

2017

African American Male Police Officers' Perceptions of Being Racially Profiled by Fellow Police Officers

Michael Armstrong Campbell
Walden University

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Walden University

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Walden University
2017

Abstract

African American Male Police Officers' Perceptions of Being Racially Profiled

by Fellow Police Officers

by

Michael A. Campbell

MA, Seton Hall University, 2009

BS, Caldwell College, 2008

Dissertation Submitted in Partial Fulfillment

of the Requirements for the Degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

Public Policy and Administration

Walden University

March 2017

Abstract

African American police officers, as other African Americans, report being subjected to racial profiling by police officers, and that these encounters have, in some cases, resulted in excessive and unjustified use of force. These types of occurrences have resulted in a divide between African American and Caucasian police officers. The purpose of this phenomenological research study was to explore the experiences and perceptions of African American male police officers in the State of New Jersey who feel they have been discriminated against by fellow law enforcement officers. Weber's social relationship theory served as the theoretical framework for this study. Data were collected through semistructured interviews with a snowball sample of 20 participants. Data were coded and analyzed using a modified van Kaam method of analysis. Findings revealed that most participants felt they had been stopped for no reason, and that they were disrespected by fellow officers, even when they revealed they were law enforcement officers. Many times, participants sensed that the disclosure of their status as a police officer was met with increased suspicion. Consistent with social relationship theory, a significant theme was that participants perceived that they were considered by Caucasian officers to be a member of a subgroup, rather than a member of the dominant group. The implications for positive social change include recommendations to law enforcement policymakers and leaders to learn about the detrimental effects of racial profiling on African American male police officers' morale, work ethic, job satisfaction, and personal feelings of worth as well as to focus resources on creating stronger policies against racial profiling and effective training and oversight of police officers.

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Dedication

This dissertation is dedicated to my father, Vincent Campbell, who died June 2, 2016. My father was an inspiration to me as he always believed in education. He lived his life educating others and building bridges to help connect those who were less fortunate to make it to mainstream society. It was your dedication to empowering the voiceless and the weak that led me on a God guided journey through the valleys and peaks of our fluid society to realize my dream of attaining my PhD. May the dear Lord bless you for all that you have done to improve the life of many citizens. I share this degree with you and will forever remember the many conferences that we shared. I love you and thank you for the life that you have given me.

For my mother, Thelma Douglas, thank you for raising me with discipline, which has resulted in me conquering the many hurdles that I had to overcome in life. The combination of your traits and Dad's traits has molded me into a person who seeks equality for all citizens in our society. Without those good traits, attaining this PhD would not have been possible.

Acknowledgments

I would like to take this opportunity to thank all my friends and support groups who helped support me on this PhD endeavor. The process was long and arduous, which included long nights reviewing research materials. I would like to express my deepest gratitude to my family for being patient and understanding with the limited time that I had available to entertain them. I would like to thank my committee chair, Dr. Anthony Fleming, and my committee member, Dr. Robert Schaefer, for their mentoring through the dissertation process and giving me hope when I was feeling despair in the proposal process. I would also like to thank my university research reviewer, Dr. Settles, for her keen and unwavering insights into my dissertation.

I am grateful and honored to have Dr. Carolyn Rose-Smith as my mentor who kept my vision alive as she guided me through the rough dissertation terrain that has failed many before me. I would like to also thank her husband, Mr. Scott Rose-Smith, and their children for being patient as their mom and loving wife spent countless hours away from them to see that I completed the dissertation journey and made the dream a reality for me. I would like to thank my late and loving father who passed away on June 2, 2016, just months before my dissertation completion.

Finally, I would like to thank my family for their unwavering support and patience during this long process. Special thanks to Ms. Jennifer Amato for her support and guidance throughout the entire doctoral process and during the times when I questioned my abilities to complete the degree.

Table of Contents

List of Tables	v
Chapter 1: Introduction to the Study.....	1
Background of the Study	3
Statement of the Problem.....	6
Purpose of the Study	8
Research Questions.....	8
Theoretical Framework.....	9
Nature of the Study.....	10
Definition of Terms.....	11
Assumptions.....	13
Scope and Delimitations	14
Limitations	14
Significance of the Study.....	15
Summary.....	17
Chapter 2: Literature Review.....	19
Literature Search Strategy.....	21
Theoretical Foundation	21
Social Relationship Theory.....	22
Research Application of Social Relationship Theory.....	25
The Cause of Racial Profiling by Police Officers.....	28
African American Police Officers’ Perceptions About Being Racially Profiled.....	56

African American Police Officers’ Perceived Effects of Racial Profiling at	
Work	59
Racial Profiling Internationally.....	63
Racial Profiling and the Media	66
Summary and Conclusions	67
Chapter 3: Research Method.....	70
Research Design and Rationale	70
Research Questions.....	70
Phenomenological Research Design Rationale	71
Role of the Researcher	72
Methodology	73
Participant Selection Logic.....	73
Instrumentation	75
Procedures for Recruitment, Participation, and Data Collection.....	75
Data Analysis Plan.....	78
Issues of Trustworthiness.....	79
Credibility	79
Transferability.....	80
Dependability.....	80
Confirmability.....	81
Ethical Procedures	81
Summary.....	83

Chapter 4: Results	84
Setting	84
Demographics	85
Data Collection	85
Data Analysis	86
Evidence of Trustworthiness.....	87
Results.....	87
Central Research Question.....	88
Subquestion 1	93
Subquestion 2.....	104
Subquestion 3.....	124
Subquestion 4.....	128
Summary	136
Chapter 5: Discussion, Conclusions, and Recommendations.....	140
Interpretation of Findings	141
Central Research Question.....	142
Subquestion 1	144
Subquestion 2.....	149
Subquestion 3.....	151
Subquestion 4.....	152
Limitations of the Study.....	156
Recommendations.....	156

Implications.....	157
Conclusion	161
References.....	163
Appendix A: Invitation to Participate and Recommendation Request	181
Appendix B: Interview Guide.....	183
Appendix C: NIH Certificate	186
Appendix D: Thematic Analysis Step 1 or Categorization of Text.....	187

List of Tables

Table 1. Perceptions of Being Racially Profiled by Fellow Police Officers	88
Table 2. Causes of Racial Profiling	94
Table 3. Effects of Racial Profiling	106
Table 4. Effect of Racial Profiling on Social Relationships	125
Table 5. Recommendations for Decreasing or Preventing Racial Profiling	129

Chapter 1: Introduction to the Study

Racial profiling emerged throughout the 1700s when Caucasians formed slave patrols (Lundman, 2012). Kappeler (2014) reported that the American police was created from the institution of slavery and the control of minorities. Kappeler related that slave patrols and night watches became modern police departments that were designed to control minorities' behaviors. The author noted that many of the southern police departments began as slave patrols, with the colony of Carolina developing the nation's first slave patrol in 1704. Kappeler claimed that slave patrols were used to maintain economic order and help wealthy landowners recover and punish slaves who were considered property.

Following the Civil War that took place between 1861 and 1865, southern and northern states adopted Jim Crow laws between 1877 and 1954, which were designed to maintain ethnic separation between Caucasians and African Americans (Lundman, 2012). During the Jim Crow era, slave patrols served as one of the first forms of law enforcement, and their actions resulted in lynching, torture, and hostile work environments for both African American citizens and African American police officers (Lundman, 2012). Prior to the end of the Civil War, *Dred Scott v. Sandford* (1857) was one of the instrumental Supreme Court cases that amplified the level of racial discrimination in the American criminal justice system (Finkelman, 1996). Finkelman (1996) reported that Scott's pursuit of freedom and equality for his family in the United States propelled his legal suit; however, the Supreme Court later denied his suit. The author noted that the Scott's legal suit was denied on the grounds that slaves were not

considered citizens of the United States, but property of slave owners; hence, slaves had no legal right to sue. The *Dred Scott v. Sandford* case and the Civil Rights Movement during the 1950s and 1960s were significant events in African American fight for freedom and equality, but many African Americans continue to be treated unequally by current law enforcement officers and police agencies through their use of the war on drugs as a means of social control (Archbold, Dahle, Fangman, Wentz, & Wood, 2013).

The deaths of unnamed African American youths and men such as Tamir Rice, Michael Brown, and Eric Garner have resulted in nationwide protests against police tactics (Conlin, 2014). Conlin (2014) reported that tensions have escalated as police officers have been targeted and killed as a way to avenge the deaths of African Americans. The author noted that a divide is also occurring between African American and Caucasian police officers as many African American police officers have noted that they too have experienced racial profiling from their fellow police officers. It was important to understand the experiences of African American police officers who have a vested interest in exposing the practice of racial profiling as well as a vested interest in protecting the integrity of their profession (Barlow & Barlow, 2002). Using Weber's (1910) social relationship theory in this phenomenological research study, I explored African American male police officers' perceptions about being racially profiled by fellow police officers in the State of New Jersey.

This study is significant because findings are directed at helping law enforcement policymakers and leaders learn about the detrimental effects of racial profiling on African American male frontline police officers' morale, work ethic, job satisfaction, and

personal feelings of worth. Findings will also help law enforcement policymakers and leaders understand and address the need for stronger policies against racial profiling at the state and local levels, along with the need for effective training and oversight of police officers. In Chapter 1, I include the background of the study, statement of the problem, purpose of the study, research questions, theoretical framework, nature of the study, definition of terms, assumptions, scope and delimitations, limitations, significance of the study, and a summary.

Background of the Study

African Americans have complained about disparate treatment by law enforcement officers and the criminal justice system across the nation (Cochran & Warren, 2012; Conlin, 2014; Natarajan, 2014; Wilson & Wilson, 2014). When African Americans complain about harsh police treatments to various officials who are responsible for investigating police officer misconduct, officials are usually apathetic toward their concerns (Cochran & Warren, 2012). Cochran and Warren (2012) related that African American citizens' complaints are usually dismissed as being oversensitive. Cochran and Warren examined racial variation in perceptions of the police and how citizen interaction and officer race influences citizens' evaluations of their encounter with police officers. Findings indicated that African American men and women were more likely to negatively evaluate police behavior when Caucasian police officers stopped them, even though the researchers controlled for the reported reasons given for the stops. On the other hand, the researchers found that for minority officer stops, there were no citizen-race or ethnicity effects. Hence, findings suggested that citizens, especially

minority citizens, rate officer legitimacy more objectively when minority officers stopped them, while they viewed Caucasian officers' stops more skeptically.

Ferguson, Missouri's law enforcement approach reflects and reinforces racial bias, such as stereotyping (U.S. Department of Justice [DOJ], 2015). The DOJ (2015) investigated the Ferguson Police Department on September 4, 2014, under the pattern-or-practice provision of the Violent Crime Control and Law Enforcement Act of 1994. Findings indicated a pattern or practice of unlawful conduct within the Ferguson Police Department that violated the First, Fourth, and 14th Amendments to the U.S. Constitution, and federal statutory law. While being 67% of the Ferguson population, the DOJ found that African Americans were subjected to high rates of motor vehicle stops (85%), arrests (93%), use of force (88%), issued warrants (92%), and jailed for more than 2 days (95%; p. 4). As a result, the DOJ found that African Americans disproportionately endured harms of the Ferguson Police Department's police and court practices, which was partly due to intentional discrimination based on race.

As a consequence of harsh treatment from police officers, many minorities, including African American male police officers, feel excluded and emotionally distressed (Cochran & Warren, 2012). Miller (2013) examined the institutionalization of racial profiling in law enforcement, and findings suggested that the law enforcement's theory on fighting crime is directly associated with race and criminal suspicion. Miller added that law enforcement officers apply this theory as part of their decision-making process to stop African Americans in certain communities. The researcher noted that this theory has led to a negative police-citizen relationship with African American males.

Many individuals believe that police officers often use the race of motorists when carrying out discretionary motor vehicle stops (Miller, 2013). Bonner (2014) investigated race, space, and being policed, which was based on the policing practices toward African Americans who appear to be ethnically out of place in public places. Findings indicated that African American participants were concerned about excessive police distribution, differences in enforcement, and social exclusion. Novak and Chamlin (2012) examined racial threat, suspicion, and police behavior. Using racial conflict theory, the researchers found that individuals with characteristics that are not consistent with the racial group makeup of the beat draw suspicion to themselves, which is likely to result in the application of social control. Novak and Chamlin noted that the race out of place perspective provided understanding about how police officers exercise discretionary choices to stop, search, and issue citations to motorists.

Police officers' implicit stereotyping negatively affects African Americans because they are viewed as criminals with violent tendencies (Carroll & Gonzalez, 2014). Carroll and Gonzalez (2014) related that when police officers act on this stereotype, they respond negatively towards African American motorists. Using social conditioning theory, the researchers found that minorities, especially African Americans, were more likely to be frisked and searched than their Caucasian counterparts following traffic stops due to implicit stereotyping. Carroll and Gonzalez further added that law enforcement institutions use racial stereotypes to determine what actions they will take when officers encounter African Americans in communities that are not representative of their population.

There is an abundance of research literature that has focused on the perceptions of African American citizens in relation to racial profiling, but research is limited on the perceptions of African American police officers who have been racially profiled by their colleagues. While there are a few researchers who have focused on the views of African American police officers, such as Wilson and Wilson (2014), who explored the views of African American police officers about the effects of their presence in their law enforcement agencies and their communities, there is a gap in literature specifically addressing active and retired African American male frontline police officers' experiences with being racially profiled. Using Weber's (1910) social relationship theory, I addressed this gap by adding new knowledge to the field. This phenomenological research study was needed, as understanding the experiences of African American police officers will help law enforcement policymakers and leaders learn about the detrimental effects of racial profiling on African American male frontline police officers and address the need for stronger policies against racial profiling at the state and local levels, along with the need for effective training and oversight of police officers.

Statement of the Problem

The tragic deaths of African American men, to include Eric Garner, Michael Brown, Walter Scott, and Freddie Gray, ignited a national debate and protests about the use of racial profiling and excessive force by police officers (Bauerlein, 2015; Nataranjan, 2014; Stolberg, 2015). Racial profiling has continued to plague U.S. communities despite the constitutional guarantee of equal treatment under the law (Barlow & Barlow, 2002; Nataranjan, 2014; Simmons, 2011; Wilson & Wilson, 2014).

This problem has negatively affected minorities, such as African Americans and Latinos (Barlow & Barlow, 2002; Cochran & Warren, 2012). Conlin (2014) noted that the statistics of Blacks accounting for 73% of the shootings in New York in 2011 while being 23% of the population are potentially skewed because police officers over-focus on Black communities and ignore crime in other areas (para. 11). A possible cause of this problem is implicit bias among Americans, who historically have correlated Black maleness with crime (Eberhardt, Goff, Purdie, & Davies, 2004).

Along with African American citizens, African American police officers have reported that they too have experienced racial profiling from their fellow police officers on numerous occasions (Barlow & Barlow, 2002; Conlin, 2014; Holland & Bender, 2014; Stapleton, 2014). African American officers reported that this includes being pulled over for no reason, having their heads slammed against their cars, getting guns brandished in their faces, being thrown into prison vans, and being stopped and frisked (Conlin, 2014). In a 2010 New York State Task Force report on police-on-police shootings, Stone et al. (2010) reported that since 1981, approximately 26 police officers across the United States have been shot and killed by their colleagues who mistook them for dangerous criminals (p. 24). These experiences have resulted in a divide between African American and Caucasian police officers (Conlin, 2014).

Research has been limited on the experiences of African American police officers who have been racially profiled by their colleagues. The perceptions of African American police officers are important because they have a personal vested interest in exposing the practice of racial profiling and a professional vested interest in protecting the integrity of

their profession (Barlow & Barlow, 2002). A second limitation is that past studies have not explored African American male police officers' perceptions of being racially profiled through the theoretical lens of Weber's (1910) social relationship theory. Using this theory as the theoretical foundation, a qualitative phenomenological research study was needed that explored African American male police officers' perceptions about being racially profiled by fellow police officers.

Purpose of the Study

The purpose of this qualitative phenomenological research study was to explore 20 African American male police officers' perceptions about being racially profiled by fellow police officers in the State of New Jersey. Moustakas (1994) related that the phenomenological research design helps the researcher gain an understanding of the essences of participants' experiences. Weber's (1910) social relationship theory was used as the theoretical foundation of this study. Data were collected through in-depth face-to-face semistructured interviews with a snowball sample of 20 active and retired African American male frontline police officers in the State of New Jersey who have experienced racial profiling.

Research Questions

In this qualitative phenomenological research study, I addressed one central research question: What are African American male police officers' perceptions about being racially profiled by fellow police officers in the State of New Jersey?

Four subquestions were considered:

1. What do African American male police officers perceive to be the cause of racial profiling by police officers?
2. What do African American male police officers perceive to be the effects of racial profiling within their workplace?
3. What are African American male police officers' perceptions about how racial profiling affects their social relationship with Caucasian police officers?
4. What do African American male police officers recommend to decrease and prevent racial profiling?

Theoretical Framework

When conducting empirical research, researchers can use a specific theory to understand and guide what one sees in the data collected for a research study (Maxwell, 2013). Having a theory helps to show the relationship between collected data and what is taking place with the phenomenon in the research. Theory helps amplify what is happening and why it is occurring. Weber's (1910) social relationship theory, which was translated by Gane (2005), served as the theoretical foundation for this study. A brief overview of the theory is provided in this section with a more detailed explanation provided in Chapter 2. According to Gane (2005), Weber's social relationship theory, that was developed in 1910, expounded on two basic kinds of social relationships arising out of social actions: (a) communal and (b) associative. Communal relationships are formed by individuals' feelings for each other (Turner, 2012). On the other hand, associative relationships are based on rationality and group members' beliefs in their obligation to a particular social group with the expectation that other members will

follow the same principle (Gane, 2005; Turner, 2012). Although both communal and associative relationships are open to various social groups, inclusion is determined by the dominant social group who influences social order (Gane, 2005).

Although members of various social groups can be part of the communal and associative relationships, Weber (as cited in Gane, 2005) noted that members of society are often excluded from communal and associative social relationships because of certain social groups' binding rules. As cited in Gane (2005), Weber reported that when societal groups begin to exclude other members based on established group rules, their actions set the stage for discrimination, while establishing social forms of group status. Societal groups are politically connected and they use their power to influence social behavior through loyal public officials who are ready to enforce their social rules and regulations.

Nature of the Study

In this phenomenological research study, I explored 20 African American male police officers' perceptions about being racially profiled by fellow police officers in the State of New Jersey. The phenomenological research design was chosen because it is used to understand a phenomenon from the perspective of those who experienced it and there is an essence to shared experience (Patton, 2002; Worthington, 2013). In addition, a phenomenological research design provided an understanding by revealing the meaning that underpins the perceptions (Moustakas, 1994; Waters, 2002; Waugh & Waugh, 2004) of African American police officers who experienced racial profiling.

Data were collected for this study through in-depth face-to-face semistructured interviews with 20 active and retired African American male frontline police officers in

the State of New Jersey. The relationship between saturation and sample size was sufficient in this study because, through snowball sampling, the use of 20 participants allowed me to obtain the richest data possible. Saturation was researched with 20 participants. Individual interviews were conducted at a time that was convenient for each participant in a private meeting room at the North Brunswick Library located at 880 Hermann Road. Using snowball sampling, which is a subcategory of purposive sampling, 20 active and retired African American male frontline police officers in the State of New Jersey who have experienced racial profiling from fellow police officers were recruited to participate in the study. Potential participants who were known to meet the selection criteria were initially contacted by e-mail, telephone, or face-to-face conversations. They were sent an invitation letter to participate in the study and were asked to recommend other active or retired African American male frontline police officers who met the selection criteria for this study (see Appendix A). I transcribed the interviews and managed data with NVivo. Data were analyzed through Moustakas's (1994) modified van Kaam method of analysis. The study was conducted in accordance with Walden University's Institutional Review Board (IRB) guidelines to ensure the ethical protection of research participants. The nature of the study is discussed in further detail in Chapter 3.

Definition of Terms

African Americans: An official racial category pertaining to individuals who are members of an American ethnic group who have origins in any of the Black racial groups of Africa (U.S. Office of Management and Budget, 1997).

Blacks: A person having origins in any of the Black racial groups of Africa (Pinn, 1996).

Caucasian Americans or Caucasians: Individuals with origins stemming from Europe, the Middle East, or North Africa (U.S. Census Bureau, 2013).

Criminal typification or typification: A typical example of the characteristics of a criminal predator who is often identified as African Americans (Entman, 1992). African Americans were much more likely than their Caucasian counterparts to be portrayed in the media as criminals as opposed to police officers, role models, news commentators, or other positive figures (Chiricos & Eschholz, 2002).

Frontline police officers: “Frontline officers who are largely responsible for social service delivery” (Wang, 2014, p. 20). “They are the first to respond to call for help, and they play an important role in keeping society safe by investigating crimes, making arrests, patrolling the streets and managing traffic” (Regoli & Hewitt, 2008, p. 86).

Implicit stereotyping: The labeling of African Americans as criminals with violent tendencies in society (Carroll & Gonzalez, 2014).

Racial hierarchy: “The grouping of ethnicities according to their social value and legitimacy in society” (Domke, Garland, Billeaudeau, & Hutcheson, 2003, p. 608).

Racial profiling: “Any situation in which race is used by a police officer or a police agency to determine the potential criminality of an individual” (Barlow & Barlow, 2002, p. 352).

Social relationship theory: Social relationships refer to collective or group encounters that involve orientation and adjustment to the meaningful behavior of others

(Weber, 1978). Thus, *social relationship* is used to emphasize people's behaviors and actions toward other members of society as a form of status posturing (Weber, as cited in Gane, 2005).

Assumptions

Assumptions made for this study were the following:

- Active and retired African American male frontline police officers who participated in this study were aware of what racial profiling is and have experienced being racially profiled by their fellow police officers.
- Active and retired African American male frontline police officers were willing to take part in the study because of its significance to focus attention and resources on creating stronger policies against racial profiling at the state and local levels, along with the need for effective training and oversight of police officers.
- The in-depth face-to-face semistructured interviews were appropriate to explore African American male police officers' perceptions about being racially profiled by fellow police officers in the State of New Jersey.
- The in-depth semistructured interview questions were worded so that the participants can accurately interpret the questions being asked.
- The participants honestly and openly answer the interview questions by sharing their perceptions about the questions asked.
- The results of the study will lead to positive social change as findings are directed at helping law enforcement policymakers and leaders learn about the

detrimental effects of racial profiling on African American male frontline police officers and address the need for stronger policies against racial profiling as well as effective training and oversight of police officers.

Scope and Delimitations

The study's participants included 20 active and retired African American male frontline police officers in the State of New Jersey who had experienced racial profiling from fellow police officers. In this study, I focused on their perceptions about being racially profiled by fellow police officers in the State of New Jersey, the cause of racial profiling by police officers, the effects of racial profiling within their workplace, how racial profiling affects their social relationship with Caucasian police officers, and recommendations to decrease and prevent racial profiling. Excluded from participating in this study were active and retired police officers who are not frontline police officers and police officers who have never worked in the State of New Jersey, to include police officers who only worked in other states or countries. In addition, police officers who are not African American were excluded as well as female police officers. I did not include anyone with whom I have a personal relationship in my study, which included family members, friends, coworkers, or professional and personal associates. This prevented perceived coercion to participate due to any existing or expected relationship between the participants and me.

Limitations

There are several limitations to trustworthiness that arose from execution of this study. First, a possible limitation of the study included generalizing the results as I had

used a snowball sample of 20 participants. The findings from the study may be generalized to similar populations of active and retired African American male frontline police officers in the State of New Jersey who have experienced racial profiling from fellow police officers, but the results of the study may not be generalizable to other populations or states. As a result, future study could expand the sample population across states to achieve a broader understanding of African American male frontline police officers racial profiling experiences from fellow police officers. A different sampling strategy could also be used, such as purposive sampling.

Second, social desirability bias was considered as participants may want to be perceived positively, so they may not respond honestly to the interview questions. However, it was assumed that participants honestly and openly answered the interview questions by sharing their perceptions about the questions asked. Third, there are also limitations with self-report data for the interviews as participants may not accurately or fully self-evaluate themselves. However, it was assumed that participants accurately and fully self-evaluated themselves.

Significance of the Study

To further understand and address the problem of racial profiling, it was important to obtain the perceptions of African American male police officers who have experienced this practice. It is difficult to reject the accounts of police officers who have been subjected to racial profiling as being uninformed, overly sensitive, or to challenge their interpretations of events because they understand the intricacies, complexities, and dangers of law enforcement (Barlow & Barlow, 2002). Therefore, perceptions and

experiences shared by African American male police officers that substantiate the reality of racial profiling are extremely beneficial and powerful as there is a need for a comprehensive national policy that outlaws racial profiling in order to decrease and prevent police violence, harassment, and misconduct (Barlow & Barlow, 2002; Natarajan, 2014).

The implications for positive social change are directed at policymakers, law enforcement leaders, police officers, and other law enforcement officers as stronger policies at the state and local levels are needed, along with effective training and oversight of police officers. Natarajan (2014) reported that in 2012, more than 200 civil rights leaders asked U.S. Attorney General Eric Holder to update the profiling policies to prohibit profiling based on national origin, religion, gender, and sexual identity. Then, in 2014, Attorney General Holder proposed new guidelines on racial profiling that ban the practice by federal law enforcement agencies. However, the researcher noted that state and local law enforcement agencies should have also been covered in the proposal as the general public encounters local police in far greater numbers than federal officers.

Racial profiling undermines public safety by straining the trust between police officers and community members (Natarajan, 2014). In addition, police officers who have been victims of racial profiling by their fellow police officers noted a divide between African American and Caucasian police officers and hostile work environments (Conlin, 2014; Wilson & Wilson, 2014). Wilson and Wilson (2014) found that 84% of African American police officers in large and small agencies believed that their police agency supervisors ignored known incidents of racial profiling by Caucasian police

officers (p. 128). The researchers also found that 69% of African American police officers in Milwaukee, Wisconsin, experienced racial profiling and unnecessary questioning due to their race (p. 127). Therefore, attention from policymakers and law enforcement leaders is needed to assess and address the possible adverse effects of racial profiling within law enforcement agencies and the possible effects on morale, work ethic, job satisfaction, and personal feelings of worth (Wilson & Wilson, 2014), especially among African American police officers.

Findings from this research study add further knowledge to the public policy and administration literature on racial profiling and the experiences and perceptions of African American male police officers. Along with the public policy and administration field, a wide array of other fields might be interested in the study's findings, to include the fields of criminal justice and public safety. The findings from the study are also applicable to many agencies and organizations to include federal, state, and local law enforcement agencies and the DOJ, Office of Community Oriented Policing Services.

Summary

In this study, I explored African American male police officers' perceptions about being racially profiled by fellow police officers in the State of New Jersey. Using snowball sampling, data were collected through in-depth face-to-face semistructured interviews with 20 active and retired African American male frontline police officers in the State of New Jersey who have experienced racial profiling from fellow police officers. I transcribed the interviews and managed data with NVivo. Data were analyzed through Moustakas's (1994) modified van Kaam method of analysis. Findings from this

study may lead to positive social change by helping law enforcement policymakers and leaders learn about the detrimental effects of racial profiling on African American male frontline police officers' morale, work ethic, job satisfaction, and personal feelings of worth. In addition, findings will help law enforcement policymakers and leaders understand and address the need for stronger policies against racial profiling at the state and local levels, along with the need for effective training and oversight of police officers.

In Chapter 1, I included background of the study, statement of the problem, purpose of the study, research questions, theoretical framework, nature of the study, definition of terms, assumptions, scope and delimitations, limitations, significance of the study, and a summary. In Chapter 2, I include the introduction, literature search strategy, theoretical foundation, the cause of racial profiling by police officers, African American police officers' perceptions about being racially profiled, African American police officers' perceived effects of racial profiling at work, racial profiling internationally, racial profiling and the media, and a summary and conclusions. In Chapter 3, I include the research design and rationale, role of the researcher, methodology, issues of trustworthiness, and a summary. In Chapter 4, I include the setting, demographics, data collection, data analysis, evidence of trustworthiness, results, and a summary. In Chapter 5, I include the interpretation of findings, limitations of the study, recommendations, implications, and a conclusion.

Chapter 2: Literature Review

The purpose of this qualitative phenomenological research study was to explore 20 African American male police officers' perceptions about being racially profiled by fellow police officers in the State of New Jersey. The problem is that racial profiling has continued to plague U.S. communities despite the constitutional guarantee of equal treatment under the law (Barlow & Barlow, 2002; Nataranjan, 2014; Simmons, 2011; Wilson & Wilson, 2014). Renauer and Covelli (2011) found that African Americans in disadvantaged communities felt less safe and perceived law enforcement as being more biased towards them. Along with African American citizens, African American police officers have reported that they too have experienced racial profiling from their fellow police officers on numerous occasions (Barlow & Barlow, 2002; Conlin, 2014; Holland & Bender, 2014; Stapleton, 2014).

Racial profiling and its continued practice began in the 1980s when many law enforcement agencies adopted the war on drugs campaign, which primarily targeted African American males who were traveling on the I-95 corridor from the Florida region to the New York region with suspected drugs (Archbold et al., 2013). Archbold et al. (2013) reported that under the war on drugs proxy, law enforcement officers used racial characteristics as a means to identify criminals and drug couriers, specifically focusing on African Americans. The researchers noted that African Americans have continued to be targeted and labeled as criminals because of their physical characteristics, and this discriminatory treatment continues when various media sources portray African Americans as violent criminals. Dorfman and Schiraldi (2001) found that most media

sources are less inclined to report incidents where African Americans are the victims of a crime because members of the media believe Caucasian victims are a good predictor of news ratings. Archbold et al. and Dorfman and Schiraldi related that social control was influenced through the media, where public officials and society elites influence policies that would affect the minority members of society. The negative typification of African Americans and the racial hierarchy that was developed by the media may have contributed to the plight of African Americans who are judged by majority citizens (Archbold et al. 2013). Archbold et al. noted that support of racial profiling of African Americans affects African American males.

Government officials and politicians have been ignoring and dismissing reports of African Americans' and Latinos' complaints of racial profiling where law enforcement officers have been using people's ethnicity to determine criminality (Barlow & Barlow, 2002). Barlow and Barlow (2002) examined African American police officers' experiences of having been racially profiled. The researchers related that the four experienced officers discussed their racial profiling experiences at the Big Ten Police Chiefs Conference in Madison, Wisconsin, and they noted that they had to teach their children how to survive a police encounter. Similarly, Wilson and Wilson (2014) found that experienced African American police officers indicated that they did not feel a sense of belonging by fellow officers. Furthermore, Conlin (2014) reported that there is a divide between African American and Caucasian police officers, as African American police officers have been victims of racial profiling. In Chapter 2, I include the introduction, literature search strategy, theoretical foundation, the cause of racial

profiling by police officers, African American police officers' perceptions about being racially profiled, African American police officers' perceived effects of racial profiling at work, racial profiling internationally, racial profiling and the media, and a summary and conclusions.

Literature Search Strategy

The literature search strategies for this research included a comprehensive search in Walden University Library databases to include SAGE Premier, ProQuest Central, Thoreau Multi-Database Search, PsycINFO, and Academic Search Complete. In addition, I also conducted searches through Google Scholar. The search terms included *African Americans and racial profiling*, *Blacks and racial profiling*, *racial profiling*, *racial disparities*, *African American police officers and racial profiling*, *Weber and social relationship theory*, and *theory of racial profiling*. In many of the articles found, the authors provided current and relevant information on race relations in the United States. Furthermore, I discussed relevant Supreme Court cases to provide in-depth understanding of the social conflicts that are mentioned in this study.

Theoretical Foundation

Racial profiling of African Americans has been researched for many decades and findings indicated that African Americans have a social disadvantage when compared to their Caucasian American counterparts (Archbold et al., 2013; Barlow & Barlow, 2002; Bonner, 2014; Herring, 1995; Miller, 2013). In 1910, Weber developed the social relationship theory to explain the social conflicts that were developing during the 1900s. Weber's (1910) social relationship theory can be applied to the current issue of racial

profiling; thus, it served as the theoretical foundation for this research study. This section is organized in the following subsections: social relationship theory and research application of social relationship theory.

Social Relationship Theory

Current researchers have not given as much attention to Weber's theory of the social that he developed, as they have focused on Weber as a social theorist or theorist of social stratification (Gane, 2005). As a result, Gane (2005) focused on a chapter of Weber's work from *Economy and Society*, titled, "Class, Status, Party," where Gain noted that the chapter was not about social stratification, but about the ways in which economy or class, social or status, and political or party powers, and the competition of these powers, have different origins or bases and take different structural forms, despite their basic interdependence. Gane included translation for Weber's social relationship theory in his article.

There are four types of social action: (a) instrumental, (b) value-rational, (c) affectual, and (d) traditional; as well as two types of social relationships (a) communal and (b) associative (Weber, 2013). Weber (2013) defined instrumental rational actions as social actions that individuals rationally take on with calculated ends and where they rationally consider and evaluate the ends, processes, and the secondary results. An example of instrumental rational actions is an individual's calculation of the best means of achieving a given end. Weber described value-rational actions as social actions where the ends or values may be pursued for their own sake, such as religious or spiritual actions, ethical pursuits, and artistic pursuits or goals. Weber noted that affectual actions

are emotional types of actions that are determined by individuals' particular affects and emotional states, such as social actions among intimate partners, friends, and family members, as well as uncontrolled responses to certain stimuli. Weber related that traditional actions are the most difficult to separate from conscious actions because actions that were originally instrumental, value-rational, or affectual may become habitual, traditional, and may not be consciously taken into account at a later time.

The term *social relationships* refers to collective or group encounters that involve orientation and adjustment to the meaningful behavior of others (Weber, 1978). Thus, social relationship is used to emphasize people's behaviors and actions toward other members of society as a form of status posturing (Weber, as cited in Gane, 2005). Gane (2005) argued that the relationship concept is crucial to understanding "Class, Status, Party" because it expands the concept of social action to the analysis of group or collective phenomena. Weber (1947) distinguished between communal and associative relationships. Weber stated that a social relationship is communal when "the orientation of social action-whether in the individual case, on the average, or in the pure type-is based on a subjective feeling of the parties, whether affectual or traditional, that they belong together" (p. 136). On the other hand, Weber claimed that a social relationship is associative when "the orientation of social action within it rests on a rationally motivated adjustment of interests or a similarly motivated agreement, whether the basis of rational judgment be absolute values or reasons of expediency" (p. 136). As a result, Gane emphasized that communal social relationships are based on affectual or traditional forms of social action, while associative relationships are based on either value-traditional or

instrumentally rational activity. Communal and associative social relationships may be open or closed and the closure process may be determined through any of the four basic types of social action (Weber, 1978).

Social relationship and status are based on how each individual or group treats other members of society who may not be a part of the majority group (Weber, as cited in Gane, 2005). Furthermore, as cited in Gane (2005), Weber suggested that the majority members of society can elect to allow other members in a particular communal group. When the social relationship is motivated by a particular interest between certain group members, the majority group members then form an associative relationship that may be limited to outsiders. Entry into the social group is usually based on mutual consent from the other majority group members, and their objectives are usually enforced by law enforcement officials and political party affiliation that often influence policies that are used to control other members of society (Weber, as cited in Gane, 2005).

The tenets of the social relationship theory also focused on Weber's prior research on status honor and social structure (Gane, 2005), which is the essence of the phenomena that I explored in this study. In regard to status honor and social structure, members expect a certain lifestyle that is superior to mainstream citizens, which establishes a group status (Weber, as cited in Gane, 2005). Weber further added that the status honor social group maintains its status by employing racial segregation and developing a caste structure (as cited in Gane, 2005). This caste structure that was created horizontally with various ethnicities was restructured into a vertical social system (super and subordinate; Weber, as cited in Gane, 2005).

Research Application of Social Relationship Theory

Research has been lacking on the application of Weber's (1910) social relationship theory to racial profiling. However, researchers (Hindera, 1993; Meier & Stewart, 1992; Meier, Stewart, & England, 1989; Selden, 1997) have found that minority officials implement policies or use their discretion to decrease the unequal treatment minority clients have historically received from different public bureaucracies. To address a gap in the literature, Wilkins and Williams (2005) investigated if there were conditions under which minority officials were less likely to provide active representation. The researchers tested the link between passive and active representation for race in organizations that rely heavily on socialization, specifically police departments, which are known for their use of socialization to modify behavior and attitudes of their employees. Wilkins and Williams noted that scholars such as Thompson (1976) and Weber (1946) have argued that administrators are socialized by the organizations they work in and take on behaviors and preferences that are in line with organizational goals, thus decreasing the effect of their own personal standards on bureaucratic behavior.

Data were collected from the vehicle stop forms collected by the San Diego Police Department for 2000 (Wilkins & Williams, 2005). Wilkins and Williams (2005) reported that in 2001, the use of the form was discontinued. The researchers related that on the vehicle stop forms, police officers recorded the context of traffic stop encounters such as date and time; the reason for making the stop; driver demographics such as gender, race or ethnicity, and age; the actions they took during the stop such as search

authority and search outcome; and the stop disposition such as citation or arrest. Police officers turned the forms in at the end of their duty and police headquarters' personnel entered the data into a database. Wilkins and Williams analyzed the 168,901 stop forms compiled in the 12 months of 2000.

Findings indicated a significant relationship and unexpected finding between the presence of Black police officers and an increase in racial disparity in the law enforcement division (Wilkins & William, 2005). Wilkins and Williams (2005) noted that this finding raised important questions that required individual level data for proper interpretation; however, the researchers offered insights into their findings. First, the researchers asked if it is possible that all police officers, despite their race and ethnicity, target certain kinds of drivers. Wilkins and Williams noted that in-depth individual interviews and focus group discussions with police officers and police executives suggested that police practice may be influenced by race and the community's socioeconomic status. Second, the researchers noted that it is possible that the behavior of Black police officers is influenced by a strong need to fit into the organization's culture. Third, the researchers noted that a strong social construction such race, socioeconomic, and neighborhood profiling also affects Black police officers. Wilkins and Williams claimed that Black police officers may be as likely as or even more likely than their White counterparts to participate in racial profiling. The researchers related that this may be attributed to the pressure to conform to the organization, or achieving the organization's goals may weigh heavily on Black police officers and affect their attitudes and behaviors. However, Wilkins and Williams recommended further systematic

individual level qualitative research to further explore the causal relationship in relation to their findings.

In the criminal justice system, power is imbalanced, which prevents justice from taking place (Warren, 2015). While Warren (2015) did not use Weber's social relationship theory as his theoretical foundation in his article, the author highlighted Weber's definition of power in relation to police use of racial profiling. Nehring and Plummer (2013) reported that Weber defined power as the ability to control others even if they are resistant and despite its purpose. Warren related that Weber's definition of power can be applied to controversial issues pertaining to frontline policing practices, such as stop and search, and arrest and detain despite the suspect's claim of innocence. In addition, Warren noted that high ranking police officers have the power to influence policy, practice, and recruitment. Warren argued that based on the findings from past research, evidence suggested that police officers use power disproportionately, which distorts the criminal justice system. Warren further argued police officers uphold racial prejudice, which results in disproportionate outcomes for Black minority ethnic communities and Black minority or ethnic (BME) police personnel. As a result, Warren noted that this has resulted in a lack of trust in police-community relationships. The author claimed that while overt racism had decreased, covert racism has increased, which is demonstrated through stop and search statistics and lack of promotional opportunities for BME police officers. Warren suggested that unless BME police officers are given influential roles within the police institution, the issues for BME communities may not change and power will continue to be distorted.

The Cause of Racial Profiling by Police Officers

The literature review includes pertinent scholarly information about the racial profiling of African American males. The literature review includes historical perspective of racial profiling, which is rooted in slavery and its effects during the Civil Rights Movement of 1964. The 14th Amendment of the United States Constitution affords all citizens equal protection under the law; however, the vast majority of law enforcement agencies across the nation, including those in the State of New Jersey, violate tenets of equal protection that police officers took an oath to protect (Gerstmann, 2013; DOJ, 2015).

Law enforcement officers have routinely violated the inherent rights of citizens because of their ethnicity, and many law enforcement administrators deny that this practice exists in their department (Gerstmann, 2013). Gerstmann (2013) noted that it is unlawful to racially profile citizens based on their race, but in *Whren v. United States* (1996), the Supreme Court upheld that police officers can use alleged minor motor vehicle violations as a pretext to stop and search for a more serious crime. Similarly, Gerstmann found that judges usually support officers' decision to engage in racial profiling as long as they are able to use an existing motor vehicle violation regardless of their subjective intent. Hence, the researcher suggested that judges allow officers to consider race in their decision to stop and conduct an investigatory inquiry on a motorist. Gerstmann noted the inadequacy of the Fourth Amendment to protect the legal equality of African Americans and other minorities because it represents different values than the equal protection clause or equal application of the laws. Gerstmann related that the aim of

the equal protection doctrine is for the government to remove the use of race unless such use is slightly modified to further an important governmental purpose.

To support the argument that African Americans are racially profiled by many law enforcement agencies, Gerstmann discussed the *United States v. Harvey* (1994) case, where a Caucasian law enforcement officer from Flint, Michigan, admitted to racially profiling three young African American males in a U.S. District Court in Detroit, Michigan. In the *United States v. Harvey* (1994) case, the police officer noted that he stopped the vehicle due to there being three young African American male occupants in an older model vehicle. The police officer defended the vehicle stop and search by adding that he was aware that African American males usually traffic drugs through the Flint, Michigan area in old model vehicles and that prompted him to stop the vehicle. The police officer also defended the vehicle stop and search by noting that the driver was speeding and there was an equipment violation. However, despite the police officer's admission that he racially profiled the defendant, the Circuit court upheld the constitutionality of the stop and search. Gerstmann noted that this case indicated that racial profiling exists in various parts of the United States and that many officers use the *Whren v. United States* (1996) case to legitimize their subjective motor vehicle stops of African Americans.

U.S. Supreme Court rulings have influenced racial profiling occurrences that adversely affects African Americans (Johnson, 2010). Johnson (2010) reported that the movement to stop racial profiling began before 1996, but the public's awareness of the problem increased significantly after the *Whren v. United States* (1996) case. The

researcher claimed that it is difficult to challenge and prove racial profiling by law enforcement officers across the nation. According to Johnson, this particular case has allowed law enforcement officers in the State of New Jersey to use various pretexts, such as speeding, broken taillight, and other motor vehicle violations to justify traffic stops of African Americans. Although in many instances, the race of the motorist was the subjective reason for the traffic stop (77.2%), Johnson reported that police officers used minor motor vehicle violations to stop African American drivers and conduct a search under the *war on drugs* campaign to justify their actions against African American (p. 1047). Law enforcement officials created a profile of likely drug couriers; focusing on African American and Latino men as likely drug traffickers. Johnson noted that as of 1997, 60% of federal prisoners and 20% of state prisoners had been convicted of drug crimes (p. 1046). Johnson claimed that judges have sanctioned the war on drugs initiative, which allowed the continuance of racial profiling on African American males with devastating consequences across states such as New Jersey. The researcher noted that in many cities across the United States, minority individuals continue to complain that they are being stopped for driving while Black or driving while Brown.

Researchers have documented the link between race, space, and policing (Bonner, 2014). Bonner (2014) examined residents' perceptions about the police in a middle-class, low-crime, and tourist resort area. Bonner used survey data, in-depth group interviews, and structured observations. Bonner found that police officials in waterfront towns increase their manpower deployment when African Americans congregate in any area of the town, even though they are not committing a criminal act or violating any township

ordinance. Bonner added that the relentless patrol of African Americans when they visit the oceanfront town have left many African American participants anxious. In contrast, Bonner found that Caucasian focus group participants perceived the patrolling by the police as appropriate, necessary, and not overly aggressive. The researcher found that while public intoxication and disorderly behaviors are illegal, Caucasian citizens in the oceanfront area who violated the law were ignored by the police and focus was placed on African American citizens. In this study, the actions of the police indicated that aggressive patrolling is part of the citizens' influence over the law enforcement agency to influence a certain social behavior that conforms to the majority citizens. This type of influence on the police to patrol citizens in a certain way in this oceanfront town is reflective of Weber's social relationship theory.

The drug epidemic of the late 80s and 90s spawned public concerns over the rise in crime and public safety in many communities (Miller, 2013). According to Miller (2013), out of concern over public sentiment, law enforcement agencies across the nation adopted the war on drugs initiative, and in doing so, institutionalized racial profiling by labeling African Americans as primary drug couriers and common criminals. In his research on the institutionalization of racial profiling policy, Miller noted that the general public believes that law enforcement officers use race in their discretion during motor vehicle stops and especially with African Americans motorists. Miller found that the war on drugs campaign, which labeled African Americans as drug dealers and criminals, triggered the institutionalization of racial profiling. As a result, by criminally profiling

African Americans, many law enforcement officers across the nation used race when they decided which vehicles to stop.

When racial profiling policies become institutionalized, it is usually the result of two environmental factors: public and racial threats (Miller, 2013). Miller (2013) related that the public's influence on racial profiling policies can be viewed as a politically motivated act if law enforcement agencies rely on funding from the local or federal government. Conversely, Miller noted that racial threat occurs when the dominant group perceive that African Americans and other minorities pose an economic, political, or criminal threat to their interests. This influences the police to take action against African Americans, which amounts to a social relationship crisis that positions African Americans as subordinate citizens regardless of their 14th Amendment rights.

When certain communities experience racial threats due to a growing African American population, they become determinants of police strength in large U.S. cities (McCarty, Ren, & Zhao, 2012). McCarty et al. (2012) reported that the determinant of police strength is comparable to the supply and demand theory that is used in economics. The researchers found that members of society with economic advantages and resources tend to influence local law enforcement agencies to alleviate the perceived racial threat. This may be done by lobbying government administrators to bolster the police force as a means of formal social control over the African American population. This form of governance symbolizes that African Americans presence is perceived criminally, which may threaten the social order of the Caucasian community. McCarty et al. study highlighted the practice of institutionalized racial profiling, which is an unlawful practice;

however, local law enforcement agencies in New Jersey and other states across the nation are receptive to the dominant social class influence and racial profiling. Some law enforcement administrators who publicly admonish racial profiling practices are ceremonially appeasing the African American population and other minority populations, while condoning that same behavior within their respective law enforcement agency.

The judgements, decisions, and actions of street-level workers such as police officers invokes questions of social equality (Maynard-Moody & Musheno, 2012). Maynard-Moody and Musheno (2012) examined frontline police officers' actions during traffic stops. According to the researchers, frontline police officers do not believe that racial profiling is an effective tool for law enforcement officers across the nation. However, despite this belief, the researchers found that African Americans continue to be stopped 2.5 times more than Caucasian drivers during investigatory stops to search for crime (p. 517). As a result, findings indicated that law enforcement administrators do not condemn the discretionary actions of frontline officers, whose behaviors contradict laws against race-based profiling. Maynard-Moody and Musheno questioned whether such disparity in traffic stops reflects the hazards of street-level judgement where police officer discretion is challenging to control. Furthermore, the researchers questioned if street-level workers such as police officers sabotage laws and procedures that ban racial profiling, thus undermining social equity.

When police officers engage in discretionary motor vehicle stops of American Americans when no crime has been committed, they are taking part in racial profiling (Tillyer & Engel, 2010). Tillyer and Engel (2010) examined the driver's characteristics

and the officer's discretionary actions following the traffic stop. The researchers found mixed results when they incorporated the race, age, and gender of motorists who were affected by police officers' discretion in a Midwest law enforcement jurisdiction. Specifically, they found that African Americans received less warnings in the State of Arizona and Pennsylvania. In the same study, they also found some jurisdictions where older African Americans received more verbal warnings than Caucasian Americans. When the researchers examined citation and arrest rates following traffic stops, they found that young Black males were 1.5 to 2.6 times more likely to be arrested following a traffic stop compared to White motorists (p. 372). The researchers noted that unconscious stereotypes may affect police officers' behaviors in situations where they believe they have the freedom to make decisions.

Police officers' unconscious stereotypes have been the focus of some research studies. Researchers have found that racial profiling is an implicit act based on the stereotype that African Americans are inherently violent criminals (Barlow & Barlow, 2002; Batton & Kadleck, 2004; McCarty et al., 2012; Miller, 2013). Carroll and Gonzalez (2014) tested hypotheses about biased policing due to implicit racial stereotypes. The researchers found that African American motorists were more likely to be frisked and searched than their Caucasian counterpart. In addition, the frisk disparity is dependent on where the stops occurred as African American motorists were 4 times more likely than Caucasian motorists to be frisked in predominantly White towns and cities (p. 575). Carroll and Gonzalez noted that law enforcement officers, whether or not they are prejudiced, tend to subconsciously target African Americans through implicit

stereotyping. Implicit stereotyping suggests that African Americans are prone to criminal activities and violence, and when they are encountered in neighborhoods that are predominately White, law enforcement officers respond to the stimuli (African Americans) that appears to be out of place. The researchers reported that when police officers acted on the stimuli (African Americans) in predominate White neighborhoods, the officers allowed the presence of the stimuli to influence their decision-making process.

In contrast to research findings that indicated that the public is more supportive of the use of racial profiling to prevent terrorism, Johnson et al. (2011) found that the public's support of racial profiling is at a low. The researchers examined whether the public's support for the use of racial profiling by law enforcement officers is different across context. Johnson et al. found that 59% of participants in a national survey believed that the practice of racial profiling is rampant throughout many law enforcement agencies (p. 424). Although the 59% of the participants believed racial profiling is ongoing, 81% noted that they do not approve of its use on African Americans (p. 424). Johnson et al. also found similar results in New York City, where 70% of the respondents believed that it is used by the New York City Police Department (p. 424). Johnson et al. found that only 23% of participants believed racial profiling should be permissible (p. 424).

Due to concerns about racial profiling, law enforcement agencies have collected data on drivers' race and ethnicity in traffic stops and the outcomes after the stop (Renauer, 2012). Renauer's (2012) reported that stop and searches were guided by two societal perspectives: consensus and conflict. Under the consensus perspective, Renauer

noted that law enforcement officers across the nation were applying their crime control tools in a manner that enforces the goals and values of society. When officers act in a way to protect the values of society, Renauer found that law enforcement officers are generally acting on the request from members of various communities to control crime. In addition, the researcher also found that from the conflict perspective, law enforcement officers are perceived as biased. Findings indicated that law enforcement officers tend to apply crime control mechanisms to subgroups who are perceived as dangerous, rather than focusing on the suspicious acts of citizens.

Similar findings were found in some of the studies previously discussed. Findings in Renauer's (2012) study reinforced McCarty et al. (2012) and Carroll and Gonzalez (2014) research findings on racial threat and being out of place, where law enforcement officers and citizens perceived African Americans as a racial threat to White communities. In their studies, Renauer, McCarty et al., and Carroll and Gonzalez noted that African Americans are viewed as a dangerous subgroup in society that are prone to illicit behavior. While Johnson et al. (2011) found that 81% (p. 424) of the participants disapproved of racial profiling, Archbold et al. (2013) found that newspaper coverage of incidents involving criminal activities overrepresented African Americans as criminals. Archbold et al. also found that prior to September 11, 2001, the media reported racial profiling as an ineffective tool that is used nationwide by many law enforcement agencies. However, the researchers also noted that media outlets also depicted racial profiling in a positive way, where citizens overwhelmingly justified its use. Archbold et al. suggested that the media is capable of creating a perceived threat or concern that affect

certain minorities such as African Americans. The effects of the war on drugs campaign during the 1980s where African Americans were racially profiled as criminals and drug couriers, continues to result in widespread unequal treatment by law enforcement agencies.

The negative portrayal of African Americans in the media is further amplified by the media's creation of a racial hierarchy (Archbold et al., 2013). According to Archbold et al., the racial hierarchy positions Caucasians at the top of the racial tier, while African Americans are positioned at the bottom of the tier, with all other ethnicities in between. The researcher noted that the positioning of each race is based on their respective social value and legitimacy in terms of their claim in society. Archbold et al. related that because the media plays a role in the social value of African Americans in society, law enforcement officers use racial characteristics to determine if a particular race belongs in a certain neighborhood. Novak and Chamlin's (2012) research found that law enforcement officers use race as their primary reasons for stopping African Americans instead of suspicious behaviors that pose a societal threat.

Racial bias has been a main focus of inquiry for many researchers; however, it is also important to examine the explanations for the disparity (Novak & Chamlin, 2012). Novak and Chamlin (2012) investigated community composition and racial threats that trigger law enforcement officers' reactions to stop and search certain ethnicities. The researchers emphasized that due to their race, African Americans tend to draw the attention of Caucasian officers if they are in a predominately White suburban neighborhood, despite showing good behavior. The researchers noted that most law

enforcement officers decide on the method of social control, such as traffic tickets, arrests, and vehicle searches following traffic stops. Novak and Chamlin related that when the drivers are African Americans, their social characteristics and position on the social hierarchy exposes them to harsh punishments. The researchers noted that 9.8% of African American drivers were stopped by law enforcement officers 11.6% of the time and 13.7% were stopped more than once (p. 277).

Theory is important in helping to understand police decision making during traffic stops (Higgins, Vito, & Grossi, 2012). Higgins et al. (2012) used data from Louisville, Kentucky, traffic stops and applied focal concerns theory to police decision-making process. According to the researchers, focal concerns theory focuses on three perspectives when dealing with citizens that are encountered by law enforcement and the courts. Higgins et al. added that focal concerns theory uses “blameworthiness, protection of the community, and practical constraints and consequences” (p. 169) when sentencing law violators. The researchers noted that blameworthiness refers to people’s culpability. Protection of the community pertains to incapacitation, general deterrence, and offenders’ future behavior. Practical constraints and consequences pertains to the organization cost, family disruption or disposition, and possible issues for the public. The researchers related that when focal concerns theory is applied in motor vehicle stops, individuals in motor vehicle stops will be judged based on their ethnicity, the likelihood of repeat offending, and perceived stereotypes by the community and the investigating officer.

A review of literature also found other studies where the researchers focused on traffic stop searches. Knowles, Persico, and Todd (2001) found that African American

motorist in the State of Maryland were stopped and searched 63% of the time during traffic stops although they represented only 18% of the driving population (p. 218). In contrast, the researchers found that Caucasian Americans were stopped and searched 29% of the time, which is significantly lower than the 63% for African Americans (p. 218). Knowles et al. found that even though African American motorists were more likely to be pulled over by the police and searched, they found that the percentage of guilty drivers among African Americans (34%) and Caucasian Americans (32%) were nearly the same, which was consistent with the researchers' hypothesis of no racial prejudice (p. 219). The guilty rate for Hispanics was 11%, which was significantly lower than what was found for African Americans and Caucasians (p. 219). Knowles et al. pointed out that statistical discrimination may be viewed as unfair even if it is not due to prejudice because of the different probabilities of innocent drivers being searched due to their race.

Similarly, an analysis of Missouri 2001 statewide traffic stop data focused on the outcome rate of searches of drivers by race (Hernandez-Murillo & Knowles, 2004). Hernandez-Murillo and Knowles (2004) found that African Americans were stopped at a 48% higher rate than their population share (p. 973). In addition, African Americans and Hispanics were strongly overrepresented in the search statistics based on their population. Findings also indicated that more drugs were found in searches for Caucasians (19.05%) than for African Americans (12.27%) and Hispanics (8.61%; p. 973). Due to these findings, Hernandez-Murillo and Knowles concluded that minority searches in Missouri appeared to be due to racial bias.

Different tests have been used to assess whether police officers' behaviors are racially biased (Persico & Todd, 2004). Persico and Todd (2004) applied an outcome-based test to a dataset that contained information on all vehicle stops and searches that took place in Wichita, Kansas, during the first 9 months in 2001. The researchers found that African Americans were stopped (21.45%) and searched (32.65%) of the time, which is higher than their 11.4% driving population (p. 14). The Caucasian population was 65.2% and they were searched 63.61%, which is lower than their representation in the population (p. 14). The researchers also found that the outcome rate for drugs seized across groups of drivers were equal. Findings indicated that police officers in Wichita were out to accomplish their drug interdiction objectives, which was not based on race.

Over the past 2 decades, there has been more awareness about racial and ethnic disparity and bias in vehicle stops (Fallik & Novak, 2012). Fallik and Novak (2012) investigated whether African Americans and Hispanic motorists were subjected to a disparate rate of searches compared to Caucasians in Kansas City, Missouri, Police Department. Findings showed that of the 4,569 traffic stops, 11.5% resulted in a motor vehicle searches with 6.2% being discretionary (p. 154). Of the total stops, African Americans were stopped 49.7% of the time and searched 12.8% of the time compared to Caucasians who were searched 10.2% of the time (pp. 154-155). Although African Americans were stopped at a higher rate than Caucasians, the researchers highlighted that their stop and search rates were due to other mitigating factors such as different circumstances under which they encountered police officers; hence, the results were not due to their race or ethnicity.

Procedural justice is based on a social-psychological construct and the applied authority over the general public, while police legitimacy is derived from positive citizen perceptions of police officers' treatment (Gau, 2013). Gau (2013) posited that police officers' request to search driver's vehicles during traffic stops is a form of procedural injustice. The researcher administered the Police-Public Contact Survey (PPCS) to a random sample of National Crime Victimization Survey (NCVS) participants, who were 16 years of age and older. Gau found that 5.6% of research participants from the procedural justice scale who were not asked to consent to a search believed that law enforcement officers did not act properly and respectfully (p. 768). On the other hand, 18.4% of those asked for a consent to search believed that the police acted improperly toward them (p. 768). Gau also found that perceived illegitimacy increased from 14.5% to 36.6% of participants who were asked for consent to search (p. 768). When the researcher focused on African American experiences and perception of the consent to search, Gau found that African Americans who were stopped in communities that were not high in their racial makeup perceived the stops and subsequent consent to search requests as illegitimate and lacking moral justice.

Police officers use consent searches in the war on drugs, which has attributed to the racial profiling debate (Gau & Brunson, 2012). Gau and Brunson (2012) used procedural justice and expectancy disconfirmation theories and analyzed the effect of police officers' request for consent search on motorists' perceptions regarding the legitimacy of the traffic stops. Gau and Brunson found that African Americans negatively perceived police officers' requests for consent to search because they believed that the

searches were reflective of criminality. Specifically, the consent search requests for middle class African Americans evoked racial tensions and psychological reactions because they believed that they were perceived as criminals by law enforcement officers and society. The researchers found that after given consent to search, African Americans were exposed to harsher treatments when searched. Gau and Brunson also found that African Americans were asked for consent to search 7.6% of the time, while Caucasians were asked 2.3% of the time (p. 362). However, among all three groups, African Americans, Hispanics, and Caucasians, the researchers found that Caucasians were the only group that were negatively affected by consent requests. Gau and Brunson suggested that this was due to complex factors and the researchers used expectancy theory to provide a possible explanation. The researchers noted that Caucasians, unlike minorities, have higher expectations for police behavior when they are pulled over. The researchers also highlighted that police-initiated stops symbolizes underlying societal racial divisions.

While prior research focused on the legitimacy of police actions and consent to search, Higgins, Gabbidon, and Vito (2010) examined the influence of race relations and public safety concerns on the support for racial profiling. The researchers found that 80% of African Americans and 60% of Caucasians believed that racial profiling was pervasive, with 70% of African Americans reporting that they were racially profiled (p. 13). Higgins et al. further added that 46.8% of their respondents believe that the race relations between African Americans and Caucasians will never change (p. 15). In addition, the researchers found that the race relations between African Americans and Caucasians influenced participants' perceptions that racial profiling was prevalent in the

United States. Higgins et al. related that most African Americans in high crime communities indicated that racial profiling is still not accepted and will not make them feel any safer, while 20% of African Americans believed that racial profiling is justified and needed in their high crime communities (p. 18). Although a small percentage of African Americans condone racial profiling in their communities, Higgins's et al. (2010) found that race relations influenced the public's position on the practice of racial profiling, but that influence did not influence public concerns over safety in their respective communities.

Racial profiling has been an issue that has primarily affected African Americans for many decades (Simmons, 2011). Simmons (2011) noted that it is difficult for individuals to prove that they were victims of racial profiling because the United States Supreme Court granted law enforcement officers the authority to stop motorists for a motor vehicle violations such as speeding and headlight problems. The researcher reported that these violations give police officers probable cause to make stops, even though police officers may have other subjective reasons to stop motorists. Simmons related that with the pretext of a stop clause, law enforcement officers can articulate the purpose of their stop and deny the use of race. Simmons further added that the problem with racial profiling could be helped with improved community policing relations, instead of purposely targeting African Americans.

The perpetual racial targeting of African Americans has resulted in complaints of psychological harm, such as humiliation and depression, due to the association with criminality (Simmons, 2011). Simmons (2011) claimed that the continued rate of racial

profiling resulted in increased arrests and incarceration among African American males. As a result, the researcher noted that this affects the communities from which these African American males belong as it leaves these communities short of male figures for young children. Simmons also highlighted the psychological harm associated with racial profiling. The researcher noted that the strained relationship between the police and African American communities harm innocent African Americans who are victims of crime in their own communities. Even as victims in their own communities, Simmons reported that many African Americans hesitate to call the police because of the distrust for law enforcement officers and their questionable legitimacy.

Many African Americans distrust the police and perceive police officers as biased towards them (Renauer & Covelli, 2011). Renauer and Covelli (2011) examined the relationship between police experiences and perceived police bias against African Americans in Portland, Oregon. The researchers found that both Caucasians and African Americans believed that race influenced law enforcement officers' racial bias. Renauer and Covelli also focused on voluntary and involuntary police contact with citizens who perceived their actions as biased or favorable treatment. Findings indicated that participants who had involuntary contact with law enforcement officers such as traffic stops and experienced harsh treatment believed that such treatment was due to their racial status. On the other hand, Caucasian Americans perceived law enforcement more positively than African Americans when they made voluntary contact with the police, such as when they called the officers for assistance. In addition, the researchers related that African Americans from poor, underserved communities perceived law enforcement

officers as racially biased because they were stopped, searched, and received harsher treatment when compared to Caucasian Americans.

While race and ethnic disparities have been found in police searches, researchers continue to investigate if such disparity constitutes discrimination (Rosenfeld, Rojek, & Decker, 2011). Rosenfeld et al. (2011) focused on the race and age of the motorists to determine if race and age matters when it comes to racial profiling. Rosenfeld et al. analyzed data that were collected from the St. Louis Metropolitan Police Department and found that African American males who were 30 years old or older were just as likely to be pulled over at the same rate as Caucasian male motorists in the same age bracket. Rosenfeld et al. also found that traffic stops and subsequent searches for African Americans accounted for 11.4%, compared to 7% of Caucasians (p. 38). When the researchers examined data for African American males under age 30, they found that they were stopped and searched 14% of the time, compared to 8% for Caucasian American young males under 30 years of age (p. 38). Findings indicated that young African American males were stopped and searched at a higher rate than adult males who were over 30 years of age. The researchers noted that the perpetual stop and searches of African American young males have resulted in negative consequences such as humiliation and embarrassment when the stop and searches repeatedly occur in the presence of a family member or friend.

To address the reality and perceptions of biased policing, serious effort has to be placed on detecting police practices that are racially biased, the source of any bias that is detected has to be determined, and fair and equal practices have to be established

(Worden, McLean, & Wheeler, 2012). Worden et al. (2012) applied a relatively new research approach for testing racial profiling called *veil-of-darkness*, which is a method for examining their research samples outside of the natural setting, which is typically daytime. The researchers noted that veil-of-darkness, when applied at night or sundown, is used to predict police officers' judgement and determine if their judgment were influenced by motorists' race or an actual traffic violation. The researchers used the veil-of-darkness method to vehicle stops that took place in Syracuse, New York, where a quarter of the population were African Americans, and two thirds were Caucasians, with a population density of approximately 450,000 (p. 97). Worden et al. found that the results varied when measuring racial profiling under the veil-of-darkness method and the reason for the differences was attributed to specialized police units within the Syracuse Police Department. Worden's et al. noted that the Syracuse Police Department consisted of a traffic and criminal reduction team (CRT) who conducted traffic stops between the hours of 3:00 p.m. and 3:00 a.m. In addition, while the CRT conducted most of the stops between 3:00 p.m. and 3:00 a.m., 80% of them were between 3 p.m. and 11 p.m., which represented 15.3% of all of the vehicle stops (p. 97). The rest of the department conducted the majority of the traffic stops between 3:00 a.m. and 3:00 p.m., which represented 52% of traffic stops (pp. 97-98). Results showed that African Americans were stopped 57% of the time in the intertwillight hours (5:00 a.m. - 7:00 a.m.) and 50% were stopped during the nighttime hours (3:00 p.m. - 3:00 a.m.), which indicated the presence of racial disparity to a small degree (p. 102).

Racial profiling adversely affects African Americans throughout the nation, where individuals have been treated harshly by law enforcement officers following a motor vehicle stop for minor violations (Gibson, Walker, Jennings, & Miller, 2010). Gibson et al. (2010) noted that in the State of New Jersey, the effects of racial profiling may have similar consequences. Gibson et al. examined the cause and effects of racial profiling and the effect it has on African Americans who call for police assistance. The researchers used the PPCS to determine if there were any correlations between negative police treatment and the call for police assistance in African American communities across the nation. Findings indicated that African Americans were more likely to experience a negative police initiated traffic encounter compared to Caucasians in various cities across the United States. In addition, they found that negative treatments of African Americans during traffic stops adversely affected their willingness to call the police for assistance as a result of diminished trust and confidence for law enforcement.

Some police officers consciously target minority motorists due to being racially prejudiced (Tomaskovic-Devey, Mason, & Zingraff, 2004). Tomaskovic-Devey et al. (2004) reported that many police officers from numerous law enforcement agencies engage in racial profiling, which creates an organizational culture that is apathetic towards African Americans. Eberhardt et al. (2004) conducted five studies where they examined the relationship between race and criminality. Participants were White male undergraduate students and police officers from a police department where 76% of police officers were White, 86% were male, and their average age was 42 (p. 885). Findings

indicated that participants viewed more Black faces as criminals compared to White faces, especially Black faces that had wider noses, thicker lips, and darker skin.

Many African Americans may feel anxious during traffic stops due to their lack of trust for law enforcement officers (Najdowski, Goff, & Bora, 2011). Najdowski et al. (2011) found that African Americans who develop anxiety as a result of being racially profiled tend to exude a behavior that may seem suspicious to law enforcement officers; however, these behaviors are often associated with irritability and nervousness in the presence of police officers. Barnum and Perfetti (2010) related that racial profiling is not only an organizational phenomenon that brings about racial disparity, but that racial profiling can also be the act of individual profiling that is not sanctioned by law enforcement agencies. The researchers noted that individualized racial profiling is just as effective as organizational profiling because police officers learn how to racially profile from other officers or they learn on their own through developed techniques.

The use or misuse of discretion relates to police officers' search and seizure activities (Tillyer & Klahm, 2011). Tillyer and Klahm (2011) used data of police behavior during traffic stops from a large Midwest city and the relationship between discovered contraband and the ethnicity of the motorist when officers used their discretion. The researchers found that African Americans, through mandatory and discretionary departmental searches, were searched 73% and 77%, respectively, while Caucasian motorists were searched 20% for mandatory and discretionary searches (p. 171). When the researchers examined the rate of contraband discovered during a discretionary motor vehicle stop, Tillyer and Klahm found that African Americans were

in possession of contraband 64% of the time compared to 48% of Caucasian drivers (p. 176). The researchers suggested that the findings are attributed to police officers' being inefficient when searching Caucasians and that African Americans were searched for more legitimate reasons due to the higher rate of contraband discovery.

When police officers conduct discretionary searches, their unconscious stereotype about specific groups increases their suspicion and their likelihood of a search (Tillyer, Klahm, & Engel, 2012). Tillyer et al. (2012) investigated the effects of driver, vehicle, stop, and police officers' characteristics on police officers' decisions to search motorists and their vehicles. The researchers used data from the Cleveland Division of Police Officers. The researchers found that drivers under the other race or ethnicity category, such as Native Americans, Asian or Pacific Islanders, and Middle Easterners; men; and drivers who were below the age of 30 were likely to be searched more often for discretionary reasons. Unlike findings from other studies, the researchers found that African Americans males were less likely to be searched for discretionary reasons.

Research on the experiences of African American women with the police is sparse compared to research that focuses on the experiences of African American men and their encounter with the police (Gabbidon, Higgins, & Potter, 2011). As a result, Gabbidon et al. (2011) investigated whether there were significant differences between African American men and women who reported that they were unfairly treated by the police. The researchers used data from the Gallup Organization 2004 poll. Based on the data, the researchers noted that 58% of African Americans lived in the South. The researchers found that African American women experiences with police officers are similar to those

of African American men. In addition, Gibbidon et al. emphasized that African American women's views were more similar to African American men, more than any other racial group. As a result, the researchers recommended that researchers should determine why African American women's experience with criminal justice officials are so similar to that of African American men.

Research is scarce on the accuracy of the traffic data reported by police agencies (Lundman, 2012). Lundman (2012) examined 2001 data from 308 Massachusetts police agencies. The researchers found that agencies underestimated the number of African Americans stopped for traffic law violations. Lundman related that agencies under report their interactions with African Americans due to the perception of how the actual numbers would be interpreted by the public. According to Lundman, it is a state law in the State of Massachusetts to report the race and ethnicity of motorists who were stopped by officers. Furthermore, the researcher noted that reporting did not require additional forms to be completed because the appropriate information was already preprinted on each traffic summons. The officers' lawful responsibility was to complete all the sections on the summons; however, they intentionally left motorists' information blank to conceal their activities on the road.

The perpetual profiling of African Americans has created negative perceptions of law enforcement officers throughout the United States and Europe (Wu, 2014). According to Wu (2014), racial profiling can be attributed to group-position theory, which positions Caucasians as the superior social group who uses their influence to effectuate social order that is beneficial to their group members. Wu noted that when

social order primarily affects African Americans and other ethnicities, the minority groups tend to have a less favorable perception of the police. Furthermore, the researcher claimed that since African Americans are primarily targeted by the dominant social group, African Americans continue to be harshly treated by law enforcement officers, which results in a negative perception of law enforcement officers and the laws that they enforce. Blumer's (1958) group-position theory has similarities to Weber's (1910) social relationship theory. The social relationship theory identified communal and associative social groups that have binding rules for members of society to follow (Gane, 2005). Often, members of the social groups use their influence in law enforcement agencies to enforce laws primarily against the African American population because they were thought to have criminal tendencies (Gane, 2005).

African Americans were arrested more frequently because their color, which made it easy for law enforcement officers to identify them, especially in small northern neighborhoods in the United States (Chicago Commission on Race Relations, 1922; Myrdal, 1944). Mosher (2011) examined United States history of biased policing. The author noted that there are many incidents of racial profiling and biased policing is still an area of concern. Mosher recommended that researchers studying biased policing should ensure that their research is methodologically sound and they should test theoretically based hypotheses. Thus, the author noted that conclusions should be supported by data as inaccurately labeling law enforcement agencies as engaging in racial profiling could damage their reputation and their ability to serve their community.

Many citizens believe that racial profiling exists, but many are unaware that some law enforcement agencies have written policies that empower their officers to racially profile minorities such as African Americans. Khoury (2009) found that the Maryland State Police had a written policy in 1988, which effectively permitted state troopers to stop, detain, and search motorists who fit a particular description that was based on a drug courier profile from the mid-1980s when the country was experiencing a drug epidemic. Foucault (1977) found that the continued experiences of racial profiling leads to emotional stress that eventually robs African Americans of their humanity and their self-esteem. When this occurs, the author related that African Americans tend to lose their self-control and subsequently become indignant toward law enforcement officers when stopped.

Many African Americans experience public humiliation because of racial profiling (Bou-Habib, 2011). Bou-Habib (2011) noted that law enforcement officers' use of racial profiling has created and reinforced background injustice when they perpetually stop and search innocent African American motorists on the roadway where they are viewed by other passing motorists who may perceive them as criminals. Allen and Parker (2013) investigated the perceived relationship between police officers and individuals who live in communities where the police officers patrol. Data were collected through a survey that was distributed to patrol officers in 2001 in a large Midwestern city. The researchers reported that the majority of the residents were African Americans who were patrolled by mostly Caucasian law enforcement officers. Allen and Parker noted that the Caucasian law enforcement officers who patrolled the urban communities had negative

perceptions of the African American residents and refused to live in their communities as they attempted to bridge the relationship between the community and the police. On the other hand, the researchers found that Caucasian police officers had a positive perception of Caucasian residents in their neighborhood and were more willing to reside in those neighborhoods. For African Americans police officers who patrolled the neighborhoods where most the residents were African Americans, the relationship and perception of the citizens were positive as African American police officers noted that they would reside in those urban neighborhoods. Allen and Parker argued that the negative relationship and perception of Caucasian police officers may be attributed to external influences.

Minorities' perceptions of discretionary police behavior are different from their Caucasian counterpart (Beverlin, 2012). Using PPCS data, Beverlin (2012) examined the bureaucratic representation of law enforcement officers during traffic stops. Findings indicated that when police officers' race were different from motorists' race, traffic stops had increased, along with motor vehicle summons. Beverlin found that when African American law enforcement officers stopped motorists of the same ethnicity, they were less likely to issue a summons. The researcher found that African Americans generally have a favorable perception of how they were treated by an African American law enforcement officer. On the other hand, African American respondents had a less favorable perception of African American police officers' professionalism, which researchers attributed to the low amount of African Americans in the law enforcement profession.

Consensus theory is the general application of the law that may result in the stopping of motor vehicles and arresting drivers when necessary during order maintenance of the citizens and township regardless of their ethnicity (Reanuer, 2012). Reanuer (2012) related that the conflict perspective did not focus on suspicious illegal activities, but instead addressed racial threat on the elite society by the presence of African Americans. Reanuer noted that the consensus perspective empowers law enforcement officers to equally enforce the rules that were established by members of society while the conflict perspective created inequality for African Americans and other minority groups in society because Caucasian members of society often influenced law enforcement officers to enforce laws that protects their social group. Renauer's (2012) investigated police stops and arrests in relation to consensus and conflict theories. Findings from the data collected from the Portland, Oregon Police Bureau showed that 17% of the drivers who were stopped were African Americans, while they were 6% of the driving population (p. 230). To understand how certain members of society view racial profiling under the conflict perspective, Alegria (2014) examined focus groups from North Carolina where Caucasians were tasked to discuss issues concerning racial profiling. The researcher found that many of the participants tried to avoid discussing racial profiling and when the topic was presented, they insisted that the police were only doing their job. The participants further added that they learned from the media and through experience that African Americans committed more crimes, especially young African American males.

Although society has changed over the past 50 years, some elements of race relations have remained unchanged (Walker, 2011). Walker (2011) related that many citizens and law enforcement officers believed that stopping African Americans and other racial minority drivers would result in the discovery of illicit drugs and contrabands in their vehicles. In addition, Gee (2008) argued that the criminal justice system was designed to be race-neutral; however, many African Americans find themselves disparately treated within the criminal justice system that was designed to protect all Americans. Walker noted that equal protection under the 14th Amendment does not represent equal protection for African Americans who were victimized.

Often, the criminal justice system focuses on Caucasian victims and increases police resources to further protect their communities (Walker, 2011). On the other hand, when the victims are African Americans, little is discussed and African American communities receive little to no increased police patrol (Walker, 2011). Walker (2011) related that African Americans are perceived as criminals; therefore, police officers over enforce the laws in minority communities. Walker noted that members of the same racial group committed four-fifths of serious crimes (p. 586). For example, the author related that Caucasians were 6 times more likely to be victimized by another Caucasian individual, than a minority individual.

African Americans are less trustful of the police than Caucasians (Warren, 2010). Warren (2010) examined how differences of trust vary across police organizations. Warren found that both local and state police agencies treat African Americans negatively and appeared to target them more than Caucasian motorists. The researcher

also noted that state police agencies across the country are responsible for highway safety and tend to have a lower citizen-police contact, which should have given them a more favorable perception by African Americans. On the contrary, fewer contacts with citizens still resulted in a negative perception of treatment towards African Americans because of the many publicized New Jersey State Police shootings of African Americans in the 1990s. Warren related that many of the media reports of police abuse of African Americans that stem from New York to California have influenced a negative perception of how African Americans perceive law enforcement officers, coupled with their own experience of aggressive treatment. The findings suggested that African Americans continue to be victimized by racial practices by both local and state law enforcement agencies across the United States.

African American Police Officers' Perceptions About Being Racially Profiled

Active and retired African American male police officers have reported that when they are off duty and out of uniform, that they have been victims of racial profiling (Conlin, 2014). Conlin (2014) related that 25 African American male police officers who were on the New York Police Department were interviewed. The author noted that 15 were retired and 10 were still actively serving. Findings indicated that 24 participants reported being racially profiled when they were off duty and out of uniform. The participants reported that they were no reason for why their fellow police officers pulled them over. They also claimed that fellow police officers pulled them over multiple times, slammed their heads against their cars, pointed guns in their faces, flung them into prison vans, and were stopped and frisked while shopping. Hence, Conlin noted that race or

ethnicity was used as the basis for suspecting the off-duty officers of having committed a crime.

It is difficult to dismiss African American police officers' complaints of racial profiling as anecdotal as 69% of the African American police officers from the Milwaukee Police Department complained that they were stopped due to racial profiling (Barlow & Barlow, 2002, p. 345). Using African American police officers from the Milwaukee Police Department in Wisconsin, Barlow and Barlow (2002) investigated their personal experiences of being racially profiled. Findings indicated that 69% of African American police officers have been questioned and searched after being stopped (p. 345). Of the 69%, 22% reported that they were ticketed, while 7% noted that they were arrested following the motor vehicle stop (p. 345). Results showed that African American police officers were being racially profiled. Barlow and Barlow reported that some African American officers were concerned that the findings may negatively affect their image in the police department. Barlow and Barlow found that 43% of the participants were stopped due to racial profiling during the 5 years prior to the survey (p. 345). In addition, 23% of the participants related that they were racially profiled in Wisconsin during the 1 year prior to the survey (p. 346). The researchers highlighted that all the police officers who were racially profiled during that 1 year period were all sworn police officers at the time of the incidents. Although a few African American police officers in the Milwaukee Police Department denied being racially profiled by fellow police officers and the existence of racial profiling, the researchers found that 1 in 5

African American police officer were racially profiled in the jurisdiction where they worked as police officers.

Numerous police leaders have suggested that most complaints of racial profiling are attributed to the citizen's perceptual misunderstanding of police procedures and crime fighting strategies (Wilson, Wilson, & Thou, 2015). However, Wilson et al. (2015) argued that African American police officers have made the same complaints for many decades regarding the treatment that they received from fellow police officers. Loimo, Meadows, Becton, Tears, and Charles (2008) and Wilson and Wilson (2014) claimed that law enforcement leaders across the United States have ignored reports of racial profiling, including complaints from fellow police officers.

African American police officers are more critical of police relationships with Blacks than officers of other races (Morin, Parker, Stepler, & Mercer, 2017). Morin et al. (2017) surveyed 8,000 police officers about their views about their jobs, key issues, and recent fatal encounters between Blacks and police officers. Morin et al. noted that one of the singular findings of their survey was the size of the differences between the views of African American and Caucasian officers due to longstanding tensions between police officers and Blacks. The researchers found that 69% of African American officers, but only 27% of Caucasian officers reported that the protests that followed fatal encounters between police and African American citizens have been motivated at least to some extent by a genuine desire to hold police accountable (p. 6). When participants gave their perceptions about the state of race relations, 92% of Caucasian officers, but only 29% of African American officers, related that the United States has made the changes needed to

assure equal rights for Blacks (p. 6). African American officers' perceptions on this topic was also lower than Caucasian adults (57%) who noted that no more changes were needed (pp. 6–7). In addition, while the majority of officers reported that police have a good relationship with Caucasians, Hispanics, and Asians in their communities, only 56% reported that same about police relations with African Americans. In addition, this perception was dramatically different by the race or ethnicity of the officer. Six in 10 Caucasian and Hispanic officers described police relations with African Americas as excellent or good, while only 32% of African American police officers shared that view (p. 6). When discussing the disparity between African American officers and Caucasian police officers, Morin (as cited in Bromwich, 2017) noted that when African American police officers take off their uniforms and badges, they are no longer police officers, but Black men and women who are subjected to the same kind of indignities, injustices, and discrimination as other African Americans. In the next section, I discuss what African American male police officers perceive to the effects of racial profiling within their workplace.

African American Police Officers' Perceived Effects of Racial Profiling at Work

Approximately 11.9% of all sworn police officers across the United States are African Americans (Reaves, 2010, p. 14). An unsettling relationship among police officers continues in many police agencies across the United States (Stroshine & Brandl, 2011; Sun, 2003; Wilson et al., 2015). Due to this, many African American police officers may feel unworthy, believe they are treated as second class citizens, and believe that they are viewed as a departmental token (Stroshine & Brandl, 2011; Sun, 2003;

Wilson et al., 2015). African American police officers may have also experienced discrimination that resulted in limited opportunities within their own police agency, such as not being promoted to leadership positions (Stroshine & Brandl, 2011; Sun, 2003; Wilson et al. 2015).

It is important to understand how African American police officers who serve in small law enforcement agencies perceive themselves and to understand their views of how their law enforcement agencies and the communities they serve perceive them (Wilson & Wilson, 2014). Wilson and Wilson (2014) examined 62 African American police officers' perceptions about the effects of their presence in their small police agencies and the community. The researchers invited police officers who were members of the National Association of Black Law Enforcement Officers in Northeast United States to complete a 21-question survey. Findings indicated that a small number of African American police officers were employed in small police agencies and most of the police officers and community members were Caucasian. The researchers also found that African American police officers were underrepresented in many police agencies, which resulted in many of the participants feeling inconsequential and criticized more often compared to Caucasian police officers. The researchers also found that 69% of the African American police officers in Milwaukee, Wisconsin, believed that they were racially profiled following traffic stops (p. 127). Wilson and Wilson found that 84% of African American police officers believed that their police agency engaged in racial profiling practices instead of condemning the harmful practice (p.128). Findings also indicated that 56% of the African American police officers believed that their Caucasian

counterpart valued them, while 47.7% of participants believed that Caucasian community members valued their police profession (p. 129). Conversely, the researchers found that 90.9% of African American police officers believed that members of their own ethnicity valued their profession (p. 129). Wilson and Wilson emphasized the importance of understanding and appreciating the value of all law enforcement officers in order to have more effective level of service and participation at all levels within law enforcement agencies.

Race and gender in many law enforcement agencies became an institutional issue as agencies were assigning police officers based on their ethnicity and gender (Conti & Doreian, 2014). According to Conti and Doreian (2014), African Americans were assigned as partners and women were assigned to work with other women. The researchers noted that neither group did not interact with each other and that Caucasian women did not interact with the African American women.

Since the 1960s, not much change has been made to cultural diversity training for police officers (Schlosser, 2013). Schlosser (2013) reported that cross-cultural training consists of teaching police officers skills in communication and conflict resolution. The researcher noted that while this training has some advantages, it also has disadvantages such as the profiling of certain groups of individuals and reinforcing stereotypes. Schlosser (2013) examined police recruits' views about diversity training in a Midwest police academy through the use of the Color-Blind Racial Attitudes Scale (CoBRAS). The researcher found that 79% of the police recruit participants did not understand discrimination issues, viewed police officers as dominant members of society who should

maintain racial order, and viewed African Americans as subordinate citizens (p. 5).

Schlosser highlighted that at the end of week 12, the police recruit's views of racism did not change and they mainly learned how much force they can use when arresting African Americans. Findings indicated that only 21% of the recruits understood the issues concerning diversity and the existence of racism in the police institutions across the nation (p. 5). The results of this study suggested that police academies across the nation might not be adequately training police recruits in the areas of cultural diversity, which is an important training tool in a diverse society. To bring about positive social change, Schlosser recommended the use of a more proactive approach in police training that challenges the dominant ideology. Thus, the researcher noted that police training must include strategies that will increase police recruits' ability to understand and recognize more subtle forms of racism. In addition, the researcher argued that along with using conversations on criminal justice and social justice, collaborative efforts should be made between community members and law enforcement. When police recruits complete the police academy, the researcher suggested that they take part in a field training program where veteran police officers train recruits on policing practices in the communities that they will serve. Schlosser emphasized that the veteran police officers should also receive in-service training with the focus on social justice. Consequently, findings indicated that it is imperative that color-blind racial beliefs are addressed in the design of police recruit diversity training courses and topics should include privilege and race, institutional discrimination, and obvious racial issues.

Racial Profiling Internationally

The racial profiling phenomenon that affects African Americans appears to be an international phenomenon that continues to affect individuals of African ancestry in other countries. Borooah (2011) examined racial disparity in police stop and searches in England and Wales. The researcher used 2007 and 2008 published Ministry of Justice data in England and Wales. In the United Kingdom, Borooah (2011) found that officers in England and Wales stopped nearly 1.5 million motorists on the roadway in 2007 and 2008. Of those stopped, Borooah noted that only 8% (113,898) resulted in arrests, but Blacks who include African Americans, Afro-Caribbeans, and Africans, were arrested 12% of the time (p. 468). Findings indicated that of the 12% Blacks who were arrested, 88% were found to be innocent of the charges that were brought against them. Hence, the results of the study showed excess in racial disparity in some police areas of England and Wales. The results of Borooah's study suggested that African Americans or individuals of African heritage continue to be the victims of disparate treatment in different countries.

Similar to previous research on racial profiling of Blacks abroad, the European Union supports police officers' racial profiling of individuals with African heritage and Muslims, despite their public criticism of the practice as being illegal (Keaton, 2013). Keaton (2013) reported that although racial profiling is illegal in France, many citizens of African heritage and Arabs were subjected to constant stop and searches in the presence of other citizens, which resulted in public humiliation for those affected. Keaton noted that a lawsuit was filed against the Ministry of the Interior and the French police force,

which suggested that the French police were targeting Africans and Arabs because they were viewed as posing a threat to the French culture and social norms. Keaton found that Africans were stopped 11.5% more than Caucasians and less than Arabs (14.8%, p. 232). However, the researcher found that Africans were arrested more than any other racial group for incidents that did not rise to an illegal offence.

In another study that focused on police officers in five popular areas around Paris, racial profiling was found to be rampant, with Black Africans being the intended targets (Jobard & Levy, 2011). Jobard and Levy (2011) reported that French police officers justified their stops by implying that their fight against terrorism required them to randomly stop people carrying bags, which contradicted the researchers' findings. Jobard and Levy found that young African men were excessively stopped and searched even though they had no bags in their possession. The researchers noted that two thirds of individuals who dressed in cultural attire were minorities; hence, if the police only stopped and search this group, then two thirds of the targeted individuals would be Black or Arabs.

Social relationship conflicts between African Americans and Caucasians emerged during the early 1960s and Caucasians used the court system and law enforcement officers to protect their interests in society (Staples, 2011). Staples claimed that courts during the Jim Crow era, between 1876 and 1965, embraced laws that overwhelmingly targeted African Americans; therefore, African Americans were criminalized as they fought for their rights and freedom. As the Jim Crow era was ending with the enactment of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, which afforded more protection for African Americans,

Britain began to recruit more ethnic minorities, especially Blacks, to reduce the effect of racism in their country and its police force (Cashmore, 2001). According to Cashmore (2001), in Britain, only three Black individuals worked part-time as police officers in 1965 (p. 642). Cashmore conducted a study with three Black police participants from the British law enforcement agency. Findings revealed that the race relationship between Blacks citizens, African Black police officers, and Caucasian police officers were unspeakable during the same period of World War II and the start of the Civil Rights Movement in the United States. The researcher noted that the clashes between the British police intensified when 2,000 citizens gathered at a hotel where Black seamen were lodging and during that show of force, the Black seamen were forced to remain in their rooms out of fear of being assaulted. Instead of protecting the seamen at the hotel, Cashmore related that the British police assembled at the hotel and joined forces with the citizens to harass and intimidate the seamen because they were alleged to have taken employment from the locals throughout various cities in the country.

In addition, the three Black police officers from the British law enforcement agency reported that they experienced several accounts of racism by their fellow Caucasian officers (Cashmore, 2001). Cashmore (2001) reported that the police officers' racial experience and the unlawful killing of unarmed Black males by a group of Caucasian young men prompted a commissioned report in 1999. Cashmore identified the Metropolitan police force as being institutionally racist because of their widespread neglect of Blacks residents. The researcher highlighted the animosity that Caucasian

police have towards the Black population regardless of the geographical location in the world.

Racial Profiling and the Media

The public's perception about the alleged racial identity of criminals may be so ingrained in their consciousness that the mention of race may not be necessary (Welch, 2007). Entman (1992) found that racial profiling can be attributed to the criminal typification of African Americans because they are often depicted as criminals instead of positive role models compared to Caucasians on television. Many of the negative perceptions of African Americans can be attributed to various media sources who negatively depict African Americans as criminals who cannot be trusted. Gilliam and Lyengar (2000) evaluated crime news script; specifically, they focused on violent crime and the inclusion of racial imagery on public opinion. The researchers found that when participants did not know the race of the suspect, participants were more likely to remember seeing a Black suspect. When the researchers used digital technology to change certain suspects' race, a little more than half of the participants recalled the White perpetrator's race. On the other hand, the researchers found that more than two thirds of the participants remembered Black suspects' race and the overwhelming majority of false recognitions from participants were geared towards African Americans and Hispanics. Thus, the researchers found that Caucasian participants' exposure to the racial aspects of the crime script increased their negative attitudes about African Americans, but this was not the case for African American participants.

Based on the perceived relationship between African American communities and law enforcement officers, primarily Caucasian officers, some of the negative perception that leads to their decision making can be attributed to events broadcasted by the media (Graziano, Schuck, & Martin, 2010). Graziano et al. (2010) found that respondents from various communities form their opinions about the actions of police officers towards African Americans after watching media coverage about the police. The researchers noted that African Americans viewed negative police actions towards them as a form of racism, while Caucasians perceived police actions against African Americans as a police strategy that targets minority communities.

Summary and Conclusions

Racial profiling continues to affect African Americans throughout the United States, which deprives them of equal protection under the 14th Amendment (Walker, 2012). The media's negative depiction of African Americans further exacerbates racial profiling, especially against young African American males as criminals (Alegria, 2014). African American police officers are grossly underrepresented in many police agencies, which has left many of them feeling inconsequential and criticized more often compared to their Caucasian counterparts (Wilson & Wilson, 2014). Wilson and Wilson (2014) found that 69% of African American police officers in Milwaukee, Wisconsin, believed that they were racially profiled following traffic stops and 84% believed that their police agency engaged in racial profiling practices (pp. 127-128). It is challenging to reject the accounts of African American police officers who have been subjected to racial profiling as being uninformed, overly sensitive, or to challenge their interpretations of events

because they understand the intricacies, complexities, and dangers of law enforcement (Barlow & Barlow, 2002). Therefore, perceptions and experiences shared by African American male police officers that substantiate the reality of racial profiling are extremely beneficial and powerful as there is a need for a comprehensive national policy that outlaws racial profiling in order to decrease and prevent police violence, harassment, and misconduct (Barlow & Barlow, 2002; Natarajan, 2014).

There is a gap in research that focuses on African American male police officers' perceptions about being racially profiled by their fellow police officers. The perceptions of African American police officers are important because they have both a personal and professional vested interest in exposing the practice of racial profiling as well as protecting the integrity of their profession (Barlow & Barlow, 2002). Past studies have not explored African American male police officers' perceptions of being racially profiled through the theoretical framework of Weber's (1910) social relationship theory and this study addressed that gap and extended new knowledge in the public policy and administration discipline.

In Chapter 2, I included the introduction, literature search strategy, theoretical foundation, the cause of racial profiling by police officers, African American police officers' perceptions about being racially profiled, African American police officers' perceived effects of racial profiling at work, racial profiling internationally, racial profiling and the media, and a summary and conclusions. In Chapter 3, I include the research design and rationale, role of the researcher, methodology, issues of trustworthiness, and a summary. In Chapter 4, I include the setting, demographics, data

collection, data analysis, evidence of trustworthiness, results, and a summary. In Chapter 5, I include the interpretation of findings, limitations of the study, recommendations, implications, and a conclusion.

Chapter 3: Research Method

In this study, I explored African American male police officers' perceptions about being racially profiled by fellow police officers in the State of New Jersey. Using snowball sampling, data were collected for this study through in-depth face-to-face semistructured interviews with 20 active and retired African American male police officers who have experienced racial profiling from their fellow police officers in the State of New Jersey. The interviews were transcribed, and data were managed with NVivo. Data were analyzed using Moustakas's (1994) modified van Kaam method of analysis. The study was conducted in accordance with Walden University's IRB guidelines to ensure the ethical protection of research participants. The IRB approved the application for the study, and the approval number is 06-17-16-0353267. In Chapter 3, I include the research design and rationale, role of the researcher, methodology, issues of trustworthiness, and a summary.

Research Design and Rationale

In this section, I present the research questions for this phenomenological research study. I also discuss the phenomenological research study design rationale. This section is organized in the following subsections: research questions and phenomenological research design rationale.

Research Questions

In this qualitative phenomenological research study, I addressed one central research question: What are African American male police officers' perceptions about being racially profiled by fellow police officers in the State of New Jersey?

Four subquestions were considered:

1. What do African American male police officers perceive to be the cause of racial profiling by police officers?
2. What do African American male police officers perceive to be the effects of racial profiling within their workplace?
3. What are African American male police officers' perceptions about how racial profiling affects their social relationship with Caucasian police officers?
4. What do African American male police officers recommend to decrease and prevent racial profiling?

Phenomenological Research Design Rationale

A qualitative phenomenological research design was used to explore African American male police officers lived experiences of being racially profiled by fellow police officers. Snowball sampling, which is a subset of purposive sampling (Trochim, 2006), was used to collect data through in-depth face-to-face semistructured interviews with 20 active and retired African American police officers in the State of New Jersey. I used NVivo to manage the data and Moustakas's (1994) modified van Kaam method for analysis.

A mixed method approach was considered because it offers the strengths of an additional method to overcome the weaknesses of another method when both are used in a research study (Johnson, 2013). However, a mixed methods approach was not needed in answering the central research question and four subquestions in this research study. A quantitative research method was also considered because it eliminates the confounding

influence of many variables and would allow credible established cause-and-effect relationships (Johnson, 2013). However, a quantitative method was not used for this research study because participants' perceptions or thoughts cannot be measured with standardized instruments. Thus, a qualitative research method was used in this research study because it provides understanding and description of participants' personal experiences of the phenomena (Johnson, 2013).

Five qualitative research designs were considered for this study, which include case study, ethnography, grounded theory, narrative inquiry, and phenomenology (Guetterman, 2015). The phenomenological research design was chosen after an in-depth review of the five qualitative designs. Phenomenological research design is used to understand a phenomenon from the perspective of those who experienced it and there is an essence to shared experience (Patton, 2002; Worthington, 2013). Hence, the phenomenological research design was used to present the essence of African American male police officers' experiences with being racially profiled by fellow police officers.

Role of the Researcher

Unlike quantitative researchers who distance themselves from the participants and researchers, the qualitative researcher is participatory (Lodico, Spaulding, & Voegtle, 2010; Merriam, 2009; Moustakas, 1994). I served as an observer-participant during the in-depth face-to-face semistructured interviews of this research study. I had direct contact with participants as I recruited them by e-mail, telephone, and face-to-face conversations. I collected semistructured interview data, which I transcribed, coded, analyzed, and interpreted.

I did not recruit personal friends or current or past colleagues to take part in the study. Therefore, I did not have any personal or professional relationship with potential research participants. I had no power over potential participants; hence, they were able to participate without feeling coerced or obligated to take part in the study.

In phenomenological research studies, researchers should give up their biases and view the topic with a fresh eye (Merriam, 2009; Moustakas, 1994). I used specific strategies such as reflexivity, which pertains to researchers' self-awareness and strategies for managing possible biasing factors within the study (Jootun, McGhee, & Marland, 2009; Porter, 1993). Thus, I revealed any experiences, biases, and values pertaining to the research topic. I did not have any biases against potential participants. I treated participants respectfully and I did not exploit them. I considered the perceptions of all participants and there were no conflicts of interests in the study. After completion and approval of this study, I will e-mail each participant a summary report of the research findings.

Methodology

In this section, the methodology is discussed. Sufficient depth is provided so that other researchers can replicate the study. The methodology section is organized in the following subsections: participant selection logic; instrumentation; procedures for recruitment, participation, and data collection; and data analysis plan.

Participant Selection Logic

Snowball sampling, a subcategory of purposive sampling, was used to identify potential participants who met the selection criteria for inclusion in the study, and then

those potential participants were asked to recommend others who met the study's criteria (Trochim, 2006). The selection criteria for being in this study included active and retired African American male frontline police officers who had worked or currently worked for law enforcement agencies in the State of the New Jersey and who had experienced racial profiling from fellow police officers. Police officers who conducted the racial profiling may have been of any race. Active and retired African American male police officers who are known to meet the selection criteria were initially contacted by e-mail, telephone, or face-to-face conversations. They were sent an invitation letter to participate in the study and they were asked to recommend other active and retired African American male police officers who meet the selection criteria for this study (see Appendix A).

In comparison to quantitative studies, the sample size in qualitative studies is normally smaller (Mason, 2010). For phenomenological research studies, Klenke (2008) recommended two to 25 participants, and Morse (1994) suggested at least six. Strauss and Corbin (2014) suggested that saturation is a matter of degree and that there is always the potential for new data to emerge. The authors argued that saturation should be concerned with reaching the point where it becomes counterproductive as the new information that is discovered does not necessarily add to the story, model, theory, or framework. For this study, 20 participants were used to find trends in participants' racial profiling experiences. The relationship between saturation and sample size is sufficient in this study because, through snowball sampling, the use of 20 participants allowed me to obtain the richest data possible. Saturation was researched with 20 participants.

Instrumentation

I used a 45-minute researcher-developed interview questionnaire to conduct individual in-depth face-to-face semistructured interviews with participants (see Appendix B). The questionnaire was structured to obtain data about the perceptions of African American male police officers about being racially profiled by fellow police officers. In addition, the questionnaire was structured to elicit participants' perceptions about the cause of racial profiling by police officers, the effects of racial profiling within their workplace, how racial profiling affected their social relationship with Caucasian police officers, and recommendations to decrease and prevent racial profiling.

Semistructured interviews are used to generate qualitative data through the use of open-ended questions and prepared probes (Morse & Richards, 2002). In semistructured interviews, the interview guide leads interviewers, but it does not dictate everything as they are free to probe interesting areas that participants bring up (Lindlof & Taylor, 2002; Smith & Osborn, 2003). Interviewers can ensure that a broad coverage of issues is addressed by asking focused instead of leading questions and taking care to listen carefully to each participant (Chan, Fung, & Chien, 2013).

Procedures for Recruitment, Participation, and Data Collection

I completed the National Institutes of Health (NIH) Office of Extramural Research human research protections training (see Appendix C). I also complied with all federal and state regulations, such as abiding by the New Jersey Department of Health's (2012) ethical conduct of human subjects research. After receiving Walden University's IRB approval to conduct the study, I contacted active and retired African American male

police officers who were known to meet the selection criteria individually by e-mail, telephone, and face-to-face conversations. Potential participants were sent an invitation letter to participate in the study and were asked to recommend other active and retired African American male police officers who met the selection criteria for this study (see Appendix A). Participants were informed that they could ask questions about the study by e-mail, telephone, or face-to-face conversations. I did not include anyone with whom I have a personal or professional relationship with in my study, such as family members, friends, and current and past coworkers, thus preventing any perceived coercion or obligation to participate due to any existing relationship.

On the invitation letter to participate in the study, potential participants were instructed to complete the questions on the letter and e-mail them back to me if they were interested in participating in the study. Potential participants' responses to the questions helped to ensure that they met the selection criteria for participation. As I received the e-mail responses to the questions asked on the invitation to participate letter from the potential participants who were interested in participating in the study and I ensured that they met the study's selection criteria, I contacted each participant by telephone or e-mail to set-up an appointment to conduct individual semistructured interviews at a time that was convenient for them. The interviews took place in a private meeting room at the North Brunswick Library located at 880 Hermann Road.

Prior to taking part in the interview, I asked each participant to read and sign a hard copy consent form. The consent form outlined that no compensation was offered to participants for taking part in the study. I answered questions that participants had while

they reviewed the consent form. Interviews were audio-taped and took approximately 45 minutes (see Appendix B for the interview guide). Before concluding the interviews, I answered participants' questions or concerns. After I addressed all questions or concerns, I concluded the interviews and thanked participants for their participation.

It was unlikely that participation would arouse any acute discomfort; however, to provide participants within reasonable protection from distress or psychological harm, participants were informed that they could seek counseling by calling the Substance Abuse and Mental Health Services Administration's (2014) national helpline at 1-800-662-4357 should they experience any negative effects from taking part in this research endeavor. After I transcribed the interviews, I e-mailed each participant their transcript of the interview along with their audiotape of the interview and asked that they review the transcript for accuracy. The transcription review process helped to ensure the accuracy, credibility, and validity of what was recorded during the interviews (Harper & Cole, 2012). Providing both the transcription and the audiotape helped to make the transcription review more accurate and less burdensome on participants as they checked to ensure that their interview was accurately transcribed. I discussed the participants' feedback with them by telephone or e-mail. The transcription review process took approximately 25 minutes. After the study is approved, I will e-mail a summary report of the research findings to all participants. I have kept all data secured in a locked file cabinet and password-protected computer in my private home office. I am the only one with access to the data, which will be kept for at least 5 years per Walden University

guidelines. After that period, I will properly destroy the data using techniques such as shredding and demagnetizing.

Data Analysis Plan

To analyze the interview questions against the central research question and four subquestions, interviews were transcribed and data were managed with NVivo. NVivo is a data management tool that is used to organize data (Jabbar, 2015). NVivo helps the researcher to index segments of text to particular themes, link research notes to coding, can carry out complex search and retrieve operations, and helps the researcher in examining possible relationships between the themes (King, 2004). Jabbar (2015) noted that advantages of NVivo include the ability to collect and archive almost any data type and connect to the researcher's transcribed data, it searches large data sets, creates codes to identify patterns, and the software now allows researchers to import and code Tweets, Facebook posts, and YouTube comments.

Data were analyzed using Moustakas's (1994) modified van Kaam method of analysis. This method includes the following seven steps:

1. Listing and preliminary grouping.
2. Reduction and elimination.
3. Clustering and thematizing the invariant constituents.
4. Final identification of the invariant constituents and themes by application.
5. Using the relevant, validated invariant constituents and themes, construct for each co-researcher an individual textual description of the experience.

6. Construct for each co-researcher an individual structural description of the experience based on the individual textural description and imaginative variation.
7. Construct for each research participant a textural-structural description of the meanings and essences of the experience. From the individual textural-structured descriptions, develop a composite description of the meanings and essences of the experience, representing the group as a whole. (Moustakas, 1994, pp. 120-121)

During data analysis, I found no discrepant cases. Preliminary themes in this study included racial profiling, racial disparity, African American men, African American male police officers, media's effect, social relationship, and racial profiling recommendation. Additional themes and subthemes emerged during the data analysis process, which are discussed in Chapter 4.

Issues of Trustworthiness

This section is organized in the following subsections: credibility, transferability, dependability, confirmability, and ethical procedures.

Credibility

As the qualitative counterpart to internal validity, credibility pertains to the confidence that the researcher can place in the truth of the research findings (Holloway & Wheeler, 2002; Macnee & McCabe, 2008). Anney (2014) noted that qualitative researchers establish the rigor of their inquiry by using credibility strategies such as prolonged and varied field experience, time sampling, reflexivity, triangulation, member

checking, peer examination, interview technique, establishing authority of the researcher, and structural coherence. In this study, credibility was established through reflexivity, saturation, and transcription reviews. Through reflexivity, I disclosed all biases and experiences related to racial profiling. I also worked to achieve data saturation. In addition, I e-mailed each participant the transcript of their interview and asked that they review the transcript for accuracy. I discussed participants' feedback with them by telephone or e-mail.

Transferability

As the qualitative counterpart to external validity, transferability pertains to the degree to which the results of the study can be transferred to other contexts with other participants; thus, it is equivalent to generalizability (Bitsch, 2005; Tobin & Begley, 2004). Bitsch (2005) discussed the use of thick description and purposeful sampling as strategies to establish transferability. In this study, I ensured transferability by providing rich, thick description of the study's context and participants. I also used snowball sampling, which is a subset of purposive sampling.

Dependability

As the qualitative counterpart to reliability, dependability pertains to how stable the findings are overtime (Bitsch, 2005). Strategies used to establish dependability include audit trail, a code-recode strategy, stepwise replication, triangulation, and peer examination or iterator comparisons (Ary, Jacobs, Razavieh, & Sorensen, 2010; Chilisa & Preece, 2005; Krefling, 1991; Schwandt, Lincoln, & Guba, 2007). In this study, dependability was established through the use of an audit trail where I kept the following

documents for cross-checking: interview notes, tape recorded interviews, transcriptions of those interviews, and transcription review documents.

Confirmability

As the qualitative counterpart to objectivity, confirmability pertains to the degree to which the results of the study can be confirmed or corroborated by other researchers (Baxter & Eyles, 1997). Strategies used to establish confirmability include audit trail, reflexive journal, and triangulation (Bowen, 2009; Koch, 2006; Lincoln & Guba, 1985). In this study, confirmability was established through audit trails and reflexivity.

Ethical Procedures

I completed the NIH Office of Extramural Research human research protections training (see Appendix C). I conducted the study in accordance with the parameters established by Walden University's IRB and all federal and state regulations in New Jersey to ensure the ethical protection of research participants. Data collection began after receiving Walden University's IRB approval. The data collected presented no greater than minimal risk and Walden University's IRB guidelines were followed to protect the data that were generated from the interview questions.

Before I began each interview, all participants were given a consent form that had been approved by Walden University IRB for them to review and sign; thus, obtaining their permission to participate in the study. In the consent form, I outlined participants' protections and ethical guidelines that were followed during the research study such as the voluntary nature of the study and participants' right to withdraw at any time without fear of reprisal or penalty. In the consent form, I also outlined any physical or

psychological risks that the participants might experience and indicated that participants were not obligated to complete any part of the study with which they were not comfortable. It was unlikely that participation in this study would arouse any acute discomfort; however, participants were referred to the Substance Abuse and Mental Health Services Administration's national helpline at 1-800-662-4357 if they experience any negative effects.

All participants' rights were respected during the research process and data collection stage. After the data were collected, all identifiable data were eliminated; therefore, the interviews were numbered or coded to match each participant. This protected participants' identities; however, I knew the identity of the participants, which were kept confidential. I informed all participants that the interviews would be audio-taped and that a verbatim transcription would be made, which they reviewed for accuracy, and the transcriptions were analyzed at a later time. I have kept all audio-recorded data secured. Only my supervising committee had access to the data.

I have kept all data in a locked file cabinet and password protected computer in my personal home office, which I will keep for at least 5 years based on Walden University's guidelines. I will properly destroy all data after that time period using methods such as shredding and demagnetizing. Participants were provided with my contact information and the contact information for my Dissertation Committee Chair in the event that they had any further questions or concerns about the research study. Participants were also provided with the contact information of the Walden University representative with whom they could talk privately about their rights as participants.

After the study is approved, I will e-mail a summary report of the research findings to each participant.

Summary

I explored 20 African American male police officers' perceptions about being racially profiled by fellow police officers in the State of New Jersey. The in-depth semistructured interviews were transcribed and data were managed through the use of NVivo. Data were analyzed using Moustakas's (1994) modified van Kaam method of analysis. The data that I collected presented no greater than minimal risk and I followed Walden University's IRB guidelines to protect participants and the data.

In Chapter 3, I included the research design and rationale, role of the researcher, methodology, issues of trustworthiness, and a summary. In Chapter 4, I will include the setting, demographics, data collection, data analysis, evidence of trustworthiness, results, and a summary. In Chapter 5, I will include the interpretation of findings, limitations of the study, recommendations, implications, and a conclusion.

Chapter 4: Results

The purpose of this qualitative phenomenological research study was to explore 20 African American male police officers' perceptions about being racially profiled by fellow police officers in the State of New Jersey. In-depth semistructured interviews with 20 active and retired African American male frontline police officers were used to address the central research question of African American male police officers' perceptions about being racially profiled by fellow police officers in the State of New Jersey? In addition, four subquestions were considered: (a) What do African American male police officers perceive to be the cause of racial profiling by police officers, (b) what do African American male police officers perceive to be the effects of racial profiling within their workplace, (c) what are African American male police officers' perceptions about how racial profiling affects their social relationship with Caucasian police officers, and (d) what do African American male police officers recommend to decrease and prevent racial profiling?

The interviews were analyzed using Moustakas's (1994) modified van Kaam method of analysis. Themes that emerged from the data are presented according to respective research questions. In Chapter 4, I include the setting, demographics, data collection, data analysis, evidence of trustworthiness, results, and summary.

Setting

Snowball sampling was used to collect data through in-depth semistructured interviews with 14 active and six retired African American male frontline police officers. The interviews took place from July 1, 2016 to August 23, 2016 at the North Brunswick

Library located at 880 Hermann Road. There were no organizational conditions that influenced participants or their experiences at the time of the study that may influence interpretation of the study results.

Demographics

From the 30 active and six retired frontline New Jersey police officers who were initially contacted, 14 active and six retired frontline police officers participated in the study. All participants were African American men. They had worked or currently worked for law enforcement agencies in the State of the New Jersey and had experienced racial profiling from fellow police officers.

Data Collection

The instrumentation for the study was a 45-minute researcher-developed interview questionnaire to attain the perceptions of active and retired African American male frontline police officers. The interview questions obtained participants' perceptions about (a) being racially profiled by fellow police officers in the State of New Jersey, (b) the race of the police officers who racially profiled them, (c) the cause of racial profiling by police officers, (d) the effects of racial profiling within their workplace, (e) how racial profiling affected their work ethic and job satisfaction, (f) how racial profiling affected their morale and personal feelings of worth, (g) how racial profiling affects their social relationship with Caucasian police officers, and (h) recommendations to decrease and prevent racial profiling. The interviews were audio-recorded and took approximately 45 minutes. Participants participated in transcription reviews, where I e-mailed each participant their transcript of the interview along with their audiotape of the interview and

asked that they review the transcript for accuracy. Participants' feedback was incorporated in the transcriptions.

Data Analysis

To analyze the interview questions against the central research question and four subquestions, interviews were transcribed and data were managed with NVivo. Data were analyzed using Moustakas's (1994) modified van Kaam method of analysis. This method included the following seven steps:

1. Listing and preliminary grouping.
2. Reduction and elimination.
3. Clustering and thematizing the invariant constituents.
4. Final identification of the invariant constituents and themes by application.
5. Using the relevant, validated invariant constituents and themes, construct for each co-researcher an individual textual description of the experience.
6. Construct for each co-researcher an individual structural description of the experience based on the individual textual description and imaginative variation.
7. Construct for each research participant a textural-structural description of the meanings and essences of the experience. From the individual textural-structured descriptions, develop a composite description of the meanings and essences of the experience, representing the group as a whole. (Moustakas, 1994, pp. 120-121)

During data analysis, I found no discrepant cases. Themes and subthemes emerged during the data analysis process, which are discussed later in the results section in this chapter.

Evidence of Trustworthiness

In this phenomenological research study, I established validity and reliability through credibility, transferability, dependability, and confirmability. I established credibility through reflexivity, saturation, and transcription reviews. Through reflexivity, I disclosed all biases and experiences related to racial profiling. I also worked to achieve data saturation. In addition, I e-mailed each participant the transcript of their interview and asked that they review the transcript for accuracy. I discussed the participants' feedback with them by telephone or e-mail. I ensured transferability by providing rich, thick description of the study's context and participants. I also used snowball sampling. I established dependability through the use of an audit trail where I cross-checked interview notes, tape-recorded interviews, transcriptions of those interviews, and transcription review documents. I established confirmability through audit trails and reflexivity.

Results

Based on all the analyzed data, a total of 16 themes and 14 subthemes emerged. Thematic analysis Step 1 or categorization of text appear in Appendix D, which shows all the participants' responses that went with each theme and subtheme. I organized this section as follows: central research question, Subquestion 1, Subquestion 2, Subquestion 3, and Subquestion 4.

Central Research Question

What are African American male police officers' perceptions about being racially profiled by fellow police officers in the State of New Jersey? Based on the central research question analyzed data, two themes emerged. This subsection is organized as follows: Theme 1: A sign of disrespect and Theme 2: Use of pretexts.

In answering the central research question, participants were specifically asked to describe their perceptions of being racially profiled. In doing so, all participants shared experiences of being pulled over while off-duty and not in uniform. Some described being pulled over while in an unmarked police vehicle and described the experience as being racially profiled for driving a nice car. Overall, police officers shared that they experienced disrespect, which was the main theme in answering the above research question. In-depth participant responses are presented to provide context of police officers' perceptions of being racially profiled by fellow police officers. The themes are displayed in Table 1.

Table 1

Perceptions of Being Racially Profiled by Fellow Police Officers

Themes	No. of frequencies ($N = 20$)	% of frequencies
A sign of disrespect	16	80%
Use of pretexts	4	20%

Theme 1: A sign of disrespect. Most police officers shared their belief about being pulled over by a fellow police officer while off duty. Most police officers believed being pulled over for no reason was a sign of disrespect. This theme received 16 out of the 20 total sample population or 80% (see Table 1). Participants also noted that the

police officers who pulled them over did not treat them as equals. Participants shared similar experiences by explaining that they were asked to show identification (ID), which the officer pulling them over checked many times, and once their IDs were verified, they did not receive any apologies. Most participants noted that there was no police officer camaraderie once the police officers who pulled them over realized that they were police officers. Participant 12 shared:

It's a sign of disrespect. It's a sign of just showing that you, you're not really an officer. You know it's a sign of abuse and power and many of them know that you can't speak badly or act unprofessional even though you're off duty and because they know that, they say a lot of things or talk down to you, which is a problem and often when you just ask questions, they're very abrupt, they don't want to give you a straight answer. If and when they do determine you're an officer, they often don't say anything, they just look at your credentials back and forth a few times then give it back to you and walk away and that seems to be their general practice and that seems to be what many other officers have spoken about. There is no camaraderie, there's no brotherhood, there's nothing. We're just, I look at myself as just a body that's there in uniform with no other influence. I can't recommend anything. I can't go and try to influence others to do the right thing because they look at you as if you don't know anything and that's part of the problem. (personal communication, August 17, 2016)

Similarly, Participant 13 shared that many of his fellow Caucasian police officers did not respect minority citizens; therefore, they did not respect African American police

officers, even if they had 25 years of experience. Participant 14 similarly shared that every time he had been stopped, he had been treated like a second-class citizen and a suspect. Participant 14 also discussed a police officer's use of a tactical stance when he was pulled over with the officer's hand on his gun and his flashlight on his shoulder. Similar to Participants 2, 8, 12, 13, and 15, Participant 14 mentioned the lack of apology after police officers realized that he was a fellow police officer. Participant 15 also shared that he thought officers may be embarrassed after realizing they had stopped African American police officers.

Participant 17 described his experiences of being stopped as racially motivated due to the officers' tone of voice and their demeaning behaviors, where they talked down to him instead of addressing him in a friendly tone of voice. Participant 17 also shared that once his police ID was shown, Caucasian police officers seemed to have had a change of heart, tone, and demeanor as if everything was all right because now he was socially acceptable. Participant 2 termed racial profiling as "simply a game of cat and mouse" (personal communication, August 15, 2016). Participant 2 also related that New Jersey police officers can tell the race of the person in a car by running their license plate. Participant 2 noted that when he was stopped, he received the same treatment that other African American citizens receive, which includes the officers' lack of discretion and officers being very abrupt, abrasive, and not listening to the motorist. Participant 2 and 5 also discussed the threat of getting a summons for something that they did not do and that once the officers reviewed their IDs and realized that they were police officers, the officers walked away without any apology.

Participants 4, 5, and 11 discussed being pulled over while they were in uniform, even though the officers could see that they were police officers. Participants 4, 5, 7, 8, and 11 noted the officers' behaviors were disrespectful and they were treated as "a nobody." Participant 5 explained similar experiences as he had experienced racial profiling many times and then learned of ulterior motives to why he was pulled over, such as a beer bet between officers who were working that night and officers who worked during the day, to see which group could write the most tickets. Participant 6 shared that he had experienced racial profiling for nearly 25 years and that it did not matter if African American police officers worked at the state or municipal levels, or in the sheriff or corrections departments, because they would not get the same equal respect as fellow officers. Participant 8 reported that African Americans get pulled over for driving through the wrong neighborhoods; therefore, he was conditioned mentally to know that he would be pulled over for driving through certain neighborhoods, even as a police officer.

Participants 9, 18, and 20 shared how the experience of being racially profiled by fellow police officers made them feel. Participant 18 noted that being racially profiled did not feel good and that if Caucasian police officers could experience being racially profiled, it would have a different effect, which is to treat people the way they would like to be treated. Similarly, Participants 9 and 20 noted that racial profiling by fellow police officers was disgusting and was an abuse of power. They further noted that as professionals, police officers should know how to treat everyone equally. However, they related that it appeared that some police officers had hidden agendas that they carry out

as officers. Participant 3 response captured the overall experiences of participants when he emphasized that racial profiling by fellow police officers was disrespectful.

Theme 2: Use of pretexts. Although all participants shared their experiences of being racially profiled and being pulled over while off-duty, a few participants explained their perceptions about the reasons for being pulled over. These participants discussed the reasons a fellow police officer would pull them over rather than how it affected them. The participants noted being pulled over for unwarranted reasons. The theme, use of pretexts, received four out of the 20 total sample population or 20% (see Table 1). Participant 16 responses supported this theme when he stated, “I believe these officers might have an ulterior motive you know through the rank and file, the police officers may not understand why they make the racial profile plays out in the car stops” (personal communication, August 18, 2016). Participant 1 stated:

They would use pretexts to a traffic stop. In my experience, they stated I crossed the double yellow lines when I know I didn't cross the double yellow lines because the officer is going westbound, I'm traveling eastbound on a two-lane road and I could see him ahead, and I'm sure he sees me. When he realized that I was a police officer, the conversation pretty much ended. No, I'm sorry or no explanation as to why he said the things he said. He just pretty much walked away, which is typical of a lot of police officers who have stopped minorities. (personal communication, August 14, 2016)

Participant 10 noted that the officers who stopped him did not have a valid reason and made up reasons for the stop. Participant 10 related that most of the stops occurred

because of eye contact with officers when passing each other while driving on the opposite side of the road. Participant 10 reported that when officers realize that he was a police officer, they had no explanation for the stop and tend to walk away or ask why he did not identify himself as an officer. Participant 19 shared that he was never racially profiled by a police officer who knew he was a police officer.

Subquestion 1

What do African American male police officers perceive to be the cause of racial profiling by police officers? Based on Subquestion 1 analyzed data, six themes and three subthemes emerged. This subsection is organized as follows: Theme 1: Media, Theme 2: Personal beliefs and experiences, Theme 3: Views of society, Theme 4: Stereotyping, Theme 5: Culture of the police department and law enforcement, and Theme 6: Racially profiled by Caucasian officers.

In answering the first subquestion, participants noted many factors. Themes of media, personal beliefs and experiences, views of society, stereotyping, culture of the police department and law enforcement, and racially profiled by Caucasian officers emerged. Therefore, participants explained that there were multiple causes of racial profiling. Along with all participants noting that they had been profiled by Caucasian male police officers, many participants perceived media, stereotyping, and culture of the police department and law enforcement to be the most prominent factors toward racial profiling among police officers. Themes and subthemes related to the causes of racial profiling are displayed in Table 2.

Table 2

Causes of Racial Profiling

Themes	Subthemes	No. of frequencies (<i>N</i> = 20)	% of frequencies
Media		13	65%
Personal beliefs and experiences		6	30%
Views of society		5	25%
Stereotyping		7	35%
Culture of the police department and law enforcement	Training	4	20%
	Hiring practices	4	20%
	Management of agencies	7	35%
Racially profiled by Caucasian officers		20	100%

Note. Some participants' responses fall under multiple themes.

Theme 1: Media. More than half of the participants referred to the role of media as a cause of racial profiling. This theme received 13 out of the 20 total sample population or 65% (see Table 2). The media was described as having a significant effect on the existence of racial profiling. Police officers shared that images and content that the media show African Americans in a negative way. As a result, participants believed people may perceive what they see on television, in print, online, or in the movies to be true. Participant 10 statements supported this theme when he noted that “the media portrays Blacks and Latinos in the worst light” (personal communication, August 17, 2016). Participant 1 stated:

We know that with minorities, especially African American males and African Americans, that they're going to be likely to be stopped and ticketed or arrested based on how the media perceives us and what's published in the papers all the time. (personal communication, August 14, 2016)

Similar to Participant 1, Participants 2, 6, and 15 related that the media portrays African Americans negatively as criminals such as burglars, car thieves, and bank robbers. Participant 2 also related that the media searches for negative information on African American who were shot by police officers, such as how many times they were arrested and ignore the victim that was killed. Participants 4 and 5 emphasized how media present African Americans negatively despite their achievements. Participant 4 related that media plays a big role in the negative perceptions of African Americans, which results in police officers doing extensive record checks on this population. Participant 5 noted that when a journalist go to an African American neighborhood, they tend to find the worst representative of that neighborhood. Participant 6, 7, 9, and 12 described different forms of media that portrays African Americans negatively and that the media likes to spin or sensationalize events. Participant 7 also discussed how the media reported police stops that involved Caucasian police officers or Caucasian citizens as police involvement, but they did not report background checks or criminal history. Participant 9 explained the media's ulterior motive for ratings and awards. Participant 9 noted that the media did not discuss officers who had been written up many times and had been investigated by internal affairs for excessive force and abuse. Participant 9

warned that the treatment of African Americans and other minorities as inconsequential was attributing to a divided nation.

Participant 12 shared that media had contributed to racial profiling “over the past decades from the 80s, 90s, starting with the Rodney King beating in LA” (personal communication, August 17, 2016). Participants 3 and 14 discussed the depiction of African Americans as super predators as noted by Hillary Clinton; thus, they are viewed as aggressive individuals with criminal intents. Participant 14 noted that such depiction may be believed by people who live in towns where there are no African Americans. Participant 3 believed “many police officers tend to be a little intimidated by an African American because the media portrays African Americans as super predators” (personal communication, August 15, 2016). Participant 11 noted that Caucasian police officers develop their perceptions of African Americans based on what the media continuously portrays, such as African Americans are likely to burglarize, steal, and rob, which the participant noted was not the case.

Theme 2: Personal beliefs and experiences. A few participants noted that officers’ upbringing may lead them to racially profile African Americans. The theme, personal beliefs and experiences, received six out of the 20 total sample population or 30% (see Table 2). Participants pointed to officers’ upbringing, experiences, and interactions prior to their current life, which may cause them to racially profile. Participants noted that if officers’ upbringing and interactions may have excluded African Americans, then their beliefs may result in racial profiling. Participants explained that racial bias, even though it may not be intended, does exist. As Participant 16 shared, “It

could just be bias. Some police officers just have a negative image of minorities, sometimes it might just have to do with hatred” (personal communication, August 18, 2016). Participant 2 offered more explanation:

. . . the environment in which they grew up from middle school to high school, college. Many of them and speaking from what I have seen in my own department, went to school with very few minorities, very few or hardly any Blacks. So, their interactions with African Americans, it’s very limited throughout high school and college and on the job. On the job as a police officer, they don’t know how to interact with African Americans and they learn from the senior officers that this is what you do, these are the areas you go and patrol, and when you encounter these people, this is how they’re treated there. (personal communication, August 15, 2016)

Similarly, Participant 7 related that racial profiling occurred due to “ignorance, not being informed, cultural intolerance, unaware of how to interact with a minority” (personal communication, August 17, 2016). Similar to Participants 2 and 7, Participant 6 noted that environment that police officers grew up in, such as schools and colleges, and where they lived, which did not have minority officers and few African American citizens, as contributing factors to the cause of racial profiling. Participant 4 and 11 shared that some may have had limited interactions with African Americans during high school and college as many lived in suburban towns, and once they became police officers, they did not know how to interact with African Americans.

Theme 3: Views of society. A few references were made to society as a whole as a contributing factor of racial profiling. The theme, views of society, received five out of the 20 total sample population or 25% (see Table 2). A few participants shared that geographic location and societal issues contribute to racial profiling. Participants noted that society encourages racial profiling by how people from different cultures perceive and deal with issues that arise. Participants explained that society as a whole creates an environment where racial profiling can occur, even if it was not intended. Participants 10 and 16 pointed to specific issues within society. Participant 10 noted that the criminal justice system punishes African Americans and other minorities more severely than their Caucasian counterparts. Participant 16 discussed the use of the war on drugs as a motive to restrict voter registration. Participant 16 stated:

At about nine other states, most of southern states, it's against the law for a convicted criminal to vote and there's no reason why, in my opinion, those who served their time should be restricted from voting, which is their constitutional right. (personal communication, August 18, 2016)

Participants 1, 2, and 19 discussed culture and states where most residents are Caucasian as contributing factors to racial profiling. Participant 1 and 19 noted that society views African Americans as harden criminals, lazy, and trying to beat the system, which was not the case. Participant 1 also noted that there are Caucasian citizens who commit the same acts that some minorities do, but are not subjected to the same treatment when they are stopped. Participant 2 related that public opinion goes against African

Americans despite what police officers may have done wrong or the rules they may have violated.

Theme 4: Stereotyping. Some participants specifically mentioned stereotyping of African Americans as a cause of racial profiling. This theme received seven out of the 20 total sample population or 35% (see Table 2). Participants explained that negative perceptions of African Americans lead to racial profiling. Similarly, participants related that police officers' interactions with African Americans contributed to racially profiling. Participant 19 mentioned "physical stereotyping" (personal communication, July 1, 2016) and Participant 18 related that African Americans are judged based on their skin color. Participant 5 related that media footage provides society with negative stereotypes of African Americans as criminals and underachievers. Participant 20 shared multiple ways in which African Americans may be stereotyped:

It can be a number of things. If you are driving a very nice car. Could be a factor in itself. Also, it could be a factor if you are driving any ordinary vehicle or in certain communities at a certain time. That is a big situation that occurs. (personal communication, August 4, 2016)

Participant 8 explained how stereotypes are formed from issues that occurred years ago, such as the war on drugs where African American males are stopped because they are suspected of being drug couriers. Participants 15 and 17 related that stereotyping others occur from within one self. Participant 15 stated, "It's the officer himself and how he perceives African Americans. Many of these Caucasian officers perceive African

Americans as a threat” (personal communication, August 8, 2016). Participant 17 explained that racial profiling is subconscious and is embedded in officers’ minds.

Theme 5: Culture of the police department and law enforcement. Three subthemes emerged as participants perceived the culture of the police department and law enforcement to be a cause of racial profiling. Some police officers perceived the police department or law enforcement in general as allowing or encouraging racial profiling. Others noted the dated material used for officer screening and training. The three subthemes are as follows: training, hiring practices, and management of agencies.

Subtheme 1: Training. A few participants shared that the training provided by the police academy was not relevant or inadequate. The subtheme, training, received four out of the 20 total sample population or 20% (see Table 2). Police officers shared that the current training being used was the same training that was used many years ago. The training also did not include interpersonal skills or treatment of others. Police officers believed that the police department training was lacking because it did not address racial profiling and that the training provided at the state and federal levels were also inadequate. Participant 13 discussed inadequate training and Participant 14 noted poor training of officers, which contributed to racial profiling. Participant 12 related that a lack of training, lack of respect for others, lack of poor screening by administration, and lack of enforcement exists within the police department. He shared, “if the federal government, local government, and lawmakers don’t enforce violators but instead praise violators or are more concerned about the officer’s career, that all contributes to racial profiling” (personal communication, August 17, 2016). Participant 10 stated:

The training, it's the same training that it's been for 30 years, 40 years, nothing has changed. Nothing has been rewritten to reflect the needs of today's policing and today's society, in the changing society. You do have unconscious bias or some officers who I've seen who have racial intolerance for minorities and for females. So where, how is that a good evaluation when you're passing people who shouldn't be officers cause they're using old standards, 40, 50 years ago to evaluate officers for today's environment. Lack of cultural diversity training leads to implicit racism leads to covert racial profiling. (personal communication, August 17, 2016)

Subtheme 2: Hiring practices. A few participants described hiring practices as a cause of racial profiling. This subtheme received four out of the 20 total sample population or 20% (see Table 2). Participants reported that as part of the hiring process, a prescreening or psychological screening was administered to determine if individuals met the psychological requirements and reacted appropriately in situations to be police officers. Participants shared that the screening and tests used within the hiring process were dated and did not address more relevant and current situations that police officers experience. In addition, participants related that the hiring officer was biased and allowed less experienced or less psychologically prepared officers to take on the same role and responsibilities as those with more experience and mentally stronger. Participant 11 discussed poor hiring practices while Participant 13 discussed poor psychological evaluations prior to getting hired. Participant 12 noted that poor police screening or pre-hiring screening, which includes physical and psychological screenings, as factors that

affect and causes racial profiling as individuals are not properly screened. Participant 14 agreed with Participants 11, 12, and 13, and stated:

Some of the screening process is antiquated and often some of the future employees or some of the employees that were screened or they knew the people doing the screening, so they're friends, so it was like an automatic pass. They all went to the same school, lived in the same town, and parents know each other.

The psychological screening is also outdated. (personal communication, August 18, 2016)

Subtheme 3: Management of agencies. Some participants referred to the police department and law enforcement overall as a cause of racial profiling. Participants perceived that senior police leaders encouraged racial profiling or ignored the issue. As a result, a subculture existed among police officers that included those who allowed or accepted racial profiling and those who pretended it did not exist. Therefore, management of agencies was noted as a contributing factor to racial profiling. This subtheme received seven out of the 20 total sample population or 35% (see Table 2). Participant 14 noted “poor management in all the police agencies from the federal level to the municipal level” (personal communication, August 18, 2016). Participant 15 stated:

This is what they practice throughout all the 50 states. No matter what state you go to, it's the same result. The same treatment towards African Americans, where it's almost like we're viewed as these wild animals roaming society and when you have people thinking that way and acting that way and treating us that way, that's one of the main causes of racial profiling and until we learn how to root them out,

racial profiling is going to exist, continue to exist and it's manifesting to now people getting killed. (personal communication, August 18, 2016)

Participant 13 agreed with Participants 9, 14, 15, and 19 when he shared that the subculture within the police department makes it socially acceptable within the department to racially profile African Americans. Participant 19 noted that the role of the police union is to protect police officers and that union representatives protect police officers even when it was clearly proven that they acted inappropriately. Participant 16 discussed ulterior motives of racially profiling African Americans, such as generating money for the treasury and increasing revenues for the city. Participant 11 discussed new officers learning to racially profile from their mentors who did not have tolerance for African Americans and minorities.

Theme 6. Racially profiled by Caucasian officers. As participants described perceived causes of racial profiling, participants also shared the race of police officers who had racially profiled them. All participants noted that they were racially profiled by Caucasian male police officers. Therefore, this theme received 20 out of the 20 total sample population or 100% (see Table 2). In addition, Participants 16 and 17 both shared that they were also racially profiled by Caucasian female police officers. Participant 1 stated:

Unfortunately, they've all been White. That's just how it's been because I travel through White towns or suburban communities where predominant residents are Caucasian. When traveling through a mixed community, meaning various ethnicities, I tend not to have a problem. But, when I do travel through suburban

towns when majority of the community composes of Caucasian citizens, I always seem to get pulled over. (personal communication, August 14, 2016)

Participant 10 noted that for over 15 years he had been racially profiled by Caucasian male police officers in suburban communities and that in urban communities he rarely saw police cars because police officers were busy responding to serious issues. Participants 12, 13, and 14 noted that officers who had racially profiled them had been Caucasian males who may be 25 years old to 50 years old. Participants 4 and 5 discussed being pulled over by Caucasian male police officers after leaving work. Participant 5 noted that after the stop and after officers had checked his credentials, some officers drove off, some followed him until he got to the next highway, and others called his job to complain that he “gave them lip for merely asking what happened” (personal communication, August 17, 2016). Participants 7 and 8 noted that they had been stopped by African American police officers who treated them respectfully, with camaraderie.

Subquestion 2

What do African American male police officers perceive to be the effects of racial profiling within their workplace? Based on Subquestion 2 analyzed data, three themes and 11 subthemes emerged. This subsection is organized as follows: Theme 1: Racial profiling is acceptable, although implicit, within the workplace; Theme 2: Racial profiling can affect police officers’ work ethic and job satisfaction; and Theme 3: Racial profiling can affect police officers’ morale and personal feelings of worth.

In answering the second subquestion, participants shared how racial profiling affected them and the workplace environment. Many participants described racial

profiling as the norm, which is encouraged within the police department. As a result, participants noted low job satisfaction, morale, and self-worth. However, participants also noted that their work ethic was even stronger due to experiences of racial profiling. Participants related that they increased their efforts to ensure fairness and empathy to other minorities. Themes and subthemes are displayed in Table 3.

Table 3

Effects of Racial Profiling

Themes	Subthemes	No. of frequencies (<i>N</i> = 20)	% of frequencies
Racial profiling is acceptable, although implicit, within the workplace		9	45%
	Racial profiling creates division and discrimination within the workplace	6	30%
	Racial profiling creates a hostile environment within the workplace	5	25%
Racial profiling can affect police officers' work ethic and job satisfaction	Being racially profiled has motivated police officers to work harder to be fair and empathetic to other minorities	10	50%
	Racial profiling has affected work ethics to some degree	2	10%
	Police officers' work ethics have not been affected by racial profiling	8	40%
	Job satisfaction has decreased considerably as a result of being racially profiled	11	55%
	Job satisfaction has not been affected or only slightly affected as a result of being racially profiled	2	10%
	Police officers are still satisfied with their job as a police officer despite being racially profiled	5	25%
	Racial profiling can affect police officers' morale and personal feelings of worth	Morale is very low due to experiences of being racially profiled	17
	Personal feelings of self-worth have diminished due to being racially profiled	17	85%
	Morale and feelings of personal worth have not been affected by racial profiling	1	5%

Note. Some participants' responses fall under multiple themes.

Theme 1: Racial profiling is acceptable, although implicit, within the workplace. Many participants perceived that racial profiling was acceptable; however implicit, in the workplace. This theme received nine out of the 20 total sample population or 45% (see Table 3). This theme also has two subthemes: (a) racial profiling creates division and discrimination within the workplace and (b) racial profiling creates a hostile environment within the workplace. Participants noted that if a racial profiling situation occurred, it was not addressed. Participants related that racial profiling occurred through interactions with fellow officers as well as in actions they heard about outside of the department. Participants noted that not much can be done to stop racial profiling.

Participant 9 stated:

They don't acknowledge that term, they say it doesn't exist, and they don't practice racial profiling. My department portrays themselves as being exceptional, they don't violate people's rights, yet superiors fail to speak to members of the African American community and Latino community because had they spoken to those members of the community, they will then understand that racial profiling do exist and continues, and officers when they are alone or on the street, enforcing the law, they are violating people's rights. As an officer in the department, when I do speak about it, it falls on deaf ears. You can make recommendations about what's going on and they will take the political correctness approach and agree with you and say they're going to do something but they never do anything. It's all talk. (personal communication, August 17, 2016)

Similar to Participant 9, Participant 11 explained that racial profiling was acceptable in the workplace because that was what police officers did because it was not viewed as illegal, immoral, or a violation of people's rights; therefore, there was no punishment. Participant's 1 statement was in agreement with Participants' 9 and 11 statements, where he noted that most of the officers in his department were Caucasian and they racially profiled minorities because "it's an easy stop" (personal communication, August 14, 2016). Participant 1 also noted that racial profiling was acceptable within his department as the administrators used to be frontline police officers who racially profiled; therefore, they did not view it as discriminatory. Participant 12 shared similar perceptions to Participants 1, 9, and 11, and related that racial profiling was a norm within the workplace, which was taught to new recruits by senior officers. Hence, Participant 12 related that new recruits were encouraged to continue the practice of racial profiling because of the "police culture and the blue wall of silence" (personal communication, August 17, 2016).

Similar to Participant 12, Participant 6 related that racial profiling was culturally acceptable in the workplace and stated, "if you speak against it you're often told it's good police work, there's nothing wrong with it" (personal communication, August 17, 2016). Participant 6 also discussed hourly quotas of motor vehicle stops and consent searches in areas where minorities tend to travel, which he viewed as discriminatory. Therefore, Participant 6 noted that when he stopped minorities, he explained how they could get their vehicle or credentials corrected to help reduce future problems and stops. Participant 7 and 15 reported that frontline Caucasian officers racially profile because they were

motivated by what they learned from senior officers; therefore, as African American officers, it makes them more conscious of how they treat people on the street because they know what minorities are going through. Participant 7 also noted that Caucasian individuals were treated better than minority individuals. Similar to Participant 15, Participant 10 noted that young police officers targeted minorities and within a 30-day period, over 90% of individuals who were arrested were minorities, with most being African Americans. Participant 8 related that he was use to the accepted culture of racial profiling and stated, “It really doesn’t affect my workplace because it’s has become a norm to racially profile African Americans and other minorities. It’s almost standard practice. When you patrol certain zones, in a sense you are racially profiling” (personal communication, August 17, 2016).

Subtheme 1: Racial profiling creates division and discrimination within the workplace. Some participants described a division between Caucasians and African Americans within the police department. Participants reported that based on police officers’ verbal and nonverbal actions within the department, they believed that discrimination was taking place. The subtheme, racial profiling creates division and discrimination within the workplace, received six out of the 20 total sample population or 30% (see Table 3). Participant 13 explained the division by stating:

Two groups, the minorities and African Americans and the Caucasian, Asians and female officers. African American officers are aware of what’s happening and they do not agree with what is happening and the Caucasian officers, they will not or never comment on issues concerning racial profiling instead they remain

neutral or they don't speak about it or comment about it. (personal communication, August 17, 2016)

Participant 14 related that there were approximately 10 African Americans and Latinos in his police department combined and that they were outnumbered by approximately 80 Caucasian officers. Participant 14 shared that if a minority officer stated that racial profiling existed, then Caucasian officers would say it was not happening and it did not exist. Therefore, Participant 14 noted that racial profiling was part of the culture and subculture of the department, which is very difficult to change. Similar to Participant 14, Participant 2 related that the few African American police officers in his department were aware of the implicit discrimination that was taking place, which was culturally accepted in many police departments. Participant 2 noted discussed the need for the police administration to change policies and provide training regarding racial profiling, but noted that nothing would be done because racial profiling was culturally accepted. Participant 16 described it as racial discrimination instead of racial profiling. Participant 16 also noted that African American officers were assigned to Black neighborhoods, but were not assigned to White communities. Participant 16 further noted that it was rare to have an African American officer and a Caucasian police officer paired together. Similar to Participant 2, Participants 3 and 17 shared that division and discrimination existed within many police departments.

Subtheme 2: Racial profiling creates a hostile environment within the workplace. Four participants believed that racial profiling creates a hostile work environment within the police department. The subtheme received five out of the 20 total

sample population or 25% (see Table 3). Participants noted that the division between Caucasians and African Americans within the department made interactions uncomfortable. Participants also noted that at times police officers felt resentment.

Participant 18 shared:

One doesn't trust the other. Where you know, I see what's going on. One side denies it but it's evident what's happening, so you know, we'll be more angry towards someone because of that, you know, so it's like we know how we're being looked at. We know how we're being treated, so you know, that's not acceptable. So there's a little anger, a little hostility in you there, a little resentment. (personal communication, August 23, 2016)

Participant 19 shared that minority officers had negative feelings and they may not trust other minority officers unless they know them very well. Therefore, Participant 19 attributed a hostile work environment to the lack of trust for both minority and Caucasian police officers. Participant 4 and 5 noted that African American police officers knew that Caucasian police officers had not been truthful about targeting African American motorists by inflicting financial damages and incarceration. Participants 4 and 5 noted that this had resulted in Caucasian police officers distrusting African American police officers and this created a negative work environment. Participant 4 noted that until officers change or until the law changes by holding officers accountable, African American police officers will continue to feel mentally exhausted because the administrative staff does not take steps to stop racial profiling. Participant 20 discussed feeling alienated at work because of being watched and scrutinized; therefore, he did not

like attending department functions. Participant 20 also noted that less qualified Caucasian police officers were given specialized units so that the department would not “be showed up” (personal communication, August 4, 2016).

Theme 2: Racial profiling can affect police officers’ work ethic and job satisfaction. This theme has six subthemes, which are as follows: (a) Being racially profiled has motivated police officers to work harder to be fair and empathetic to other minorities, (b) racial profiling has affected work ethics to some degree, (c) police officers’ work ethics have not been affected by racial profiling, (d) job satisfaction has decreased considerably as a result of being racially profiled, (e) job satisfaction has not been affected or only slightly affected as a result of being racially profiled, and (f) police officers are still satisfied with their job as a police officer despite being racially profiled. Participants had various perceptions about the effect of racial profiling on work ethic and job satisfaction. Some participants shared that racial profiling motivated them to work harder to ensure fairness and empathy when speaking with minority motorists. A few participants related that their work ethic was not effected at all and they did what was always expected of them. In terms of job satisfaction, many participants reported decreased job satisfaction in their day-to-day roles and career choice as a police officer. Participants’ responses are categorized in the six subthemes.

Subtheme 1: Being racially profiled has motivated police officers to work harder to be fair and empathetic to other minorities. Several participants shared that their experiences of being racially profiled motivated them to treat other minorities better than how Caucasian officers had treated them. Therefore, Participants noted that they

make great effort to demonstrate fairness and empathy to other African Americans and minorities. Participants noted that their work ethic did not change as they were more devoted to their roles and responsibilities. The subtheme, being racially profiled has motivated police officers to work harder to be fair and empathetic to other minorities, received 10 out of the 20 total sample population or 50% (see Table 3). Participant 10 stated:

As far as my work ethics, I still work as hard as I did back when I started back in the 90s. I still continue to work hard now because of the racial profiling that I'm aware of. I now try to be a better officer and to explain things to some of the new people about having empathy, about their manner of patrolling, and about giving curbside adjustments. (personal communication, August 17, 2016)

Similarly, Participant 14 related that he worked diligently and harder because he knew what was really occurring with racial profiling. Therefore, Participant 14 related that he developed "a particular care" for African Americans and Latinos as if he was their guardian by giving them a break, which came as a shock to them because they normally did not get a break (personal communication, August 18, 2016). Similar to Participants 10 and 14, Participants 2, 8, 11, 15, 18, and 20 noted that racial profiling had increased their work ethics and productivity. In addition, similar to Participant 14, Participants 2, 8, and 9 related that they were more aware of the plight of minorities, especially African Americans and Latinos; thus, they were more empathetic towards them. Participant 15 also noted that he treated minorities with the dignity that is afforded to them under the 14th Amendment. Participant 7 reported that racial profiling made him and other

minority officers better people and that they were more forgiving of all citizens regardless of their race because they knew what minorities go through.

Subtheme 2: Racial profiling has affected work ethics to some degree. Two participants shared that being racially profiled had a slight effect on their work ethic. This subtheme received two out of the 20 total sample population or 10% (see Table 3). Participants reported that their work ethic did not decrease but their motivation and dedication changed. Participant 17 related that as a hard worker and responsible productive employee, he should be recognized, such as with a promotion or transfer. Participant 17 shared that when minorities were treated differently than Caucasians, it tends to bring him down. Participant 3 stated:

I come to work, I do get my job done, but also I had start to develop a low tolerance for the games that people play, and especially when the Caucasians talk down to me as the officer investigating issues with their credentials, issues with their transportation that they're operating, some of which being suspended, some their registration is expired, and the attitude that comes with it as though I should just leave them alone or let them drive home. It has affected my work ethics in a sense that I have zero tolerance. I do everything by the book and by doing so, I do get written up by the citizens and internal affairs complaints, but at the same time, I know I go home feeling I've done the right thing because I didn't allow certain groups to be treated with a lot of discretion. I basically just erase discretion with all races to avoid any issues. (personal communication, August 15, 2016)

Subtheme 3: Police officers' work ethics have not been affected by racial profiling. Many participants reported that their work ethic remained the same. This subtheme received eight out of the 20 total sample population or 40% (see Table 3). Participants reported that efforts toward their role and responsibilities remained unchanged despite experiences of racial profiling. Participant 1 related that he did not let racial profiling affect how he carries out his work and treats everyone equally, despite their ethnicity. Similarly, Participants 12 and 13 related that they were very satisfied with the work that they did each day and they treated everyone with dignity; thus, maintaining their work ethics. Participant 5 stated that racial profiling had positively affected his work ethics because of what he knew; therefore, he tried to do better. Participant 19 also stated that being racially profiled did not affect his work ethics and he strived to be the best police officer. Participants 4, 12, and 17 related that it was not necessary to go above and beyond to be a better police officer.

Subtheme 4: Job satisfaction has decreased considerably as a result of being racially profiled. Participants noted that their job satisfaction decreased due to racial profiling. This subtheme received 11 out of the 20 total sample population or 55% (see Table 3). Many participants related that their job satisfaction decreased over the years, as well as their interest in their jobs and career choices, which they claimed will continue to decrease if racial profiling endures. Participant 5 stated:

I'm not satisfied with the job and I don't know if I'll ever be satisfied with the job knowing the impact of racial profiling on the African American communities. So

as far as job satisfaction, I'm dissatisfied based on those issues. (personal communication, August 17, 2016).

Participants 1, 6, and 20 shared that their job satisfaction had decreased over the years since they started working in a suburban township. Participant 1 noted that he was not comfortable with the job and now dislikes the job because of what it stands for; however, he still gives 110%, but had resentments because he knew how minorities were treated, especially African Americans. Similarly, Participant 15 reported that he was less satisfied with his job and had developed a great deal of resentment towards his fellow officers and profession. Participant 20 related that he was less satisfied and more disgruntle because he believed that his chances for opportunity were not there. Participant 3 related that he had no job satisfaction based on how African Americans were treated and how he was treated in and out of uniform by fellow officers and citizens. Participant 13 explained that he was not quite satisfied with his job and had thought about resigning because of issues between African American and Caucasians, but he was concerned about the cut in benefits and his work ethics if he resigned. Participant 13 also related that when he spoke to department managers or supervisors about racial profiling issues, they turned the issues back on him by saying that he was too sympathetic to minorities and allowed them to get away with crime, which he noted was not the case. Similarly, Participant 14 noted that he wanted to quit and leave his police department because of racial profiling practices; however, he decided to stay because of the economic environment in the United States.

Similar to Participants 13 and 14, Participant 12 related that he was starting to “hate the job” and wished he had chosen a different profession because his “hands are tied” as a “victim of a hostile work environment” (personal communication, August 17, 2016). Like Participant 12, Participant 8 reported that he was in the wrong profession and wished he had chosen another profession. Participant 8 mentioned the fire department as an option, but related that there were racial tensions within the fire department as well; therefore, there was racial profiling and racial intolerance regardless of the profession. Participant 4 reported that he was losing job satisfaction and could not wait to retire because he will never be good enough for his department no matter how fair he tries to be as he will never be considered equal.

Subtheme 5: Job satisfaction has not been affected or only slightly affected as a result of being racially profiled. Two participants described feeling satisfied with their jobs; however, when in the workplace, that satisfaction changed. This subtheme received two out of the 20 total sample population or 10% (see Table 3). Participant 16 related that he was satisfied with his job, but noted that racial profiling affected minority officers from being promoted. Participant 16 related that the police chief and ranking police officers were all Caucasian and that it took it took 15 years for minority officers to get enough points to get a promotion, approximately half of their careers, which is form of discrimination because that is how the system works. Participant 2 explained:

I go home satisfied with what I’ve done; however, I’m dissatisfied with the way the culture is going or how the culture is turning towards African Americans or larger because of the stuff that they hear and see in the media. So as far as with

my satisfaction with the job, personal satisfaction, I'm okay with, but overall satisfaction, I resent the job. Wish I could do something else or wish I had went into another field because if there's no justification or justice for the citizens, there sure as hell no justice for me as an officer. I just wear the same uniform.

Subtheme 6: Police officers are still satisfied with their job as a police officer despite being racially profiled. Five participants shared that their job satisfaction had not been affected by their experiences of racial profiling. This subtheme received five out of the 20 total sample population or 25% (see Table 3). Participants shared they still enjoy their roles and careers. Participant 19 stated, "I was and still am pleased with my career choice" (personal communication, July 1, 2016). Participants 7, 9, 10 and 11 explained that they had job satisfaction because they believed that they had achieved or made a positive contribution by treating minorities in a fair manner. Participant 7 also related that he encouraged other officers, including new officers, to treat people with respect and dignity, regardless of their ethnicity.

Theme 3: Racial profiling can affect police officers' morale and personal feelings of worth. Participants shared different perceptions on how racial profiling affected their morale and personal feelings of self-worth. This theme has three subthemes, which are as follows: (a) Morale is very low due to experiences of being racially profiled, (b) personal feelings of self-worth have diminished due to being racially profiled, and (c) morale and feelings of personal worth have not been affected by racial profiling. Most participants mentioned their morale was very low due to being racially profiled. Thus, participants described experiencing very little self-worth or less self-worth

than they believed their Caucasian counterparts experienced. A few participants shared that despite being racial profiling, they believed they were experienced and just as worthy as Caucasian police officers. Participant responses are categorized in the three subthemes below.

Subtheme 1: Morale is very low due to experiences of being racially profiled.

Most participants described experiencing low morale due being racially profiled. This subtheme received 17 out of the 20 total sample population or 85% (see Table 3). Some participants noted that their morale was very low, which is in contrast to when they first became police officers. Other participants related that they began experiencing low morale for several years. Participant 19 shared how he relied on fellow minority officers for support when his morale was low when he stated:

I must admit, a lot of times my morale was low, but I was able to depend on my fellow minority officers to give me a needed boost. I was a member of an organization with minority officers who were experiencing or had similar experiences in the past; they were able to relate to my situation. We spoke about each situation when it came up and steps that may be taken by others to help make them stay strong in that environment. It was a very good support group. I needed that group to survive. (personal communication, July 1, 2016)

Other participants did not discuss seeking support when they experienced low morale, but instead described their experiences. Participant 8 stated that his morale was at “an all-time low,” he did not belong in the police department, and he had felt this ways for the past 20 years (personal communication, August 17, 2016). Participant 1 shared

that his morale was at its lowest, which he did not think will ever increase because he believed things will never change. Similar to Participants 1 and 8, Participant 3 reported that his morale was at an all-time low and that it was “painful coming to work” because it was “like mental torture” because he was not equal to his counterparts and minorities were treated differently (personal communication, August 15, 2016). Participant 7 shared that “it’s like a letdown. You feel as though your race is targeted for just being African American” (personal communication, August 17, 2016). Participant 9 explained his morale was very low because of the many years of abuse that he witnessed towards minorities, such as African Americans and Latinos. Participant 15 mentioned that being racially profiled in the workplace had decreased his morale. Participant 14 stated, “It’s like you develop a feeling of hopelessness, like you know you’re just a robot” (personal communication, August 18, 2016). Participant 4 related that it was “laborious” to his morale because of negative treatment towards African Americans (personal communication, August 18, 2016). Similarly, Participant 2 related that he felt hopeless because he cannot change how things are because he has no influence.

Participant 6 noted that he tried to stay positive, but that it had become harder each year to do so because of negative actions against African Americans and Latinos. Participants 7 and 13 reported that it was challenging to go to work and deal with the negative issues that minorities face as it affects their personal self-worth. Participant 14 stated he got “miserable,” in part from what he had experienced, but also that it was due to “these senseless shooting that just continues” (personal communication, August 18, 2016). Participants 10, 11, and 5 described feeling resentful, which decreased their

morale. Participant 10 related that he was “a little more bitter towards society,” but he still treated people fairly and had zero tolerance for excuses (personal communication, August 17, 2016). Participant 11 related that going to work was mentally laborious and that it affected his psyche. Participant 5 related that he had started feeling resentful towards his job and fellow police officers because of their continued racial profiling of minorities. Therefore, Participant 5 noted that his morale, and self-worth was “pretty much in the gutter” (personal communication, August 17, 2016). Participant 18 also noted a decrease in his morale and related that he did not base his job performance on what others think of him.

Subtheme 2: Personal feelings of self-worth have diminished due to being racially profiled. Similar to gaining any satisfaction from being a police officer, most described a feeling of dissatisfaction or not being satisfied; thus, a lack or decreased feelings of self-worth. This subtheme received 17 out of the 20 total sample population or 85% (see Table 3). Participants related that being racially profiled makes them think less of themselves, even though their abilities, education, and years as an officer may be equal to or greater than fellow Caucasian police officers. Participant 20 related that Caucasian police officers made him feel as if his self-worth was less than theirs. Similarly, Participant 1 stated:

As a Black police officer working in a suburban town has affected my feelings of personal worth simply because I wear the same uniform as my fellow police officers, but I feel as though my worth is less than theirs based on how they feel about Blacks, or how if they feel or have negative feelings about Blacks.

Regardless of their profession or socioeconomic status, then those ill feelings you have towards the general public is also directed towards me because if you feel that way towards Blacks in such a negative way, then your actions towards me or around me is that it's more, you're more politically correct around me, meaning you're not going to show how you feel about African Americans, but you will act as though you're my fellow officer, brother officer, and we support each other, when I know deep down they don't support us at all. (personal communication, August 14, 2016)

Participant 11 noted that he was “just a token or a quota” in his police department; therefore, he had no self-worth because he was viewed as not being worthy of anything (personal communication, August 17, 2016). Participant 4 also noted that he was just part of a quota in his police department as there were few African American officers. Participants 14 and 15 related that being racially profiled made them feel as if their lives were not as valuable as their Caucasian counterparts. Participant 14 also noted that he was “just a figure or a puppet within the department” (personal communication, August 18, 2016). Participant 17 described feelings of depression and despair and noted that no matter how hard he worked, increased productivity, or studied for promotional exams, he will not get promoted to the top administration positions. Participant 2 related that all of his law enforcement knowledge and education did not mean anything in many police departments, especially his department. Participants 2, 5, 6, 12, and 13 noted that regardless of their knowledge and experience, they will never be equal to their Caucasian counterparts, including those with less education and experience. Participant 7 shared that

he seldom got police backup from fellow police officers on a traffic stop and that officers were supposed to provide backup, especially after the Dallas ambush. Participants 3 and 8 related that they felt worthless because they were told that even though they received the same training from the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI), state police, and the prosecutor's office, they could not wear their commendations because they were never sent to these agencies by their police departments. Participant 9 stated that that there was "zero equality" so his "self-worth was zero" or "below zero" (personal communication, August 17, 2016). Participant 10 discussed feeling disrespected by fellow Caucasian police officers, such as supervisors, who would talk to Caucasian officers, but ignored him, while they all sat in the same room.

Subtheme 3: Morale and feelings of personal worth have not been affected by racial profiling. One participant shared that racial profiling had not negatively affected his morale and feelings of personal worth. This subtheme received 1 out of the 20 total sample population or 5% (see Table 3). Participant 16 stated:

A vehicle [was being chased] through the city. The driver of the stolen car was a Black man, he got stopped, was surrounded, his car with multiple police cars. I flew up on the scene and when he saw me, the only Black police officer, he begged me not to leave. He says, "Please stay here with me. I'm afraid of these cops." You see and just how a Black police officer pulls on the scene, you know it gave comfort, even though the guy was wrong to steal the car, but it took away some of the fear from being in the presence, you know, all of the other police officers. But I reassured him, you know my city didn't have a reputation for being,

my city had a good reputation, and a good relationship with the community on the whole. The city cops there weren't brutal, but there was subtle discrimination.

(personal communication, August 18, 2016)

Subquestion 3

What are African American male police officers' perceptions about how racial profiling affects their social relationship with Caucasian police officers? Based on Subquestion 3 analyzed data, one theme emerged. This subsection is organized as follows: Theme 1: Social relationships between African American police officers and Caucasian police officers do not exist due to racial profiling.

In answering the third subquestion, participants described experiences of social and work relationships with Caucasian police officers in their department and noted that social relationships were nonexistent with their Caucasian counterparts. Many participants described very little communication, if any, within or outside of the workplace. Participants explained that their Caucasian counterparts did not socially talk to them, and if they did, it was about a report or job-related duty. Participants described the interactions between African American and Caucasian police officers as one with hesitation; therefore, participants reported that no relationship could exist between the two groups. Participants shared their experiences and in-depth responses are presented to provide context for the theme. The one theme generated from participant responses is displayed in Table 4.

Table 4

Effect of Racial Profiling on Social Relationships

Theme	No. of frequencies ($N = 20$)	% of frequencies
Social relationships between African American police officers and Caucasian police officers do not exist due to racial profiling	20	100%

Theme 1: Social relationships between African American police officers and Caucasian police officers do not exist due to racial profiling. Participants all described a lack of social relationships with fellow Caucasian police officers. This subtheme received 20 out of the 20 total sample population or 100% (see Table 4). Participants shared that there was very little interaction outside of work-related duties or functions. Within the workplace, participants also shared that there was little social interaction as well. Therefore, all participants mentioned that relationships with Caucasian police officers were nonexistent. Participant 1 explained that his social relationships with Caucasian police officers had been affected “a great deal,” and also stated the following:

I know of some that have spoken negatively about Blacks. It is hard for me to even have lunch or hang around with them in any type of social fashion, you know, any kind of casual setting, it will never happen. In the past, before learning about what some of these officers have been doing to the Black community, yeah, I would've sat down, have lunch with them, or had lunch with them in the past, but knowing now what they've done, and I know personally of some who have done stuff, I can no longer hang around them, and in fact, I really don't hang

around anyone from work anymore because I don't know who to trust and I know how they feel about Blacks. Social relationship is nonexistent and as far as I know with other officers who are Black males or females, they too don't socialize with them for that simple fact, that we're never, we're never treated as equal. We'll never be treated as equal and we know they don't like Blacks, period. (personal communication, August 14, 2016)

Similar to Participant 1, Participant 2 shared that racial profiling had affected his social relationship with Caucasian police officers because he had learned about what some of them had personally done to African Americans and their reference to African Americans "as trash" (personal communication, August 15, 2016). Therefore, Participant 2 noted that Caucasian police officers may also view him "as trash;" hence, there was "a trust factor" (personal communication, August 15, 2016). Participant 3 and 8 related that they only socialize with their Caucasian counterparts during role call at work and that during social gatherings at the police station, their interactions with their colleagues were negative because they did not speak or introduce their families to them. Participant 4 shared that he had invited Caucasian officers to his social gatherings, but only two Caucasian police officers in the department had ever invited him to their functions on one or two occasions. Similarly, Participant 5 noted that he had only attended two of his fellow officers' functions in the past 15 years. Participants 4, 5, and 9 noted a divide at the functions, where African American and Latino officers talked to each other on one side of the room and Caucasian officers only talked to each other on the other side of the room. Participants 4 and 11 discussed Caucasian officers making racial jokes, which they

attributed to the subculture within the police department. Participants 4, 7, and 15 related that the police department had Christmas parties and other events as well as a baseball team, but African American officers did not attend or participate because they felt like they did not belong.

Participant 6 discussed Caucasian officers being unfriendly, such as being at a diner and a group of Caucasian officers walked passed his table without saying hello, while they would stop and speak with other Caucasian officers that they did not know. Participant 10 reported that his conversations with his Caucasian colleagues were all formal because there was no social relationship. Participant 12 noted a lack of trust between him and his Caucasian colleagues. Participant 13 noted that Caucasian officers did not invite him out to lunch or dinner and that there was no social relationship between them. Participant 14 discussed attending the annual police memorial each year and that all the minority officers, especially African American officers, would leave without attending the luncheon afterwards because none of their Caucasian colleagues talked to them. Participant 14 also noted that he had never been given an invitation to a card game, football game, or fantasy football game. Participant 16 related that he did not know the younger police officers in the city, but that he got along with Caucasian, African American, and Hispanic police officers. Participant 16 also related that he worked with retired police officers and they had a certain respect for city officers.

Participant 17 noted that when he was a young officer, he was naïve because he thought there was a level “playing field” where an employer would look at his productivity, responsibility, and education, but after years of getting to know his

colleagues, he realized that there was a lack of loyalty among friends and coworkers, and Caucasian officers only looked out for themselves (personal communication, August 21, 2016). Participant 18 discussed a “case by case situation,” where he may had felt comfortable with some officers, but not comfortable with others, and that he did not feel the same stigma when he spoke to other African American officers (personal communication, August 23, 2016). Participant 19 explained the social relationship as “hanging out with the enemy;” therefore, he noted that was very difficult to be in that environment because he was on the defensive because a racial situation may have occurred at any time. Participant 19 also stated that “they use the N word, not realizing I was there;” thus, he thought it was best to stay away from social situations with his Caucasian colleagues (personal communication, July 1, 2016). Participant 20 related that he did not want “anything to do with the department” because the department condoned racial profiling, including internal affairs, so officers could “do whatever they want[ed] to do” (personal communication, August 4, 2016).

Subquestion 4

What do African American male police officers recommend to decrease and prevent racial profiling? Based on Subquestion 4 analyzed data, four themes emerged. This subsection is organized as follows: Theme 1: Improved hiring practices and training, Theme 2: Changes to legislation and laws, Theme 3: Educating media and society, and Theme 4: Changing the culture of police departments and law enforcement agencies.

In answering the fourth subquestion, participants discussed how racial profiling could be minimized or prevented. Most of the participants’ responses were similar to

police officers' responses to perceived causes of racial profiling, such as training and hiring practices. Other participant recommendations included changing the culture of the police department or law enforcement overall, as well changing laws and legislation. All participants believed that racial profiling would always exist and that it would take a lot of work to decrease and prevent the practice. Themes are displayed in Table 5.

Table 5

Recommendations for Decreasing or Preventing Racial Profiling

Themes	No. of frequencies ($N = 20$)	% of frequencies
Improved hiring practices and training	15	75%
Changes to legislation and laws	5	25%
Educating media and society	1	5%
Changing the culture of police departments and law enforcement agencies	9	45%

Note. Some participants' responses fall under multiple themes.

Theme 1: Improved hiring practices and training. Participants referred to improving the hiring practices and training policies as a way to prevent racial profiling within police departments. This theme received 15 out of the 20 total sample population or 75% (see Table 5). Participants related that screenings within the hiring process were dated and inadequate. Participants described the training provided in the police academy similarly. Most participants recommended psychological screening and participants also

recommended frequent screening, not only during the hiring process. Participant 1 related that “a great deal of screening” was needed:

More so psychological screening, where you can detect unconscious racism in a person. There are tests out there that can detect that, but there’s really no other way to prevent or decrease racial profiling, that would have to be on that officer himself that wants to stop racially profiling people. It’s going to take psychological screening to prevent or decrease racial profiling. With proper psychological screening, then those who have, or shows a tendency to be, you know a racist, if you don’t hire them, then we will have a reduction in racist police officers. (personal communication, August 14, 2016)

Participants 6 and 15 recommended constant training and frequent psychological evaluations due to implicit bias. Participant 15 also recommended that the FBI conduct thorough screenings and conduct follow-ups on those screenings several times each year throughout police officers’ careers. Participant 14 recommended that the police department conduct psychological tests that take into account people’s culture and race, which would help to prevent people who are not open minded to be police officers.

Participant 1 recommended improved training at the police academy as African American males were normally referred to in a negative way, such as being more likely to carry weapons and have illicit drugs on them. Participant 1 related that to change the effects of racial profiling and prevent it, training was possible, but that officers had all gone through remedial training after their initial training and nothing had changed. Participant 12 recommended diversity training and psychological evaluation and noted that an

administrative policy should be in place where every 5 years active duty officers must undergo a psychological evaluation to ensure that they were fit for duty. Participant 13 recommended sensitivity training and monthly or quarterly evaluations to identify unprofessional law enforcement officers. Participant 13 also recommended that officers undergo psychological screenings when there was a lot of citizen complaints against them, such as being accused of two or more aggressive behaviors toward minorities.

Many participants discussed improved training to decrease racial profiling by police officers. Participant 10 recommended an increase in sensitivity, diversity, and cultural awareness training in order to decrease racial profiling, but emphasized that until those training are implemented, racial profiling will not decrease. Participant 16 also recommended sensitivity training for Caucasian officers so that they can understand that African Americans “are human too” (personal communication, August 18, 2016). Participant 14 recommended “better training, better quality officers, and better training officers” at police training institutions, such as the police academy (personal communication, August 18, 2016). Participant 19 recommended that police administrators or managers should ensure that instructors or field officers assigned to train new recruits at the police academy are objective and inspire good policing practices, such as not profiling based on motorists’ race or ethnicity. Participant 19 also noted that when he was trained at the police academy, racial profiling was not included in the curricula; therefore, it should be one of the subjects that are taught.

A few participants emphasized that a lot of work was required to minimize or prevent racial profiling within police departments. Along with recommending

psychological screenings, Participant 2 explained that even if new officers were trained to not racially profile, racial profiling was still being modeled by veteran officers; therefore, when new officers observed veteran officers engaging in racial profiling, they would learn and adopt those practices. Participant 3 related that each officer has to consciously want to change and look at what is happening with race relations between Caucasian officers and citizens in order to decrease or prevent racial profiling. Participant 3 also noted that he had “seen where training does not work” and that training and psychological evaluations need to be overhauled because the questions did not focus on police work (personal communication, August 15, 2016). Participant 4 made many recommendations, such as extensive training for all new recruits, an overhaul of the training from the federal level down to the state and local levels, and annual and biannual training of police officers or recertification of police officers’ psychological evaluations.

Theme 2: Changes to legislation and laws. Five participants noted that legislation and laws needed to change in order for racial profiling to decrease within police departments. This theme received 5 out of the 20 total sample population or 25% (see Table 5). Participant 14 stated:

They need to rewrite some of their laws because the way the laws were written, they were written for the 80s when they had the drug epidemic and they had the war on drugs. In 2016, times have changed and there’s no longer the African American and Latino transporting all these drugs from the south to the north. The drugs are created right here in the State of New Jersey and the neighboring states. (personal communication, August 18, 2016)

Participant 16 discussed the need for new laws and the termination of the voter registration law where individuals who were convicted cannot vote. He noted that the voter registration law was unconstitutional as it discriminated against criminals; therefore, if the law is terminated, then racial profiling may decrease. Participant 15 discussed lawyers who lobby for police officers before supreme court judges, which resulted in laws that benefited officers, but had negative effects for minorities. Therefore, Participant 15 advocated for the removal of lobbyist in order for positive change to take place. A few participants mentioned that even with laws, racial profiling can only be prevented or minimized if laws and procedures are carried through at the department level. Participant 19 related that internal affairs investigators should be focused on stopping racial profiling and not base their decisions on politics or favors. Participant 19 also related that if findings indicated police misconduct, then the officer's actions should be dealt with swiftly and consistently; thus, sending the "message that racial profiling will not be tolerated" (personal communication, July 1, 2016). Similarly, Participant 18 recommended "more stern" discipline of police officers in order to reduce racial profiling (personal communication, August 23, 2016).

Theme 3: Educating media and society perceptions. One participant shared that bringing attention to media and how society views African Americans can decrease racial profiling. This theme received one out of the 20 total sample population or 5% (see Table 5). Participant 16 also believed that just as police officers need sensitivity training, so do others who racially profile African Americans. Participant 16 stated:

I think education would change all of that. I think it has to do with the media too. The media has to begin to portray minorities in positive light, but in order for that to happen, I think minorities would have to control the media to a certain extent. I think working close with the community like that, they begin to get a different understanding of who we are as a minority. I think that has to be a part of it too, training. (personal communication, August 18, 2016)

Theme 4: Changing the culture of police departments and law enforcement agencies. Many participants believed that because the culture of the police department and law enforcement agencies contributed to racial profiling, these agencies need to change for racial profiling to decrease. This theme received nine out of the 20 total sample population or 45% (see Table 5). Participants provided their thoughts on how to address the issue. Participant 19 noted “police management,” but then further shared:

It’s definitely a few things. First thing is to remove politics and favoritism from the hiring process. If you hire someone based on politics or doing someone a favor, that may be not the best person for the job. These officers could be difficult to discipline, if needed.

Similarly, Participants 6 and 8 related that all policies at all three levels of government have to change and that officers were inappropriately applying federal policies at the local level; therefore, to decrease and prevent racial profiling, policies have to be updated with strict guidelines on how they should be applied. Participant 17 recommended more diversity in police or law enforcement administrations. Three participants emphasized that changing the culture of the police department and law

enforcement agencies would require major work. Participant 5 explained that to decrease and prevent racial profiling, individual officers have to consciously want to change as well as police administrators. Participant 5 also noted that for the past 22 years, he had observed that training did not have an effect as officers did not take it seriously. Therefore, Participant 5 recommended that police departments invest in psychological evaluation software that can identify officers who are biased towards minorities. In addition, Participant 5 recommended that police administrators do community outreach in minority communities so that they can understand and identify officers' racial profiling actions and create policies that can positively affect racial profiling. Participant 7 reported that officers need to be "more cultured" by interacting with people of different ethnicities (personal communication, August 17, 2016). In addition, Participant 7 related that media representatives also need cultural sensitivity training so that they do not always portray minorities as criminals.

Participant 9 recommended that training at the police academy be extended and that the New Jersey attorney general updates the training manual. In addition, Participant 9 recommended that at the federal level, the DOJ also evaluate and update police training, such as improved psychological screening that can detect implicit bias and stereotypes. In addition, Participant 9 noted that journalists need to be trained on sensitivity, cultural diversity, and cultural and racial tolerance in relation to African Americans, especially, African American males. Participant 11 shared that "very little that can be done," but explained that upper management, government official, lawmakers, and local and superior court judges should rewrite some of the case laws because they are all geared

towards supporting police officers' actions (personal communication, August 17, 2016).

In addition, Participant 11 recommended better psychological screening when hiring new police recruits. Participant 10 response highlighted all participants' responses when he stated:

It's difficult to prevent and decrease racial profiling when it's pretty much taught and supported on the job and on the job training, through training officers, through the police academy, through poor police screening, poor psychological screening, [and] poor background checks. All those variables contribute to the continuation of racial profiling. So to decrease racial profiling, we would have to change all those other elements from top to bottom and bottom to top. (personal communication, August 17, 2016)

Summary

The purpose of this qualitative phenomenological research study was to explore 20 African American male police officers' perceptions about being racially profiled by fellow police officers in the State of New Jersey. One central research question and four subquestions guided the study. Through participants' face-to-face semistructured interviews and Moustakas's (1994) modified van Kaam method of analysis, 16 themes and 14 subthemes emerged in answering the research questions.

First, in regard to African American male police officers' perceptions about being racially profiled by fellow police officers in the State of New Jersey, findings indicated that most participants believed being pulled over for no reason by Caucasian officers was a sign of disrespect. In addition, findings indicated that participants believed that their

fellow officers used pretext to pull them over for unwarranted reasons. Second, in regard to African American male police officers' perceptions about the cause of racial profiling by police officers, findings indicated that along with all participants noting that they had been profiled by Caucasian male police officers, many factors emerged that contributed to racial profiling, such as media, personal beliefs and experiences, views of society, stereotyping, and culture of the police department and law enforcement. Therefore, participants referred to the role of media as having a significant effect on racial profiling practices because the images and content that are displayed depicts African Americans negatively; thus, people may perceive what they see on television, in print, online, or in the movies to be true about African Americans. Findings also indicated that views of society and officers' upbringing or previous beliefs or interactions with minorities also contributed to racial profiling. In addition, Caucasian police officers' experiences or lack of experiences with African Americans contributed to minorities being racially profiled. Findings also indicated that officers' personal experiences or interactions with African Americans also contributed to the acceptance of racial profiling within police departments. Findings indicated that the culture of the police department and law enforcement agencies contributed to racial profiling by encouraging the practice to meet department quota or ignoring that the issue existed. In addition, findings indicated that training provided at the police academy was not relevant or inadequate and the hiring practices at the police department contributed to racial profiling.

Third, in regard African American male police officers' perceptions about the effects of racial profiling within their workplace, findings indicated that racial profiling

negatively affected the workplace. Participants perceived that racial profiling was accepted, although implicit, within the workplace, which created divisions and discrimination within the workplace as well as a hostile work environment. Participants also perceived that racial profiling affected their work ethic and job satisfaction by motivating officers to work harder to be fair and empathetic to other minorities. Findings also indicated that racial profiling affected some participants' work ethics to some degree, some participants' work ethics was not affected, some participants' job satisfaction decreased considerably, some participants' job satisfaction was not affected or only slightly affected, and some participants were still satisfied with their job as a police officer despite being racially profiled. In addition, findings indicated that racial profiling can affect police officers' morale and personal feelings of worth. Specifically, as a result of being racially profiled, some participants' morale was very low and personal feelings of self-worth were diminished, but one participant's morale and feelings of personal worth were not affected.

Fourth, in regard to African American male police officers' perceptions about how racial profiling affects their social relationship with Caucasian police officers, findings indicated that social relationships between African American police officers and Caucasian police officers did not exist due to racial profiling. Findings indicated very little communication, if any, between African American officers and Caucasian officers within or outside of the workplace. Participants explained that their Caucasian counterparts did not socially talk to them, and if they did, it was about a report or job-related duty. Participants described the interactions between African American and

Caucasian police officers as one with hesitation; therefore, participants reported that no relationship could exist between the two groups. Fifth, in regard to African American male police officers' recommendations to decrease and prevent racial profiling, findings indicated the need for improved hiring practices and training, changes to legislation and laws, educating media and society, and changing the culture of police departments and law enforcement agencies. In Chapter 4, I included the setting, demographics, data collection, data analysis, evidence of trustworthiness, results, and a summary. In Chapter 5, I include the interpretation of findings, limitations of the study, recommendations, implications, and a conclusion.

Chapter 5: Discussion, Conclusions, and Recommendations

In this phenomenological research study, I explored 20 African American male police officers' perceptions about being racially profiled by fellow police officers in the State of New Jersey. I collected data through in-depth face-to-face semistructured interviews. This study was designed to answer one central research question about African American male police officers' perceptions about being racially profiled by fellow police officers in the State of New Jersey. Four subquestions were also considered, which were African American male police officers' perceptions about the cause of racial profiling by police officers, African American male police officers' perceptions about the effects of racial profiling within their workplace, African American male police officers' perceptions about how racial profiling affected their social relationship with Caucasian police officers, and African American male police officers' recommendation to decrease and prevent racial profiling.

Using Moustakas's (1994) modified van Kaam method of analysis, 16 themes and 14 subthemes were found. First, findings indicated that most participants believed being pulled over for no reason by Caucasian officers was a sign of disrespect. In addition, participants believed that their fellow officers used pretext to pull them over for unwarranted reasons. Second, findings indicated that along with all participants noting that they had been profiled by Caucasian male police officers, many factors emerged about the cause of racial profiling, such as media, personal beliefs and experiences, views of society, stereotyping, and culture of the police department and law enforcement. Third, findings indicated that racial profiling negatively affected the workplace. Participants

perceived that racial profiling was accepted, although implicit, within the workplace, which created divisions and discrimination within the workplace as well as a hostile work environment. Participants also perceived that racial profiling affected their work ethic and job satisfaction by motivating officers to work harder to be fair and empathetic to other minorities. Findings also indicated that racial profiling affected some participants' work ethics to some degree, some participants' work ethic was not affected, some participants' job satisfaction decreased considerably, some participants' job satisfaction was not affected or only slightly affected, and some participants were still satisfied with their job as a police officer despite being racially profiled. In addition, findings indicated that racial profiling can affect police officers' morale and personal feelings of worth. Specifically, as a result of being racially profiled, some participants' morale was very low and personal feelings of self-worth were diminished, but one participant's morale and feelings of personal worth were not affected.

Fourth, findings indicated that social relationships between African American police officers and Caucasian police officers did not exist due to racial profiling. Fifth, findings indicated the need for improved hiring practices and training, changes to legislation and laws, educating media and society, and changing the culture of police departments and law enforcement agencies. In Chapter 5, I include the interpretation of findings, limitations of the study, recommendations, implications, and a conclusion.

Interpretation of Findings

To explore 20 African American male police officers' perceptions about being racially profiled by fellow police officers in the State of New Jersey, this qualitative

phenomenological research study was designed to answer one central research question and four subquestions. The findings for this study are interpreted in the context of Weber's (1910) social relationship theory and the literature review. This section is organized in the following subsections: central research question, Subquestion 1, Subquestion 2, Subquestion 3, Subquestion 4.

Central Research Question

What are African American male police officers' perceptions about being racially profiled by fellow police officers in the State of New Jersey? The results of central research question indicated that most participants believed being pulled over for no reason by Caucasian officers was a sign of disrespect. In addition, findings indicated that participants believed that their fellow officers used pretext to pull them over for unwarranted reasons. Participants also noted that the police officers who pulled them over did not treat them as equals. Participants shared similar experiences by explaining that they were asked to show ID, which was checked many times, and once their IDs were verified, they did not receive any apologies. Most participants noted that there was no police officer camaraderie once the police officers who pulled them over realized that they were police officers.

Findings from the central research question may be attributed to Weber's social relationship theory, which was translated by Gane (2005). African American male police officers who participated in the study believed that Caucasian officers pulled them over using pretext and that they felt disrespected by their fellow police officers. Social relationship and status are based on how each individual or group treat other members of

society who may not be a part of the majority group (Weber, as cited in Gane, 2005). Furthermore, as cited in Gane (2005), Weber suggested that the majority members of society can elect to allow other members in a particular communal group. When the social relationship is motivated by a particular interest between certain group members, the majority group members then form an associative relationship that may be limited to outsiders. Entry into the social group is usually based on mutual consent from the other majority group members, and their objectives are usually enforced by law enforcement officials and political party affiliation that often influence policies that are used to control other members of society. Therefore, based on Weber's theory, Caucasian frontline police officers, who are part of the majority group, may exclude African American police officers based on established group rule or the culture and subculture of the police department, which sets the stage for discrimination.

Findings from the central research question may also be attributed to the disparity between African American officers and Caucasian police officers. Morin (as cited in Bromwich, 2017) noted that when African American police officers take off their uniforms and badges, they are no longer police officers, but Black men and women who are subjected to the same kind of indignities, injustices, and discrimination as other African Americans. Similar to participants in this study, Colin (2014) found that 25 African American male police officers who were on the New York Police Department reported being racially profiled when they were off duty and out of uniform. The participants reported that they were no reasons for why their fellow police officers pulled them over. They also claimed that fellow police officers pulled them over multiple times,

slammed their heads against their cars, pointed guns in their faces, flung them into prison vans, and were stopped and frisked while shopping. Hence, Conlin noted that race or ethnicity was used as the basis for suspecting the off-duty officers of having committed a crime.

It is difficult to dismiss African American police officers' complaints of racial profiling as anecdotal as 69% of the African American police officers from the Milwaukee Police Department complained that they were stopped due to racial profiling (Barlow & Barlow, 2002). Wilson et al. (2015) argued that African American police officers have made the same complaints for many decades regarding the treatment that they received from fellow police officers. Loimo et al. (2008) and Wilson and Wilson (2014) claimed that law enforcement leaders across the United States have ignored reports of racial profiling, including complaints from fellow police officers. In this study, findings that African American police officers feel disrespected by their colleagues can also be attributed to many African Americans experiencing public humiliation because of racial profiling (Bou-Habib, 2011). Bou-Habib (2011) noted that law enforcement officers' use of racial profiling has created and reinforced background injustice when they perpetually stop and search innocent African American motorists on the roadway where they are viewed by other passing motorists who may perceive them as criminals.

Subquestion 1

What do African American male police officers perceive to be the cause of racial profiling by police officers? The results of Subquestion 1 indicated that along with all participants reporting that they were racially profiled by Caucasian male police officers,

many factors emerged that contributed to racial profiling, such as media, personal beliefs and experiences, views of society, stereotyping, and culture of the police department and law enforcement, which included senior police leaders encouraging the practice to meet department quota or ignoring that the issue existed, irrelevant or inadequate police academy training, and dated and biased hiring practices.

Findings from Subquestion 1 may be attributed to Weber's (1910) social relationship theory. While Warren (2015) did not use Weber's social relationship theory as his theoretical foundation in his article, the author highlighted Weber's definition of power in relation to police use of racial profiling. Nehring and Plummer (2013) reported that Weber defined power as the ability to control others even if they are resistant and despite its purpose. Warren related that Weber's definition of power can be applied to controversial issues pertaining to frontline policing practices, such as stop and search, and arrest and detain despite the suspect's claim of innocence. This pertains to the study's findings of stereotyping and culture of the police department and law enforcement agencies. In addition, Warren noted that high ranking police officers have the power to influence policy, practice, and recruitment, which is in line with the findings in this study that senior police leaders encourage the practice to meet department quota or ignore that the issue existed. Warren argued that based on the findings from past research, evidence suggested that police officers use power disproportionately, which distorts the criminal justice system. Warren further argued that police officers uphold racial prejudice, which results in disproportionate outcomes for Black minority ethnic communities and Black minority or BME police personnel.

Findings from Subquestion 1 may also be attributed to discretionary motor stops and unconscious stereotypes. Tillyer and Engel (2010) reported that when police officers engage in discretionary motor vehicle stops of African Americans when no crime has been committed, they are taking part in racial profiling. The researchers examined the driver's characteristics and the officer's discretionary actions following the traffic stop. When the researchers examined citation and arrest rates following traffic stops, they found that young Black males were 1.5 to 2.6 times more likely to be arrested following a traffic stop compared to White motorists (p. 372). The researchers noted that unconscious stereotypes may affect police officers' behaviors in situations where they believe they have the freedom to make decisions.

In addition, researchers have found that racial profiling is an implicit act based on the stereotype that African Americans are inherently violent criminals (Barlow & Barlow, 2002; Batton & Kadleck, 2004; McCarty et al., 2012; Miller, 2013). Carroll and Gonzalez (2014) tested hypotheses about biased policing due to implicit racial stereotypes. The researchers found that African American motorists were more likely to be frisked and searched than their Caucasian counterpart. In addition, the frisk disparity is dependent on where the stops occurred as African American motorists were 4 times more likely than Caucasian motorists to be frisked in predominantly White towns and cities (p. 575). Carroll and Gonzalez noted that law enforcement officers, whether or not they are prejudiced, tend to subconsciously target African Americans through implicit stereotyping. Implicit stereotyping suggests that African Americans are prone to criminal activities and violence, and when they are encountered in neighborhoods that are

predominately White, law enforcement officers respond to the stimuli (African Americans) that appears to be out of place. The researchers reported that when police officers acted on the stimuli (African Americans) in predominate White neighborhoods, the officers allowed the presence of the stimuli to influence their decision-making process.

The finding in this study that media is a cause of racial profiling was consistent with what other researchers had found. Archbold et al. (2013) found that newspaper coverage of incidents involving criminal activities overrepresented African Americans as criminals. Archbold et al. also found that prior to September 11, 2001, the media reported racial profiling as an ineffective tool that is used nationwide by many law enforcement agencies. However, the researchers also noted that media outlets also depicted racial profiling in a positive way, where citizens overwhelmingly justified its use. Archbold et al. suggested that the media is capable of creating a perceived threat or concern that affect certain minorities such as African Americans. The effects of the war on drugs campaign during the 1980s where African Americans were racially profiled as criminals and drug couriers, continues to result in widespread unequal treatment by law enforcement agencies.

The negative portrayal of African Americans in the media is further amplified by the media's creation of a racial hierarchy (Archbold et al., 2013). According to Archbold et al. (2013), the racial hierarchy positions Caucasians at the top of the racial tier, while African Americans are positioned at the bottom of the tier, with all other ethnicities in between. Archbold et al. related that because the media plays a role in the social value of

African Americans in society, law enforcement officers use racial characteristics to determine if a particular race belongs in a certain neighborhood. Novak and Chamlin's (2012) research found that law enforcement officers use race as their primary reasons for stopping African Americans instead of suspicious behaviors that pose a societal threat.

Racial profiling can be attributed to the criminal typification of African Americans because they are often depicted as criminals instead of positive role models compared to Caucasians on television (Entman, 1992). Many of the negative perceptions of African Americans can be attributed to various media sources who negatively depict African Americans as criminals who cannot be trusted. Gilliam and Lyengar (2000) evaluated crime news script; specifically, they focused on violent crime and the inclusion of racial imagery on public opinion. The researchers found that Caucasian participants' exposure to the racial aspects of the crime script increased their negative attitudes about African Americans, but this was not the case for African American participants.

In regard to the findings that views of society contributed to racial profiling, participants noted that society encourages racial profiling by how people from different cultures perceive and deal with issues that arise. Participants explained that society as a whole creates an environment where racial profiling can occur, even if it was not intended. Graziano (2010) found that respondents from various communities form their opinions about the actions of police officers towards African Americans after watching media coverage about the police. The researchers noted that African Americans viewed negative police actions towards them as a form of racism, while Caucasians perceived

police actions against African Americans as a police strategy that targets minority communities.

Subquestion 2

What do African American male police officers perceive to be the effects of racial profiling within their workplace? The results of Subquestion 2 indicated that racial profiling negatively affected the workplace. Participants perceived that racial profiling was accepted, although implicit, within the workplace, which created divisions and discrimination within the workplace as well as a hostile work environment. Participants also perceived that racial profiling affected their work ethic and job satisfaction by motivating officers to work harder to be fair and empathetic to other minorities. Findings also indicated that racial profiling affected some participants' work ethics to some degree, some participants' work ethics was not affected, some participants' job satisfaction decreased considerably, some participants' job satisfaction was not affected or only slightly affected, and some participants were still satisfied with their job as a police officer despite being racially profiled. In addition, findings indicated that racial profiling can affect police officers' morale and personal feelings of worth. Specifically, as a result of being racially profiled, some participants' morale was very low and personal feelings of self-worth were diminished, but one participant's morale and feelings of personal worth were not affected.

Findings from Subquestion 2 may be attributed to Weber's prior research on status honor and social structure, where members expect a certain lifestyle that is superior to mainstream citizens, which establishes a group status (as cited in Gane, 2005). Weber

further added that the status honor social group maintains its status by employing racial segregation and developing a caste structure. This caste structure that was created horizontally with various ethnicities were restructured into a vertical social system (super and subordinate; Weber, as cited in Gane, 2005). This can be attributed to African American police officers' perceptions that racial profiling is accepted by department administrators and leaders, and frontline police officers, although implicit within the workplace, which has created divisions and discrimination within the workplace as well as a hostile work environment.

The finding that racial profiling affected participants' work ethic and job satisfaction by motivating officers to work harder to be fair and empathetic to other minorities may be attributed to Weber's (2013) value-rational social action where the ends or values may be pursued for their own sake, such as ethical pursuits (Weber, 2013). Subquestion 2 findings may also be attributed to the literature, where an unsettling relationship among police officers continues in many police agencies across the United States (Stroshine & Brandl, 2011; Sun, 2003; Wilson et al., 2015). Due to this, many African American police officers may feel unworthy, believe they are treated as second class citizens, and believe that they are viewed as a departmental token (Stroshine & Brandl, 2011; Sun, 2003; Wilson et al., 2015). African American police officers may have also experienced discrimination that resulted in limited opportunities within their own police agency, such as not being promoted to leadership positions (Stroshine & Brandl, 2011; Sun, 2003; Wilson et al. 2015).

Subquestion 3

What are African American male police officers' perceptions about how racial profiling affects their social relationship with Caucasian police officers? The results of Subquestion 3 indicated that social relationships between African American police officers and Caucasian police officers do not exist due to racial profiling. Findings indicated very little communication, if any, between African American officers and Caucasian officers within or outside of the workplace. Participants explained that their Caucasian counterparts did not socially talk to them, and if they did, it was about a report or job-related duty. Participants described the interactions between African American and Caucasian police officers as one with hesitation; therefore, participants reported that no relationship could exist between the two groups.

Findings from Subquestion 2 may be attributed to Weber's suggestion that the majority members of society can elect to allow other members in a particular communal group (as cited in Gane, 2005). When the social relationship is motivated by a particular interest between certain group members, the majority group members then form an associative relationship that may be limited to outsiders. Thus, African American male police officers described a divide between African American officers and their Caucasian counterparts where there was very little interaction inside or outside of work-related duties or functions. Findings may also be attributed to the institutional issue of race and gender in many law enforcement agencies as agencies were assigning police officers based on their ethnicity and gender (Conti & Doreian, 2014). According to Conti and Doreian (2014), African Americans were assigned as partners and women were assigned

to work with other women. The researchers noted that neither group did not interact with each other and that Caucasian women did not interact with the African American women.

Subquestion 4

What do African American male police officers recommend to decrease and prevent racial profiling? The results of Subquestion 4 indicated the need for improved hiring practices and training, changes to legislation and laws, educating media and society, and changing the culture of police departments and law enforcement agencies. Findings indicated the need for improved hiring practices and training, which may be attributed to Schlosser (2013) findings that since the 1960s, not much change has been made to cultural diversity training for police officers. Schlosser reported that cross-cultural training consists of teaching police officers skills in communication and conflict resolution. The researcher noted that while this training has some advantages, it also has disadvantages such as the profiling of certain groups of individuals and reinforcing stereotypes. Result of Schlosser's study indicated that police academies across the nation might not be adequately training police recruits in the areas of cultural diversity, which is an important training tool in a diverse society. To bring about positive social change, Schlosser recommended the use of a more proactive approach in police training that challenges the dominant ideology. Thus, the researcher noted that police training must include strategies that will increase police recruits' ability to understand and recognize more subtle forms of racism. In addition, the researcher argued that along with using conversations on criminal justice and social justice, collaborative efforts should be made between community members and law enforcement. When police recruits complete the

police academy, the researcher suggested that they take part in a field training program where veteran police officers train recruits on policing practices in the communities that they will serve. Schlosser emphasized that the veteran police officers should also receive in-service training with the focus on social justice. Consequently, findings indicated that it is imperative that color-blind racial beliefs are addressed in the design of police recruit diversity training courses and topics should include privilege and race, institutional discrimination, and obvious racial issues.

Findings that indicated the need for improved hiring practices and training as well as changes to legislation and laws, may be attributed to Nataranjan (2014) study, where the researcher reported that in 2012, more than 200 civil rights leaders asked U.S. Attorney General Eric Holder to update the profiling policies to prohibit profiling on the basis of national origin, religion, gender, and sexual identity. Then, in 2014, Attorney General Holder proposed new guidelines on racial profiling that ban the practice by federal law enforcement agencies. However, the researcher noted that state and local law enforcement agencies should have also been covered in the proposal as the general public encounters local police in far greater numbers than federal officers. Therefore, based on the findings, there is a need for stronger racial profiling policies at the state and local levels, along with effective training and oversight of police officers.

In addition, findings that indicated the need for changes to legislation and laws may be attributed to policies written by some law enforcement agencies that empower their officers to racially profile minorities such as African Americans. Khoury (2009) found that the Maryland State Police had a written policy in 1988, which effectively

permitted state troopers to stop, detain, and search motorists who fit a particular description that was based on a drug courier profile from the mid-1980s when the country was experiencing a drug epidemic. Foucault (1977) found that the continued experiences of racial profiling leads to emotional stress that eventually robs African Americans of their humanity and their self-esteem. When this occurs, the author related that African Americans tend to lose their self-control and subsequently become indignant toward law enforcement officers when stopped.

Findings that indicated the need to change the culture of police departments and law enforcement agencies may be attributed to Warren's (2015) discussion of Weber's definition of power in relation to police use of racial profiling. Warren claimed that while overt racism had decreased, covert racism has increased, which is demonstrated through stop and search statistics and lack of promotional opportunities for BME police officers. Warren suggested that unless BME police officers are given influential roles within the police institution, the issues for BME communities may not change and power will continue to be distorted. Similarly, Wilson and Wilson (2014) found that a small number of African American police officers were employed in small police agencies and the majority of the police officers and community member were Caucasian. The researchers also found that African American police officers were underrepresented in many police agencies, which resulted in many of the participants feeling inconsequential and criticized more often compared to Caucasian police officers. The researchers also found that 69% of the African American police officers in Milwaukee, Wisconsin, believed that they were racially profiled following traffic stops (p. 127). Wilson and Wilson found that 84%

of African American police officers believed that their police agency engaged in racial profiling practices instead of condemning the harmful practice (p.128). Findings also indicated that 56% of the African American police officers believed that they were valued by their Caucasian counterpart, while 47.7% of participants believed that Caucasian community members valued their police profession (p. 129). Conversely, the researchers found that 90.9% of African American police officers believed that members of their own ethnicity valued their profession (p. 129). Wilson and Wilson emphasized the importance of understanding and appreciating the value of all law enforcement officers in order to have more effective level of service and participation at all levels within law enforcement agencies.

Findings that indicated that need for educating media and society can be attributed to Archbold et al.'s (2013) findings that media plays a role in the social value of African Americans in society as law enforcement officers use racial characteristics to determine if a particular race belongs in a certain neighborhood. Similarly, Entman (1992) found that racial profiling can be attributed to the criminal typification of African Americans because they are often depicted as criminals instead of positive role models compared to Caucasians on television. Many of the negative perceptions of African Americans can be attributed to various media sources who negatively depict African Americans as criminals who cannot be trusted. Hence, findings in this study indicated the need for the media to portray minorities more positive so that the public can have a better understanding of African Americans and other minorities.

Limitations of the Study

There are several limitations to trustworthiness that arose from execution of this study. First, a possible limitation of the study included generalizing the results as I had used a snowball sample of 20 participants. The findings from the study may be generalized to similar populations of active and retired African American male frontline police officers in the State of New Jersey who have experienced racial profiling from fellow police officers, but the results of the study may not be generalizable to other populations or states. As a result, future study could expand the sample population across states to achieve a broader understanding of African American male frontline police officers racial profiling experiences. A different sampling strategy could also be used, such as purposive sampling.

Second, social desirability bias was considered as participants may want to be perceived positively, so they may not respond honestly to the interview questions. However, it was assumed that participants honestly and openly answered the interview questions by sharing their perceptions about the questions asked. Third, there are also limitations with self-report data for the interviews as participants may not accurately or fully self-evaluate themselves. However, it was assumed that participants accurately and fully self-evaluated themselves.

Recommendations

Two recommendations for future research arise as a result of this study. First, as noted in the limitations of the study section, it is recommended that future study expand the sample population across states to achieve a broader understanding of African

American male frontline police officers racial profiling experiences and findings could be compared to those found in this study. In doing this, different sampling strategies could also be used, such as purposive sampling.

Second, research on the experiences of African American women with the police is sparse compared to research that focuses on the experiences of African American men and their encounter with the police (Gabbidon et al., 2011). Gabbidon et al. (2011) found that African American women experiences with police officers are similar to those of African American men. In addition, the researchers emphasized that African American women's views were more similar to African American men, more than any other racial group. As a result, the researchers recommended that researchers should determine why African American women's experience with criminal justice officials are so similar to that of African American men. Hence, future research should also focus on African American female frontline police officers about their perceptions about being racial profiled by fellow police officers. Findings could also be compared to those found in this study, which may help support the need for stronger policies at the state and local levels, along with effective training and oversight of police officers.

Implications

To decrease and prevent racial profiling, African American male frontline police officers recommended improved hiring practices and training, changes to legislation and laws, educating media and society, and changing the culture of police departments and law enforcement agencies. These recommendations have several implications for law enforcement policymakers, law enforcement leaders and administrators, police officers,

and other law enforcement officers as stronger policies at the state and local levels are needed, along with effective training and oversight of police officers. It is important that law enforcement policymakers, leaders, and administrators are open to accepting the accounts of active and retired African American male frontline police officers who have been subjected to racial profiling because they understand the intricacies, complexities, and dangers of law enforcement (Barlow & Barlow, 2002). Therefore, perceptions and experiences shared by African American male police officers that substantiate the reality of racial profiling are extremely beneficial and powerful as there is a need for a comprehensive national policy that outlaws racial profiling in order to decrease and prevent police violence, harassment, and misconduct (Barlow & Barlow, 2002; Natarajan, 2014).

First, many participants referred to improving the hiring practices and training policies as a means of preventing racial profiling within the law enforcement profession. The results showed that the screening of police officers within the hiring process are dated and inadequate in determining if officers are qualified to carry out the sworn duties sworn of law enforcement officers. Therefore, improved training with real-life interactive software simulations and psychological screening was referred to most often among participants. In addition, it is important that training officers do not practice and reinforce racial profiling, but that they teach new police recruits to not racially profile. Thus, training at the police academy should incorporate the subject of racial profiling in the curricula.

Second, recommendations were also directed at the legislators and law enforcement policymakers, leaders, and administrators who have the ability to rewrite current laws and policies that can positively affect African American citizens and other minorities in the State of New Jersey. As Nataranjan (2014) reported, in 2012, more than 200 civil rights leaders asked U.S. Attorney General Eric Holder to update the profiling policies to prohibit profiling based on national origin, religion, gender, and sexual identity. Then, in 2014, Attorney General Holder proposed new guidelines on racial profiling that ban the practice by federal law enforcement agencies. However, the researcher noted that state and local law enforcement agencies should have also been covered in the proposal as the general public encounters local police in far greater numbers than federal officers. Therefore, there is a need for updated racial profiling policies to prohibit profiling at the state and local levels.

Racial profiling undermines public safety by straining the trust between police officers and community members (Nataranjan, 2014). In addition, police officers who have been victims of racial profiling by their fellow police officers noted a divide between African American and Caucasian police officers and hostile work environments (Conlin, 2014; Wilson & Wilson, 2014). Wilson and Wilson (2014) found that 84% of African American police officers in large and small agencies believed that their police agency supervisors ignored known incidents of racial profiling by Caucasian police officers (p. 128). The researchers also found that 69% of African American police officers in Milwaukee, Wisconsin, experienced racial profiling and unnecessary questioning due to their race (p.127). Therefore, attention from policymakers and law

enforcement leaders and administrators is needed to assess and address the possible adverse effects of racial profiling within law enforcement agencies and the possible effects on morale, work ethic, job satisfaction, and personal feelings of worth (Wilson & Wilson, 2014), especially among African American police officers.

Third, findings from this study indicated that media influenced how African Americans are being treated by law enforcement officers and society based on what is portrayed. Therefore, educating the media on their reporting practices and the way African Americans and other minorities are portrayed can help to decrease and prevent future acts of racial profiling; thus, more positive portrayals are needed. Fourth, participants also recommended changes to the culture of police departments and law enforcement agencies as senior police leaders encouraged the practice to meet department quota or ignored that the issue existed. Hence, changes are needed at the administrative levels in police departments and law enforcement agencies. Warren (2015) suggested that BME police officers are given influential roles within the police institution to help prevent power from being distorted and allow positive changes to occur in BME communities.

Findings from this research study adds further knowledge to the public policy and administration literature on racial profiling and the experiences and perceptions of African American male police officers. Along with the public policy and administration field, a wide array of other fields might be interested in the study's findings, to include the fields of criminal justice and public safety. The findings from the study are also

applicable to many agencies and organizations to include federal, state, and local law enforcement agencies and the DOJ, Office of Community Oriented Policing Services.

Conclusion

To further understand and address the problem of racial profiling, it was important to obtain the perceptions of African American male frontline police officers who have been racially profiled by their fellow colleagues. Findings found in this phenomenological research study supports previous research findings in the literature, such as findings from Conlin (2014) and Wilson and Wilson (2014), who also reported a divide between African American and Caucasian police officers and hostile work environments at police departments due to racial profiling and the culture of police departments. Therefore, it is difficult to reject the accounts of police officers who have been subjected to racial profiling as being uninformed, overly sensitive, or to challenge their interpretations of events because they understand the intricacies, complexities, and dangers of law enforcement (Barlow & Barlow, 2002).

African American police officers have a vested interest in exposing the practice of racial profiling as well as a vested interest in protecting the integrity of their profession (Barlow & Barlow, 2002). Therefore, perceptions and experiences shared by African American male police officers that substantiate the reality of racial profiling are extremely beneficial and powerful as there is a need for a comprehensive national policy that outlaws racial profiling in order to decrease and prevent police violence, harassment, and misconduct (Barlow & Barlow, 2002; Natarajan, 2014). In addition, along with strengthening profiling legislations and laws, findings from this study can be used to

effect positive social change in relation to police departments' hiring practices and training; changing the culture of police departments and law enforcement agencies from the top down; and educating media about its role in racial profiling in order to increase more positive depictions of African Americans and other minorities to the general public.

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Appendix A: Invitation to Participate and Recommendation Request

Dear **Name Will Be Inserted Here**,

My name is Michael Campbell and I am currently a doctoral student at Walden University. I am exploring active and retired African American male police officers' perceptions about being racially profiled by fellow police officers in the State of New Jersey.

I would greatly appreciate your participation.

Your participation would involve participating in a face-to-face interview which would take about 45 minutes in a private meeting room at the North Brunswick Library located at 880 Hermann Road. Interviews will be conducted at a time that is convenient for you and you will be given a consent form to review and sign before the interview begins.

The information from the interviews will be kept strictly confidential and no one who participates will be identified in any of the study's report that I prepare.

If you have any questions about the study, please feel free to e-mail me at [E-mail address redacted] or give me a call at [Phone number redacted].

If you are interested in participating in the study and/or would like to recommend other active and retired African American male frontline police officers who worked or currently work for law enforcement agencies in the State of the New Jersey and who have experienced racial profiling from fellow police officers to be a participant in this study, please complete the questions below in a reply e-mail to me.

Thank you in advance for your consideration and assistance with my research project.

Sincerely,

Michael Campbell

Michael Campbell

[Phone number redacted]

[E-mail address redacted]

If you are interested in participating in the study and/or would like to recommend other active or retired African American male frontline police officers who worked or currently work for law enforcement agencies in the State of the New Jersey and who have experienced racial profiling from fellow police officers to be a participant in the study, please complete the questions below in a reply e-mail to me at [E-mail address redacted]:

1. What is your name?

2. What is your race? (Please select by **bolding** your answer)
 - a. African American
 - b. Black
 - c. White
 - d. Hispanic, Latino, or Spanish
 - e. Asian
 - f. Other _____
3. What is your gender?
4. What is your contact information?
5. Are you an active or retired African American male frontline police officer in the State of New Jersey?
6. Have you experienced racial profiling from fellow police officers?
7. Would be willing to share your perceptions about being racially profiled by fellow police officers in the State of New Jersey, which will take approximately 45 minutes in a face-to-face interview?
8. If you participate in the study, would you be willing to verify the accuracy on your interview transcript that would be e-mailed to you at a later date after the interview has been completed and the interview has been transcribed, which will take approximately 25 minutes?
9. Are there other active or retired African American male frontline police officers in the State of New Jersey that you would like to recommend to be participants in this study? If so, what are their names and contact information?

Appendix B: Interview Guide

Interview Guide

Introduction

- Welcome participant and introduce myself.
- Have participant review and sign consent form. Give participant a copy of the consent form to keep.
- Explain the general purpose of the interview and why the participant was chosen.
- Discuss the purpose and process of interview.
- Explain the presence and purpose of the recording equipment.
- Outline general ground rules and interview guidelines such as being prepared for the interviewer to interrupt to assure that all the topics can be covered.
- Address the assurance of confidentiality.
- Inform the participant that information discussed is going to be analyzed in aggregate form and participant's name will not be used in any analysis of the interview.

Discussion Purpose

The purpose of study is to explore African American male police officers' perceptions about being racially profiled by fellow police officers in the State of New Jersey.

Discussion Guidelines

Interviewer will explain:

Please respond directly to the questions and if you don't understand the question, please let me know. I am here to ask questions, listen, and answer any questions you might have. If we seem to get stuck on a topic, I may interrupt you. I will keep your identity, participation, and remarks private. Please speak openly and honestly. This session will be tape recorded because I do not want to miss any comments.

General Instructions

When responding to questions that will be asked of you in the interview, please exclude all identifying information, such as your name and names of other parties. Your identity will be kept confidential and any information that will permit identification will be removed from the analysis.

Possible Probes

- Could you elaborate more on that?
- That was helpful, but could you provide more detail?
- Your example was helpful, but can you give me another example to help me understand further?

Interview Questions

1. What are your perceptions about being racially profiled by fellow police officers in the State of New Jersey?
2. What are the race of the police officers who have racially profiled you?
3. What do you perceive to be the cause of racial profiling by police officers?
4. What do you perceive to be the effects of racial profiling within your workplace?

5. What are your thoughts about how racial profiling affected your work ethic and job satisfaction?
6. What are your thoughts about how racial profiling affected your morale and personal feelings of worth?
7. What are your perceptions about how racial profiling affects your social relationship with Caucasian police officers?
8. What do you recommend to decrease and prevent racial profiling?

Conclusion

- Discuss the transcription review process with participant, ask and answer any questions, and thank the participant for his time.

Appendix C: NIH Certificate



Appendix D: Thematic Analysis Step 1 or Categorization of Text

Central Research Question

Central Question 1: What are African American male police officers' perceptions about being racially profiled by fellow police officers in the State of New Jersey?

Central Thematic Label 1: What are African American male police officers' perceptions about being racially profiled by fellow police officers in the State of New Jersey.

Theme 1. A sign of disrespect.

Participant 12 shared his experience:

It's a sign of disrespect. It's a sign of just showing that you, you're not really an officer. You know it's a sign of abuse and power and many of them know that you can't speak badly or act unprofessional even though you're off duty and because they know that, they say a lot of things or talk down to you, which is a problem and often when you just ask questions, they're very abrupt, they don't want to give you a straight answer. If and when they do determine you're an officer, they often don't say anything, they just look at your credentials back and forth a few times then give it back to you and walk away and that seems to be their general practice and that seems to be what many other officers have spoken about. There is no camaraderie, there's no brotherhood, there's nothing. We're just, I look at myself as just a body that's there in uniform with no other influence. I can't recommend anything. I can't go and try to influence others to do the right thing because they look at you as if you don't know anything and that's part of the problem.

Participant 13 shared his perception based on his experience:

They don't respect minority citizens so therefore they do not respect the African American police officer, whether he's a male or female or Latino, there is no respect given. You could be a law enforcement officer for 20 years, 25 years, 10 years. If you're an African American police officer, you're going to be treated closely to how they'll treat the regular civilian and during the time, things may stop or change is when you produce or they see your police ID and even when they do see your police ID anyway, often some will call your employer and make false allegations that you were disrespectful or you gave them lip or it's always something negative. When you do get stopped, you're going to get treated harshly and when they know you didn't violate anything they'll call your job to say you did violate something, hoping that you'll get in trouble or get terminated.

Participant 14's experience is similar:

When he saw my badge in my wallet when I opened it to get my license he quickly said, oh, everything is okay, and I am not understanding what you're saying, you said everything is okay but a minute ago you asked where I got my wallet from, you followed me for a mile then he had proceeded to say, oh my name came back in the computer as a

possible hit and when a person says a possible hit, it means a warrant in law enforcement terms. When I said there couldn't be a warrant because you and I know we get checked randomly for suspensions and criminal activities so there couldn't have been an error, but nevertheless, I drove off in anger and he walked away, didn't apologize, just walked away, like they typically do and I called my department and ask for them to run my license plate and also to run my driver's license numbers, they said nothing is there. It was a government vehicle and that officer too used an unnecessary means to get my information. He had his hand on his gun and his flashlight on his shoulder in a tactical stance just on a, for a motor vehicle stop, which is not a common practice to be in a tactical stance, the car's not stolen, I'm not wanted, and you could clearly see it's a police vehicle. But like I said, he was focused on the fact that there is an African American man driving this vehicle. As he got closer to the car, I even showed him the police radio, and I told him here's the registration or here's the insurance card, it says all owned, you know, a municipal vehicle and he looked at my police ID about four, five times, handed it back to me, and walked off. No, I'm sorry or I thought the vehicle was stolen or thought whatever, just walked off. Each incident lead me to believe that they say a Black guy in a pretty much White town on a White block. So, he must be up to something or just stole something. Each instance they treated me like a second-class citizen and a suspect.

Participant 15 shared a similar experience:

He's like, uh, give me your documents first and I'll tell you what you did. So, I gave him the documents and he said I'm here because you have tinted windows and I said, well, as an officer you guys, your fellow officers at your department also have tinted windows and we have tinted windows for a reason because at times you're driving home and people will walk up on your vehicle. I've been followed from my job, in my personal vehicle. So, since that experience, after being followed from my job to approximately 10 miles before this person walked up on me, after that I've always, I tinted my windows for my protection, and I explained to the officer that there's officers in his own department that have tinted windows. So, what is the problem and he went on to say, well, we enforce tinted windows. He looks at my documents, he looked and saw my police ID, he looked at it about five times, he gave it back to me, and walked away with an attitude while repeating, well in this town we enforce tinted windows, got in his car, and drove away. No apologies, no nothing. It was always as if, it was like a sign of disrespect, and all the instances of being stopped by other White officers, they've all had the same general approach and disposition. It's almost as if they're trained to speak to individuals and citizens in that way because they've all pretty much approach the same way, look at your documents five, six times, the same way, hand it to you, and walk off as if they just got a call to go somewhere. It's like, I think they're probably embarrassed or something. I don't know, but they've all had the same general reaction, to just disrespect you, break you down to a nobody and walk away. It's almost like that's their title, that's what they're supposed to do.

Participant 17 described his experience and perception:

Just the initial attitude that I felt was racially motivated or indecisive. Just their tone of voice, their demeaning, you feel as though you're being talked down to as opposed to a normal citizen who may be addressed in a friendlier tone of voice. Other times that I've been pulled over and back when they had like license plates readers and there were hits out on for certain aspects of your description, your date of birth, and things like that or have been totally embarrassed by being trailed by half of those nonminority officers and questioned and having produced my police ID, and in the end, once the police ID is shown, the nonminority officers have a change of heart, change of tone, change of demeanor, as if okay, now you're socially acceptable now, and as opposed to be treating as if I'm a criminal that's about to assault them or kill them or whatever are going through their minds

Participant 2 termed racial profiling as “simply a game of cat and mouse” based on his experience:

Although they can't tell the race of person in a car just by glance, but when they run your license plate, they can tell the race of the person within the state of New Jersey. In addition to that, when they do stop you, although they can't tell you're a police officer, but the treatment you receive from the police officers is pretty much the treatment they give to Blacks, to the Black citizens. When they stop you, there's no discretion, they're very abrupt, abrasive, they don't want to hear anything you have to say and once you advise them that what they're saying does not make sense or is not true, then they imply that you're going to get whatever summonses for something you know you didn't do. Once they finish reviewing your ID, they just hand it over, and simply walk away. It's a sign of disrespect; when they stop me, and I simply ask questions, they feel like I'm not entitled to ask any questions, so therefore it's a sign of disrespect to me.

Participant 4 shared his thoughts:

I attribute it to a disgrace or shameful act, especially when the officer knows for sure I'm a police officer because I'm wearing the police uniform and upon being stopped, they still demanded to see my driver's license, registration, and insurance card while still seated in my vehicle in uniform. I had the uniform on. All the identifiers, the patches on my shoulder, the badge on the left side of my chest, so there's no mistake about it, but they still requested my documents, in a sense to, or I interpret it, as a disrespect or to let me know I am nothing, a nobody.

Participant 5 explained a similar perception, having experienced racial profiling multiple times, and learning of the ulterior motives to why he was pulled over:

Often when police officers are or I am encountered by police officers they show no respect, whether I'm in uniform or out of uniform. Once he reached the passenger window and he got to my driver's license, registration, insurance card, and my police ID, at the bottom of the credentials, the atmosphere changed from being abrasive to oh, everything is okay, there's no problem, maybe the radar picked up another car going the opposite direction, when there was no other car going the opposite direction at midnight.

I get stopped every night on my way home from work driving through the suburban towns. He then proceeded to tell my mutual friend, or our mutual friend, that it was a beer bet between Side A and Side B. Side A are groups of officers who are working that night, Side B are officers who are off, so the competition was whoever wrote the most ticket would have to buy the other group beer. So, I was subjected to an 80 mile an hour summons over beer. So how many other people were subjected to that? And once they realize I'm a police officer, then the tone changed from no, everything's okay, hand me my credentials after looking at it five times, and walking away. No other explanation, no apologies, no nothing, which is pretty common with many Caucasian police officers that I've encountered.

Participant 6's reaction is similar, sharing:

It's something that I've experienced for just about 25 years. It doesn't matter what suburban towns you drive through. As long you drive through those suburban towns, you will be profiled, you will be stopped, but your treatment is going to be a negative because an officer can't tell the race of a person just from driving in but once they stop you and they approach you, then of course, they know the race of the person and your treatment is often different from many other citizens. If you're Caucasian, you often get a warning or lesser finer. If you're a minority, it's you're getting whatever summonses you can get. They'll also ask if they could do consensual searches of your vehicle and you often find yourself being treated more abrasively. So, regardless of me or any other officers, we do get treated very differently and when you encounter these officers after their initial stop, they cannot give you an explanation as to why they stopped you in the first place, they simply walk off. It's like you were never stopped and you were never you know, interrogated in such a manner, as if you committed a crime and that's just the constant problems that we face as minority officers. Whether you're on the state level, municipal level, sheriff, corrections, you will never have the same equal respect as a fellow officer.

Participant 8 explained the frequency of racial profiling and one of his experiences:

... has become a norm these days. I know that regular African American citizens get pulled over very often just for driving in the wrong neighborhood. So, the mere fact that I'm a police officer driving through some neighborhoods, I know I'm already conditioned mentally that I will be pulled over or stopped or if I pass an officer, I know that officer is going to start to follow me. Which they often, they often follow me to see where I'm going, or when they do pull me over, the treatment it's pretty much like you're a nobody, even once they identify you as an officer.

Participant 11 also shared multiple experiences:

I've been stopped in uniform, out of uniform, and each incident is different, but all have the same end result or interactions following the initial stop. Often, when you're stopped, they talk down to you and they won't allow you to ask any questions regarding the purpose of the stop. Although you ask the reasons and then when you do give them your credentials, and you still ask them the purpose of this stop, they're still condescending towards you, their negative attitudes towards you. Even once they've figured out or know

you're a police officer, they never apologize for what they have done and they've all just walked away. Walk away with no explanation is pretty much how they do things.

Participant 7 too had experienced racial profiling a number of times by other police officers:

They do not know that I'm a police officer but when they do know that I'm a police officer, they simply walk away from the vehicle without expressing the reasons for the traffic stop. I've been stopped many times in the past traveling through various mixed communities, but I tend to get stopped basically all the time in the suburban communities and when stopped, they make phony pretexts of stop, such as you crossed the double yellow lines or you, you made a turn on red, and they'll have three or four officers that will pull you over. It's how you're treated once you're stopped and nine out of 10 times, you're treated much differently from any other citizen and many citizens have complained to me of being treated very negatively. It's like treated as though you don't belong in the area or based on your ethnicity, you couldn't live in the area because obviously, you can't afford to live in the suburban townships. They usually walk away from me without saying anything more such as how officers communicate with amongst each other you know, "be safe out there, stay alert," or you know, "just be careful," you know, that type of language. You know, like a camaraderie between officers, it doesn't exist with African American officers and especially with me.

Three participants shared not so much the experience but of how the experience of being racially profiled by a fellow police officer made them feel. Participant 18 explained:

It's not a good feeling and I'm pretty sure if they could experience it, if it could be experienced from the other side, you know it would have a different effect. You know they would, they know how to treat people like they want to be treated. Some will put the uniform on and they assume to think that it's just them and even it gives them a superiority over someone else.

Participant 20 was more firm in his responses, stating:

It's disgusting, as a professional, you should know how to treat everyone as equal. It makes it seem like people have certain hidden agendas. That they are able to carry out from their statuses of being a police officer.

Participant 9 supported this perception, stating:

It's a sign of disrespect, a sign that they believe their superior to me, and to many others. It's a sign of abusive power, badge heavy, it's a sign that we're, we're police officers at work in our uniform but outside of work, we're nobody. You're basically nobody or you are a token for the department and you cannot be viewed as anyone significant.

Participant 3 summed up the overall experience, sharing:

They are disrespectful. They act disrespectful, especially once they knew that I was a police officer. I'm asked for all my credentials before I could even get to ask why I'm

being stopped and even after giving them my credentials, it's just the attitude and then they walk around your car with a flask light doing an interior cursory search.

Theme 2: Use of pretexts.

Participant 16 supported this theme, stating:

I believe these officers might have an ulterior motive, you know, through the rank and file. The police officers may not understand why they make the racial profile play out in the car stops.

Participant 1 shared his experience:

They would use pretexts to a traffic stop. In my experience, they stated I crossed the double yellow lines when I know I didn't cross the double yellow lines because the officer is going westbound, I'm traveling eastbound on a two-lane road and I could see him ahead, and I'm sure he sees me. When he realized that I was a police officer, the conversation pretty much ended. No, I'm sorry or no explanation as to why he said the things he said. He just pretty much walked away, which is typical of a lot of police officers who have stopped minorities.

Participant 10 described his experiences:

Many of the officers that have stopped me didn't have a valid reason to stop me other than the made-up reasons that they stop me. And they knew of my ethnicity because our cars past each other in opposite directions. Most of my stops were the result of that, me passing them and we look at, we stare at each other as we pass each other. I look because I want to identify or see who or what they're going to do and I observe them turn around to pull me over and in doing so, they try to say that I did something that I know I didn't do. So, it's a never-ending issue or saga with them, they'll always make that up. They will always make something up until they realize you're a police officer. When they realize you're a police officer, they have no explanation other than they will walk away or they'll ask you how come you didn't identify yourself. You don't have to identify yourself, that you're a police officer when you get stopped. I don't identify myself because I want to know what I'm being stopped for when I know I didn't do anything that would result in a stop because I get stopped often enough of my 15 years on the job. They would create the scene as if you created an issue or an attitude, when you didn't have any attitude, you're just simply asking questions, but it's all being demonstrated for the video and the audio. They set you up or they create the stage for you to act out or respond based on how they speak to you.

Participant 19 mentioned he “was never racially profiled by a police officer who knew or should have known that I was a police officer.” However, he further shared:

Given my experience on training I have no doubt that it was racially profiled stop, I have no doubt that the police officer didn't know that I was a police officer. I have heard of other minority officers being profiled by officers and they knew they were fellow

officers. But I have no firsthand knowledge of those incidences. Had no reason to stop me. At that time, I explained to him that this was a police vehicle and they were confidential plates and there was absolutely no reason to pull somebody over.

Subquestion 1

Subquestion 1: What do African American male police officers perceive to be the cause of racial profiling by police officers?

Subthematic Label 1: What do African American male police officers perceive to be the cause of racial profiling by police officers.

Theme 1: Media.

Participant 10 statements supported this theme when he noted that:

The media portrays Blacks and Latinos in the worst light.

Participant 1 stated:

We know that with minorities, especially African American males and African Americans, that they're going to be likely to be stopped and ticketed or arrested based on how the media perceives us and what's published in the papers all the time.

Participant 2 agreed with Participant 1's response, stating:

The media never view or portray African Americans in a positive light. They're always portrayed as criminals, up to no good, and especially now with a lot of the police involved shootings, the media always searches for the negative in the victim. If that person was arrested, how many times were they arrested, while avoiding the fact that the person who was just shot to death.

Participant 15 explained:

What they see in the media, when they watch movies and how the movies portray African Americans as criminals, so therefore, when they encounter African Americans in their profession, they assume we're burglars, car thieves, car jackers, bank robbers, when really, that's not the case. It's just their perception and they gained that from the media, which contributes a great deal to racial profiling.

Participants 5 and 4 emphasized how media present African Americans negatively.

Participant 5 explained:

The media presents African Americans in the most negative light regardless of some of their achievements, but when they go to an African American neighborhood, they tend to find the worst representative of that neighborhood.

Participant 4 added:

Whether it's through the newspaper, social media, television, movies, they all seem to portray the Black person as the criminal, the unlicensed, suspended, have a warrant; hence, the reason why they tend to do record checks a lot when it comes to African American motorists when stopped. So, the media plays a big role in that.

Participant 6 described that different forms of media portray “minorities in the most negative light, which contribute to continued racial profiling:

It's published in writing, films, your treatment will always be negative, it will never be an equal foot in. That will never change unless the media change their ways. The media always spins it in such a way to sensationalize you know, the treatment of African Americans. It's also bringing attention to the police in the way they treat African Americans, but at the end of the day, we're still portrayed in the most negative light, regardless of what you do.

Participant 7 provided further support to Participant 6's response:

The newspaper, what they read in the newspapers, what they see in television, the media, the news reporting. When it involves African Americans it's very negative. The media always seems to find a negative in the person, such as they'll search for criminal history, have they ever been arrested, have they, you know, used CDS, drugs. When the White officers are stopped or the Caucasians are stopped or there's a police involvement, they may just say police involvement, but they do not go into doing background checks to report on the person's criminal history if they have a criminal history. So, that's the difference. So, the media plays a major role in what goes on and how African Americans are treated even by the general public because the general public their perception also from communications with various citizens of minority decent or African Americans is that they're always treated as criminals and the media always portray them as criminals. They find the worst person to interview to represent the community. So, that's always been an issue my entire career of practically 25 years. The media has always played a major role in how we're perceived.

Participant 9 shared how racial profiling is “sensationalized in the media on print and television,” and believes an ulterior motive exists:

As a means of increasing their ratings for the end of the year, for their awards, and lives are at stake as a result of their recklessness and sensationalizing police brutality and also criminalizing the victims by searching through the information act, public information act. No one speaks about those officers who've been written up so many times with internal affairs for excessive use of force, abuse. No one's speaking of that, the media doesn't talk about it. The media doesn't sensationalize that. Why, because you're going to disrespect the culture, the police culture, and make the police feel inconsequential. However, it is okay to treat the African Americans and minorities as inconsequential citizens of the United States, which is making this United States the divided states of America.

Participant 12 shared that media has contributed to racial profiling “over the past decades from the 80s, 90s,” explaining that it started “with the Rodney King beating in LA”:

It’s also the same media that is sensationalizing racial profiling. They’ve always put a spin on it and when other ethnicities see what the media keeps reporting, they believe that the Black community, African American males are correct the way in which they’re depicted in the various media, whether it’s on print or television, and that contributes to the cause of racial profiling.

Participant 14 pointed to recent events presented in the media as also contributing to the causes of racial profiling:

They depict African Americans, as Hillary Clinton would call, super predators, and when they depict African Americans as super predators or aggressive individuals with criminal intent and you have people who grew up in towns where there are no Blacks, they may often believe that or they act as though that’s how it is when it’s not.

Participant 3 believed “many police officers tend to be a little intimidated by an African American” due to how media portrays African Americans “as super predators.” He further explains:

We’re not, we’re just pretty much annoyed at how we’re treated, so because of how we’re treated, we may be more vocal about what’s going on, the purpose of their stop. We may show a little attitude through body language because of the repetitive negative treatment of African Americans.

Participant 11 stated:

They always emphasize or paid too much attention to the ethnicity even though they don’t mention their name, the type of ethnicity, the characters of the persons, the individuals they show over and over.

Theme 2: Personal beliefs and experiences.

As Participant 16 shared:

It could just be bias. Some police officers just have a negative image of minorities. Sometimes it might just have to do with hatred.

Participant 2 offered more explanation:

. . . the environment in which they grew up from middle school to high school, college. Many of them and speaking from what I have seen in my own department, went to school with very few minorities, very few or hardly any Blacks. So, their interactions with African Americans, it’s very limited throughout high school and college and on the job. On the job as a police officer, they don’t know how to interact with African Americans and they learn from the senior officers that this is what you do, these are the areas you go and patrol, and when you encounter these people, this is how they’re treated there.

Participant 7 stated a similar perception, that racial profiling occurred due to: Ignorance, not being informed, cultural intolerance, unaware of how to interact with a minority.

Participant 6 shared a similar belief:

Their environment growing up, the officer's environment growing up, such as where they went to school, where they went to college, where they live. Often these officers live in communities where there are no minority officers. Often these officers went to school where there are very few African American citizens. Often these officers socialize and hang out in areas where there very few or no minorities and what minorities they do know, the interaction is very limited and that's just how it's been, it's just very limited.

Participant 4 shared of how one's temperament of personality, of which may be formed from experiences, to be a cause, stating:

Some tend to be very timid because during high school and their college years, from what I've observed, they never really interacted socially with African Americans. Once they acquired their police profession, they really don't know how to interact with African Americans, and that results in them being a little timid and ill-informed.

Participant 11 further shared:

Many of the officers who join the force are from suburban towns, the White officers, the majority are from suburban towns where they had zero to little interactions with minorities. So now, they're employed by a police department in the suburbs where they still have little interactions with minorities or see very little.

Theme 3: Views of society:

Participant 10 noted:

The criminal justice system who are more heavy handed in punishing the minorities and especially African Americans.

Participant 16 related that "the war on drugs motive is to restrict voter registration." He further added:

At about nine other states, most of southern states, it's against the law for a convicted criminal to vote and there's no reason why, in my opinion, who served their time should be restricted from voting, which is their constitutional right.

Three participants referred to the police department culture. As Participant 2 shared:

You know of public opinion that's going to go against the African American and not what the officer did, or may have been wrong, or may have been a violation. That's what's causing a continuant racial profiling because a lot of people come on the job or current people who are on the job, they feel it's okay to treat people this way.

Participant 1 stated:

It's an easy target or as I've heard the Caucasian officers put it, it's like fishing in a bucket; meaning, if you go to certain areas of town where they know Caucasians travel through who are likely to have issues with their driver's license or their vehicles, they're likely to get pulled over, which leads to one of the main causes of racial profiling. What causes racial profiling is how society views minorities, especially, African American males and African Americans. Society views us as harden criminals, lazy, we're all about trying to get over, beat the system, when in fact that's not the case. There are Caucasians who act the same as minorities, yet when they're stopped they don't get the same treatment.

Participant 19 supported Participant 1's thoughts:

The Caucasian community doesn't care. They just want to keep their community safe. Now if their children were to be pulled over and profiled, then at that time, it affects them directly and start to wonder, what's going on out there and they just look beyond it.

Theme 4: Stereotyping:

Participant 19 supported this theme by simply stating "physical stereotyping."

Participant 5 referred to media footage providing society with stereotypes, showing "negative treatment because we're typified as criminals, you know underachievers."

Participant 18 further explained:

Stereotypes is a stigma that Blacks have or minorities have, as far as you know, doing something that's not right, illegal. They're passing judgment without even knowing anything about the individual based on their color.

Participant 20 shared the multiple ways in which African Americans may be stereotyped:

It can be a number of things. If you are driving a very nice car, could be a factor in itself. Also, it could be a factor if you are driving any ordinary vehicle or in certain communities at a certain time. That is a big situation that occurs.

Participant 8 explains how stereotypes stem from issues that occurred years ago, such as "the war on drugs." He further explains:

Back in the late 80s where the DEA formed a racial profiling pattern or profile based on their studies and based on the arrests that they made of drug couriers transporting drugs from Miami to the northern states. Those couriers when stopped, the majority have all been African American males riding with a Latino male, which was used by the federal government. But municipal government and state government adopted that profile and then they started profiling African Americans. When they see a car with African American males, they immediately think, oh well, they must be drug trafficking and

because people are complaining about being stopped so often and that they're racially, being racially profiled. They then turned it to the war on crime.

Two participants believed stereotyping others occurred intrinsically. Participant 15 shared:

It's the officer himself and how he perceives African Americans. Many of these Caucasian officers perceive African Americans as a threat, so how they perceive us as a threat.

Participant 17 explained:

I feel it's a subconscious thing that they don't even realize that could've been racially or bias finishing the stop or the incident or whatever it is because it or maybe I think they are just so programmed, you know a minority in place that they feel they shouldn't be, deserves to be in some short or some shape or form looked into or looked into or investigated. It's so embedded in their minds that a minority driving in say the wrong part of town, driving a nice vehicle here.

Participant 20:

Although Participant 20 did not provide a detailed response to the cause of racial profiling, when asked if an officer's ethnicity, stereotyping one by their ethnicity, may make one prone to be more pulled over by another officer, Participant 20 responded "yes."

Theme 5. Culture of the police department and law enforcement:

The three subthemes are as follows: training, hiring practices, and management of agencies.

Subtheme 1: Training:

Participant 13 supported this subtheme, pointing to inadequate training.

Participant 14 specified "poor training of these officers," contributed to the culture in causing racial profiling.

Participant 12:

Specified that a "lack of training, lack of respect for others, lack of poor screening by administration, and lack of enforcement" existed within the department. He shared, "if the federal government, local government and law makers don't enforce violators but instead praise violators or more concerned about the officer's career, that all contributes to racial profiling."

Participant 10 provided further explanation:

The training, it's the same training that it's been for 30 years, 40 years, nothing has changed. Nothing has been rewritten to reflect the needs of today's policing and today's

society. In the changing society; you do have unconscious bias or some officers who I've seen who have racial intolerance for minorities and for females. So where, how is that a good evaluation when you're passing people who shouldn't be officers cause they're using old standards, 40, 50 years ago, to evaluate officers for today's environment. Lack of cultural diversity training leads to implicit racism leads to covert racial profiling.

Subtheme 2: Hiring practices:

Participant 11 pointed to poor hiring practices.

Participant 13 specifically noted within the hiring practices is the poor psychological evaluations prior to getting hired.

Participant 12:

Provided more details, sharing poor police screening or pre-hiring screening, which involves the physical screening, psychological screening, all those elements affects and causes racial profiling if people are not screened properly and weeded out of the employment process.

Participant 14 agreed with poor screening and pre-screening for employment:

Some of the screening process is antiquated and often some of the future employees or some of the employees that were screened or they knew the people doing the screening so they're friends. So, it was like an automatic pass, they all went to the same school, lived in the same town, parents know each other. The psychological screening is also out dated.

Subtheme 3: Management of agencies:

Participant 14 pointed to poor management in all the police agencies from the federal level to the municipal level.

Participant 15 further described the organizational culture, the police culture:

This is what they practice throughout all the 50 states. No matter what state you go to, it's the same result, the same treatment towards African Americans where it's almost like we're viewed as these wild animals roaming society, and when you have people thinking that way, and acting that way, and treating us that way.

Participant 13 agreed with this statement, sharing that the subculture within the police department, it makes it socially acceptable within the department to do what they do to African Americans.

Participant 9 further explained:

Racial bias, long history of racial biases, subculture in the department. They fuel racial profiling. Policies causes racial profiling, major policies from you know the state police. State police because they were investigated for racial profiling back in the 1990, 1999

matter of fact. They had a consent decree where for every traffic stops or any incident they had to identify the race of the party on their summons, but many department heads and also municipal departments, who were subjected on the consent decree thought it was stripping officer of their powers.

Participant 19 thought similarly, sharing:

Police tend to look the other way even if they are fully aware of what is going on. Even though they harbor the same belief and have been engaged in similar practices throughout their careers. There is also a thin blue line mentality that if management is not with them, then management is against them. That belief is hard to lead any police department. Also, society looks the other way cause of trust they have in police officers. People know what's going on, but give police officers the benefit of the doubt most of the time. If it's clearly proven that a police acted inappropriately, its usually viewed as one unfortunate incident. The police unions, they are part of it, they are police officers too. They acquiesce the situation like that or they are part of situations directly. So, it's just they are the union, you have to remember why the union is there, they are there to protect police officers, that's part of their function.

Participant 16 believed motives existed within the department can lead to racial profiling, sharing:

There might have an ulterior motive you know through the rank and file. The police officers may not understand why they make the racial profile plays out in the car stops. I suspect part of the reason is economic. I think minority stops are part of the purpose of generating money in the treasury. There are some cities, at least one that I know of or heard about where the city controller and the police chief conspired together to increase the revenue of their city to do car stops, arresting minority people. The agreement was to increase the revenue by 10%. I think the revenue the previous year was 2 million dollars.

Participant 11 shared:

What he learned from his training officer and what he also learned from the police culture when it comes to dealing with African Americans and minorities. I believe how the police culture is and if you are working with or assigned to someone as your mentor and your mentor has zero tolerance for African Americans and minorities, you tend to adopt some of their traits.

Theme 6: Racially profiled by Caucasian officers:

Two participants, Participant 16 and 17, both shared that “White females” were among those who racially profiling them.

Participant 1 stated:

Unfortunately, they've all been White. That's just how it's been because I travel through White towns or suburban communities, where predominant residents are Caucasian. When traveling through a mixed community, meaning, various ethnicities tend not to

have a problem. But, when I do travel through suburban towns, when majority of the community composes of Caucasian citizens, I always seem to get pulled over.

Participant 10 stated:

Over my 15 years, have all been Caucasian, Caucasian male and funny that all the stops have all been in suburban communities. In the urban communities, I rarely see a police car because they're too busy responding to serious issues.

Participant 12 stated:

The race of the officer that racially profiled me was a White male, mid, I'd say they've been between maybe 25 years old to about 40, 50 years old and it's their way, and you don't question anything. But they've all been White males.

Participant 13 stated:

White males and they're middle age between 25 and 35, thereabouts.

Participant 14 stated:

Race of those two officers and many more were the typical White male, the race, yeah, they're typical White males. The first stop that male was probably about his late 40s and the second officer probably mid to early 30s.

Participant 3 stated:

All been White. When stopped by a nonWhite, which I would equate that to an African American or any other race and even females, they're very respectful regardless if they knew I was a police officer or not know I was a police officer.

Participant 4 stated:

Were two White male police officers and they had no care in the world because even after I told them I just left the police station and that I work there, it didn't matter to them. They wanted their registration and all that good stuff, which I gave them and they looked it over, looked at my ID about four or five times, handed it back to me, and walked off.

Participant 5 stated:

The race of the police officer that pulled me over was Caucasian. All the encounters of motor vehicle stops by police officers and the negative treatment were Caucasian male officers. Some at times, they've been five officers pulling me over, and at the end of the whole ordeal, after looking at my credentials, they just drive off and some will follow me, you know until I get to the next highway and others have called my job to say I gave them lip just for merely asking what happen?

Participant 6 stated:

The officers involved in these abrasive stops, traffic stops were White and the officers involved in other traffic stops where the troopers, corrections officers, sheriff officers have complained about how they're treated, they too were White.

Participant 7 stated:

I've had the African American officer stop me but there's never, the treatment that I get, it's never like that. The treatment is more camaraderie, you know, speak to you like a brother officer. The White officers that have stopped me, it doesn't exist, such communication does not exist.

Participant 8 stated:

It's always been Caucasian, never, I never have an issue with a nonCaucasian officer. NonCaucasian officers tend to treat you with a little more respect and dignity and talk to you like a fellow officer, a brother officer.

Participant 9 stated:

I can't even count. It's that many negative traffic stops were White, White police officers, actually they're all White male police officers. I've never been stopped by a female police officer since I've been on the job for about home many years, 23 years. I've never been stopped by one female officer, all White male officers.

Subquestion 2

Subquestion 2: What do African American male police officers perceive to be the effects of racial profiling within their workplace?

Subthematic Label 2: What do African American male police officers perceive to be the effects of racial profiling within their workplace.

Theme 1: Racial profiling is acceptable, although implicit, within the workplace.

Participant 9 supported this theme, stating:

They don't acknowledge that term. They say it doesn't exist, they don't practice racial profiling. My department portrays themselves as being exceptional, they don't violate people's rights, yet superiors fail to speak to members of the African American community and Latino community because had they spoken to those members of the community, they will then understand that racial profiling do exist and continues and officers when they are alone or on the street, enforcing the law, they are violating people's rights. As an officer in the department, when I do speak about it, it falls on deaf ears. You can make recommendations about what's going on and they will take the political correctness approach and agree with you and say they're going to do something, but they never do anything. It's all talk.

Participant 11 explained:

It's acceptable because that's what everyone does and as long as it's acceptable, you're not punished or you're [not] looked upon as doing anything illegal or immoral or violating anyone's right because that's just the culture. If the culture accepts racial profiling, then it will continue within the work place."

Participant 1 similarly shared:

The majority of my fellow officers are Caucasian and how they go about business, it's as though they target, or where they do their patrolling pretty much affects the minorities, and pretty much everyone in my department does that because it's an easy stop, it's an easy traffic stop. Racial profiling, in my perception, is acceptable within the department and administrators who were once regular police officers, line officers themselves, they also did the same thing, which is why when we speak against their practice they will tell us it's not discriminatory what's being done.

Participant 12 similarly shared:

It's supported through practice by senior officers, which the new recruits or new officers or the younger officers adopt and when it becomes a norm within the work place, that's when we know we have an issue with racial profiling. The effects of the racial profiling in the work place is that it encourages new recruits to continue the practice because of the culture, the police culture, and with the blue wall of silence, no one's going to question officer's approach or try to enforce written policies and often written policies are so out dated, such as my, the policies in my department. Once you have outdated policies, officers who believe in profiling because they're from the old school of policing and then you also have the psychological issues with some officers who feel as though they must belittle or reduce a citizen, you know just for personal gains or gains between other officers who often make bets about, you know, how many arrests they can make, how many DWI arrests, how many tickets they could write, and once you establish that, you then create the climate for racial profiling.

Participant 6 also confirmed the culture and acceptance of racial profiling among officers:

It is socially acceptable in the work place, culturally acceptable, and if you speak against it, you're often told it's good police work, there's nothing wrong with it. If you say it's discriminatory, they will tell you it's not discriminatory. I've had a superior officer told me that if officers heavily patrol certain highways and roadways in the town, especially those roadways that the minorities usually use to get to, get back home from work from the suburban towns, and especially when you put a quota on how many stops, motor vehicle stops you want to have within every hour. You have to have three, at least three motor vehicle stops on highway or roadway or in the development which these minorities live and certain amount of consent to searches on those certain highways and community developments where these minority lives. In my opinion, that's discriminatory, and you're mainly targeting certain ethnicities. If it's not discriminatory, then it's socially acceptable what they're doing, and when you speak of this social relationship and how

the police treat the minorities and their discriminatory practices, you often, if you don't get it's not discriminatory, you do not get a response at all, change the wrongs that they've created or that they've done, but I could at least try. When I do stop minorities, I do explain to them how to go about getting their stuff corrected, whether it's their vehicle, their credentials. I try to educate them on what they need to do because if they don't do it they're going to have a problem and they will always have a problem.

Participant 15 perceived the subculture as motivation, stating:

It almost seems as if it motivates officers, Caucasian officers, to continue on with the negative treatment of African Americans. They're so motivated by what they learn from other officers, senior officers. They learn a lot of this from senior officers and the culture just breeds racial profiling and as far as the effects of it on the job, like I said, it motivates the other officers, the new officers who then become senior officers and the way it goes there it makes you think twice about how you handle people on the street because you know how they're being handled by your fellow police officers on the roadway. So, you become a little more conscious of what's going on and how to remedy the bad.

Participant 10 stated:

I'm seeing a pattern of young police officers who've only been on less than a year or some who have just made a year and their method of policing is pretty much targeting the minorities, whether you're Black or Latino, and that seems to be the pattern in certain areas of town. Certain areas of town every night or within a 30-day period, you're going to have, out of a 30-day period 90 plus percent of the arrestees are African American males and a few females, two or three Caucasians, Asian, and Indian, but the bulk of the arrests are African American males in a town that's predominantly Caucasian.

Participant 7 further supported how senior police officers influences newer or younger officers, describing:

...to encourage others to carry out implicit acts of racial profiling, discrimination, and some are pretty much covert in how they carry out racial profiling and discrimination. Many of the new officers after a short period of time, I'd say within a year and a half, 2 years of being employed, I could see they've developed the same pattern of profiling and profiling, meaning, how they treat the citizens during the traffic stop versus how they treat other citizens who are nonWhite in their traffic stops. The Caucasians are treated a whole lot differently. So, there's always a vast difference between the two and that may not change because it's a cultural event. It's been like that since I'd say over 15, 16 years. It appears to be a norm in this police department. So, the effects, it's always been for them, I guess you could say, it's positive. For African Americans, it's negative, and that changes the way we look and view and interact with them or with fellow police officers who are Caucasian and other ethnicities.

Participant 8 stated:

It really doesn't affect my work place because it's has become a norm to racially profile African Americans and other minorities. It's almost standard practice. When you patrol certain zones, in a sense you are racially profiling.

Subtheme 1: Racial profiling creates division and discrimination within the workplace:**Participant 13 explains the division by stating:**

Two groups, the minorities and African Americans and the Caucasian, Asian and female officers. The African American officers is aware of what's happening and they do not agree with what is happening and the Caucasian officers they will not or never comment on issues concerning racial profiling, instead they remain neutral or they don't speak about it or comment about it.

Participant 14 further described racial profiling within the department:

If we do speak out about it, we're the small percentage in the department, there's probably combined between Blacks and Latinos, maybe about 10 altogether. When you're up against another 80 police officers, so you're already outnumbered, and if you even say that racial profiling exists or is happening, those 80 people will easily say it's not happening and that it doesn't exist. So, we look at it as business as usual, it's a part of the culture, it's part of the subculture in this department and in many of the surrounding suburban departments. It's just what it is, it's a culture, it's a subculture, and to break the subculture is going to be very difficult.

Participant 2 shared a similar perception, stating:

It's out there with the very few African American police officers that we do have, we do see it, it's implicit. They never speak directly out in role call or in anywhere else regarding what they are doing to people but their actions speak as to what they're doing to African Americans and other minority groups. The way they speak about it, it's almost like it's culturally accepted within the department and many other departments, neighboring departments, and they see nothing wrong with it. It's basically culturally accepted within the work place for people to go out and do that and if you didn't do that, you're not doing any work and until administration changes policies or training, which they've introduced many training before but they seem to do nothing because it is a culturally accepted thing, it's a subculture, this is how they're treated in the township.

Participant 16 described the division and discrimination within the department to extend out in the community, explaining:

[It is] more a racial discrimination in a way than profile on the police department. I noticed on the police department that the Black officers were assigned to Black neighborhoods and usually they would pair together two Black officers who work together, very seldom you would see a White and Black officer working together, it did happen on occasion. Also in the Black community, the White officers were assigned to

patrol that community, very seldom did you see a Black officer assigned to the White community. Well those are some of the signs of discrimination and I think discrimination is biggest on race. Officers [are] usually assigned to make up of the community. The Black officers patrol the Black neighborhoods, minority neighborhoods, Hispanic neighborhoods, and usually the White officers end up in White neighborhoods, I saw that. And also, they usually pair it up according to your race, two Black officers if they have a two-man unit who work together and you usually get paired up with two Black officers.

Two participants shared how division and discrimination exist in many police departments. Participant 3 stated:

The culture that is widespread in many other departments throughout New Jersey and throughout the country, you know it's just the general practice, you know the minorities, the African Americans, Latinos, in their view, it's more likely to have issues with their credentials.

Participant 17 stated:

You don't have the same confidence that a Caucasian, nonminority officer may feel with their actions, with their responsibilities, due to the feelings of discrimination.

Subtheme 2: Racial profiling creates a hostile environment within the workplace:

Participant 18 shared:

One doesn't trust the other. Where you know, I see what's going on. One side denies it, but it's evident what's happening. So, you know, we'll be more angry towards someone because of that, you know, so it's like we know how we're being looked at, we know how we're being treated, so you know that's not acceptable. So, there's a little anger, a little hostile in you there, a little resentment.

Participant 19 supported this theme, explaining:

The minority officer always brings negative feelings. Minorities find it hard to trust even minority officers unless they know them well enough to do so. The reality of this makes for a hostile working environment rather than a pleasant one to work in.

Participant 5 agreed that relationships within the department is "pretty strained." He further stated:

There's a distrust for the African American police officers because we know on many accounts how they've lied, how they've went above and beyond to incarcerate or inflict financial damage to African American motorists, from the simple car searches and searching a person's car using tape to gather remnants of marijuana in the carpeting. Based on the totality of what we know that occurs on the street and in the residential areas, dealing with minorities, our relationship at work or how it has affected us in the work place, it's pretty negative, it's a negative effect, there's nothing positive and there will never be nothing positive.

Participant 4 related:

It's negative on the African American law enforcement officers because we all see what happens. That seems to be the culture within my police department, where that's just the norm, it's a part of a subculture and it's not going to change until officers decide they want to change or until laws change that holds officers accountable. It affects how we look at each other, how we feel about each other because as a minority officer, African American male officer knowing that they're doing these things to the Black motorists, it tends to drag you down mentally. Mentally, you just, you become exhausted and just give up and you know you seek ways to remediate the problem or speak to someone about the problem, but when you do speak to someone about the problem within the work place and how they treat the African American community and officers who are stopped by fellow officers, it always seems to fall on deaf ears.

Participant 20 mentioned:

I have seen people that have less qualification that were given specialized units, and basically the department moves out the person that has the expertise who should be moved into that department but the department would rather take the hit and put somebody else in there or their own race in order to not be showed up. You feel like you are being second guess and you often second yourself in certain decisions you know are right. And sometimes when they have departmental functions you don't really want to be there. Because otherwise you are alienated, you are made more as an outsider then as a department itself. So as for officers of color, they won't participate in these kinds of events because they feel they are being watched under a microscope or scrutinized for even how much food they are eating, or if there is beer, how much are they drinking. So, it's at a point where you don't get involved.

Theme 2: Racial profiling can affect police officers' work ethic and job satisfaction.

Participant responses are categorized by several subthemes.

Subtheme 1: Being racially profiled has motivated police officers to work harder to be fair and empathetic to other minorities:**Participant 10 shared:**

As far as my work ethics, I still work as hard as I did back when I started back in the 90s. I still continue to work hard now because of the racial profiling that I'm aware of. I now try to be a better officer and to explain things to some of the new people about having empathy, about their manner of patrolling, and about giving curbside adjustments.

Participant 14 described his work ethic similarly:

I still work as diligent as possible knowing what's really happening. I don't internalize what's happening, so it really doesn't impact my work ethics. I still work hard as ever. It makes me work probably a little harder and be more you know, empathetic towards the citizens and especially African Americans and Latinos. You start to develop a particular care for them, almost as if you are their guardian because I know and they know no one

gives them any breaks and when I do give them breaks, they're in shock and awe that I gave them a break.

Participant 2 mentioned the same feelings, sharing:

[It] didn't affect my work ethics. In fact, I think it increased the way I work, my productivity, and it also made me more aware of the plight that some people face. You become, what's the term, if to have empathy, you become more empathetic towards the motorists, especially African Americans and Latinos because I know how they're treated and I know how it impacts their life.

Participant 15 perceived his experience of being racially profiled as affected him "more of a positive way," sharing:

I go out and I try to do better and look out for those that have been violated by my fellow officers and other officers in surrounding towns. So, it makes me as an officer, better officer in trying to do the right thing by my citizens, treat them with dignity, you know, treat them with equality as afforded to them under the 14th Amendment.

Participant 18 described his work ethic similarly based on his experiences of racial profiling:

[It] made me more determined to show them I am equal to them, if not better, because I didn't allow it to discourage me from doing my job. I was probably more, had more of a mindset to be better at it. You know, to show them that I was an equal or better. I didn't let it discourage me or become a negative form. I used it as a positive to prove them wrong.

Three participants stated their work ethics have become stronger. Participant 20 shared:

I feel you work harder. A lot of times you do feel you have to work even harder.

Participant 8 mentioned:

As far as my work ethics, I've always been a hard worker and it has affected me in a positive way because I'm more tolerant of all races regardless of a person's ethnicity because I know what's happening to African Americans and Latinos. I tend to be more fair with all races regardless of their ethnicity because I know what it feels like to be targeted. So, what I try to do at my work place is treat everyone fairly with respect and dignity and in doing so it gives me a positive feeling.

Participant 7 stated:

It made me a better person and it made other minority officers a better person as far as being more forgiving with all citizens regardless of their race because we know what the minorities go through.

Participant 11 also mentioned his work ethics were affected "in a positive way. He further shared:

You try to be better, a better representative of the police department as opposed to a person that is always doing something that's harming the relations between the police and the civilians and that's a part of your and my work ethics, is to strive to do better by the department and the citizens.

Participant 9 felt similarly:

For me personally, it's made me more empathetic towards everyone, but more so towards African Americans and Latinos because I know of their suffering. I can imagine what they're going through, you know, the fear and hesitation when they see a police officer. The conversations they have with me about why do the White officers do this and why, how come the Black officers don't do that?

Subtheme 2: Racial profiling has affected work ethics to some degree:

Participant 3 discussed taking the emotion out of his job:

I come to work, I do get my job done, but also I had start to develop a low tolerance for the games that people play and especially when the Caucasians talk down to me as the officer investigating issues with their credentials, issues with their transportation that they're operating, some of which being suspended, some their registration is expired, and the attitude that comes with it as though I should just leave them alone or let them drive home, it has affected my work ethics in a sense that I have zero tolerance. I do everything by the book and by doing so, I do get written up by the citizens and internal affairs complaints, but at the same time, I know I go home feeling I've done the right thing because I didn't allow certain groups to be treated with a lot of discretion. I basically just erase discretion with all races to avoid any issues.

Participant 17 explained a slightly different effect on his work ethic:

My feelings towards my career or that you get what you put into it, it's your hard work and responsible productive employee, then you can return, you should see the fruits of your labor, you should be recognized for it in some shape or form, be a promotion, a transfer, you know whatever it may be. When minorities versus nonminorities are treated differently or as a nonminority, may not be as productive or responsible and as such, yeah, I can't think of that terminology, but it tends to bring you down.

Subtheme 3. Police officers' work ethics have not been affected by racial profiling:

Participant 12 felt similarly, stating:

I'm very satisfied with the work that I put forth each day I go to work. I try to treat others with some type of dignity, you know, that's my way of maintaining my work ethics.

Participant 13 stated:

If anything, my work ethics remain the same. As far as getting the job done correctly without insulting a certain race, remains the same.

Participant 5 also mentioned his “work ethics [are] still the same,” sharing:

At times, you feel like giving up, but nevertheless, it makes you a stronger person knowing that racial profiling do exist within my work place. It makes you try to correct the wrong even though it’s an uphill battle, but you still try, you still fight, you try to be fair to all ethnicities. So, I think racial profiling has positively impacted my work ethics because of what I know, so I try to do better.

Participant 19 also stated:

Being racially profiled didn’t affect my work ethics. I strive to be the best I can be.

Three participants maintained their work ethics, but noted that going above and beyond to be a better police officer is not necessary. Participant 17 shared:

Let me just do the minimum like everybody else is doing here, that’s why I’m not, I’m not, you know, spotlights going on me. I’m not being ridiculed or overly, you know, overly exposed or examined for my actions, for my decisions.

Participant 4 stated:

No equality there . . . it will never deter my work ethics and how I work.

Participant 12 mentioned that his work ethic “hasn’t really [been] affected;” however, his job satisfaction has been affected.**Subtheme 4: Job satisfaction has decreased considerably as a result of being racially profiled:****Participant 5 supported this theme, stating:**

I’m not satisfied with the job and I don’t know if I’ll ever be satisfied with the job knowing the impact of racial profiling on the African American communities. So as far as job satisfaction, I’m dissatisfied based on those issues.

Participant 1 supported this theme sharing:

My job satisfaction has diminished over the years or since working for a suburban township. Working in an urban township, the effects were different, but working in a suburban town, I’m not comfortable with the job. I’ve grown to dislike the job because of what the job stands for. I do, however, come to work and I give 110%; however, I feel or harbor a lot of resentment based on how I know minorities are treated and especially African Americans.

Participant 3 described having “no job satisfaction,” adding:

It’s more, “How much longer do I have to work before I can leave this job?” There is no job satisfaction based on how my ethnicity is treated, based on how I’m treated in uniform, and out of uniform by fellow officers and by citizens.

Participant 13 described:

There are times I do feel like resigning because of the issues, dealing with Black and White issues and not being able to speak to anyone about the issues that can correct the problems. When you try to speak to management or supervisors regarding the issues, they twist it to make it seem as though you are too sympathetic to the minorities and you allow, you'll allow the minorities to get away with crime, when in fact you're not. It has affected my job satisfaction, meaning, I'm not quite satisfied with the job. I often wish I was working elsewhere. I often wish I could resign, but then you have to deal with the percentage of your benefits and then your work ethics. I would try to do things the right way hoping to encourage others to follow but they really don't follow, they just continue to do things business as usual.

Participant 14 shared:

It's been about 14 years and my job satisfaction pretty much is the same. I do get discouraged at times. I wanted to quit and in fact I have attempted to leave my department because of their practices. I've sought employment elsewhere but I decided to stay and stick it out because of the economic environment throughout the country at the time.

Participant 12 discussed making efforts to not let racial profiling affect his job satisfaction:

I'm starting to hate the job and wish I had a different career or I had chosen a different career. You become tired of the same routine, the same culture, and you feel like your hands are tied. You can't say anything because of the blue wall of silence and with the blue wall of silence, God forbid you speak out against, you know, what's occurring, what certain officers might be doing, that's violating other people's rights. You become the victim of hostile work environment and there's nothing you can do about it.

Participant 4 described feeling a "major strain" at work, which affected how satisfied he feels in his role as police officer:

I'm losing job satisfaction, meaning, that I can't wait until this is all over. I can't wait until I retire because what I do and my work ethics, it will never be good enough for my department and no matter how fair you try to be, you will never be an equal thing.

Participant 8 explained that he is "discouraged to a degree," to the point of wishing he "had sought employment elsewhere" due to the prevalence of racial profiling:

Because of the way things are going in society, the way my fellow officers that I work treat minorities, I think I'm in the wrong profession, and wish I had been in another profession. And I've thought of even being in the fire department, but they too have racial tensions within the fire department, and so it's no matter what you do, where you go, racial profiling or racial intolerance, regardless of your profession, will always be there.

Participant 20 explained that “sometimes there is a point of dissatisfaction.” He explained further:

You feel that a lot of times your own police agency is overlooking you for things that should be rightfully yours. You feel that, could put a bad taste in your mouth, and you become disgruntle. Working in an urban town, you felt that your job was quite satisfying because you knew what you were doing out there and you got even more satisfaction of being given the credit and what you were doing by your peers an superiors, but when it comes to a suburban town that changes, now it’s like the other way around, you feel less satisfied, you come to a different place like everyone else wanting to make a lot of money. And you know, have a lot of improvements but in one way, you are less satisfied, you are more disgruntled. You feel the chances for the opportunity for you are not there.

Participant 6 stated he too is “dissatisfied” to a point. He added:

We do not get the same treatment and I don’t think that’ll ever change. I come to work, I get the job done, but I’m not enthused anymore as I was may be 18 years ago. You know, I work in a suburban town. So, after a while, it wears on you when you see the negative treatment constantly, constant complaints of negative treatment. After a while, you don’t know what else to do but to go out there and try to make a change, make a difference.

Participant 15 also felt less satisfied with his job, emphasizing:

As a whole, but . . . on a personal level, but on a level amongst my fellow officers, it’s, I’ve developed a great deal of resentment towards my fellow officers, towards the profession.

Subtheme 5: Job satisfaction has not been affected or only slightly affected as a result of being racially profiled:

Two participants described feeling satisfied with their job; however, when in the workplace, that satisfaction changes. Participant 2 explained:

I go home satisfied with what I’ve done; however, I’m dissatisfied with the way the culture is going or how the culture is turning towards African Americans or larger because of the stuff that they hear and see in the media. So as far as with my satisfaction with the job, personal satisfaction, I’m okay with, but overall satisfaction, I resent the job. Wish I could do something else or wish I had went into another field because if there’s no justification or justice for the citizens, there sure as hell no justice for me as an officer. I just wear the same uniform.

Participant 16 described changes to his job satisfaction over the years due to the presence of racial profiling:

Job satisfaction was pretty good, I was satisfied with my job. Now racially profiling, I would say, had a part in promotion when it came to being promoted. I came on the department in 1972. The department was primarily White, the police chief, ranking officers, were all White back in 72. Now when the minorities starting coming on the police department, it was difficult to get a promotion because you had to have 15 years

seniority to get points to get the test. So actually, it took 15 years for the minorities on the police department to catch up with these points, you know, to even get a promotion. So, that's a form of discrimination and you know a lot of it was based on race, built in systematic system of discrimination. Just to base a promotion or to get points because of seniority and you have to have at least 15 years to get those points. That's almost half your career before you can catch up to get a promotion, but that's the way the system works.

When asked how this system of promotions affected his satisfaction of being a police officers, Participant 16 stated:

All minorities, they couldn't make rank for a lot of years until they got to the point.

Subtheme 6: Police officers are still satisfied with their job as a police officer despite being racially profiled:

Participant 11 explained:

There's a job satisfaction because you go home feeling you've achieved something, you know, by treating others in a fair manner.

Participant 10 shared a similar feeling, stating:

I feel like I have contributed something positive that will help decrease or help the minorities feel a little relief of pressure.

Participant 9 described this same perception:

[Being empathetic], I mean, that gives me some job satisfaction because they believe that myself and my fellow African American officers are doing a better job at making people feel like they belong somewhere and making them feel like they belong where their money can afford them to lives. Just knowing we're making a difference in the minorities lives gives me great job satisfaction.

Participant 7 shared:

I take my job seriously and I try to do things in a positive way. That way it will reflect on or encourage others or the new officers to pretty much follow my footsteps because if I treat people with respect and dignity, regardless of their ethnicity, then they too will probably see that we should treat everyone with respect and dignity.

Theme 3: Racial profiling can affect police officer's morale and personal feelings of worth.

Participant responses are categorized in three subthemes.

Subtheme 1: Morale is very low due to experiences of being racially profiled:

Participant 19 described:

I must admit, a lot of times my morale was low, but I was able to depend on my fellow minority officers to give me a needed boost. I was a member of an organization with minority officers who were experiencing or had similar experiences in the past, they were able to relate to my situation. We spoke about each situation when it came up and steps that may be taken by others to help make them stay strong in that environment. It was a very good support group. I needed that group to survive.

Other police officers did not refer to seeking any support when experiencing low morale, only how they experience it. Participant 8 stated:

My morale, it's at an all-time low. I feel like I don't belong here. I've been feeling this way for the past 20 years.

Participant 1 shared:

My morale has bottomed out. I don't think it will ever rebound because I know things will never change.

Participant 3 also stated:

[My] morale is at an all-time low. It's almost like it's nonexistent and it's painful coming to work. It's like mental torture because I know I'm not equal and I see daily when I come to work how the treatment towards minorities are so different.

Others shared of how their morale has been affected. Participant 7 shared:

It's like a letdown. You feel as though your race is targeted for just being African American.

Participant 9 stated:

Morale right now is very low and it's low because of the many years of abuse that I witnessed, that's been done upon minorities, African Americans, Latinos. Those two racial groups tend to be overly policed.

Participant 15 mentioned:

Being racially profiled in the workplace has dragged down my morale. It's like you develop a feeling of hopelessness, like you know you're just a robot.

Participant 4 described the effort to keep up his morale:

It becomes laborious. It's like a drag just to wake up to come to work because of the history of the treatment, history of the treatment towards African Americans, other law enforcement officers who have complained about the negative treatment when stopped by other officers. So right there it's like a drag mentally or psychologically on you because of this constant treatment. It becomes a drag after a while and it becomes depressing and it affects your mind to some degree. Psychologically, you know, you try to tolerate the negative, but you still have to perform.

Participant 2 described his morale similarly, stating:

You tend to feel hopeless like there is no way out. You cannot change how things are going, you cannot influence change. You just become so despondent, like you're just here, just to be here knowing that you're not welcomed here. You know, you're never an equal.

Participant 6 discussed trying "to stay positive;" however, he finds it a challenge:

It's becoming harder and harder every year. It's hard to be or to sustain that positive thinking when every day you see the negative acts towards the minorities and especially African American males or African Americans and minorities, such as Latinos as well. It's an everyday thing. It's become the norm in the department. It's almost like a subculture or a culture within the department.

Participant 7 shared:

It is very hard going to work and dealing with the negative issues that we're always faced with. It effects your personal, your thoughts about your personal worth in the department you swore to serve and protect because if you can come to work and you see all this stuff that's happening around you and there's no valid explanation for half of what's happening to the minority citizens, and you also consider how you're treated when you're stopped, as well as how you're treated by fellow officers.

Participant 13 explained:

Morale is down simply because of how officers conduct their business with the citizens and minority citizens, and when you hear the minority citizens complaining daily of negative treatment, and when you speak to people who are in charge, who can help to bring about change, but they say there's nothing wrong, that works on your morale.

Participant 14 stated:

He gets "miserable," in part from what he's experienced but also in part to "these senseless shooting that just continues." He shared feeling "down, depressed at times, feeling hopeless especially when you see the media coverage of another police involved shooting where the person did not have a weapon on them."

Three officers described feeling resentful, which decreases their morale. Participant 10 described:

I tend to be a little more bitter towards society. I still treat people fairly, but I tend to have more of a zero-tolerance approach while giving breaks but not listening to excuses that are invalid. I tend to feel like I, like my worth is not worthy, like I shouldn't be here. I'm just working in the wrong place, wrong career.

Participant 11 felt similarly, explaining:

When you know and see how officers are violating people's rights, it's going to bother you. You will consciously, it will bother you. So as far as my morale, yes, it's dragged down my morale. It's like you don't want to go to work or look forward to go to work

because of those factors. Going to work is more laborious mentally, yet it messes with your psyche. It's a psychological effect because you see the things happening around you but you can't do much about it. I think it affects many of the officers' morale as well.

Participant 5 also described resentful feelings:

It's been a headache to the point where you start to feel resentment towards the job, towards your fellow police officers for what they have done and continue to do daily to the minorities. So, my morale, my feelings, my self-worth is pretty much in the gutter.

Participant 18 stated his morale is not good and noted:

I know I couldn't base my job performance on what someone else thought of me.

Subtheme 2: Personal feelings of self-worth have diminished due to being racially profiled:

Participant 20 provided little response when asked about feelings of self-worth; however, when asked differently, if basically make you feel your self-worth is not as equal as your peers, his response was "that's correct." Many other participants felt similarly.

Participant 1 explained:

As a Black police officer working in a suburban town has affected my feelings of personal worth simply because I wear the same uniform as my fellow police officers but I feel as though my worth is less than theirs based on how they feel about Blacks or how if they feel, or have negative feelings about Blacks, regardless of their profession or socioeconomic status, then those ill feelings you have towards the general public is also directed towards me because if you feel that way towards Blacks in such a negative way, then your actions towards me or around me is that it's more, you're more politically correct around me, meaning, you're not going to show how you feel about African Americans, but you will act as though you're my fellow officer, brother officer, and we support each other, when I know deep down they don't support us at all.

Participant 11 supported Participant 1 statements, sharing:

It . . . impact . . . how you feel, how does the department you know receive you as an officer, and often they don't receive you as an equal, you're just a token or a quota, for filling a quota, you know, for hiring practices and that's just pretty much how it is. There is no self-worth because in their eyes you're not worthy of anything. you don't feel worthy and often you just want to fall through a hole in the ground just to get away because there is no sense of worthiness or belongingness, all that is absent.

Participant 14 shared that being racially profiled:

[Makes] you feel as though you know your life is not as equal or not on the same level as their life. Like their life is more valuable than my life and I'm wearing a uniform as well. So, I'm wearing a uniform as just a figure or a puppet within the department who's told

go here, go there, do this, do that, but not having any type of worth or not treated in any kind of equal way, like many other officers are treated. So, I am not worthy, I'm dispensable, and that drags down my morale as well.

Participant 15 mentioned feeling “as though you're not worthy, you will never be worthy to be an equal.” His perception affected his beliefs of his role as a police officer and the department:

You're just there to be there and you should be thankful that you're here. That's how they pretty much treat us and that's how I pretty much feel, you know, there's no self-worth in this department, you're just another number that has no meaning to anybody. You just wear the uniform and that's all it is and that's what decreases your morale.

Participant 17 described the emotions he goes through as he considers his worth to the police department:

It does give you a feeling of depression, a feeling of despair, and well, I like to put, it was the, you're going to feel as though you're chasing your tail your whole career, as hard as you may work, as much as you may study for promotional exams and again productivity, you're never going to get to the top of administration.

Participant 2 perceptions were similar, where he explained:

My feelings of personal worth, I think although I have a lot of knowledge in law enforcement, been to school for many different things, it really means nothing in many of these departments and especially my department. Regardless of your knowledge, your background it will never amount or be equal to someone else who is Caucasian, who have less of an education. Your education is meaningless compared to someone who may just have a high school diploma or who may just have a bachelor's degree. What experience you've acquired throughout your years of training or police work will never be equal. So, it's like you're worthless, you're just, I view myself as just an individual here like an order picker. As far as are you worthy enough or do I feel worthy enough to be in any other departments or division within the department, no, because like I said, I don't feel like I'm equal to them and their actions towards me and towards the community justifies my perception. We will never be equal and I will never be equal.

Participant 13 had the same view, describing:

Basically, they're saying or their actions indicate that you're, there is no worth, you're just another number. You feel unworthy and especially when they discredit your long career, whether it's 20 years, 25 years, and a person who has 1 year on the job, they have better preferences and are treated much better than a person with a long history of experience.

The feeling of inequality was consistent across participants' responses. Participant 5 described inequality despite his credentials:

I don't view myself as an equal and no matter how I try to think positive, the end result is you are never going to be equal. My personal worth in that my department is below what

they consider their standards but I don't think, I believe I'm a good officer, and I have a lot of qualities and experiences that many of them do not possess, but when it comes down to it, you tend to feel like you're inadequate, you're not on their level based on simply how they treat you. Your credentials is never good enough when matched with their credentials even though we went to the same training and our expertise in various areas in law enforcement is often put aside because they don't feel you're good enough to perform in that position, but they'll put a Caucasian officer in that position who's way less qualified, many years less on the job, but like I said, when it comes to African Americans and Caucasians, the Caucasian officers always get what they want or what their friends in rank will give them based on them begging or asking for a position. But an African American ask or put in a request for a position, they're often denied. I'm often denied. I've been denied, so I no longer try to put in for advancement because what is the purpose? Shows your worth in the department is pretty low or none, nonexistent.

Participant 7 discussed being treated unfairly; feeling as though he's not worthy of the same support his Caucasian peers receive:

I seldom get that back up on a traffic stop on my own shift. I haven't gotten one back up on my own shift on a traffic stop. We're supposed to back each other up per the temporary policy after the Dallas ambush. So, like I said, it depends on who you are and as a minority officer, I feel as though my life is less precious than their life simply because of how we, I'm treated, and how many others are treated, and it's not fair and one day someone's going to get hurt behind this because there's no way we're treated as equal. It's like we don't belong here, you know, we're outsiders, outcasts, and that's how we're lead to believe and feel.

Participant 8 experienced the same feelings as other participants, explaining:

What you know is not equal to your fellow officers even though you have the same training, from the same FBI, same state police, the same prosecutor's office, you're still not an equal. It's like you're inferior, you know, you're no good, you're worthless, and my department in particular, they had asked me to see to, turnover or show them some of my, all of my training certificates and citations, award citations for act of bravery, various citations, honorable stuff, and they told me that I cannot wear my stuff. My bars and my training is not good because I was never sent to these schools by my agency. So, when you're told all this and you see racial profiling going on, then you feel worthless.

Participant 6 also shared feeling lesser than his Caucasian peers despite his experience and education:

I don't think I'm as worthy or on their level. Educationally and experience, I'm above their level, but as far as how they make you feel, they make you feel as though you're not on their level. You know you're training doesn't mean anything or as far as trying to get training, you don't get training because it's almost like you're not worthy of training or you don't need it because you will never be in any special division or special assignments and to be a part of or get any of these special assignments, you have to be in a click, meaning, you have to be with a certain group of people or be friends and buddies with

certain supervisors before you can get anything and minorities and especially the Black male officers, they don't have that luxury of being in close and tight with supervisors or people of rank who will put you in special divisions, whether you ask for it or not. So, that right there tells us where as far as our worth, we're not worthy. We're not equal, we'll never be equal, I've never felt equal. The only time we're are equal or treated as equal is in the police academy because we're all new and we don't know anything. But upon graduation, there's no equality. I've been out on assignments where you're supposed to have a backup and you don't get a backup. But yet another person could have a traffic stop and they'll get a backup without even asking for a backup.

Participant 9 reiterated the inequality and feelings of low or no self-worth:

There's absolutely no equality. There's zero equality. So, our self-worth and my self-worth is zero, minus one, is how I equate my self-worth in the department, minus one. We're below zero, we're below anything, we're at the bottom because that's how we're treated.

Participant 3 also perceived inequality to exist. As a result, he described having no self-worth at all:

I don't feel as though I'm an equal, although I may have more experience than many of my Caucasian officers, but I don't feel any self-worth at all. I feel as though they robbed me of that many years ago when they tried to discredit my credentials from training agencies, from the FBI, state police, and other agencies of which they have sent their Caucasian officers for the same type of training. Yet my training certificates are invalid because I was never sent to those training institutions by the department. So, basically my self-worth is zero, I'm worth nothing. I'm just wearing the same uniform, working in the same town, and I'm just a number to cover whatever assignments on the road. So, therefore, the self-worth is nonexistent and it's nonexistent for many other Blacks, Black officers that I do know within the state of New Jersey.

Participant 12 felt similarly, explaining:

[The] practice of racial profiling by fellow officers, coworkers . . . has stripped me of self-worth or feelings of any self-worth because the department systematically will strip you of your self-worth by having you believe you're not worthy and have you second guessing your job performance. As far as the morale, it is low but you have to learn how to overcome that hurdle and try to build up your morale by thinking about other positive things that you could do to change the racial profiling issues. As far as self-worth, I know we're not worthy. I know we're not of equal in the department, in the town.

Participant 4 emphasizes what many other police officers stated:

I don't feel worthy in the department. There is no self-worth. It's like my worth is nothing. I'm just a body, a quota, because I'm the very few African American in the department, a handful that's within the department, so we're just basically a quota and they look at it as we should be happy that we're here, which has been told to me several times.

Participant 10 pointed to the actions of other officers that led to feelings of low self-worth:

Not having the decency to say hi, hi officer to me, it's a sign of disrespect and ignorance and it shows that obviously. I'm worthy of nothing because that same supervisor would sit and chat with a Caucasian officer while I'm sitting in the same room and that same supervisor will not even acknowledge my presence in the room.

Subtheme 3: Morale and feelings of personal worth have not been affected by racial profiling:

Participant 16 shared that his morale was not affected in "a negative way." As he described an experience, feelings toward being a police officer and of his own self-worth remained intact despite being racially profiled:

A vehicle [was being chased] through the city. The driver of the stolen car was a Black man. He got stopped, was surrounded his car with multiple police cars. I flew up on the scene and when he saw me, the only Black police officer, he begged me not to leave, he says, "Please stay here with me. I'm afraid of these cops." You see and just how a Black police officer pulls on the scene, you know it gave comfort even though the guy was wrong to steal the car, but it took away some of the fear from being in the presence, you know, all of the other police officers. But I reassured him, you know, my city didn't have a reputation for being, my city had a good reputation, and a good relationship with the community on the whole. The city cops there weren't brutal, but there was subtle discrimination.

Subquestion 3.

Subquestion 3: What are African American male police officers' perceptions about how racial profiling affects their social relationship with Caucasian police officers?

Subthematic Label 3: What are African American male police officers' perceptions about how racial profiling affects their social relationship with Caucasian police officers.

Theme 1: Social relationships between African American police officers and Caucasian police officers do not exist due to racial profiling.

Participant 1 explained his social relationships with Caucasian police officers have been affected a great deal:

I know of some that have spoken negatively about Blacks. It is hard for me to even have lunch or hang around with them in any type of social fashion, you know, any kind of casual setting, it will never happen. In the past, before learning about what some of these officers have been doing to the Black community, yeah, I would've sat down, have lunch with them, or had lunch with them in the past, but knowing now what they've done, and I know personally of some who have done stuff, I can no longer hang around them, and in

fact, I really don't hang around anyone from work anymore because I don't know who to trust and I know how they feel about Blacks. Social relationship is nonexistent and as far as I know with other officers who are Black males or females, they too don't socialize with them for that simple fact, that we're never, we're never treated as equal, we'll never be treated as equal, and we know they don't like Blacks, period.

Participant 2 shared racial profiling has affected his social relationship with Caucasian police officers because he does not feel they understand:

In the past, I may have been able to sit down at a barbeque with them but after learning of what some of them have personally done to African Americans, even when some African American citizens have mentioned my name, they dismiss them as, you know they don't care, you know they dismiss them as trash. So, if you dismiss a citizen as trash because they mention my name then what am I? I must be trash also; there is a trust factor. We don't trust them and they could care less about us. They act as though we're all together in this fight but we're not together in this fight. Our approach or my approach to community relations is way different from their approach. Their approach in community relations is to banish the African Americans from the town and therefore our relationship, social relationship, will never exist. It will never coexist. We're just here to do our job, we go home, that's it, there's no additional functions outside of work.

Participant 3 described how racial profiling has affected his social relationship with Caucasian officers in a major way:

I don't feel we could hang out together because when we have been together in the past from social gatherings at the police station and elsewhere that's police related, my treatment and other officer's treatment have been negative. It's been very negative, they, their family members, don't really speak to me and they don't take the time to introduce me to their family members. Instead, they will walk past me and go to other officers and introduce their family members to them. It's very minimal and in my opinion for me, it's nonexistent. We do not really hang out after work, we do not socialize much after work unless it's work related, and the only time we socialize at work is during role call. After that, you don't get a call about, you know, having lunch with them like they do with everyone else.

Participant 4 described a slightly more positive perception on social relationships with Caucasian police officers; however, it was still forced to some extent:

We get along to a degree, many of my fellow officers, Caucasian officers, have been to my home for social gatherings. However, maybe two out of the whole department may have invited me to one of their functions and they did that one or two times, I guess to make it fair. But, after the one or two times of being invited to just two people's homes for one of their social functions, that all ended. I've never been invited again and other African American officers that I know of have never been to any of their functions anyway and nine out of 10 times we wouldn't go to their functions because when you go, you're pretty much talking to each other, African American to African American, and seldom the Caucasian officers would really sit and chat with you like a fellow officer and

tell you about whatever is going on or joke around. But, they tend to have, you know, sometimes racial jokes or ethnic jokes, you know, not in their presence, but you always hear about it. So, there is a tension there, a social tension when it comes to hanging out. They make the racial jokes about my culture and often they forget that I'm an African American because they got comfortable in disrespecting the culture because that's just the climate, the subculture within the police department.

Participant 5 described the relationship as nonexistent:

We socialize pretty much work related issues and not personal issues, such as going somewhere, hanging out, a party. I've been to maybe two functions by my fellow officers where I was invited and that was about 15 years ago and the only reason I was invited was because they, the person invited the shift. Ever since then, there's been no social gathering, no social relations. We do have Christmas parties, we do have a baseball team, we do have other functions, but we don't feel like we belong, so we don't attend. When we have attended those social functions outside of the work place, we're often segregated, meaning, the Blacks and Latinos are often on one side of the room and the Caucasians on the other side of the room and the Caucasians very rarely would introduce their family to us. They may say hi when they're alone, but often sometimes, they just walk by and that's become the norm. It's a part of the culture, so there is no social relationship and speaking with other officers that we work with, we've often talk about how we don't really go to their functions because there's, what's the purpose, you're going to go to the function only to feel like you're alone anyway.

Participant 6 pointed to what he sees in terms of socialization between Caucasian and African American police officers:

Often, they're the ones that tend to treat you in a less friendly environment or less friendly atmosphere. I've been out in a diner having a meal and a group of officers would walk directly towards my table and make a left or right to go to their table, which is pretty much in the close proximity to my table, but they would never utter a word such as "Hi, how you doing," but yet, when I see other officers from other departments who come in and they'll say hi to them and continue on to their table and often have an extended conversation before they leave. So, I know they didn't know each other, but their interactions will indicate that they're socially acceptable and they can get along, but with a minority, even if you work in the same department, the length of conversation would be about 1 minute, 2 minutes, and it's usually "Hey, what's up," you know, "Who's supposed to be here" or "What supervisors' here," and that's the extent of our conversation. So, there is no social relationship. The only social relationship we have is maybe responding to different assignments together, discussing an incident together, but that's the extent of it. Going out to their Christmas parties or any personal parties they may have at their residence or wherever, you really don't get an invitation, and if you do get an invitation, it's an invitation that they send to the whole shift. If you're on a certain shift with a group of officers, everyone is usually invited, so they can't just exclude you because then it would be an implicit bias. So, there is no social relationship, no positive social relationship.

Similar to Participant 5, Participant 7 also described the relationship as “nonexistent.” He added:

There is no relationship at all. We do not really socialize that much other than work related issues, that’s the extent of any socialization. It doesn’t matter if we could be away somewhere at a public function, police function, any type of function, the relationship is not the same. The treatment is not the same. The family members of those officers don’t treat us the same or like we belong there, so all in all, the relationship is negative and we don’t belong in the department, pretty much treated as if we don’t belong in the department.

Participant 8 explained the social relationship outside of work:

We don’t call each other, we don’t hang out with one another, it’s strictly work related. If we do speak to each other outside of work, it’s generally through texting regarding work related issues. So, there is no relationship, social relationship. When we have functions at work, there is no, their interactions are very minimal, and it’s usually generally about work. As far as our families interacting with their families at social functions, it doesn’t exist because we don’t go to their functions, but when we have to attend the police memorials, our families do not really mingle amongst one another. We attend the memorial, do what we have to do, and we leave. I don’t think they’re conscious of what they’re doing or their behavior and it’s because that’s how they’ve grown up. That’s been their life, you know, they’ve never interacted with minorities and especially African Americans their whole life. So, then they just continue to act in the way, in the manner their acting, because they don’t know any better. That’s why it’s an unconscious bias.

Participant 9 shared:

Of my 25 years, I’ve been to one Christmas party and it was pretty much segregated. The ones who are not in the group or in the click and the minority officers, including myself, we were pretty much at our own table, and as far as any other functions, we don’t really go because that’s just the treatment. The treatment we receive is just negative throughout the years, so why would we go to their functions, we know it’s fake, it will always be fake.

Participant 10 stated, “There is no social relationship that is on a personal level,” also referring to it as “nonexistent”:

Our social relationship stops at the back door or the front door or whichever door, and that’s it. There is no additional talks, if there are any additional talks, it’s pretty much formal conversations, not informal conversations. There’s no, oh, let’s hang out with our family, have something to drink, have something to eat. It’s nonexistent, there is no social relationship.

Participant 11 perceived social relationships with Caucasian officers to be “very minimal,” explaining:

It’s minimal because when you go to any function outside of work, you also have to deal with the ethnic jokes, and often, they’re ethnic jokes. Is pretty much a reflection of how

they really think based on how you see them perform their duties at work. Often, they forget you're behind them or next to them, and when they realize they said something that they shouldn't have said, you know, they'll joke around and say, oh, it's, you know, just playing around. While others have degraded the Black culture and will never apologize, and has never apologized because it's a continued thing; You have a better social relationship with some of the citizens who are mainly or primarily Latino or African American, with a few Caucasians, but in general, it's always been or more so geared towards a fellow minority of either race.

Participant 12 explained there is “to a point . . . resentment between us”:

There's stress between the Caucasian officers and myself. We do not trust each other or I in particular don't trust them, which is affecting our social relationship, which never existed anyway. We don't go to each other's functions. You could invite them, but they never show up at your function. They can invite you and you don't show up at their function because they're only inviting you because they almost have to invite you.

Participant 13 saw the lack of a relationship between Caucasian and African American police officers as a “lack of respect for African American police officers”:

We do not really interact with each other or go out, and in fact, sometimes, many times they don't invite you to lunch or dinner. They may say in passing, oh, we just ordered something, do you want anything, but it's never, okay, we want you to come have lunch with us at this time or anything like; therefore, there is no social relationship between law enforcement.

Similar to other participants, Participant 14 described the social relationship as “pretty much nonexistent on a personal level.” He went on to add:

On a work level, it's only the need to know information. That's it, that's as far as the communication or the relationship goes. What do I need to do or what do I need to learn to complete this report? There is no social relationship at all and as far as on the personal level, it's nonexistent. We would have a police week or a police memorial, like many other departments will have every year, the same month, same day, every year, and even in those functions, we will go for the function, we wear the same dress uniform, but once the function's over and they have you know lunch that they serve after, most of the, in fact all the minority officers and especially the African American officers, they leave. There's no reason for us to even be there because no one really talks to us anyway. Past or retired officers and current officers, if they do speak to us, it's hey, how you doing, you know, you're going to get something to eat, but any other communication is nonexistent. I've never gotten an invitation to any of their card games, to their football games, fantasy football games, all of the above. There's never been an invitation to any minorities and none of us have ever attended any of their functions, wherever they may hold it. So, there is absolutely no social relationship at all.

Participant 15 felt strongly about the lack of social relationships, to the extent of stating:

The social relationship term doesn't even exist. It shouldn't even been mentioned in the same line because it's just nonexistent, it will always be nonexistent. It will never happen, it would be pointless for us to go out anywhere and be a part of anything. You can't be a part of anything when no one really appreciates who you are and we can't be a part of what they do. You know, whether at a baseball game, a dinner, Christmas dinner, Christmas party for the department, we don't take part in any of those activities because if we are not treated as an equal throughout the year, then we can't be, we can't go to these functions together, they don't coexist; Our social relationship is so bad, even at a function with the council, the township council and the school, like a coexistence at a council function, even there, you have police administrators who pretty much ignore or act as though you are not even there in existence and when that continues to keep happening throughout the year and years, you know, for sure that we can't, we only coexist. There's one officer who's married to a Black female, his spouse is Black, his wife is Black, and the negativity towards that officer by other groups of Caucasian officers, it speaks volumes. Supports my notion that we could never be at a social gathering together and it supports my notion that we will never be equal, no matter what, our worth here in this department.

Participant 16 shared his experience of times when a social relationship with Caucasians did exist:

So, the relationship was pretty good. There was no tension amongst officers, so I would say our relationship was positive. And even now, you know, when I meet police officers that are from other cities, I still get respect because for some reason, police officers always for some in the city, if they're urban cops, older cops in the city because they know what a hard and difficult job we do and all the stress that comes out of this thing, and when you tell them you're from the city, they respect that, the older cops. The company I have, I have a lot of police officers. We have a good relationship, even now.

Participant 17 shared of how the stages of being an officer allowed for relationships and at some point, those relationships diminished:

As a young officer, initially, I feel a little young minority officer is naive. Naive to just think that it's a level of playing field and again, going back to work productivity, being responsible, being educated, being productive, those are the things that in most business world, that's what an employer looks for. Then after years of getting to know these people and turn your back, and the lack of loyalty amongst friends and coworkers, have made these relationships unfortunately come down to a lot of selfishness amongst the White majority, simply looking out for their selves and simply looking out for their Caucasian officers, and the lack of regard for opportunities for minority officers. So, a lot of those friendships or relationships that we thought were, were actually false, fraudulent.

Participant 18 related:

Some people, you feel a little difference towards. Others, you don't feel that same stigma with, I mean you can hear it, you can talk to some people and in their tone, their language, how they talk and others, you talk, and you feel very comfortable with them, you don't feel that same stigma as you did speaking to another person of the same race, so it's a case by case situation.

Participant 19 explained the relationship as follows:

You seem like you are hanging out with the enemy, so it's kind of difficult to be out in that environment. You always feel that a racial situation might come up that would make you feel uncomfortable, so you are always on the defensive. Could affect me if I weren't a police officer, so they probably consider me a friend, and they don't purposely say things, but you know, it's something that they practice and this come out, and they use the N word, not realizing I was there and this like that happen. I always feel I should try my best to stay away from situations like that.

Participant 20 felt his experiences make him feel as if it's not worth the effort to try being social with Caucasian police officers:

A handful of officer would engage in this profiling and makes you not want to deal with the individuals, and I really don't want to have anything to do with the department itself. Because the department in itself seems like they were condoning. Of course, everyone is entitled to make a complaint with internal affairs, but let's just say internal affairs, it's being very vigorous in their point on enforcing these rules on profilers, there for these officers they have more like a go card to do whatever they want to do.

When asked if he felt a sense of resentment, he responded, "towards those individuals, yes."

Subquestion 4**Subquestion 4: What do African American male police officers recommend to decrease and prevent racial profiling?****Subthematic Label 4: What do African American male police officers recommend to decrease and prevent racial profiling.****Theme 1: Improved Hiring Practices and Training.****Participant 1 explained "a great deal of screening" is needed:**

More so psychological screening, where you can detect unconscious racism in a person. There are tests out there that can detect that but there's really no other way to prevent or decrease racial profiling, that would have to be on that officer himself that wants to stop racially profiling people; It's going to take psychological screening to prevent or decrease racial profiling. With proper psychological screening, then therefore those who have or

shows a tendency to be, you know a racist, if you don't hire them, then therefore, we will have a reduction in racist police officers.

Participant 15:

Participant 15 agreed with the recommendation for “constant training and more frequent evaluations, psychological evaluations. If the FBI, they do a thorough screening on a municipal level, they should also do a thorough screening and follow up those screening several times throughout that officer's career.”

Participant 1 also referred to “training in the police academy”:

They do not speak of racial profiling, it's more so go after what they call “shitums,” is what they refer to as criminals, and most of those people they're referring to are Black males because they always speak about they're more likely to be carrying a weapon or having illicit drugs on them, but that message that's conveyed in our training, it's never reflected on any other ethnicity. To change the effects of racial profiling and to prevent it, training is a possibility, but it's unlikely because we have all gone through remedial training following our initial training and nothing has changed.

Participant 6 also pointed to “additional psychological screening because that seems to be a major problem.” He further explained:

A lot of these guys are not aware of what they're doing or saying to minorities. Their treatment towards minorities is very negative and it doesn't bother them what they do, but when they deal with Caucasian citizens, it's a different treatment, so therefore, they have psychological issues where as they are so bias, unconsciously bias, and implicitly bias towards minorities. So, to prevent and decrease racial profiling, we'd have to work on hiring practices to include better psychological screening. So, you are either intimidated by minorities, which often a lot of them are intimidated because they didn't really grow up around minorities or interacted with minorities, so therefore, their treatment towards minorities is always negative and that's a part of this psychological build up, how they think, how their mind works.

Participant 14:

Participant 14 agreed with the screenings, sharing the use of “psychological screening, prescreening before you get hired . . . can help and reduce racial profiling.”

Participant 20 also agreed, stating the department:

should invest in a form of psychological testing that will screen individuals on dealing with people of different cultures and races. This right here weed out those individuals more of a problem for that particular department. You have to have an open mind in this job and I feel that a lot of these people that come on take on incidents that happened with them when they were kids or maybe growing up. So, I feel they should do a better screening process.

A few participants emphasized both improved training and the screening process, both equally needed to prevent racial profiling. Participant 12 stated:

Training, training evaluation, and psychological evaluations that can help to reduce the racial profiling towards the citizens. Another good thing would be a policy, a training policy, well not even a training policy, an administrative policy where every 5 years that an officer is still in service, he must undergo a psychological evaluation because a lot could've taken place over those years. So, every 5 years, I would recommend that officers go back for the psychological recertification fit for duty and also a fit for duty for their physical being; I think it's urgent. We're in an urgent time where that is highly needed, the psychological reevaluations and retraining of many officers because whatever they're learning in the academy, obviously, it's not working well with the citizens . . . need to go back to training in the academy, diversity training, and psychological reevaluations.

Participant 13 felt similarly, recommending specific training and evaluation efforts that are currently lacking:

Training, evaluations, . . . monthly evaluations, or they could do quarterly evaluations. They do quarterly evaluations that can help to weed out the unprofessional law enforcement officers. They can also have when they have quarterly evaluations, they can maybe have a quarterly in house training, sensitivity training just to reinforce, you know, cultural diversity, and also have regular psychological screening after so many complaints from citizens, they should, on the go psychological evaluations, and that should be a mandatory policy. If you've been accused of two or more aggressive behaviors towards minorities, you should be subjected to a psychological evaluation.

Many participants expanded on improved training as a way to minimize racial profiling by police officers. Participant 10 explained:

Once they increase sensitivity training and diversity or cultural awareness training on the job, then we can also see a decrease. Until then, it will never be a decrease.

Participant 14 stated:

Participant 14 emphasized "better training, better quality officers, and better training officers, and what I mean by better training officers, better training officers on the academy level, and the training institutions where future police recruits go for their 6 month training.

Participant 16 referred to sensitivity training, similar to other participants:

I think that you have sensitivity training, you know, have the White officer, you know, go through some kind of training so they can get to understand that Black people are human too.

Participant 19 pointed to the instructors who provide the training:

They need to ensure that the instructors at the police academy are objective in their thinking and are inspired to promote good policing practices, which included not

profiling based on race and ethnicity, and that the subject of racial profiling is included in the curriculum. When I was in the academy, there was no such thing as racial profiling. And they need to ensure that field officers assigned to new recruits practice good policing and are willing to be a good extension of the police academy out in the field and continue emphasis the dangers of racial policing;

A few participants emphasized that “a lot of work” would be required to minimize or prevent racial profiling within the department. Participant 2 believed:

Even if you train the new officers, you still have the old officers who are from the old school of thought, and the new officers, when they observe the old officers in action and what they do, they then adopt the bad ways. Training is, would be highly recommended, in addition to more effective psychological screening. The psychological screening for a police officer is very basic. They need to draft a more true psychological test that’s going to measure what a person thinks of various ethnicities. So, until they revamp the hiring process to include the more effective psychological screening, such as what the government may use to interrogate witnesses or suspects, until they do that, it will never change. So, training and having a psychological exam that is very effective in screening out unconscious bias and implicit bias.

Participant 3 also believed that much work was needed:

To decrease and prevent racial profiling will require each officer to consciously want to make a change and look at what’s happening with the race relations between Caucasian officers and the citizens. We could talk about training all day, but I’ve seen where training does not work. If they develop a test or training regimen that deals with police interactions with the community, a test that can identify officers or potential officers of, you know, racial bias, simply based on their answers, based on scenarios. So, training and psychological evaluation needs to be redone because they really don’t, the psychological evaluation really does not cover much. The questions do not relate to police work, I’s just, I don’t know where they get the questions from, but they do not relate to police work.

Participant 4 perceived many factors were involved and needed to be addressed:

Extensive training for all the new recruits, an overhaul from the federal level down since the training comes from the federal level and then they also need to institute annual or biannual training of police officers or recertification of police officers in the area of their psychological evaluation because the psychological evaluations used to date are antiquated and have no correlations to police work or how one treats other ethnicities. So therefore, they need to revamp the psychological evaluation to include evaluations that could deter or actually identify those who are racially intolerant to other ethnicities. So, as I said, the government will have to revamp the training, develop new psychological screening because it does exist, it’s just a matter of paying the money to redo the psychological screening.

Theme 2: Changes to legislation and laws.

Participant 14 related that “leadership [and] the legislatures” are where change needs to start:

They need to rewrite some of their laws because the way the laws were written, they were written for the 80s when they had the drug epidemic and they had the war on drugs. In 2016, times have changed and there's no longer the African American and Latino transporting all these drugs from the south to the north. The drugs are created right here in the state of New Jersey and the neighboring states.

Participant 16 believed similarly, sharing:

They need to pass some laws. I think they need to do away with the restriction of voter registration in some states. You know, if you're convicted of a crime, you can't vote. They need to find that unconstitutional and that will take away some of the motivation for those states that discriminate against criminals. You know, that might take away the reason for them to be profiled or to stop minority people for the sake of political reasons.

Participant 15 believed that the problem of racial profiling can only be fixed if those advocating for laws would advocate for the right purpose. He further explains:

A lot of these officers, they have these advocates that go out for them and lobby against reform, which is the reason why it will never change. You have lawyers that lobby for the police officers in front of superior court judges, the supreme court justices to have laws made that's going to benefit the officers, but it's going to have a dire effect on the minority citizens, and that's the whole problem. Until we get rid of these lobbyists and these lobbyists type lawyers who lobby for these laws that violate minorities and all the citizens, it will never change.

A few participants mentioned that even with laws, racial profiling can only be prevented or minimized if laws and procedures are carried through at the department level. Participant 19 explained:

They have to ensure that the internal affairs investigators are dedicated because us stopping racial profiling and policing other times they are basing this on politics or favors, and may not be the right choice for that position. They have to resolve every allegation of racial profiling and encourage the citizens of their communities to report these acts. Any finding of police misconduct must be dealt with swiftly regardless of who was involved and the false perception that the administration supported people and not their own. Regardless of that, it still has to take quick action, be consistent, and should send a message that racial profiling will not be tolerated.

Participant 18 pointed specifically to the policies within the department:

I think the discipline part of it, you know, it's not a slap on the wrist, but it needs to be more stern, you know, so they can try to curtail it, you know, get rid of it as best they can.

Theme 3: Educating Media and Society Perceptions.

Participant 16 explained:

I think education would change all of that. I think it has to do with the media too. The media has to begin to portray minorities in positive light, but in order for that to happen, I think minorities would have to control the media to a certain extent. I think working close with the community like that, they begin to get a different understanding of who we are as a minority. I think that has to be a part of it too, training.

Participant 16 believed that just as police officers needed new training, so did those who also racially profile African Americans.

Theme 4: Changing the culture of police department and law enforcement.

Participant 19 pointed at first to “police management” but then further shared:

It’s definitely a few things. First thing is to remove politics and favoritism from the hiring process. If you hire someone based on politics or doing someone a favor, that may not be the best person for the job, these officers could be difficult to discipline if needed.

Participant 6 felt similarly, providing further insight:

It’s a major task that the federal government, local government, state government would have to change or want to change their policies because the way the policies are written, it’s written, and it more impacts minorities than anyone else and officers adopt certain policies that’s really geared toward the state level and the federal level, and they apply it to the municipal level, and the circumstances does not warrant that particular practice, and that is how minorities continue to be violated and that’s how as the minority officer, African American officer, I’m impacted by policies that were not intended for the municipal level. On the municipal level, these officers that’s trying to practice policies that’s written and geared towards the federal level or state level do not know how to apply those policies. To decrease and prevent racial profiling, we would have to revamp the policies and have strict guidelines as to how it’s applied.

Participant 17 stated:

More diversity amongst your police or law enforcement administration.

Three participants felt changing the culture of the department and law enforcement would “require a lot of work.” As Participant 5 explained:

It’s going to require individual officers to consciously want a change. It’s going to require administrators to want a change and to also realize that there’s issues within the department. We’ve had many trainings over the past 15, 22 years, and those training have done nothing. In fact, the officers mock the training. It’s always, it’s like make fun of the issue. It’s not taken seriously, so until the officers consciously want a change, it will never change. Training, you could introduce training, training’s not going to help because it’s down to, up to the individual officer to want a change. Redo the psychological

testing. In law enforcement, we do go through psychological testing as part of the prescreening, prehiring, that all officers go through and the psychological test does not identify officers who may have an unconscious bias, or you know, agrees with racial profiling. There's psychological testing out there that can identify conscious bias towards minorities, but it's up to the department to want to invest in that software and in that company to administer the test. The test is there and it rules out or identifies officers who are unconsciously or subconsciously bias towards minorities. So, my answer would be the psychological and also to have administrators go out and speak to the minority communities and then they can identify what's really within the department and maybe then they can come up with policies that will correct racial profiling.

Participant 8 further explained the “major undertaking that will require all local, all governments, from federal, state and local to change their ways,” specifically, pointing to:

Changing their policies and their training guidelines. Their training guidelines are so antiquated, they're over 30 years old. They haven't been updated. The federal level, their training guidelines are in the same conditions. They're still operated under what they used to call war on drugs. With training, they're going to have to overdo, overwrite the existing policies and also psychological evaluations, periodic psychological evaluations because some officers do need to be reevaluated physically and psychologically, and that's greatly needed until we have a total revamp instead of the every 6 months or every other year training. It needs to be every year and every 6 months on critical issues, such as racial profiling, racial injustice, you know, racial tolerance, diversity training, and they need to get outside agencies or companies to come in and perform those exams instead of in house, officers from within the same department training these other officers because they're just as bias and therefore everything they do is going to be bias.

Participant 7 also shared that “a lot of work” would be needed, mostly “a lot of training.” He further explained:

It doesn't even attach themselves to dealing with ethnicities and ethnic group. Officers need to be more cultured, they need to learn cultural diversity. There's no cultural diversity in the police academy. If the media themselves take a page out of training and being more cultural diverse instead of going against and always portraying the minorities as criminals, that too, I think will help to decrease and put an end to racial profiling and police abuse of African Americans.

Participant 9 expanded on this, mentioning:

. . . additional schooling, maybe extending the training days at the police academy. The attorney general would need to revamp the training manual for the entire state of New Jersey and also on the federal level. The Department of Justice needs to also redo what they determine, what they determine as adequate police training because right now it's inadequate. They need proper psychological screening that can detect unconscious bias, racism, implicit bias, stereotypes, and the media themselves. Those who want to be journalist, they need to also to be trained on sensitivity, cultural diversity, cultural

tolerance, racial tolerance, when it comes to African Americans and especially African American males. They all, they both need psychological evaluation. These days, all employers should psychologically screen their perspective employees because having a person working for you that's racially intolerant, it's not going to help your business grow, it's not going to help your organization, it's not going to help the law enforcement industry, it's only going to harm the minorities, who continue to be harmed.

Participant 11 shared a less positive approach believing “very little that can be done.” He explained:

Usually that's reserved for upper management, government official, lawmakers, the law makers and the court system, the superior court also, superior court and supreme court, and the only way to remedy racial profiling and also to reduce racial profiling or prevent it is to rewrite some of the case laws because all the case laws or majority of the case laws are geared towards supporting what an officer does. Their screening process needs to be revamped and it should be revamped to include better psychological screening because the psychological screening is pretty absent in the process of hiring new police recruits.

Participant 10 response summed up participants' recommendations as he described his perception of what is needed to decrease racial profiling:

It's difficult to prevent and decrease racial profiling when it's pretty much taught and supported on the job and on the job training, through training officers, through the police academy, through poor police screening, poor psychological screening, poor background checks. All those variables contribute to the continuation of racial profiling. So, to decrease racial profiling, we would have to change all those other elements from top to bottom and bottom to top.