws to protect the property of slave-owners. These laws safeguarded slave-owners so that slaves were returned as well as, ensured state reciprocity, increased trade, and penalized for harbored slaves (Pegues, 2017; Glass, 2018). In 1864, the Fugitive Slave Act repealed, and society entered into a reconstruction period that caused the majority group to fear lost jobs. Therefore, Glass adds that after the war ended, the Union succeeded over the Confederacy, freeing African slaves in the south, and subsequentially after that, initiating Jim Crow laws.

Ultimately, the movement against slavery transitioned. Society was accepting of the mass-murdering of African American men, labeling them criminals, sending them to prisons, long-lasting community supervision, and forcing them into correctional chain gangs (Glass, 2018; Melamed et al., 2019). One out of every four men was killed, but they were also left to hang on trees (Glass, 2018). During a time when racial tension built up, African Americans were law enforcers who embarked on the slave patrol, influenced by Jim Crow laws, but also instituted implicit racial biases against other enforcers of different races (Pegues, 2017).

In a study, *Measuring Double Consciousness Among Black Enforcement Officers*, Dukes (2018) found that in 1967 the advisory board for the Kerner Commission focused on defusing neighborhoods. Dukes indicated that the commission integrated minority law enforcers into law enforcement as a remedy to eliminate critical incidents in urban areas. Gardiner et al. (2017) discovered problems with the Kerner Commission report, by finding that instead of defusing problems, law enforcers were found to perpetuate tension within the African American communities. This topic led to other researchers discovering

that minority law enforcers abuse power due in part because they strive for authoritarianism among European American counterparts (Dukes, 2018; S. Nicholson-Crotty et al., 2017; Ozkan et al., 2015). Noteworthy research on the African American community was conducted in the 1960s and 1970s by the National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders, the Law Enforcement Assistance Administration of Justice, and the National Advisory Commission on Criminal Justice Standards and Goals.

In a country divided by racial discrimination, the white supremacy theory guided the country on eliciting beliefs about other races and nationalities-creating statuses like majority versus minority classifications. The notion implied that the majority group, the European American race is superior to other races, and in this belief, discrimination, and segregation are natural and ethical (Pegues, 2017; Glass, 2018). The 1970 *National Advisory Commission on Criminal Justice Standards and Goals* report recommended Police Chiefs to regularly review policies and practices regarding recruitment, hiring, assignment, and promotional opportunities to ensure fairness and prevent discrimination with minorities (Brown, 2012). Consequently, the ethnography of the minority group in the African American community, have experienced generations of adapting to different laws, and rights of entitlement verse rights of sovereignty of the state, or federalism and state government (Glass, 2018). Throughout this period, minority families regularly experienced constant arrests, mistreatment, and disrespect by European American law enforcers. Later, African American law enforcement personnel embarked on the same type of law enforcement practices of predecessors. Therefore, Pegues (2017) believes that all law enforcement implicitly brings bias to the job in which is guided around racial preferences as a result of historical context and perceptions.

Within the past ten years, social media platforms have propelled by showing confrontations and urban communities. The recordings are graphic and display excessive and deadly force by law enforcement (DuVernay, 2016). The media increases people's fear of minorities. Displaying images that show a disproportionate number of stories committed by young African American men are focused on the news. According to Benforado (2015), fear led to an overvaluation of the threat that African Americans pose; biases affect how law enforcement employees, prosecutors, judges, and jurors treat minorities. As a result, protesters have spoken out against these incidents while most African American law enforcers remain silent on controversial topics. Conversing about current affairs that impact race violates the professional blue code. The blue code is a subculture that shares a bond between brother and sister enforcers. In this subculture, there is a combination of occupational norms, distrust for non-police, loyalty to co-workers, alienation from the media, and act against community relations (Henry et al., 2017). Consequentially, these law enforcers increase in the use of force incidents, promote reactive instead of proactive practices, avoid repercussions, and resistant to outsiders (Siver et al., 2017).

Barker (2018) reported, in an article, about an incident that occurred on August 11, 2019, regarding Author Williams, an Africa American police officer from the Baltimore Police Department, who resigned over using excessive force on a civilian for refusing to provide identification. The incident was recorded, and the recording went viral, showing the former officer repeatedly striking Dashawn McGrier, the unarmed African American man, in his upper body. Consequentially, 26 years old McGrier was neither arrested nor charged for breaking the law. Dashawn McGrier sustained a broken

jaw and fractured ribs. However, in a different article, Kim and Richman (2019a) reported that Williams, the former Police Officer, was found guilty on misdemeanors. His sentence ranged from probation or parole to 10 years in prison. However, in another article; A *Young Baltimore Cop Heads to Prison as a Young Man He Attached on Tape works to Get Healthy* (Kim, 2019b), on August 9, 2019, Author Williams was sentenced to two counts of violations and was incarcerated for nine months for misconduct, five years in state prison for second-degree assault, and five-year parole (Kim, 2019b). There is anomie among connecting cultural representation with bureaucratic representation for many African American law enforcers to the extent that the group identity overlaps autonomy.

Since urban communities are under a formal social control by the European American or majority group, the minority group is exposed to the criminal justice system as criminals first and victims last (Bloom, 2014; DuVernay, 2016; Mears et al., 2017). These experiences are instrumental for African American law enforcers to understand criminal punishment, legal sanctions, and the impact of discrimination and inequitable inequalities on an entire racial group so that proper bureaucratic representation is implemented. As a representative, understanding a natural state relating to prisoners and free labor, revoking voting privileges, political restrictions, denying federal aid, and limiting educational resources. Therefore, an enforcer that acknowledges empathy and sympathy of racial inequities in fair housing, and employment opportunities, and social retribution will serve as an intermediary (Bloom, 2014; Hinton, 2016; Trochmann et al., 2016; Wade, 2017).

African Americans have been dehumanized, stereotyped, and monitored with sanctions established by the majority group regulations (Rembert et al., 2016). Retribution led to mass incarceration, mass community supervision, and chain gangs (DuVernay, 2016; Glass, 2018). The mass incarceration and community supervision movement profited government and privatized correctional facilities by using minority prisoners as laborers (DuVernay, 2016; Melamed et al., 2019). Since most African American community members live in poverty-stricken and urban areas, the group fell victim to social genocide (Bloom, 2014; DuVernay, 2016; Groff et al., 2017; Hinton, 2016; Wade, 2017). Urban areas have succumbed to multiple types of sanctions and regulations as designed by the majority group.

Moreover, African American law enforcers learned to meet and succeed in barriers setting a precedent for future African Americans in law enforcement even if hired to neutralize encounters in urban areas. Integrating these law enforcers were to enforce criminal punishment and initiate legal sanctions in communities subjectively, but in reality, the representation was perceived objectively by many urban communities (Chronopoulos, 2018; Trochmann et al., 2016). The northern areas focused on increasing the representation among African American law enforcers as a means to regulate criminal punishment and legal sanctions. Later, minority employees advanced to reach the rank of Captain in 1950 (Dulaney, 1996 as cited by Gardiner et al., 2017). Two decades later, employers were penalized for racial and gender discrimination claims in 1970 with the Civil Rights Act that prohibited that conduct (DuVernay, 2016; Dulaney, 1996 as cited by Gardiner et al., 2017). Although urban communities supported minority law enforcers, there was an increase in crime in the 1960s and throughout the present (Chronopoulos,

2018; DuVernay, 2016; Mac Donald, 2016; Wade, 2017). Law enforcement agencies leaned towards using representative bureaucracy to support communities for enhancing legitimacy, offering different attitudes, and acknowledging predispositions to environmental factors (Chronopoulos, 2018). By adding minority representation to law enforcement, through gender and race, it is beneficial for diversity even if it perpetuates more tension (Ozkan et al., 2015). Agents of the government and members of the criminal justice system rely on laws to decrease racial and gender discrimination and under these provisions minority enforcers advanced in opportunities (Dulaney, 1996 as cited by Gardiner et al., 2017; DuVernay, 2016).

Interestingly enough, minority employees in law enforcement did not reduce the stigma associated with the African American community, crime, and correctional institutions. Jails and state penitentiaries remained overpopulated (DuVernay, 2016; Hinton, 2016). Barrick et al. (2014) study found that many minority enforcers are more aggressive in urban communities (Bailey, 2017; Dorsey, 2018; Dukes, 2018). Therefore, in two studies, Ozkan et al. (2015) and Pegues (2017) determined that more minority law enforcers have led to more assaults and complaints by the community. These law enforcement styles are behavioral patterns that associate with racial profiling and aggressive practices (Wilkins & Williams, 2008, as cited by both Ozkan et al., 2015; Trochmann et al., 2016). Ozkan et al. argues that the aggression from African American law enforcers is due to the experience of living in an urban area. Wilkins and Williams (2008) as cited by Ozkan et al. (2015) suggest that the reasons minority law enforcers have higher incidents of racial profiling are due in part to organizational pressure to fit in as well as to overcompensate for co-workers in an attempt remain professional by

avoiding biases (Gardiner et al., 2017). Law enforcers are reportedly aggressive in serving the African American community; therefore, the harshness of African American employees has led to more assaults against law enforcement, overpopulated correctional institutions, and mass community supervision (Barrick et al., 2014; Goffman, 2014; Melamed et al., 2019).

The goals for integrating minority law enforcers sought to integrate passive representative bureaucrats with the ability to dissipate problems in urban areas (Barrick et al., 2014; Trochmann et al., 2016). Therefore, with these enforcers on the forefront building trust to enhance creditability, they were expected to implement neutral patrolling procedures, and training that led to reducing tension between the minority community and law enforcement (Ozkan et al., 2015). African American law enforcement personnel were expected to legitimize authority, especially for drug prevention programs. However, the formal appearance and issued equipment, such as military-style equipment, influenced perceptions. More importantly, the minority representation was expected to neutralize environments and reduce force by, balancing group loyalty and cohesion (S. Nicholson-Crotty et al., 2017). For instance, organizational norms, created by predecessors, shaped minority law enforcers to the extent that the blue bond became detrimental to many minority employees. On the job, African American enforcers embraced organizational or paramilitary ethnos so much that the mindset dismissed cultural marginality (Dukes, 2018). Integrating minority law enforcers did not resolve conflicts but in turned faced challenges with balancing the organizational experiences.

According to Dukes (2018), each organization has an identity, similar to individual character, and interacts with a social identity theory under the ethnic-

identification framework that connects the bureaucratic processes with the communal

processes. Like in any organized group, law enforcement's anomie is communicated

through a universal code that encapsulates unwritten rules (Bailey, 2017). The

professional blue system is a shared bond between law enforcers, and it is a code of

silence that "protects their own" or turns a blind eye to questionable procedural justice

practices (Dukes, 2018; Rose et al., 2017). There is a subculture in law enforcement that

consists of a combination of career norms. Such normative that ultimately creates public

distrust, loyalty to co-workers, alienation from media outlets, and negativity towards

community relations (Siver et al., 2017).

Dukes (2018) argues that since law enforcement alienates minority law enforcers

from inclusion, participation, and organizational objectives, African American enforcers

are assessable to experiencing a double consciousness. Dukes explains that African

American enforcers share different experiences and role changes in double

consciousness, which causes anomie strain from European American counterparts that

attribute to the differences in race. Consequentially, many law enforcers who adapt to this

culture rely on reactive instead of proactive practices, avoid repercussions, and embark

on self-preservation methods against internal and external complaints (Barrick et al.,

2014; Gardiner et al., 2017). Law enforcement personnel who embark on extremities of

social identity theory have reportedly increased the use of force incidents and are affected

by double consciousness (Dukes, 2018; Siver et al., 2017).

Conceptual Framework

As a police officer in Connecticut, Bailey (2017) described racial discrimination

with his European American brother and sister officers. Additionally, Sgt Dorsey (2018)

from the Los Angeles Police Department recalled experiences where she reported to administrators that some of her European American partners stereotyped, marginalized groups like predicting that African Americans are criminals who are physically threatening and prone to violence. However, in Wilson, Wilson, and Thou's (2015) research, they found that the stereotypes develop from perceptions that African Americans have a biological flaw under the auspices of laziness, lack achievement, and dependent on affirmative action practices to secure employment (Paul & Birzer, 2017). As a member of bureaucratic representation, there is research that suggests that the majority of African American law enforcers have succumbed to unfair racial discrimination practices even as their race threatens social order as a marginalized group (Dukes, 2018; Ozkan et al., 2015).

Since minorities are a part of a marginalized group, government officials in the 1960s collaborated bureaucratic representation into law enforcement to neutralize relations in urban areas. However, Trochmann et al. (2016) found that more African American law enforcers are increasingly racially profiling minorities. Paul et al.'s (2017) study add to Trochmann et al.'s research by arguing that more than half (69%) of African American employees racially profile, especially when working in minority communities. This practice is believed to be encouraged by agencies that endorse stopping, searching, and ticketing in targeting areas like found in the Ferguson Police Department (DuVernay, 2016). However, Paul et al. emphasized an interesting finding of the African American law enforcers. They learned that these enforcers are stigmatized by racial discrimination even as a subdivision from peers among the overarching camaraderie practice.

Trochmann et al. (2016) identified two types of representatives of the community, representative bureaucracy, and passive representative bureaucracy. In a representative bureaucracy theory, law enforcement agencies recruit representatives from the demographics to become sworn officers who can share values with the local community. Whereas, the passive representative bureaucracy theory seeks policies and uses discretionary decisions that benefit the group in which they belong. The authors pointed out that although racial profiling increases with African American law enforcers, enforcers living in minorities or a part of a marginalized group are expected to be passive towards the experiences of minorities as well as those employees who live in the city will serve better representative due to having an interest as stakeholders of the community.

Consequently, in Rembert et al.'s (2016) study, racial or minority threat is an apparatus used by law enforcement to control minority groups by pointing out statements made in 1857 from the United States, Supreme Court Justice Roger Taney regarding his impression of European Americans and African Americans. Justice Taney declared that European American men must remain held at a higher standard because they are powerful, while minorities are not required to gain respect because they are in rightful possession of inferiority either freed or slaved. Additionally, there was a medical study that surveyed African Americans between the 1840's-the 1850s, in Alabama, discovering a deficiency in the racial makeup. Since African Americans were held as secondary statuses, Dr. Josiah C. Nott learned that the inferiority complex applied to minority groups, and inasmuch they must be separated from the European American racial makeup. Lastly, Rembert et al. concluded the events from the 1900s. The judicial system pummeled in the south by shaping urban communities to comply with the majority

group's social customs and labor demands. Customs and demands embarked on cases like in 1985 with Tennessee v. Garner and 1989 Graham v. Conner to result in a buildup of doubt between urban communities and law enforcement.

In the Garner case, Gardiner et al. (2017) pointed out the court findings that the police used unjustified deadly force on Edward Garner because the responding officers responded to a burglary call where Graham was fleeing from the scene. Even though he was unarmed, the officers shot Graham in the back of his head and killed him. While, in the Graham v. Conner case, the courts found that officer Conner used unnecessary excessive force on Graham. The officer conducted a car stop to investigate a suspicious person, but with Graham detained, he suffered a diabetic reaction that caused the officer to increase restrains and denied him medical assistance. Under the racial threat theory, law enforcement practices are implored to control minority groups to the extent that the group receives harsh penalties, and subject to prejudicial attitudes and discrimination practices.

In DuVernay's (2016) study, she points out that in 2014 African American men accounted for 6.5% of the United States population but made up 40.2% of the entire prison population. DuVernay found out of this research that one out of three African American men will face imprisonment while one out of 17 European American men is predicted to go to jail. In reality, more and more African American men become the property of the state either as inmates or prisoners because they fill correctional facilities at high rates. Melamed et al.'s (2019) research suggests a system of mass supervision that traps criminals in community supervision programs for lifetimes. Mass supervision revolves around probation or parole confinement attached with supervision fees, and

court costs and fines. DuVernay's (2016) documentary showed countless African

American defendants excepting guilty pleas deals for purposes of exiting correctional

facilities, but pleas and conditions of sentences allow community supervision in their

lives. Melamed et al. (2019) call supervision a "Probation (or Parole) Trap" that affects

more people of color, where the criminal justice system makes people desperate rather

than rehabilitate then by routinely punishing people living in poverty, with mental illness

and the addicted.

Consequently, in 2019, Melamed et al. (2019), found that Pennsylvania is the

second-highest state with people under correctional control. Since Pennsylvania is one of

the first states to institute sentencing guidelines, achieving 90% compliance, there are no

guidelines on resentencing violations of probation. As a result, on violations, judges in

Philadelphia commonly revoke probation and resentence offenders to continued

probation or give a new term of probation or send the person to jail or state prison

(Melamed et al., 2019). As shown in Table 2, rooted in American history, culture, and

ideology, the United States President Lyndon Johnson created the *War on*

Crime initiative in 1965 (Hattery et al., 2018). The initiative propelled the incarceration

rate by 184,901 Americans entering state and federal prisons (Hinton, 2016). In 1970, the

prison population increased to 357,292 people, while in 1980, the rate rose to 513, 900. In

1985, it grew to 759,100; then, in 1990, it changed to increase to 1,179,200 (Bureau of

Justice n.d., as cited by DuVernay, 2016). In 2000, the prison rate grew to 2,015,300,

while in 2014, the group raised to 2,306,200 American citizens, mainly impacted by

African American men in the United States (Bureau of Justice n.d., as cited by

DuVernay, 2016). According to Grettenberger, Beatty, and Weathersby (2014), as cited

by Rembert et al. (2016), criminal law and enforcement control minority groups because they threaten their economic, political, and public safety interests. African American men account for a small percentage of the United States population, but makeup nearly half of the prison population.

Table 2

Mass Incarceration

Year	Number of people incarcerated
1970	357,292 American citizens, mainly African American men
1980	513,900 American citizens, mainly African American men
1985	759,100 American citizens, mainly African American men
1990	1,179,200 American citizens, mainly African American men
2000	2,015,300 American citizens, mainly African American men
2014	2,306,200 American citizens, mainly African American men

Note. Data from Bureau of Justice (as cited in DuVernay, 2016).

Be it as it may, the criminal justice system is designed to be a system that represents impartiality and fairness using the *Lady Justice* or *Justia*, the Goddess of Justice, statue as a symbol (Benforado, 2015). Lady Justice is a symbol that depicts a blindfolded woman holding a scale and a sword in the other hand. In light of a racially biased society, Brown (2012) figuratively described the Goddess of Justice by removing her blindfold, to make biased decisions on many African Americans. However, in the book, *Unfair: The New Science of Criminal Injustice,* Benforado found first-hand how the criminal justice system operates from the experience of a defense attorney, defending minority clients, in the Philadelphia, Pennsylvania area. He learned that identifying a

person for a crime is a challenge even in the preliminary hearing stages, where the goal is to find out if a client is more likely to commit the crime. In this instance, research shows that individuals who have much contact with other races tend to be more accurate in identifying a person, but those who do not interact with other races make errors by 50 percent (Benforado, 2015). Lady Justice was designed to depict impartiality and fairness as she is a blindfolded figure, balancing a scale and sword.

Roger King, a prominent African American prosecutor, convicted the most defendants in capital cases in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania (Melamed, 2019). Melamed (2019) reported that King sent many defendants to death row, but many of his cases were overturned. Consequently, a higher court granted those defendants a retrial, and their cases were acquitted due to prosecutorial misconduct.

Nathaniel Williams, an African American Homicide Detective, from the Philadelphia Police Department, is among many accused of tampering with evidence. Nevertheless, Bennet (2019) reported that the former Detective is suspended with the intent to fire, and expects criminal charges filed against him by the end of towards the end of the year 2019. Additionally, Horace et al. (2018) found in their interviews of minority law enforcers that many self-reflected on an officer's intuition, biases, prejudices, and assumptions from the general population and peers. As an ATF agent, Horace interviewed a large sample of African American law enforcement personnel ranging from local, state, and federal jurisdictions throughout the United States, including officers from different ranks, races, and gender. As minority "cops," they experience internal and external segregation, discrimination, isolation, and a separate set of SOP's.

There are many documented cases where African American employees of the criminal justice system implemented and embarked upon discriminatory practices (Hinton, 2016).

In a study by the Philadelphia Police Department, the agency explored the deterrent opportunity theory. Groff et al. (2015) used the deterrent opportunity theory to find ways to reduce crimes in high crime areas. The methods in this study implemented practices such as foot patrol, problem-oriented, and offender focused policing strategies to decreased crime and collaborate with the community in which caused crime to decline (Groff et al., 2015). However, in a different study, Gross et al. (2017) found that using fear, threats of corrections, and aggravated criminal sentencings or penalties are effective crime deterrents. Using criminal sentences as a threat is a useful tool to reduce crime (Gross et al., 2017). However, in a documentary, DuVernay (2016) found that the threat of prison is not practical to deter crime. The problems outline issues with arrests creating mass incarceration and sentencing guidelines by strategically focusing and racially targeting groups, thus negatively impacting African Americans and other urban communities. DuVernay adds that identifying, addressing, and improving issues with social services reduces crime. Many criminologists support the deterrent opportunity theory, but strict deterrence impact mass incarceration and mass supervision (Melamed et al., 2019).

In *Suspicion Nation: The Inside Story of the Trayvon Martin Injustice,* Bloom (2014) found a flaw in the criminal justice system. Specifically, in the Trayvon Martin case, a jury found George Zimmerman not guilty for shooting and killing Martin. The incident occurred in Stanford, Florida, involving a law called *Stand Your Ground.* In this law, Bloom learned that not all but some states in the United States supports this rule as

this law is a part of the castle doctrine allowing citizens to shoot, stab, and fight their way out of threatening situations, rather than remove themselves from the person. However, on the evening of February 26, 2012, this law impacted Trayvon Martin, an African American juvenile who walked down a street in a gated community, wearing a dark jacket with a hoodie and looking at cars. Observing this, George Zimmerman suspected Martin of attempting to commit a crime in his community. Since George Zimmerman determined that Trayvon Martin posed a threat in his community, he shot and killed Martin. The courts determined that his action was lawful (Bloom, 2014). Although the criminal justice system is designed to be impartial and fair, many African Americans argue that the criminal justice system is subjective.

Many incidents gained national attention — Pittsburgh, PA police vs. Antwon Rose II, an unarmed African American juvenile, was shot and killed during a foot pursuit on June 19, 2018, by a European American Officer, Michael Rosfeld. Rosfeld was acquitted of criminal charges for killing Rose (Hassan, 2019). On August 9, 2014, in Ferguson, Missouri, Michael Brown, an unarmed African American teenager, was shot and killed by Darren Wilson, a European American police officer. Although the grand jury did not charge Wilson with murder, rioting erupted throughout neighborhoods (Davey & Bosman, 2014). Later, in Staten Island, New York police officers, caused the death of Eric Garner, an African American male, in an incident of arrest for illegally selling single cigarettes outside a Chinese store on July 17, 2014. In the Garner case, Daniel Pantaleo, a European American police officer, used excessive force- restricting Eric Garner's breathing but, the officer was neither charged by the grand jury nor attorney general on murder charges (Benner, 2019).

On November 22, 2014, in Cleveland, Ohio, Tamir Rice, an African American juvenile, was shot and killed by Timothy Leohmann, a European American police officer, who responded to a radio call for an African American male in the park with a gun-instantly Rice was shot and killed playing with a pellet gun by the officer (Haag, 2018). Although Officer Leohmann did not get charged with murder, the department fired him, and despite having a record of being aggressive, he was hired part-time at another department, the Ohio village Bellaire Police department (Haag, 2018). When communities learned that Officer Leohmann became a police officer in a different police department, protesters spoke out against Leohmann and the police department for hiring him. Burke (2018) reported that pressure from protesters led to Officer Leohmann resigning from the Bellaire Police Department days after hire. However, Leohmann claimed that he resigned because he did not want to bring unnecessary attention to the department or the community for his past actions. Social issues involving African Americans have made national attention to the extent that systematic practices embark on mass incarceration or mass supervision, and biases in the criminal justice system, police training, and minority representation in law enforcement (Grabiner, 2016; Lowrey-Kinberg & Buker, 2017; Melamed et al., 2019; Ozkan et al., 2015; Rembert et al., 2016).

Other complaints of social injustice incidents include Sandra Bland in Hempstead, Texas; Akai Gurley in Brooklyn, New York; Walter Scott in North Charleston, South Carolina; Freddy Gray in Baltimore, Maryland; Quintonio LeGrier in Chicago, Illinois; Frank Jude in Milwaukee, Wisconsin; Rodney King in Los Angeles, California, and countless others. In the incident involving Sandra Bland, Trooper Encinia stopped and arrested her in a traffic stop for failing to signal to change lanes in which led to her

demise while in custody; she committed suicide in a holding cell. However, parts of this incident were recorded on Bland's cellular phone, and later the video showed the Trooper using controversial policing practices (Montgomery, 2019). Due to this incident, Trooper Encinia is banned indefinitely from law enforcement, and his actions inspired the Sandra Bland Act (Montgomery, 2019). The Act ensures that law enforcers attend required de-escalation training and ensures that independent agencies inspect jails (Montgomery, 2019).

In a different incident in Brooklyn, New York, Akai Gurley was killed in a stairway of a housing project by a ricocheting bullet in which he was shot in the heart by Officer Peter Liang (Nir, 2016). Liang is facing 15 years in prison. In the Walter Scott incident, Scott was shot and killed during a foot pursuit from a traffic stop in North Charleston, South Carolina, by Officer Michael Slager, who pleaded guilty and was sentenced to 20 years in prison (Blinder, 2017). In another incident that occurred in Baltimore, Maryland, with Freddy Gray. He died subsequently after an arrest from a foot pursuit, where six police officers arrested him for a switchblade; afterward, he was transported, shackled without a seatbelt, and was later found unresponsive (Ruiz, 2017). The news of Freddy Gray's death and that of the officers not being charged with murder caused public outrage over the police officers' practices from Baltimore. The enforcers included Caesar Goodson Jr., Garrett Miller, Edward Nero, William Porter, Brian Rice, and Alicia White (Ruiz, 2017).

In another incident, Officer Robert Rialmo, a Chicago, Illinois police officer responded to a domestic disturbance (Madhani, 2018). Madhani reported that Quintonio LeGrier was shot and killed along with a neighbor, Bettie Jones, in their multiunit house.

In another incident, Frank Jude, an African American, attended a party in a Milwaukee, Wisconsin's predominately European American working-class neighborhood, where he was beaten by multiple off duty enforcers and hospitalized (ABC News, 2005). Lastly, in Los Angeles, California, urban areas rioted for five days for acquitting four officers. The law enforcers acquitted were Sergeant Stacey Koon and Officers Theodore Briseno, Timothy Wind, and Laurence Powell for assaulting Rodney King on video surveillance (Sastry & Bates, 2017). As a result of these incidents, many African Americans reject law enforcement methods due to experiences that caused a lack of trust for law enforcement and the criminal justice system (DuVernay, 2016; Melamed et al., 2019).

With increasing research and numerous court cases, the federal government improved public safety by establishing the Omnibus Crime Control and Safe Street Act of 1968, the Law Enforcement Assistance Administration of Justice, as well as, the Violent Crime Control and Law Enforcement Act (Hinton, 2016; Wade, 2017). However, contributions from the Omnibus Crime Control and Safe Street Act and the Law Enforcement Assistance Administration of Justice strived to improve public safety. Improving public safety manifested by awarding federal grants to law enforcement agencies to purchase equipment, hiring more personnel, conducting enforcement training, giving education credits, and researching trends until the service abolished in 1982 (Gardiner, 2014 as cited by Gardiner et al., 2017). Later, in the 1990s, the former United States President Bill (William) Clinton implemented the Violent Crime Control and Law Enforcement Act increased resources to expand the prisons, developed resolutions for domestic and workplace violence, and increased qualifying death penalties for more criminal offenses (Wade, 2017).

Consequently, civilians put in complaints, and politicians provided feedback. By bringing complaints and feedback to the forefront, prosecutors filed criminal charges against officers, and law enforcement administrators motivated environmental changes in the office. Law enforcement agencies were penalized for violating federal laws, but enforcement personnel embarked on the *Ferguson Effect*. Under a microscope, more and more law enforcement personnel experienced the *Ferguson Effect*, which caused employees to de-police by shifting law enforcement practices (Gross et al., 2017). In theory, the *Ferguson Effect* is a practice where employees withdraw from enforcing laws and responding to crime due to a reaction from public scrutiny that influence officers to de-police (Shajarback et al., 2017). Public scrutiny has impacted many law enforcement personnel to the extent that they avoid following up on criminal investigations in communities and actively participating in recommended training. In a presumed subjective system, incidents and complaints from both urban communities and politicians led to riots, mass arrests, and supervision, and court acquittals (DuVernay, 2016; Bloom, 2014).

Trochmann et al. (2016) study summarized quantitative research using secondary data gathered by the Civilian Complaint Review Board. With this study, the United States Census and the Bureau of Justice Statistics expounded on research on racial tension between the majority-minority community. The study assessed 100 cities with over 100,000 people, with open complaints, to participate in surveys and compare tabulations from the Law Enforcement Management and Administrative Statistics department from 2003 and 2007 as well as tabulations from the US Census Equal Employment Opportunity department from American Community from 2000 and 2010. In this study,

the representative bureaucracy was used to determine how police departments' racial and demographics impact community complaints.

Granted that Hinton (2016) found issues with urban communities transitioning from the heroin epidemic (1960-1980 & 2014- current) to the crack cocaine epidemic (1980-1996). The crack houses changed neighborhoods to the extent that areas transformed, yards were unkempt, littered trash, dealers taking over corners and delivery services by youth, addiction destroyed families, jobs lost, children were no longer supported or raised, dreams abandoned and souls lost as seen in figure 2 (DuVernay, 2016; Horace et al., 2018; Rembert et al., 2016). While the impact of the opioid epidemic (2014- current) used heroin and opioids laced with Fentanyl, a synthetic opiate that causes a near-death experience requiring the Narcan drug to save them; in other words, the opioid epidemic is arguably the deadliest drug crisis in the United States history and usages extend out of the reach of urban neighborhoods (Horace et al., 2018). Although the nation's response to the opioid epidemic was different from other devastating epidemics. Crack addicts were labeled opioid babies or subjected to aggressive law enforcement tactics like kicking in doors, violating civil rights, or liberty in ways that would publicly demonize, regularly searched or stopped, and arrested (Du Vernay, 2016, Hinton, 2016, Horace et al., 2018).

However, with the recent opioid epidemic, addicts are treated as a public health issue, unlike the crack epidemic (Horace et al., 2018). However, with racial tension at a climax, leaders started to rebel against the criminal justice system. Crime and the prisoner population increased, hiring and training practices were used with various police agencies to balance law enforcement departments, agencies, and offices.

Table 3

Crack Epidemic and Opioid Epidemic

Crack epidemic (1984-1996)	Opioid epidemic (1960-1980 & 2014-present)
• Crack houses	• Heroin and opioids laced with Fentanyl, a synthetic opiate that causes a near-death experience
• Yards unkempt	• The Narcan drug saves lives
• Trash littered	• Treated as a public health issue
• Dealers were taking over corners	
• Youth delivered drugs	
• Addiction destroyed families—lost jobs, children abandoned, focus gone, lost souls	
• Labeled "crack babies"	
• Subjected to aggressive law enforcement tactics such as kicking in doors, violating civil rights or liberty in ways that publicly demonized, constantly searched or stopped, and arrested	

Note. Information from Horace and Harris (2018).

On the condition that caused many lifestyle changes in this community, Wade (2017) found that African American law enforcers in the 1960s experienced the community with high violent crime activities, viewing neighborhoods distrusting of government, and increasing complaints of enforcement misconduct from African American communities (Chronopoulos, 2018; DuVernay, 2016; Wade, 2017). As the crimes were rising, enforcers conducted random patrol, rapid response, and retroactive

criminal investigations; however, Trojanowicz (1982/ 2016), suggests that law

enforcement administrators saw a reduction in fear of crime when enforcers practiced

foot patrols (Trojanowicz, 1982 as cited in Jenkins, 2016).

With racial tension at a climax in minority communities, leaders among different

groups like W.E.B. DuBois from the National Association for the Advancement of

Colored People, NAACP, Huey Newton from the Black Panthers in the African

American communities started to rebel against law enforcement practices and the

criminal justice system (Horace et al., 2018; Rembert et al., 2016). Therefore, agencies

increased minority representatives and were expected to be more sympathetic to the

experiences of minorities as stakeholders for communities (Trochmann et al., 2016).

In this research study, the goal is to recruit African American law enforcement

supervisors so that they can shed light on how African American communities learn to

accept trust and authority from law enforcement, as well as, describe resolutions for

challenged law enforcement practices (Barthelemy et al., 2016; Bloom, 2014; Reynolds

et al., 2017). In bureaucratic representation theory, African American law enforcers are

better representatives of urban neighborhoods due to personal experiences and the ability

to neutralize urban areas. Therefore, recruiting representatives from targeted

demographics to become sworn law enforcers will most likely share values with that of

the local community (Trochmann et al., 2016). Navigating, through law enforcement and

urban culture, using the racial or minority threat framework, focuses on the majority

group controlling the African American community (Horace et al., 2018).

Summary

This study is a bureaucratic-representation theory underlined with racial threat or minority threat framework. Bureaucratic representation theory assesses African American law enforcement supervisors by navigating through different cultures in ways of which identifies two sets of social, and behavioral patterns aimed to explain perpetuated tension between African Americans, a racially threatening group, and law enforcement, an entity in which represents an oppressive structure (Horace et al., 2018). Under the racial threat or the minority threat framework, the majority group fears political and economic success from the minority group, thereby establishing formal social control, conforming to laws, with a secure attachment to criminal justice processing and sanctions (Mears et al., 2017). Within this scope, African Americans, as a race, reduces sustainability because of exposure to a formal system who are introduced as criminals first and victims last (Bloom, 2014; DuVernay, 2016; Mears et al., 2017). Bureaucratic representation theory underlined with the racial threat or minority threat framework best describes African American law enforcement supervisor's perceptions of working in urban communities.

Understanding the role that African American law enforcers play within their communities, and their perceptions of crime are significant. The enforcers' point of view is essential because they understand organizational experiences of policing, racial experiences, and the realities of their communities (Horace et al., 2018). Overall, law enforcement requires various work duties that range from protecting life, liberty, and property to providing social services, healthcare, as well as maintaining the quality of life (Gardiner et al., 2017). Considering the publicized incidents expounded by the advances in communicational technologies accessibility by the public, many minority law

enforcements do not want to be penalized for sharing opinions and experiences on these issues. Although there are different feelings and attitudes associated with significant cases, for the most part, most African American enforcers remain silent in the aftermath of racial threat theory incidents.

Like in any organized group, law enforcement organizations also have specific unwritten universal behavioral codes. For most law enforcement enforcers, there is the blue system, which is a shared bond between law enforcement personnel as a code of silence that affords employees in some cases to take a blind eye to questionable procedural justice practices demonstrated in the field (Rose et al., 2017). The subculture in law enforcement is a combination of occupational norms, developed attitudes of distrust, loyalty to co-workers, alienation from the media, and negativity towards community relations efforts; consequentially, many law enforcers who adapt to this culture reportedly have shown a higher number of incidents using force, engaged reactively instead of proactively in their practices, developed an avoidance for consequential repercussions, and maintained self-preservation against both internal and external complaints (Barrick et al., 2014, as cited in Ozkan et al., 2015; Siver et al., 2017).

Although African American law enforcers had limited authority in the past, they apprehended African American criminals through the slave patrol until full law enforcement authority (Horace et al., 2018). From 1865 to 1965, violating Jim Crow laws were crimes that law enforcement actively enforced under the auspices of black codes until the crimes became unconstitutional in 1965 (Criminal Justice, 2018). Black codes were laws that focused on African American citizens by prohibiting them from having

voter's rights as well as controlled where they lived, traveled and seized their children for labor purposes (Criminal Justice, 2018). In addition to arresting minorities, duties of African American law enforcers consist of avoiding criminal involvement like extortion, concealing evidence, swearing false oaths, and blackmailing due to their responsibility to maintain legitimacy (DuVernay, 2016, Gardiner et al., 2017).

Nevertheless, DuVernay's (2016) documentary entitled 13th, associates the broken window theory with many African Americans who lived in urban or socially depleted economic neighborhoods as a public safety issue due to many areas contain litter, rundown buildings, and burned-out cars. Ultimately this led to Wilson et al. (2015) argument that African Americans are stereotyped as criminals who appear physically threatening and are prone to violence due to a biological flaw. Thus, Wade (2017) referred back to the 1960s as an era of violent high crime, distrust of government, and increased documents of police misconduct. As a result, law enforcement personnel were getting assaulted, and Barrick et al. (2014) conducted a study that showed there were more assaults on law enforcers in districts where there was an increase in minority employees.

Despite the many studies on perceptions about crime and the urban community, there are limited studies that explicitly describe if the presences of minority enforcers perpetuate tension between law enforcement and African American neighborhoods. There is research on law enforcers opinion from a traditional law enforcement culture that shares attitudes, values, and norms (Rose et al., 2017; Siver et al., 2017). However, this study determines how law enforcers support enforcement ideologies as it relates to tokenism or law enforcement representation, level of education, political belief, and

economics (Bloom, 2014; DuVernay, 2016; Mears et al., 2017). For instance, in a study

of 434 large police departments in the United States, there was an increase in assaults on

law enforcement due to an increase in minority representation in the police department

(Barrick et al., 2014, as cited in Ozkan et al., 2015). Interestingly enough, Barrick et al.

(2014/ 2015) determined that most African American law enforcers use more aggressive

policing practices when identifying crimes, resolving complaints, and rendering aid in the

urban community. While Gardiner et al. (2017) and Ozkan et al. (2015) found these

employees are perceived by many in their racial community as token employees.

However, researchers determined that not only do African American enforcers seek

overcompensation for their coworkers but also avoids showing preferential treatment to

the community when officer discretion is needed the most in the areas in which they are a

part of (Barrick et al., 2014, as cited in Ozkan et al., 2015; Gardiner et al., 2017).

This research explores African American law enforcement personnel perpetuating

tension in urban neighborhoods. Since a fundamental principle of law enforcement is to

have enforcers engage citizens to build trust, pioneer's philosophies validate essential

procedural justice practices by promoting authority and legitimacy as this creates

cooperation (U.S. Department of Justice, 2015, President's Task Force on 21st Century

Policing, 2015). Although there are incidents of violence in urban communities, there are

also many incidents of law enforcement shootings of unarmed African American males at

an alarming rate (DuVernay, 2016). Future research is needed to analyze types of

procedural justice practices that are receptive to African American communities so that

law enforcers can avoid excessive or deadly force incidents. Since reducing conflicts

decreases crime, research should focus on the impact that race has and the ways that

cultural norms play in building trust to sustain legitimacy and authority among both urban communities and law enforcement. For instance, incidents involving excessive or deadly force are stressors for both law enforcers and the public because these events led to lawsuits that specifically relate to injury, disability, disease, or death. In retrospect, there is a problem with trust between law enforcement and the urban community; therefore, can this community cooperate with the law enforcer and if so, can African American law enforcers make an impact on reducing the excessive and deadly force in the urban communities (Casady, n.d.; Pegues, 2017; Van Craen, 2016)?

Chapter 3: Research Method

Methodology

This qualitative research study was conducted with the aim of learning how African American law enforcers perceive high-crime or poor urban communities, as seen through African American supervisors' eyes. The strategy for development entailed analyzing questionnaire responses from 12 African American law enforcement supervisors to reach saturation and develop themes. Participants included were supervisors within a quasi-military rank in structure from a Philadelphia County law enforcement agency. The supervisors who were available were asked to complete a brief and anonymous questionnaire. African American supervisors were essential to this research because they understood organizational experiences and had faced racial threat experiences in their communities. I purposefully sampled African American law enforcement supervisors who were employed at the Philadelphia County law enforcement agency, observing each participant using an exploratory research style. The nature of exploratory research was exemplified through this qualitative study exploring African American law enforcement supervisors' perceptions of high-crime or poor urban communities and the organizational bond shared between law enforcement personnel and agencies.

The foundation of this study was exploratory, qualitative, and ontological, grounded in bureaucratic representation theory and the racial threat or minority threat framework. In this analysis, the bureaucratic representation theory focuses on the recruitment of law enforcement personnel who share demographic characteristics and values with the local minority communities that they serve (Trochmann et al., 2016).

Simultaneously, the racial or minority threat framework focuses on ways that one ethnic group can strategically oppresses another racial group (Grabiner, 2014, 2016). Under this theory and structure, African American law enforcement personnel are representatives of both a racially threatened minority community and the law enforcement community. Navigating through different cultures, these employees learn ways to survive on the job by "watching their backs" (Horace et al., 2018). Although urban communities are stereotyped as either dangerous or suspect, researchers have found that many African American law enforcement employees have succumbed to the unfair practices of their predecessors (Bloom, 2014; Dukes, 2018; Ozkan et al., 2015).

Description of Methodology Selected/Research Design and Rationale

How or why does African American law enforcement's presence perpetuate tension in urban neighborhoods? How or why does the bond shared among law enforcement personnel influence racial misconceptions of African Americans?

Participants included were supervisors within a quasi-military rank in structure from a Philadelphia County law enforcement agency. The process of controlling recruitment involved targeting specific supervisors who were available to complete a brief questionnaire. Potential participants were approached as they left the Philadelphia County law enforcement agency facilities at the end of their shift. I requested potential participants' email address in order to send them a link to an online questionnaire through Surveymonkey.com. The questionnaire took approximately 10-20 minutes (see Appendix A).

African American supervisors were essential to this research because they understood organizational experiences and had faced racial threat experiences in their

communities. In purposefully sampling African American law enforcement supervisors employed at the Philadelphia County law enforcement agency, I observed each participant using an ontological worldview and exploratory research style.

African American law enforcement supervisors were purposively sampled and assessed in a narrative format using an online questionnaire. In displaying behavior that conflicted with community expectations, African American law enforcement personnel proved themselves worthy within the "thin blue line" model or police culture. Dorsey (2018) argued that the police academy creates law enforcers in an image to meet departmental standards. Bailey (2017) and Dorsey discovered racial profiling and harsh language in the police academy, as well as a tendency to overlook types of excessive force. As African American law enforcers seek to fit into this model, members of high-crime and poor communities may perceive them as behaving more harshly than other races in enacting aggressive policing practices. Research has shown that most African American law enforcers racially profile members of their community, overcompensate for peers, and promote organizational goals to a higher standard (Barrick et al., 2014; DuVernay, 2016; Gardiner et al., 2017; Ozkan et al., 2015). Learning about African American law enforcement supervisors' perceptions of their communities and policing is important in the effort to eliminate aggressive policing practices.

Design of the Study/Data Analysis Plan

The data collection instrument was a self-designed online questionnaire. The data will be stored in a file folder indefinitely on an email account, and the questionnaires will remain secured through both Surveymonkey.com and Gmail.com. The participants received a link to the questionnaire in Surveymonkey.com. Their responses were returned

to Surveymonkey.com anonymously, were backed up in Gmail.com, and were transcribed using MAXQDA 2020 software to enhance triangulation or credibility. As I used the MAXQDA 2020 software, themes emerged from the data. With security practices in place, a username and a password were required to gain access to the participant data. Additionally, the data collection could be viewed on multiple mobile devices without exposure to threats. To preserve confidentiality, the participants remained anonymous, and identified with numbers instead of names.

The 12 purposely sampled African American law enforcement supervisors completed a questionnaire online. After being invited to take part in the study, each participant followed a link to Surveymonkey.com to indicate consent and then complete the questionnaire (see Appendix B). The questionnaire contained items regarding participants' views, thoughts, and opinions on the tension that exists between law enforcement and urban communities as well as the bonds that exist between law enforcement personnel. The aim was to answer questions such as the following: How or why does African American law enforcement's presence perpetuate tension in urban neighborhoods? How or why does the bond shared among law enforcement personnel influence racial misconceptions of African Americans?

This significance of this research analyzes the experiences from African American law enforcers. Law enforcement agencies' social standards differ from those of urban groups due to law enforcement's origins in a formal social control system designed to protect property and oppress African slaves (Dukes, 2018; Goffman, 2014). Nevertheless, as representatives of law enforcement bureaucracy, African American law

enforcers have succumbed to the discriminatory practices of their predecessors (Dukes, 2018; Gardiner et al., 2017; Ozkan et al., 2015).

Concepts central to this study include bureaucratic representation theory, cultural dominance, explicit bias, implicit bias, and racial or minority threat. Bureaucratic representation theory applies to law enforcement agencies that seek representatives from key demographics to become sworn officers who can share values with the local communities they serve (Trochmann et al., 2016). Cultural dominance impacts African American law enforcers unconsciously, eliminating cultural consistency by leading them to identify with the background, emotions, and history of the dominant group (Forman, 2017). Explicit biases affect consciousness (S. Moorberg, personal communication, October 21, 2019), whereas implicit biases have unconscious or kneejerk effects (S. Moorberg, personal communication, October 21, 2019). Racial or minority threat is a fear of political and economic success; according to this framework, the majority group controls urban community members by establishing formal social control through laws, criminal justice processing, and sanctions (Bloom, 2014; DuVernay, 2016; Mears et al., 2017).

In this qualitative study, I explored the point of view of African American law enforcement supervisors and their perceptions of high-crime or poor urban communities and the organizational bonds shared between law enforcement personnel and agencies. Forman (2017) found that African American law enforcers compared themselves to European American law enforcers. Additionally, African American law enforcers have reinforced class divisions on and off duty, as cited in a study by Bannon and Wilt (1973) reviewing methods within the Detroit Police Department. Although Forman pointed out

flaws with ethics and professionalism in law enforcement, he also supported activists who encourage and celebrate hiring minority officers as representatives of their communities.

Furthermore, African American law enforcers are expected to show empathy, but Jenkins (2006) and Forman (2017) found that African American law enforcement personnel limit their discretion and adapt or accept policing practices. Jenkins found that minority employees with at least five years of investigation experience have rejected practicing the broken window theory and, at the same time, acknowledges their department's nuanced role in responding to disorder in urban communities.

The broken window theory was discovered by James Q Wilson and George L. Kelling in 1982 (Gardiner et al., 2017). Broken window theory intentionally avoids minor social or physical disorders that cause petty disorders, creating more severe problems, and neglects informal ways law enforcers interact with citizens (Hillyer, 2017; Jenkins, 2016; Mac Donald, 2016). Mac Donald associates the theory with measuring numbers of misdemeanor arrests and citations. Researchers discovered that minority employees abuse power due partly because they strive for authoritarianism among European American counterparts (Dukes, 2018; Ozkan et al., 2015; S. Nicholson-Crotty et al., 2017). Additionally, Forman's (2017) research finds that most African American law enforcers are desensitized causing their selected policing style to implement more aggressive practices in urban communities. Dorsey (2018) believes that these behaviors are intensified in the academy.

In urban areas, minorities adapted to a lower than basic need lifestyles, causing neighborhoods to dilapidate (DuVernay, 2016). With oppression affecting this

community since the early 1800s, vulnerabilities date back to slavery. However, with African American law enforcers at the forefront, they were expected to conform to trust, creditability, implement patrolling procedures, and engage in training to reduce crime and tension (Ozkan et al., 2015). Ultimately, these law enforcers were hired to legitimize authority, neutralize environments, reduce physical force, balance group loyalty, and create cohesion (S. Nicholson-Crotty et al., 2017). Nevertheless, integrating minority officers did not resolve conflicts between the law enforcement and the African American community, mainly because African Americans are stereotyped as criminals first and victims last (DuVernay, 2016; Bloom, 2014; Mears et al., 2017).

This study explores linkages to the slave patrol. African American officers embraced the organizational or paramilitary ethnos so much that the mindset dismisses cultural marginality (Dukes, 2018). Integrating minority officers became bureaucratic representatives aimed to dissipate problems (Barrick et al., 2014; Trochmann et al., 2016). Organizational norms, created by predecessors, shaped minority enforcers to the extent that they became detrimental to many urban communities.

Regardless of law enforcement representation, education, political belief, and economics, it is proven that social disparities have influenced the perceptions of the African American community. Influences from the media increased fear of minorities. Overemphasized reports involving young African American men are focused on in the news. Using terror led to an overvaluation of a threat that African Americans pose; in turn, biases affect how law enforcement, prosecutors, judges, and jurors perceive members of urban communities as it relates to the criminal justice system (Benforado, 2015). As a result, protesters have spoken out against these incidents while most African

American law enforcers remain silent on controversial topics as problems in current affairs violates the professional organizational bond between personnel and agencies.

Organizational loyalty is a code, and the blue code is a subculture that shares a bond between brother and sister law enforcers. In this subculture, there is a combination of occupational norms, distrust for non-police, loyalty to co-workers, alienation from the media, and act against community relations (Henry et al., 2017). Consequentially, enforcers embedded in this code increased in the use of force incidents, promote reactive instead of proactive practices, avoid repercussions, and be resistant to outsiders (Siver et al., 2017). Consequences of social disparities and publicized incidences led to law enforcement personnel practicing de-policing or becoming less active in reducing or responding to crime because of being publicly scrutinized by civil unrest (Shajarback et al., 2017).

Like in any organized group, law enforcement's anomie is communicated through a universal code that encapsulates unwritten rules (Bailey, 2017). The professional blue system is a shared bond between law enforcers, and it is a code of silence that "protects their own" or turns a blind eye to questionable procedural justice practices (Dukes, 2018; Rose et al., 2017). There is a subculture in law enforcement that consists of a combination of career norms. Such normative that ultimately creates public distrust, loyalty to co-workers, alienation from media outlets, and negativity towards community relations (Siver et al., 2017).

According to Gardiner et al. (2017), many African American law enforcers are viewed as token employees. Consequently, few were promoted. Given this in 1970, the Civil Rights Act increased law enforcement with bureaucratic representatives because

employers were explicitly prohibited from discriminating against race and gender

(Gardiner et al., 2017). As a result, laws were implemented to decrease racial and gender

discrimination, and under these provisions, minority employees advanced in

opportunities (Dulaney, 1996 as cited by Gardiner et al., 2017; DuVernay, 2016).

However, in a country divided by racial discrimination, the white supremacy theory-

guided beliefs on notions that the European Americans are the majority group and who

conceptualized that discrimination and segregation are natural and ethical (Glass, 2018;

Pegues, 2017).

Consequently, the ethnography of the minority group in the African American

community, have experienced generations of adapting to different laws, and rights of

entitlement verse rights of sovereignty of the state, or federalism and state government

(Glass, 2018). Throughout this period, minority families initially experienced arrests,

mistreatment, and disrespect by European American law enforcers. Later, African

American law enforcers embarked on the same type of law enforcement practice.

Therefore, Pegues (2017) identified that all law enforcement personnel bring implicit bias

to the job, which is guided by racial preferences due to historical context and perceptions.

Treated inhumanely and inequitable, early experiences in America started as

slaves. Minority communities were publicly lynched, raped, mutilated, and lobotomized

(Rembert et al., 2016). However, once slavery ended, law enforcers, even African

American law enforcers, became secondary oppressors to the urban and impoverished

areas. In an official role, many believe that law enforcement and enforcers of the court

persecuted minority criminals unfairly. Interestingly enough, minority employees in law

enforcement did not reduce the stigma associated with the African American community,

crime, and correctional institutions. Jails and state penitentiaries remained overpopulated with minorities (DuVernay, 2016; Hinton, 2016).

The rationale for choosing a bureaucratic representation theory focuses on African American law enforcement supervisors as better representatives of urban neighborhoods. This targeted population is essential due to personal experiences, the ability to neutralize urban areas and be more sympathetic to the experiences of minorities as stakeholders for communities. Therefore, recruiting law enforcement representatives seeks shared values with that of the local community as a sworn enforcer (Trochmann et al., 2016). Navigating, through law enforcement and urban culture, using the racial or minority threat framework, focuses on the majority group controlling the African American community (Horace et al., 2018). Although African American law enforcement employees are better representatives for urban areas, the racial or minority threat is an apparatus used by law enforcement to control minority groups (Rembert et al., 2016). Consequentially, Barrick et al.'s (2014) study found that many minority employees are more aggressive in urban communities (Bailey, 2017; Dorsey, 2018; Dukes, 2018;).

Comparing Paul et al.'s (2017) study with Trochmann et al.'s (2016) study, the research argues that more than half (69%) of African American law enforcers racially profile, especially when working in minority communities. This practice encouraged agencies to endorse stopping, searching, and ticketing in targeting areas like found in the Ferguson Police Department (DuVernay, 2016). However, Paul et al. emphasized that they learned that African American employees are stigmatized by racial discrimination even as a subdivision from peers among the overarching camaraderie practice.

Dukes (2018) argues that since law enforcement alienates minority law enforcers from inclusion, participation, and organizational objectives that African American law enforcement personnel experiences double consciousness. In double consciousness, Dukes explains that African American law enforcers share different experiences and role changes in which causes anomie strain from European American counterparts that attribute to the differences in race. Consequentially, many officers who adapt to this culture rely on reactive instead of proactive practices, avoid repercussions, and embark on self-preservation methods against internal and external complaints (Barrick et al., 2014; Gardiner et al., 2017). Police personnel who embark on extremities of social identity theory for law enforcement have reportedly increased in the use of force incidents (Dukes, 2018; Siver et al., 2017).

Sample and Population

Upon Institutional Review Board (IRB) approval, the 12 African American law enforcement supervisors will be purposely selected. The participants will be approached as they leave the Philadelphia County law enforcement agency facilities at the end of their shift, requesting their email address, and sending them a link to an online questionnaire, in which responses will be returned to Surveymonkey.com. The questionnaire will take approximately 10-20 minutes.

The participants will not receive any incentives and in order to reach saturation, the sample size will range between 10-15 participants. Data collection is intended between June 29, 2020, and July 30, 2020. Prior to issuing research questions, participants will consent to the research and then complete a questionnaire online by responding to a link to Surveymonkey.com (see Appendix B). The data collection will

remain anonymous, and records will be secured in both a G-Mail account and

Surveymonkey.com, but infinitely saved in G-Mail.com in a private file. The responses

will be transcribed into MAXQDA 2020 software. Nevertheless, coded security practices

will gain access to view the participant's questionnaires. Reviewing feedback will require

going online imputing a user name and password to access the file from

Surveymonkey.com, G-Mail website, and MAXQDA 2020 software. Also, the document

can be viewed on multiple mobile devices without exposure to threats.

However, in this exploratory research, the nature of the study is exemplified

through a qualitative study to explore how African American law enforcers supervisors

perceive high crime or poor urban communities and the bond shared among law

enforcement agencies. These African American law enforcers supervisors' viewpoints are

essential because they understand organizational experiences in law enforcement and

faced racial threat experiences in their communities. Babbie (2007) points out that in an

exploratory analysis, researchers essentially analyze a problem and develop a method to

apply for future studies. Although there are different ways to conduct social science

research, the preferred method is qualitative research. In understanding qualitative

research, this style uses inductive reasoning to infer explanations. Therefore, collecting

data, supporting conclusions, and using verbal descriptions, from fewer participants,

gives a more in-depth understanding of the problem and possible solutions (Frankfort-

Nachmias et al., 2008). Thus, this research will gather evidence exploring how African

American law enforcement supervisors perceive high crime or poor urban communities

and the organizational bond shared between law enforcement personnel and agencies.

This research will use an ontological philosophical worldview, bureaucratic

representation theory, and racial or minority threat framework, aimed at using inductive

reasoning to bridge the gap between law enforcement and African American

neighborhoods.

Role of the Researcher

In the role of a moderator, listener, observer, and an analyst, inductive reasoning

is essential to understand discussions. The aim is to create an environment where 12

African American law enforcement supervisors, in an online questionnaire, are

comfortable in sharing ideas without consequences from the Philadelphia County law

enforcement agency. The data will be compared and contrast to find themes. The success

of this role is based on participants' self-disclosure and writing about experiences on the

questionnaire. This questionnaire is facilitated online, and data collection will be secured

and analyzed. Afterward, inductive reasoning will be applied to discover trends from the

responses (Creswell, 2013; Frankfort-Nachmias et al., 2008).

Additionally, there is also a professional relationship with the participants based

on serving in duo roles. As the facilitator, I am a second-level supervisor at the

Philadelphia County law enforcement agency, a part of the minority group, and the

female gender as a subdividing group. As a law enforcement supervisor in Philadelphia,

Pennsylvania, I manage approximately 145 people out of 350 sworn personnel. In the

Philadelphia County law enforcement agency there are five central buildings that enforce

law enforcement practices. The areas of control embark on Headquarters, the Criminal

Justice Center, Family Court, Traffic Court, City Hall, and Probation and Parole Center

in which warehouses the agency's Warrant Unit. Therefore, for this study, supervisors

will be purposively recruited and responses will be anonymous. Recruitment will explore

supervisors who do not fall under direct supervision in which avoids harmful consequences and negative implications over the participants (see Appendix A). Since this particular targeted group is familiar with policing practices, incidents, and the professional organizational bond, they prove validity amongst the group. Although law enforcers trust other law enforcement personnel over civilians, creating a neutral environment due to holding a professional relationship with the participants increases validity among the participants (Creswell, 2013; Frankfort-Nachmias et al., 2008).

Biases or power are managed by focusing on the study's goals and being aware that the participants intend to share their ideas in a neutral environment (Creswell 2013). Thereby it is necessary to purposefully select the members in the group due to selecting diverse individuals with differing perceptions. Participants are selected based on interests along with those that lack interest. Ascertaining participants with similar and differing views is critical as well as includes both productive and less productive group members.

Institutional Review Board

Since the African American law enforcement supervisors derive from the Philadelphia County law enforcement agency, this study expresses research practices that are willful and ethical, as well as ensure authenticity, transferability, confirmability, and triangulation. First, gaining willful participants are ascertained by seeking permission for participation and completing informed consent. Maintaining ethical practices is ensured by remaining transparent, respectful, private, and then sharing data with the participants (Babbie, 2007; Creswell, 2013; Frankfort-Nachmias et al., 2008; Rudestam et al., 2015). However, as an African American female and supervisor, I have had organizational experiences as well as personal experiences of racial or minority threat-related incidents

living in a high crime minority community. As the facilitator, experience proves

authenticity, but self-disclosing experiences are avoided. Therefore, projecting

transferability through transparency by duplicating practices for future research using

similar research techniques. Transparency with exploring methods to other law

enforcement organizations that experience the same concerns with urban communities.

Transferability intentionally recreates a study by purposefully sampling groups,

questioning and transcribing information, developing themes, categorizing primary

codes, and comparing literature and findings (Creswell, 2013).

Proving conformability embarks on new results and essential groups. Comparing

results to law enforcement agencies and urban communities with similar problems —

develops triangulation methods. First, discover if the presence of African American law

enforcers perpetuate tension in urban neighborhoods. Secondly, find if the bond shared

among law enforcement personnel and agencies influence racial misconceptions of

African Americans. Finally, compare the questionnaires. Thus, proving the validity and

reliability Angen (2000/ 2013) and Lincoln, Lynham and Guba (1985/ 2013) suggest

maintaining integrity, transparency, and ethical obligations. The agenda is to use themes

to prove substantive validations, credibility, authenticity, transferability, dependability,

and confirmability (Angen, 2000 as cited Creswell, 2013; Lincoln et al., 1985 as cited

Creswell, 2013). In retrospect, this study will express research practices that are willful,

ethical, and ensure authenticity, transferability, confirmability, and triangulation because

the goal is to narrow in on problems between the African American law enforcers and

urban communities, as well as discusses the factors associated with the organizational

bond shared among law enforcement personnel and agencies that relate to racial

misconceptions of the African American group.

Data Collection

Twelve purposely sampled African American law enforcement supervisors will

complete the questionnaire online. After gaining consent, each person will receive a link

to Surveymonkey.com to complete the questionnaire (see Appendix A-C). The data

collection instrument will be maximized in an online questionnaire, highlighting

responses, and documenting analysis in MAXQDA 2020 software. Comparing the

collections will enhance triangulation or credibility. However, analyzing the feedback

from 12 participants will extract themes from MAXQDA 2020 software. Due to

confidentiality, the participants will remain anonymous, and numbers instead of names

will document responses.

This research measures African American law enforcement perceptions of crime

as crime infiltrates urban communities. In reaching saturation, 12 purposive sampled

African American law enforcement supervisors will submit questionnaires, collecting

enough data to analyze and develop themes. The theoretical framework is the

bureaucratic representation theory underlined with a racial or minority threat framework.

The bureaucratic representation theory uses specific law enforcers as recruits from a

targeted, urban, demographic as representatives to share cultural competency with the

local community (Trochmann et al. 2016; Forman, 2017). The racial or minority threat

framework explains how the majority group controls urban communities by imploring

fear as a factor of control. Fearing, the minority group gains political and economic

success that ultimately gain control or power (Mears et al., 2017). Therefore, highlighting

behavioral patterns under the scope of an unmanaged self-regulated group led to delinquency by way of deviating from social norms, rules, or laws (Groff, 2015). Thus, establishing a formal social control to conform to regulations, create criminal justice processing and sanction attachment, and then view the group as criminals first and victims last (Bloom, 2014; DuVernay, 2016; Mears et al., 2017). African American law enforcement supervisor's attitudes, feelings, and beliefs about why law enforcers lack respect from minorities and why the urban community disagrees with law enforcement practices are significant in this research.

In comparing questionnaires, comparing feedback is a form of triangulation methods. The responses critically review whether African American law enforcements' presence perpetuates tension in urban neighborhoods, and if the bond shared between law enforcement personnel and agencies influences racial misconceptions of African Americans. Each questionnaire will be asked four questions with two questions specific to the research (see Appendix B). For instance, the first question is, what is your race or ethnic background? Second, what is your rank in law enforcement? Third, how or why does African American law enforcements' presence perpetuate tension in urban neighborhoods? Lastly, how or why does the bond shared among law enforcement personnel influence racial misconceptions of African Americans? The responses from the data collection will be grouped into themes.

Completing the online questionnaire will take approximately 10-20 minutes. The data collections will be ascertained with online responses, but identifiable feedback will not be shared with the Philadelphia County law enforcement agency administrators. The questionnaires will be administered between June 29, 2020, and July 30, 2020. Since the

questionnaires will take approximately 10-20 minutes, responses will be returned and saved in Surveymonkey.com, G-Mail.com, and MAXQDA 2020 software. However, all responses will be safeguarded indefinitely in an email account on G-Mail.com. However, if faced with a recruitment issue, then the targeted population will be extended to other African American law enforcement supervisors outside of the Philadelphia County law enforcement agency.

Confidentiality of Data/Participant Selection Logic

This study aims to learn how African American law enforcement personnel perceives high crime or poor urban communities and the organizational bond shared between law enforcement personnel and agencies from the African American supervisors' viewpoints. The strategy for development analyzes 12 African American law enforcement supervisors from the Philadelphia County law enforcement agency under an ontological worldview, completing questionnaires via SurveyMonkey.com, and developing themes in MAXQDA 2020 software. Observations will embark on bureaucratic representation theory and the racial threat or minority threat framework. Participants will be evaluated based on supervisory level or quasi-military rank. Searching for African American supervisors is essential because they understand organizational experiences and faced racial threat experiences in their communities. However, the nature of this study explores perceptions of African American law enforcement perpetuating tension in the minority community, and the organizational bond shared between law enforcement personnel and agencies.

The responses will remain anonymous, and records will be secured in Surveymonkey.com, G-Mail.com, and MAXQDA 2020 software, but records will be

infinitely saved in G-Mail.com in a private file. The responses will be transcribed into

MAXQDA 2020 software. Due to confidentiality, participant responses will be

documented, and numbers will code identifiers instead of names. Afterward, the feedback

will be transcribed and analyzed using MAXQDA 2020 software to develop themes or

schemes. Identifiable feedback will not be shared with the Philadelphia County law

enforcement agency.

Validity and Trustworthiness of Study/Instrumentation/Pilot Study

In this review, there are many tools required to analyze the perceptions of policing

in urban communities, trust in law enforcement authority, and challenged law

enforcement practices (DuVernay, 2016). The goal is to narrow the problems between

African American law enforcement employees and urban communities and discuss the

factors associated with the bond shared among law enforcers that relate to racial

misconceptions of the African American group. This study will describe how African

American law enforcement supervisors perceive high crime or poor urban communities

and the organizational bond shared between law enforcement personnel and agencies.

However, the nature of this review serves to benefit law enforcement agencies due to the

information from the data collection aimed at improving the quality of service in law

enforcement from African American law enforcers (Barthelemy et al., 2016; Bloom,

2014; Reynolds et al., 2017; President's Task Force on 21st Century Policing, 2015).

Lastly, the research will analyze the data through the lenses of exploratory, qualitative,

and ontological worldview within the scope of the bureaucratic representation theory and

racial threat or minority threat framework (Babbie, 2007; Creswell, 2013, Frankfort-

Nachmias et al., 2008; Rudestam et al., 2015). The types and sources of data embarks on literature, electronic sources, videography, and questionnaires.

Credibility

The established sufficiency of data collection instrument maximizes online contact, highlighting questionnaires and documenting analysis, but comparing the data collections enhances triangulation or credibility. Thus, credibility can be proven by intentionally recreating a study with a purposive sampling size, interviewing, transcribing information, developing themes, categorizing primary codes, and comparing literature and findings (Creswell, 2013).

Transferability

This research program will ensure transferability, for purposes of duplication. Transferability is a practice aimed to duplicate similar research techniques with future research. For instance, applying these methods to other law enforcement organizations experiencing the same concerns with urban communities. Although demographics play a part in behaviors, duplicating the research is significant. Additionally, the data collection will remain anonymous, and records will be secured in both a G-Mail account and Surveymonkey.com, but infinitely saved in G-Mail.com in a private file. The responses will be transferable for transcribing into MAXQDA 2020 software.

Dependability/Procedures for Recruitment, Participation, and Data Collection

Twelve purposely sampled African American law enforcement supervisors from the Philadelphia County law enforcement agency will be contacted (see Appendix A). The participants will be approached as they leave the Philadelphia County law enforcement agency facilities at the end of their shift, requesting consent with link to an

online questionnaire, in which responses will be returned to Surveymonkey.com. The questionnaire will take approximately 10-20 minutes.

Each volunteer will receive an invitation letter explaining the study, then given a link to consent and complete the questionnaire online (see Appendix A). Responses will be returned to Surveymonkey.com anonymously and transcribed on MAXQDA 2020 software. Increasing credibility, questionnaires will also be compared in a triangulation method. Comparing the research can determine how African American law enforcement supervisors perceive high crime or poor urban communities and the organizational bond shared between law enforcement personnel and agencies.

Confirmability

Proving confirmability with research embarks on finding new results essential to the groups compared with similar problems between law enforcement agencies and the urban communities. Comparing the questionnaires develops triangulation (Creswell, 2013; Frankfort-Nachmias et al., 2008). Comparing notes on whether African American law enforcements' presence perpetuates tension in urban neighborhoods. Then comparing thoughts regarding if the bond shared among law enforcement personnel influences racial misconceptions of African Americans.

Assumptions and Limitations of Bureaucratic Representation Theory

With researching law enforcements' perceptions of urban communities, respect for law enforcement, and law enforcement practices, the participants will include law enforcement supervisors of different ranks. The aim of approaching the supervisors is to minimize harm or beneficence, report clear benefits and burdens or justice elements, and maintain autonomy or respect for persons (Walden University, 2015). First, the

supervisors will remain aware that their participation is voluntary, and through informed consent, their involvement can stop at any time. Second, cooperation will continue confidential and anonymous. Third, informing the participants that the research will neither cause harm nor deception. Lastly, the supervisor's feedback will be debriefed, analyzed, and reported (Rudestam et al., 2015).

The Research Instrument

After getting IRB approval to research human beings as participants, this study will express research practices that are willful and ethical, as well as ensure authenticity. A proper method for maintaining willful participants is embarked on informed consent to seek permission for participation. Ethical practices to ensure that conduct is and remains transparent, respectful, private, and then sharing data with the participants (Babbie, 2007; Creswell, 2013; Frankfort-Nachmias et al., 2008; Rudestam et al., 2015). Practicing authenticity avoids self-disclosing experiences of being an African American enforcer who lives in a high crime minority community.

Ethical Procedures

Participants will be informed that being in this type of study involves some risk of minor discomforts that can be encountered in daily life, such as minor risks of triggering distress from explaining your point of view. However, this study would not pose a risk to your safety or wellbeing. As well as indicate that although the research deals with perceptions based on prior knowledge and experience, if criminal activity or child/elder abuse is discovered, the proper state and local authorities will be contacted.

Additionally, privacy will be maintained. Reports coming out of this study will not share the identities of individual participants. Details that might identify participants,

such as the location of the study, also will not be shared. The participants personal information will not be used for any purpose outside of this research project. Data will be kept secure by confidentiality. Participants will remain anonymous to the public, and their responses will be identified by numbers instead of names. Data will be kept indefinitely in G-Mail.com and in a private file.

Summary

African American law enforcers integrated later in the history of policing. On the job, sharing opinions or experiences about race is a controversial topic that violates the embedded code in law enforcement. However, the focus is on problems between the African American law enforcement and urban communities, as well as discuss the factors associated with the organizational bond shared between law enforcement personnel and agencies that relate to racial misconceptions of the African American group (DuVernay, 2016). In this exploratory research, the bureaucratic representation theory identifies key relationships in organizational groups, such as recruiting members of the African American community into a law enforcement organization (Creswell, 2013; Frankfort-Nachmias et al., 2008). African American law enforcers represent a bureaucratic representative of a community that is overpoliced and a racial or minority threat to bureaucracy and society (DuVernay, 2016). Under this framework, a race is conceptualized as a social structure. In that structure, a race actively prevents another group from meeting their basic needs, using forms of oppression to socially control groups like manipulating economics, education, and equal opportunities on a mass level (Grabiner, 2014; Grabiner, 2016).

This study will analyze 12 African American law enforcement supervisors' questionnaires to reach saturation and develop themes. Participants will be evaluated based on supervisory level or quasi-military rank in structure. The process of controlling recruitment is targeting specific supervisors who are available to complete a brief questionnaire. Searching for African American law enforcement supervisors are essential because they understand organizational experiences and face racial threat experiences in their communities. In purposefully sampling African American law enforcement supervisors, employed at the Philadelphia County law enforcement agency, each participant is observed using an exploratory research style. Participants' identities will not be disclosed due to ensuring privacy. Participants will not be identified by names but by codes. Feedback will be collected online using Surveymonkey.com, but infinitely saved in G-Mail.com in a private file, and responses will be transcribed in MAXQDA 2020 software. Using coded security practices will gain access to view the participants' questionnaires. Viewing feedback will require going online, imputing a user name and password to access the file from Surveymonkey.com and the G-Mail website. Also, the document can be viewed on multiple mobile devices without exposure to threats. The nature of the exploratory research is exemplified through a qualitative study exploring perceptions about the presence of African American law enforcers perpetuating tension in the minority community.

Chapter 4: Results

In this qualitative research study, I aimed to learn how African American law enforcers perceived high-crime or poor urban communities, as seen through African American supervisors' eyes. African American law enforcement supervisors were purposively sampled and assessed in a narrative format using an online questionnaire. Through the questionnaire, I sought to determine whether the presence of minority law enforcers perpetuates tension in African American communities, as well as to explore the organizational bond shared between law enforcement personnel and agencies from the eyes of African American supervisors. Twelve purposively sampled African American law enforcement supervisors gave responses to questionnaires. I used MAXQDA 2020 software for the purpose of collecting data, analyzing information, and developing themes from the responses of participants who were employed at a Philadelphia County law enforcement agency. This law enforcement agency has approximately 500 sworn and civilian employees. I analyzed data from African American law enforcement supervisors through the lenses of bureaucratic representation theory and the racial or minority threat framework.

Research Questions

1. How or why does African American law enforcement's presence perpetuate tension in urban neighborhoods?

2. How or why does the bond shared among law enforcement personnel influence racial misconceptions of African Americans?

Research Setting

The Philadelphia County law enforcement agency operates out of different buildings, with each facility handling different areas of responsibility, even in terms of duties or subordinates. I recruited participants for the study by approaching employees as they left the Philadelphia County law enforcement agency facilities at the end of their shifts. Each potential participant was sent an invitation letter with a link to Surveymonkey.com (see Appendix A). Using a provided link, they indicated consent to take part in the study and were sent to an online questionnaire, with their responses returned to Surveymonkey.com. The questionnaire took approximately 10-20 minutes to complete.

Responses were coded with numbers instead of names as identifiers. The only participants in this study were African American law enforcement supervisors. All other law enforcement employees were excluded from participating in this research. Those who were excluded from the study were handled respectfully and without stigma. Participants did not receive any incentive for completing the questionnaire. This research design avoided conflict involving social desirability, personal relationships, anonymity, biases, cognitive priming, coercion, and confidentiality.

Data Collection

I received IRB approval before contacting the participants. I aimed for a sample size of 10-15 participants. Fifteen participants were recruited, but three supervisors did not respond, leaving 12 participants to provide their views, thoughts, and opinions on the tension that exists between law enforcement and residents of urban areas. The study was

conducted in July 2020. Participants' survey responses were saved indefinitely in an email account stored in a Gmail private file and transcribed to MAXQDA 2020 software.

The data collection instrument is an online questionnaire. I leveraged MAXQDA 2020 software to develop themes, use triangulation, and enhance credibility. To protect confidentiality, the participants remained anonymous, with documented responses identified using numbers instead of names. Each participant was asked about race or ethnic background, rank in law enforcement, how or why African American law enforcement's presence perpetuates tension in urban neighborhoods, and how or why the bond shared among law enforcement personnel influences racial misconceptions of African Americans.

Data Analysis

The exploratory analysis gave insight into how African American law enforcers perceive crime in minority communities. Although I made some alterations to the narratives for consistency in spelling and verb tense, I ensured that the main ideas remained intact. I contacted all participants individually, out of the sight of other participants, by approaching them in person, greeting them, and speaking to them for 5 to 10 minutes. Although sampling was purposeful, recruitment was also based on availability.

The questionnaire took approximately 10-20 minutes to complete. The survey was accessed using a link to Surveymonkey.com, and responses were stored in a file at Gmail.com, with data labeled by participant numbers instead of names. The data gathered took the form of open-ended responses. Last, recording the data collection was transformed from the original narrative and responses were saved infinitely in an email

file stored in G-Mail, an online account, transferred to MAXQDA 2020 software for the purpose of extracting themes.

Twelve African American law enforcement supervisors shared ideas confidentially from the Philadelphia County law enforcement agency. The data collection emerged from a stable perspective. The participants' feedback indicated consensus in their statements. Data were compared and contrasted to find themes.

Additionally**,** I compared the data to develop triangulation. First, I analyzed whether African American law enforcement's presence perpetuates tension in urban neighborhoods. I also sought to compare thoughts regarding whether the bond shared among law enforcement personnel influences racial misconceptions of African Americans. I analyzed African American law enforcers using bureaucratic representation theory and a racial or minority threat framework, seeking an understanding of the tension that exists between urban communities and the organizational bonds among law enforcement personnel. The participants included six commanders, three lieutenants, and three sergeants. These participants were purposefully selected, willingly participated, and provided descriptive language.

Findings

Supervisor 1. When asked, "What is your race," Supervisor 1 responded, "Black/African American." Supervisor 1's response regarding rank was "Sergeant." When asked about tension in the community, Supervisor 1 stated, "I believe the tension is built from the misconception of turning your back on the community. That as an officer you are now working against the people of the community." Supervisor 1 noted, the history of the treatment of African Americans by the police is a well-documented and

known notion that Blacks are in fact mistreated by the police. That being understood I believe the racial misconception that you are working against your own race to jail and/or be a part of a plotted agenda to keep Blacks "down" is the biggest misconception the Black community has of a Black officer.

Supervisor 2. When asked to state his race, Supervisor 2 responded, "I am human, my ethnic background is African American, and I am a male." Regarding rank, this supervisor indicated that he was a commander. When asked about tension in the community, he stated, I don't think that it is the African American, as much as it is the role that they hold. Unfortunately, the communities and the world in general needs law enforcement because of the things that cause social issues, i.e., poverty, joblessness, and so on. Because the various races are needed to and should reflect their ethnicities, others who are up to no good look at them as a sell out or as people that are not like them when they are and have taken the necessary steps to make everyone's' lives a little better. Finally, in explaining the bond between law enforcement personnel, he remarked, I believe that because at one time the profession (police) was heavily controlled and run by the Caucasian ethnicity, and there were certain teachings that accompanied and dominated their mindset, it caused the non-trust and misconceptions that ran ramped among the African American people and their communities. It literally became an us-against-them type of situation, from both sides. Once some forms of tolerance started to take hold, the face of transparency began to form, and the communication started to mature and grow, that's when the bonds shared began to become more inclusive and shared. Though there are still some issues, because we as an ethnicity are not on the total

outside looking in any longer, those misconceptions can be addressed, corrected and most of all dispelled.

Supervisor 3. First, what is your race? "African American." Secondly, regarding rank, this supervisor is a commander. Third, how or why does African American law enforcements' presence perpetuate tension in urban neighborhoods? "In a sense I do not believe my presence as an African American law enforcement officer perpetuate tension in my neighborhood due to the fact, I am able to relate better to individuals in my neighborhood for a couple of reasons: Since I live in the neighborhood, I know what goes on in the neighborhood, giving me a sense of relations to the people I'm surrounded because I'm experiencing some of the same conditions that they go through. Due to the fact we are talking about race, people in the urban neighborhood may call me a sellout and wanting to be like the white man but 9 out of 10 times they would choose to listen to me instead of a Caucasian officer because of what our ancestors went through." Lastly, How or why does the bond shared among law enforcement personnel influence racial misconceptions of African Americans? "It is not the bond shared among police officers, it's the way the officers were raised. If you are raised as a racist, you tend to associate with other racist because that is the bond that you share. So, when you become an officer, you tend to seek out other racist so that you can feel comfortable with the things you are doing."

Supervisor 4. First, when asked what is your race? The response, "African American." Second, the response regarding rank included "Lieutenant." Third, when asked about tension in the community. The response, stated "the elephant that exists in this conversation as it pertains to Question 3." How or why does African American law

enforcements' presence perpetuate tension in urban neighborhoods? "This is a perfect example that time doesn't heal all wounds. The truth is, the relationship between Urban communities & Law Enforcement comes from a brutal past. My intentions aren't for racism and white supremacy to dominate this conversation, but cannot ignore the effects this historical ugliness, as well as present day's; contribution to this touchy dynamic, wouldn't do justice to this conversation. Many people that make up the urban community draw parallels between the US Slavery period of African American people in America to today's perceived over-policing and mass imprisonment of minority people. This is far from a straightforward issue, though many opinionated people would try to simplify it with "White Cops" locking up, harassing, and lacking respectful people in urban communities. Lack of substantial departmental, community relationship, and trust in most urban areas are significant components that don't help this issue. Now adding an African American officer to this equation makes Question 3 tricky. Sadly, this honorable profession is viewed as an act of betrayal among some members of the African American community. In an attempt at exaggerated humor, in most urban areas, you're more likely to be praised for making lead supervisor at the local Walmart then pursuing a career as a police officer. Working with the enemy and oppressing your people are some of the criticisms. After twelve years of serving as an African American Law Enforcement Officer, I've accepted it's a thankless job. I've also acknowledged this profession gives many African American Officers that come from these urban areas the opportunity to serve their communities and to ensure their liberties are protected; to provide their representation. To quote Shakespeare, "uneasy lies the head that wears the crown"; I believe these words should be used as a focus stabilizer when dealing with the

disapproval of some that may be short-sighted; it is reassuring that the burden can be

endured."

Lastly, explaining the bond between law enforcement included "the positive bond

between Law Enforcement is something that isn't talked about much. The dedication to

the job, the service to the community, and the willingness to make the ultimate sacrifice

in the service of something greater than yourself forges a bond with your fellow

officers that most can't relate too. This bond is rare, but it exists elsewhere. This bond is

no different than an individual that decides to serve his/her country in the armed forces,

knowing that the reality of taking a battlefield is a possibility or a student that pledges to

a collegiate society, committing to a lifetime of brotherhood and sisterhood. I believe

everyone knows that Law Enforcement is a dangerous profession. It is a profession that

requires you to put your safety and well-being in the hands of someone else's. The

dangers that come with a career in Law Enforcement could mean life or death. The recipe

of dangerous situations on the job, others that have taken the same oath, and the duty to

have your back at all cost; makes for an unbreakable bond. A bond that many views in a

negative light; with "They're a gang" or "It's us against them" mentality. But to correct

this racial misconception of "The Blue Line Bond" requires us all to decide to rewire our

way of thinking. It will need us all to be prepared to face the scars of generation cures

that have plagued us, and we must be willing to drop this baggage in move forward to

achieve the positive resolution; that I think we all want to believe is possible. Also, I

would like to add that it is feasible for an African American Officer to be committed to

his/her fellow officers; and duties as a Law Enforcement officer; while remaining true to

themselves and those in the urban community. A community in which many African American officers come from, and are very much still apart off."

Supervisor 5. First, when asked what is your race? The supervisor responded, "my background: Black." Second, regarding rank, I am a "Sergeant." Third, when asked about tension in the community. The supervisor stated "if it does perpetuate tension, it's because the public citizens in these urban areas are likely attributing a past negative experience, they had with law enforcement with the current ones they are interacting with, believing that all law enforcers corrupt with authority." Lastly, in explaining the bond between law enforcement, "it influences misconceptions because most believe that the bond shared between officers, hinders an officer from doing the right thing, because of the protection that loyalty or bond provides. Therefore, when the public sees officers, they look at everyone as a unit, a corrupt unit at that, rather than an individual, disregarding the fact that a black officer; although an officer is still black and might have a relatable experience to the urban public, thereby handling disturbances in an empathetic selfless manner."

Supervisor 6. First, what is your race? "Afro-American." Second, what is your rank "Commander." Third, how or why does African American law enforcements' presence perpetuate tension in urban neighborhoods? "That answer can be somewhat complicated, I believe in my 36 years of law-enforcement- some communities view minority officers as a sellout. I can remember viewing the police as an enemy, they victimized our neighborhoods, and law-enforcement locked up people calling them bad guys. Even today, (on the job) I come upon African-American mothers who have young children- hearing them say things to their children like," you see the police officer over

there, if you do something wrong, I'm going to have him lock you up." That image

perpetuates law-enforcement in a negative way and at that young age informs opinions

and mindset about law-enforcement. Furthermore, the community that we serve

specifically African-American are not really familiar with law, to be fair or unfair, the

only ones that really understand law are those that get in trouble needing lawyers. Quite

frankly, these laws were not written for African-Americans they were written for the

society, locations, and the rules they believed would maintain order. History shows the

unfair and unequal enforcement of laws that impacts all minorities in the United States.

Both the education of minorities specifically African-Americans on what law is and

what's not- the changing of attitudes of what law-enforcement can and cannot do can

change and make productive the different interactions between African-American law

enforcement offices and the African-American community they serve. Finally, I believe

that the current training of law-enforcement officers both African-American Caucasian

and other ethnicities do not provide sufficient training to deal with the various ethnicities

in which the communities enforcement is conducted."

Lastly, how or why does the bond shared among law enforcement personnel

influence racial misconceptions of African Americans? "Until we are able to understand

how group and the different cultures work together this question will always be a mystery

to solve. You know we talk about the blue line, we talk about loyalty, and we talk about

the specific groups that expect their members to go along. Add to it the misunderstanding

that of the commercialization and the way the media both written and video portrays the

minority groups in places where officers in a very peculiar situation- let's be real both

white, black, Hispanic, Asian and all the officers- depend on each other in life and death

situations. Just like on the streets, you have the new schedule, you can imagine how in many cases law-enforcement has right or wrong, good or bad situations, and it is a reality that has to be changed not just one alarm force meant side but also in the public side this will be a very difficult task I truly believe that making those relationships but communication. Communications and relationships develop must first start with our young people. They have not already developed a mindset of miss trust and the fact that you have younger officers coming to police and law-enforcement agencies there is hope that we can show both the community and law-enforcement that we have more in common then we have differences. It is that, trust in developing these relationships that I truly believe will change these perceptions and actions. For many years I worked in law enforcement and have use in various programs ways to develop those relationships. Through those programs I've seen hope and successes, bringing together the African-American officer, the Caucasian officer, and other minority officers within a community to use ways to reach out and understand the importance of developing those real and honest types of communication between each other. Until open dialogue is created than and only then will we be able to protect some of the communities we have sworn to do fairly. This will not happen overnight; this is a process that must be supported by both government policy and the community."

Supervisor 7. First, when asked what is your race? The response, "African American." Secondly, regarding rank, this supervisor is a commander. Third, when asked about tension in the community. She responded "it is not just African American officers that perpetrates tension between law enforcement and urban neighborhoods, but general police presence. Urban neighborhoods usually consist of poor black people and people of

color, therefore people from urban neighborhoods are more likely to be racially profiled, assaulted, killed or given a harsher sentence than their white counterparts. This is especially true for African Americans and other black people of African descent." Lastly, explaining the bond between law enforcement included "black people being routinely treated more harshly by police officers (more specifically white police officers)- is not because black people are more violent, or commit more crimes than white people, but because of systemic racism in the United States that permeates through many facets of life, including police departments, hospitals, schools, social services, etc. When Black officers are seen in Urban communities they are sometimes seen as traitors and pawns that are involved in a corrupt system that severely punishes and kill black and brown people. I don't think people think about the racism that black police offices endure, but question their choices for being involved in a corrupt system."

Supervisor 8. First, what is your race? "There is little agreement on core distinctions between race and ethnicity. Race has long been defined as a means to divide people. It puts us in categories, based on superficial physical and/or cultural attributes. These norms change over time, for instance…...-igger and coon, albeit disgraceful terms, these were words to describe a race of people. To inhibit an inherent divide by those in positions of power. Being put in sub-categories different from, that another race, by identifying a particular group, as less than the other. As time goes on towards the 40'-60's the race was identified as "Negro" or "Colored", the preferred term. The late 60's and progressing through the 70's the "Black Power Movement" was prevalent and many identified, as finally acknowledging an identity and feeling proud of it, "Black and Proud." As time passed the term African-American, as if to say, a person is identifying

with a homeland, that they've probably not ever been to, but yearning to feel connected, to something. I merely see myself, as "Black" a person with melatonin in my skin, my cultural experiences and background, and by the way, both my parents are Black. You hear the term, "People of Color" used today, another category that's used to categorize and or exploit differences, at times, a term for personal for gain. (Senator Elizabeth Warren, stated that she was a small percentage Native-American for school) So that "Person of Color" can be anyone. There was a time when people wanted to be anything other than "Black", now the very attributes that identify us naturally, as a race, are seen, as fashionable, as if we're an accessory. Ethnicity identifies as learned aspects of nationality, language and culture. So, I guess, the two are more of the same and truly can be inter-changeable. So Yes, I'm Black, and so proud of it!" Second, what is your rank "the word "Lieutenant" is derived from the French word: "lieu" meaning place and "tenant" meaning holder. It is a "Place-Holder" a substitute acting in place of a superior officer. Interestingly enough, rank has levels of superiority. Although I am currently at the rank of Lieutenant, I've learned from those above and below the rank."

Third, how or why does African American law enforcements' presence perpetuate tension in urban neighborhoods? "Our work in the Criminal Justice System is in deep contrast with perceptions of "Police-work" expressed by our cultural norms within the black community. These are personal experiences that we had and/or experiences expressed by family and friends with our encounters with police, prior to becoming an officer. The very system that we find ourselves representing is the same system that was unresponsive to our community, as a youth and into adulthood.

This tension created, starts early on in life and is perpetuated at times, amongst the white officers, we find as partners. It's difficult to see the blatant profiling of blacks and the ill-treatment and sometimes killing of those within our community committed by white officers. That (difficulty to identify profiling and ill-treatment) within itself creates tension, as a black officer, because the black community is unable to identify, "why are we policing, while allowing things, as described, to happen? Our community sees this (black officers supporting law enforcement endeavors) as a problem, so not only are you not accepted by your community, but you're further marginalized by some of your white partners and sometimes, supervisor. Black communities are seen as inherently bad, with little hope our productive people. This is how blacks are perceived by some within the media, as well expressed by some white officers. Things with the black communities are sensationalized, as if bad-things are exclusive to our communities. It is for these reasons and many others that create this difficult tension. There are other variables that create the problems experienced in black communities (education, financial inadequacies) and we as black offices are aware of this. So, it is necessary to represent all communities in a positive light, as crime occurs happen anywhere (not just specific to urban areas). As we are reflective of the neighborhood we represent, perhaps we can make a difference, to perhaps change the way internally, as well as externally on how we are viewed. Black woman has it especially hard, in this masculine field, as we deal with stereotypes, as we are not always seen as meaningful participants in the hierarchical chart. As a result, we find ourselves over-exerting ourselves to prove a point, and maintain our rise in power. I do believe, that we as black women in law enforcement, as a result of our experiences, have the innant ability to pull that next young female officer up that ladder, as we

too experience that tension. Change happens over time, so reaching that top pinnacle,

allows policy/procedures to trickle down and make a difference, as the Change Agent, in

your organization."

Lastly, how or why does the bond shared among law enforcement personnel

influence racial misconceptions of African Americans? "Black lives are undervalued, and

as such, are vulnerable to be exploited. Although we have a common bond by virtue of

our employment as law enforcement officers, we understand and recognize that there are

problems on how we're perceived by police. Police officer's come with implicit bias's

prior to becoming police and that mind-set does not necessarily leave that officer. The

criminal justice apparatus reminds us that the persistence of racial inequality is derived

from problems of power and structure against a particular group, our community. Having

a black person in a position of power is not enough to dismantle or meaningfully mitigate

the racial inequalities of society. It can be difficult to balance not being too soft, to overly

policing within our own community playing at times in our own misconceptions. I think

through continued training of all officers throughout their career regarding implicit bias

training and cultural intelligence and not as a one and done scenario. In addition,

the equalization of education and resources throughout all communities, which it is going

to take more than just the police to resolve, we've got to put the right representative

in "office" to make decisions/laws that aren't marginalizing any one particular group, but

uplifting us all."

Supervisor 9. First, when asked what is your race? The response, "I am African-

American." Secondly, regarding rank, this supervisor is a commander. Third, when asked

about tension in the community. The response, stated "it's due to the perpetuation of non-

African American peace officers' perception of urban policing which is biased on a pervasive training model of individuals who are never held accountable to their pledge to protect and serve all persons. Thus, tension is a symptom due to unfair treatment of people in urban communities verses the suburbs. Further, there is a great expectation for African American peace officers to expose such ill treatment while presumably balancing the role urban policing, management of as a colleague along with methods of de-escalation and invoking control of the situation at hand." Lastly, explaining the bond between law enforcement included "the major culprit in the room is the over-policing of African Americans that have overtly contributed to racial misconceptions. It appears that African Americans commit the most crimes due to incarceration, not necessarily conviction. It's the obvious prey upon a society of individuals who appear to be the under employed, under educated, thus under-valued and under-represented even when they are innocent. So, to lock up the bad guy becomes a psychological view of lock up the black guy, because he is guilty, no, because he is black."

Supervisor 10. First, when asked what is your race? The supervisor responded, "African American." Secondly, regarding rank, this supervisor is a commander. Third, when asked about tension in the community. The supervisor stated "I believe the tension exists because the urban/black communities believe we as law enforcers have forgotten who we are and where we come from. Almost as if we don't believe we are black anymore. It's as if they don't believe we have a job to do and it has nothing to do with color." Lastly, in explaining the bond between law enforcement, "we are trained to have each other's back and that brother/ sisterhood is "blue" and it is to a great degree, however "some "African Americans don't believe we as black officers can distinguish

between right and wrong. If we have the back of a white officer it causes a racial divide with our own people. More than race tho, it is my personal opinion that law enforcement is just not trusted I don't care what your ethnicity....and things have been happening in our communities and to our race for ages and quite honestly they have no reason to trust the Authorities and most don't understand why other blacks want to be a part of law enforcement for that very reason. So unfortunately, it's us and them!"

Supervisor 11. First, what is your race? "African American." Secondly, regarding rank, this supervisor is a Lieutenant. Second, how or why does African American law enforcements' presence perpetuate tension in urban neighborhoods? "Maybe because many African American officers reside in urban areas where they work as well which may lead to tension between them and the residents. If you treat everyone with respect, then there's less tension." Lastly, how or why does the bond shared among law enforcement personnel influence racial misconceptions of African Americans? "Law enforcement should be one common bond."

Supervisor 12. First, when asked what is your race? The response, "African American." Second, the response regarding rank included "Sergeant." Third, when asked about tension in the community. The response, stated "I believe that the tension that continues with African American officers in urban communities comes from negative past experiences. A lot of communities see law enforcement as their enemies ultimately creating tension unless bonds of trust can be created." Lastly, explaining the bond between law enforcement included "typically, the bond amongst officers in law enforcement is seen as being sell outs within the African American community. Based on the history of law enforcement which was mainly composed of white officers, blacks

were not seen as equals. Today many people look at African American officers as the "token" one which is not acceptable in today's society."

Results

The results of this research showed emerging codes created in MAXQDA 2020 software based on narrative format responses. The participants included Commanders, Lieutenants, and Sergeants. This explorative analysis resulted in the exhaustive description of participants' experiences in the context of their perceptions of policing, urban areas, and bonds between law enforcement. In using the bureaucratic representation theory and racial or minority framework, five general themes were coded from the experiences of the participants who are employed in law enforcement and a part of the African American community in the Philadelphia, Pennsylvania area. The five theme developments were (1) bonds and goals (2) conflicts and gender issues, (3) perceptions of demographics, (4) law enforcement viewed enemy, and (5) negative experiences. MAXQDA 2020 software was used to code responses from the participants.

Research Question 1

How or why does African American law enforcements' presence perpetuate tension in urban neighborhoods? The most influential reason for why the presence of African American law enforcers perpetuate tension between law enforcement and urban neighborhoods is due to prior negative encounters and identifying targets as a "bad guy." The participants also found that misconceptions of African American law enforcers are identified as a "traitor" for working alongside law enforcement. They became an enemy to the community in which they are a part of at the point of gaining membership in the law enforcement "brotherhood and sisterhood." See Figure 1.

Research Question 2

How or why does the bond shared among law enforcement personnel influence racial misconceptions of African Americans? The most influential reason for why the bond shared among law enforcement personnel control racial misconceptions of African Americans is due to a lack of trust that dates back to historical events circumventing "systemic racism in the United States." See Figure 1.

Out of the five themes of development, African American law enforcement supervisors reflected on perceptions of the urban community. There were 24 reactions associated with demographics, 17 reactions associated with law enforcement viewed as the enemy, and 20 reactions associated with negative experiences in the past. Additionally, African American law enforcement supervisors reflected on the bonds and racial misconceptions. There were 12 reactions associated with organizational bonds or goals and 17 reactions associated with conflicts or gender issues.
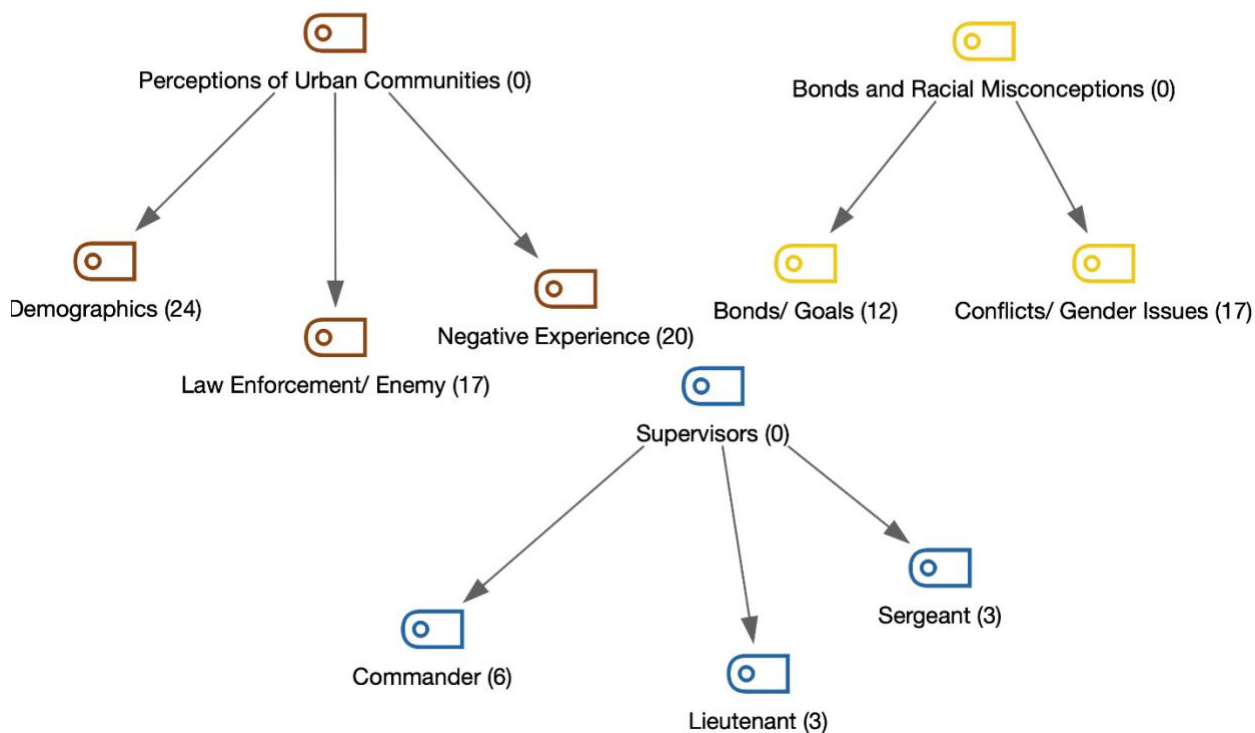
Themes

Figure 1. Themes.

Summary

The study aimed to identify emergent themes from 12 purposive sampled African American law enforcement supervisors of different ranks employed by the Philadelphia County law enforcement agency. The emergent themes and codes derived from (1) bonds and goals (2) conflicts and gender issues, (3) perceptions of demographics, (4) law enforcement viewed enemy, (5) negative experiences, and (6) supervisors. The bonds and goals theme emerged from describing the camaraderie with fellow brothers and sisters in law enforcement and then the reasons for working in the industry. Conflicts and gender issues theme emerged from descriptions of the problems that the law enforcers experienced. The demographic theme described personal experiences with urban

neighborhoods. Law enforcement viewed as the enemy theme developed from recollections of experiences with law enforcers and reflecting on their community. Lastly, the negative experiences with law enforcement themes emerged from observing other African Americans experiences and their initial encounter with the criminal justice system.

Coding the research explored entire transcripts from the questionnaire to determine whether African American law enforcers perpetuate tension with the African American community. The twelve purposively sampled African American law enforcement supervisors responded to questionnaires for qualitative research analyzing African Americans supervisors within bureaucratic representation theory and impacted by a racial or minority threat framework. The research analysis indicated that the tension between law enforcement and urban neighborhoods is due to negative encounters with law enforcement, as well as misconceptions that African American law enforcement working alongside law enforcement, are enemies. Additionally, coding the bond shared among law enforcement personnel influence racial misconceptions of African Americans is due to a lack of trust with personnel. In this study, the analytic scheme emerged throughout the narratives exploring perceptions of law enforcement's historical framework as it relates to urban areas as well as discussed, the act of self-preservation.

However, other research shows that urban communities perceive African American law enforcers as harsher than other races because, as a bureaucratic representative, their law enforcement practices are aggressive (DuVernay, 2016). Other research also shows that most African American law enforcers racially profile their community, overcompensate for peers, promote organizational goals to a higher standard,

and embark on actions only to maintain job security (Barrick et al., 2014). Given that

African American enforcers lack support from urban neighborhoods (Gardiner et al.,

2017).

Chapter 5: Discussion, Conclusions, and Recommendations

This qualitative research study was conducted to learn how African American law enforcers perceive high-crime or poor urban communities, as seen through African American supervisors' eyes. There is a problem with law enforcement and the African American community in the United States, and comparatively African American law enforcement employees perpetuates more tension in these communities (Barrick et al. 2014; Brunson et al., 2015).

In advancing understanding of this topic within the discipline, this study's central contribution and significance involve the application of bureaucratic representation theory and the racial or minority threat framework to the experiences of African American law enforcement personnel. However, it should be noted that the presence of any law enforcer—not just African American representatives of law enforcement— perpetuates tension in urban neighborhoods.

This study supports prior research on Melamed et al.'s (2019) argument that mass supervision is a system that traps criminals in community supervision programs for lifetimes. Mass supervision revolves around probation or parole confinement with attachments such as supervision fees, court costs, and fines. DuVernay's (2016) documentary showed countless African American defendants accepting guilty pleas to receive deals for purposes of exiting correctional facilities. The implications of accepting a plea agreement include an association with guilt, even if the alleged offender is not guilty of the crime, which affects the condition of the sentence. Plea agreements extend sentencing to include community supervision, with strict rules or guidelines to follow for a period of time. Frequently, probationers or parolees violate community supervision due

to the standards set, which cause them to be jailed or extend their community supervision. Some probationers or parolees have argued that community supervision guidelines make it hard to complete the total length of the sentence (M. Mills, personal communication, August 6, 2019). Melamed et al. called supervision a "Probation (or Parole) Trap" that affects people of color disproportionately. The criminal justice system can make people desperate rather than rehabilitating them, with routine crackdowns on people living in poverty and with mental illnesses and addiction.

Since the 16th century, African Americans have challenged law enforcement practices and the criminal justice system (DuVernay, 2016; Rembert et al., 2016). Racial divides and tensions have led to violent crime, distrust of government, and distrust of the police in African American communities (Wade, 2017). Crime was reduced as law enforcement practiced foot patrols in targeted areas, which caused police administrators to depend on random patrols, rapid response, and retroactive criminal investigations (Chronopoulos, 2018; DuVernay, 2016; Jenkins, 2016). In the late 1960s, former U.S. President Richard Nixon implemented the law-and-order concept to stabilize crime. Although there was a spike in crime in the late 1980s to mid-1990s, Gross et al.'s (2017) research supported President Nixon's zero-tolerance policing approach. DuVernay's (2016) findings suggested that the spike in crime was associated with the availability of drugs within urban and impoverished African American communities, identifying poverty as a stimulant for crimes that led to mass incarceration and mass supervision (Jenkins, 2016; Melamed et al., 2019). Gross et al. suggested that the spike resulted from recidivism among ex-offenders who networked with other inmates about committing future crimes before being released from prison.

Interestingly, efforts to increase the number of minority enforcers in law enforcement did not reduce the stigma associated with the African American community, crime, and correctional institutions. Jails and state penitentiaries remained overpopulated (DuVernay, 2016; Hinton, 2016). Barrick et al.'s (2014) study found that many minority law enforcers are more aggressive in urban communities (Bailey, 2017; Dorsey, 2018; Dukes, 2018). Ozkan et al. (2015) and Pegues (2017) determined that minority law enforcers have led to more assaults and complaints from communities. Law enforcement styles reflect behavioral patterns associated with racial profiling and aggressive enforcement practices (Wilkins & Williams, 2008, as cited in Ozkan et al., 2015 and Trochmann et al., 2016).

African American law enforcement personnel struggle to maintain awareness on and off duty. These employees seek to avoid being perceived as criminal, dangerous, or suspect through association with the stigma applied to urban communities. Additionally, they may fear being killed on duty by another law enforcer in what is called "friendly fire." African American law enforcers are representatives of a racially threatened minority community, yet they also serve as representatives of bureaucratic structures within the law enforcement community. These enforcers navigate through different cultures and learn ways to survive on the job by watching their backs (Horace et al., 2018). The theory and framework of this study were useful in exploring the tension between urban communities and law enforcement personnel.

The potential benefits of this study include its potential to address problems between African American law enforcement employees and urban communities. Additionally, this study allowed me to explore the factors associated with the

organizational bond shared between law enforcement personnel and agencies as it relates to racial misconceptions of African Americans. Research suggests that the majority of African American law enforcers have succumbed to unfair racial discrimination practices, even as their race threatens social order as a marginalized group (Dukes, 2018; Ozkan et al., 2015). More research suggests that in each organization, there is an identity similar to individual character, and in that, the organizational identity integrates with ethnic identification that connects bureaucratic processes with communal processes (Dukes, 2018).

In this study, African American law enforcement supervisors reflected on perceptions of the urban community, with 24 responses associated with demographics, 17 responses associated with law enforcement being viewed as the enemy, and 20 responses associated with negative experiences in the past. Additionally, African American law enforcement supervisors reflected on bonds and racial misconceptions, with 12 responses associated with organizational bonds or goals and 17 responses associated with conflicts or gender issues.

This study included ethical research practices to ensure authenticity, transferability, confirmability, and triangulation. Future research is needed to analyze types of procedural justice practices that will be effective within African American communities. The research should also focus on the impact that race has on society and the role that cultural norms play concerning building trust and sustaining legitimacy between law enforcement and urban communities. Although the COVID-19 pandemic impacted Philadelphia and surrounding areas, it did not present ethical dilemmas for this study, in which participants submitted anonymous responses to an online questionnaire.

Summary of Results

In this qualitative research study, the responses of African American law enforcement supervisors were analyzed with the lens of bureaucratic representation theory and a racial or minority threat framework, to develop an understanding of the tension that exists between urban communities and law enforcement personnel. I aimed to identify emergent themes from 12 purposively sampled African American law enforcement supervisors from the Philadelphia County law enforcement agency who completed questionnaires. The participants responded to questions via Surveymonkey.com, with responses returned to the website. Each participant was asked about race or ethnic background, rank in law enforcement, and how or why African American law enforcement's presence perpetuates tension in urban neighborhoods, as well as how or why the bond shared among law enforcement personnel influences racial misconceptions of African Americans.

Initially, I collected literature on policing and the urban community. However, my focus in exploring the academic literature evolved toward an ontological perspective on African American law enforcement and urban communities. Because residents of urban communities are stopped, searched, arrested, sentenced, fined, and given pre and post releases at higher rates than individuals of any other race (Goffman, 2014). At the same time, research shows that African American law enforcement personnel experiences double consciousness (Dukes, 2018). This is shown from many African American law enforcers supporting authoritarianism among White counterparts and succumb to the discriminatory practices of predecessors (Dukes, 2018). Gardiner et al. (2017) found that minority law enforcers engaged in higher rates of racial profiling due to organizational

pressure to fit in and to overcompensate for coworkers. In this qualitative research, I

sought to bridge the gap between law enforcement and African American communities.

Discussion of the Results

The results of this research showed emerging codes created in MAXQDA 2020

software. The participants included Commanders, Lieutenants, and Sergeants. This

explorative analysis resulted in the exhaustive description of participants' experiences and

themed codes related to their perceptions of policing, urban areas, and bonds between law

enforcement. The discovery of themes led to (1) bonds and goals (2) conflicts and gender

issues, (3) perceptions of demographics, (4) law enforcement viewed enemy, (5) negative

experiences, and (6) supervisors.

Out of the five themes of development, African American law enforcement

supervisors reflected on perceptions of the urban community. There were 24 responses

associated with demographics, 17 responses associated with law enforcement viewed as

the enemy, and 20 responses associated with negative experiences in the past.

Additionally, African American law enforcement supervisors reflected on the bonds and

racial misconceptions. There were 12 responses associated with organizational bonds or

goals and 17 responses associated with conflicts or gender issues.

Research Question 1

How or why does African American law enforcements' presence perpetuate

tension in urban neighborhoods? The most influential reason for how or why African

American law enforcement's presence perpetuates tension in urban neighborhoods is due

to prior negative encounters with law enforcement, and misconceptions that African

American law enforcers work alongside with law enforcement is the enemy. The negative

encounters circumvent both law enforcement and the criminal justice system in minority communities. Although, they understand problems related to racial profiling, mass arrest, and unfair treatment, in light of this, African American law enforcement employees acknowledged their perception is working with "the system" and understand the origin of why they are rated as enemies. Some participants reported, being an African American law enforcer is like "turning your back" on your community, is a "sell-out", and inhibitions are "oppressing your people" in a system that is in "deep contrast with perceptions of "police-work" expressed by our cultural norms within the black community."

Research Question 2

How or why does the bond shared among law enforcement personnel influence racial misconceptions of African Americans? The most influential reason is due to a lack of trust with personnel. The organizational bond shared amongst law enforcement extends to a lack of trust from the urban community as expressed by enforcers "dedication to the job" and the misconception that the organizational bond "hinders an officer from doing the right thing, because of the protection that loyalty or bond provides." However, under this scope, "having a black person in a position of power is not enough to dismantle or meaningfully mitigate the racial inequalities of society." Therefore, since the bond shares a "brother/ sisterhood" protecting each other in "life and death situations" that environmental changes can occur by "handling disturbances in an empathetic, selfless manner."

Limitations

There are many studies on perceptions about crime and the urban community; there are limited studies that explicitly describe African American law enforcements' perception of crime from those who patrol in urban communities. Although there is research on law enforcers opinions from the shared blue perspective, there are finite studies that discuss policing in ways that combine both the ethnicity and personal experiences of African American law enforcers (Rose et al., 2017).

The limitations of this study did not include collaborative policing practices that are acceptable amongst urban communities, and the volunteer's availability was limited due to ramifications of the COVID-19 pandemic. The crisis caused a public health risk not only to the volunteers but also to their family members. It was a challenge getting the volunteers to commit to completing the questionnaire.

Additionally, the limitations of this study did not include collaborative policing practices that is acceptable amongst the African American communities. Because reducing conflict decreases crime, research should focus on the impact of race and the roles that cultural norms play in building trust to sustain legitimacy and authority in relationships between urban communities and law enforcement. Incidents involving excessive or deadly force are stressors for both law enforcement and the public. Such incidents have led to lawsuits that specifically relate to injury, disability, disease, or death. There is a problem with trust between law enforcement and urban communities. Given this problem, can urban communities collaborate with law enforcement? If so, what does such collaboration look like to an African American law enforcement employee (Casady, n.d.; Pegues, 2017; Van Craen, 2016)?

Conclusions

The findings indicated that the most important reasons that African American law enforcers' presence perpetuates tension in urban neighborhoods are community members' past negative encounters with law enforcement and the belief that African American law enforcers work with the enemy. Another important reason on the impact of the organizational bond shared by employees has had on racial misconceptions of African Americans is a lack of trust with personnel.

Recommendations for Further Research or Intervention

Prior research shows that African American law enforcers experience issues with organizational cultural marginality, and many describe employment as surviving double consciousness among non-minority co-workers or with other minorities who conform to the majority culture's consciousness (Dorsey, 2018). However, further research is recommended by comparing first-line law enforcers perceptions with law enforcement supervisor's perceptions of urban communities as bureaucratic representatives of law enforcement and members of a racial or minority threatened community.

Future research is needed to analyze types of procedural justice practices that will collaborate with African American communities. The potential impact for positive social change should also focus on the impact race has on society and how cultural norms play concerning building trust and sustaining legitimacy between law enforcement and urban communities. For instance, incidents involving excessive or deadly force are stressors for both law enforcers and the public because these events have led to lawsuits that specifically relate to injury, disability, disease, or death. In retrospect, there is a problem with trust between law enforcement and the urban community; therefore, can this

community collaborate with law enforcement and if so, how would that impact the organizational mission imposed onto the African American law enforcers reduce excessive and deadly force in the urban communities (Casady, n.d.; Pegues, 2017; Van Craen, 2016)?

Conclusion

Although urban communities are stopped, searched, arrested, sentenced, fined, and given pre and post releases at higher rates than any other race (Goffman, 2014), researchers found that minority enforcers have higher incidents of racial profiling due to organizational pressure to fit in as well as to overcompensate for co-workers (Gardiner et al., 2017). In this qualitative research method, African American law enforcement supervisors were analyzed, under the bureaucratic representation theory and racial or minority threat framework, to develop an understanding of the tension that coexists between law enforcement personnel and urban communities. The most important reasons that African American law enforcers' presence perpetuates tension in urban neighborhoods are community members' past negative encounters with law enforcement and the belief that African American law enforcers work with the enemy. While the most influential reason for how or why the bond shared among law enforcement personnel influence racial misconceptions of African Americans is due to a lack of trust with personnel. This explorative analysis resulted in the exhaustive description of participants' experiences in the context of their perceptions of policing, urban areas, and organizational bonds between law enforcement personnel and agencies.

The discovery of themes led to (1) bonds and goals (2) conflicts and gender issues, (3) perceptions of demographics, (4) law enforcement viewed enemy, (5) negative

experiences, and (6) supervisors. Out of the five themes of development, African American law enforcement supervisors reflected on perceptions of the urban community. There were 24 responses associated with demographics, 17 responses associated with law enforcement viewed as the enemy, and 20 responses associated with negative experiences in the past. Additionally, African American law enforcement supervisors reflected on the bonds and racial misconceptions. There were 12 responses associated with organizational bonds or goals and 17 responses associated with conflicts or gender issues. In this qualitative research method, bureaucratic representation theory and a racial or minority threat framework analyzed African American law enforcement supervisors on the tension that coexists between urban communities and law enforcement personnel.

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Appendix A: Invitation to the Study

To my brother and sister in law enforcement, I am conducting a questionnaire as part of a research study to increase my understanding of African American law enforcer's perceptions of crime in minority communities, and the bond shared among law enforcement agencies from the eyes of African American law enforcement supervisors. As an African American supervisor, you are in an ideal position to give valuable first-hand information from your perspective. The questionnaire takes approximately 10-20 minutes. I am merely trying to capture your thoughts and perspectives on being a law enforcement official. Your responses to the questions will be kept confidential. Each questionnaire will be assigned a number code to help ensure that personal identifiers are not revealed during the analysis and write up of findings. There is no compensation for participating in this study. However, your participation will be a valuable addition to my research, and findings could lead to a greater public understanding of African American law enforcers' perceptions of crime in minority communities. If you are willing to participate, print the consent form, and click on this link,

https://www.surveymonkey.com/r/?sm=yXq7nO5FeUnP2vDQ6FP84w_3D_3D

If you have any questions, please do not hesitate to ask. Thanks!

Appendix B: Assessment Instrument

QUESTIONNAIRE

1. What is your race or ethnic background?

2. What is your rank in law enforcement?

3. How or why does African American law enforcements' presence perpetuate

   tension in urban neighborhoods?

4. How or why does the bond shared among law enforcement personnel

   influence racial misconceptions of African Americans?