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Police culture and decision-making

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Walden University

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Larry Anthony

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Walden University
2018

Abstract

Police Culture and Decision-making

by

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MA, Boston University, 2014

BS, Tusculum College, 1988

Dissertation Submitted in Partial Fulfillment

of the Requirements for the Degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

Criminal Justice

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August 2018

Abstract

Decisions made by street-level police officers during encounters with the public have an immediate and long-lasting effect. Bad choices can cause a loss of trust, respect, and legitimacy for the police in a community and lay a foundation for violent confrontations between officers and citizens. Police culture shapes attitudes and opinions about communities and people in a police jurisdiction, leading to barriers for officers' acceptance of training initiatives to implement new methods of dealing with the public. The purpose of this qualitative phenomenological study is to change negative characteristics of police culture to encourage officers to be more receptive to social issue training initiatives and more involved with the communities they serve. . The central question was how police culture effects decision-making. Acker's theory of social structure social learning with Colaizzi's data analysis method is the theoretical construct of this research. Purposive interviews with 12 officers from 5 departments was conducted over a 2-month period. The sampling pool was street-level uniform officers' representative of national demographics. Key findings showed that officers believe the most significant impact on decision-making is experience and that community policing can create more positive experiences. These findings can lead to positive social change by making officers and community members stakeholders in developing training in positive social relationships implemented by cultural awareness of officers and citizens.

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Dedication

This work is dedicated to the men and women in law enforcement who face incredible dangers and obstacles protecting the citizens of their communities. These officers share a common goal of providing a safe and secure environment for their neighbors to seek, achieve, and enjoy a better quality of life. This work would not have been possible without the cooperation and insight of participating officers and many others in law enforcement.

Acknowledgments

A dissertation is not done by a lone individual, and this dissertation is no exception. Guidance, advice, and insight were provided by several people in the construction and completion of this project. The Committee Chairman, Dr. Donald McLellan, provided a steady hand keeping the work focused on the goal. Dr. McLellan responded quickly to questions and continually encouraged staying the course. Dr. Bruce Lindsay, committee member, motivated more critical thinking about the content of the work and giving it clarity. Dr. Robert Koerber's expert review of the construction of the project helped shape and define the design and theory application to the work. Deputy Chief Joseph Ruff, Commander of the Shelby County Sheriff's Department Training Academy, gave insight into training initiatives and cultural influences on officers' decision-making. James Wilson, Director of Accreditation and Policy for the Shelby County Sheriff's Office provided assessment of the cultural influence on department policies. Dr. Koerber, Chief Ruff, and Director Wilson's expert review was invaluable in making this dissertation a viable and worthwhile work. My thanks and appreciation to each of these people for their time, effort, advice, and guidance in creating this work that will hopefully provide officers another tool to make positive social change in their communities.

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Chapter 1: Introduction to the Study

Introduction

Having a single definition for culture is an accomplishment that researchers have not achieved. But one of the ways it is defined is the unspoken communication in an organization (Guiso, Sapienza, & Zingales, 2015, p.4). Each organization and institution has a unique culture that influences an individual (Linton, 1938, p. 425). In my research, I sought to define police culture as understood and experienced by street-level officers and to learn how it influences the decision-making of officers (Brough, Chataway & Biggs, 2016). Culture influences every individual, but there is no single culture (Woody, 2005, p. 525). Instead, humans consist of layers of culture influenced by family, religion, occupation and human interactions (Brough et al., 2016). Subcultures in a police organization are always evolving and are structured according to rank, units, work hours, and historical context (Duckham & Schreiber, 2016; Glover & Friedman, 2014). Each new generation and technology advance modifies and changes the existing culture. Each unit in a police department has its unique cultural worldview (Woody, 2005) that varies among different shifts and assignments (Alvesson & Sveningsson, 2015; Ingram, Paoline & Terrill, 2013; Myhill & Bradford, 2013). These views and variations are called subcultures (Rose & Unnithan, 2015).

The focus of this study was street-level uniform patrol officers and their experiences in the law enforcement environment to achieve a deeper meaning of police culture. There are many facets to culture, but at least in Western culture a social system consists of social structure and culture structure (Piquero, 2015, p. 247). The street and

community have a culture that plays a role in police responses (Mears, Stewart, Warren, & Simons, 2017). But the focus of my research was on the street-level police officers' perspective of the worldview of police culture and how cross-cultural dilemmas occur (Glover & Friedman, 2014). Figure 1 displays some of the structures that comprise the cultural worldview of individuals.

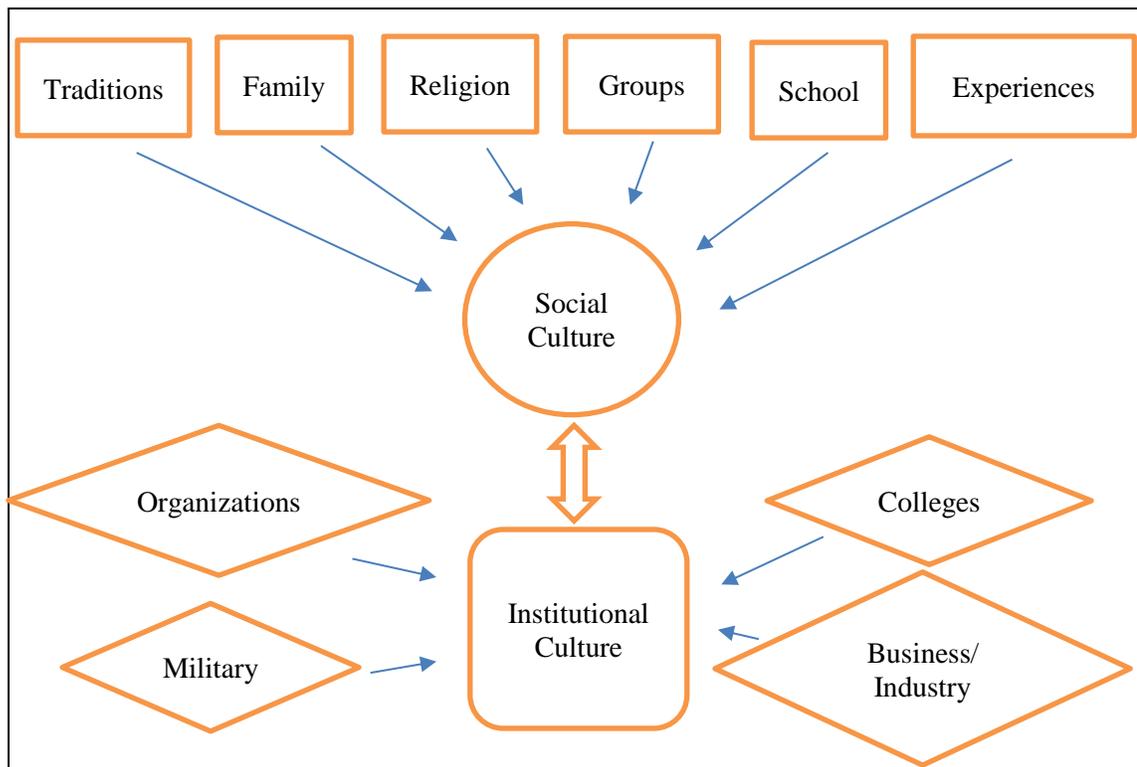


Figure 1. Elements of culture.

Police officers experience social and cultural interactions, but the focus of this research was the cultural aspect. Adversarial encounters between citizens and police officers are at the highest level in American history, with a high cost in injuries and property damages in addition to the loss of trust, respect, and legitimacy. Police culture shapes the decision-making of street-level officers and is at the center of adversity between officers and the community. Changing police culture through training and

encouragement for officers to be a part of the community instead of apart from the community creates positive social change by restoring trust and respect in law enforcement and establishing the legitimacy of the officers to enforce the law.

Subcultures are not unique to police departments but exist in any occupational or organizational group (Alvesson & Sveningsson, 2015). Culture is a key to an organization or police agencies' success or failure (Aamodt, 2012; Warrick, 2017). Culture can divide or unite people and form structures that subconsciously directs decision-making (Moran, Abramson, & Moran, 2014). Police officers must deal with a barrage of emotions every day. How officers handle these feelings is determined by the layers of culture in an officer's life because "people desire emotions that are consistent with their core values" (Tamir et al., 2016, p 68). Culture can be changed by training, though the most prevailing beliefs of an individual will remain (Douglas, 2000; Greitemeyer, 2014). However, not all officers conform to every aspect of the culture because of individual demographics and cultural influences (Ingram et al., 2013), which means training will need to address this.

Technology can dramatically change cultural structures and beliefs. In the future, human decision-making may be more integrated with computer assistance that can improve or diminish cultural decisions (Leidner & Kayworth, 2006). The military created much of the technology used by police departments today (e.g., night vision, body cameras, tactical vehicles, and other things). Much of the technology used by the next generation of a police officer is now in prototype, but no plans are being developed to control how this technology will impact decision-making. But the decisions officers make

may be more pragmatic and programmed because the technology “will be the seamless integration of human and machine decision making” (Kott et al., 2015, p. 11). Another technological influence on decision-making is social media, which affects the relationship between citizens and officers and is not only changing police culture but social culture (Wickersham, 2016).

This study is relevant to government leaders, community leaders, trainers, and police commanders who want to understand how and why trust, respect, and legitimacy have diminished between some communities and police officers (Rosenbaum, Lawrence, Hartnett, McDevitt, & Posick, 2015). The views from researchers in sociology, psychology, anthropology, and industrial/organizational psychology were examined to formulate an understanding of culture and its influence on individuals and organizations. Technology was also examined because of its increasing impact on cultural change due to greater use by officers.

Background

Much of the research of police culture is from an ethnographic or case study approach using longitudinal studies (Loftus, 2010), but few involve a phenomenological approach and are centered on street-level officers. There is also a gap in literature covering changes in demographics and advancement of technology and a framework to explain how the culture develops and evolves (Paoline, 2003). The past and current research has included investigations on police culture in crime fighting or disorder management (Squires, 2015). My research was focused on street-level officers’ explanation of how police culture is acquired and affects decision-making.

A pioneering study of police culture emerged in 1950 by William Westley (Greene, 2010; Paoline, 2003); Westley's work was influenced by the "Chicago School" of thought and laid the groundwork for investigating police culture, decision-making, and ethics. Two recurrent themes in the literature are that police culture is not monolithic and that it is a coping mechanism (Brough et al., 2016; Rose & Unnithan, 2015; Paoline, 2003). There are other areas in police culture, and all must be recognized because the culture influences all levels of a police organization (Cockcroft, 2012). Additionally, there is a direct link between the performance of an organization and the behavior of people in the organization (Warrick, 2017).

Trust and respect for police officers continue to deteriorate as demonstrated by increasing violent confrontations between police officers and citizens. A loss of trust, respect, and legitimacy leads to a diminishment view and acceptance of the criminal justice system (Fischer, 2014). The legitimacy of authority is the foundation of a police department's ability to enforce the law with the desired concept of procedural justice. Legitimacy, trust, respect, and procedural justice combine in the operation of an organization (Tyler, Goff, & MacCoun, 2015). Therefore, I conducted this study to examine how to reestablish trust, respect, and legitimacy of police that has been eroding over the past few years by understanding the cause of that erosion.

Problem Statement

The problem is a lack of scholarly research in determining how police culture affects the decision-making of street-level officers and how the culture is acquired, evolves, and is sustained. Adverse aspects of police culture are suspicion of minorities, us

versus their attitudes, resistance to training, and lack of accountability (Brough et al., 2016; Mears, Stewart, Warren, & Simons, 2017; Paoline, 2003; Rose & Unnithan, 2015). These negative aspects cannot change until it is understood how the culture is acquired and perpetuated. Once the culture is identified, methods for change such as training can be developed to institute reforms that officers will accept. Restoring trust and respect between officers and the communities they serve creates a more tolerant and understanding environment that improves police effectiveness and public acceptance and support of legitimacy. The events in Ferguson, Missouri illustrate how a breakdown of trust, respect, and legitimacy evolves into violent behavior in minority communities. A Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI; 2015) report identified the culture of the Ferguson Police Department as the primary cause of the situation.

The decisions police officers make in the streets during encounters with members of the public can have a profound effect on the relationships between law enforcement and citizens. The culture guides the decisions made by officers encountering various scenarios (Brough et al., 2016; Cockcroft, 2012). Every human association has a culture, and each person is subject to many cultural assimilations (Sagi, 2015). Police culture is another layer of culture of police officers that is strengthened or weakened by an officer's cultural experiences before becoming a police officer.

Uniform patrol is the largest, entry-level unit in a police agency and is the first contact citizens have with law enforcement in most cases. The first introduction an officer has into the police culture after graduation from a police academy is on the streets. Negative views of the police are more significant in minority communities (Drakulich &

Crutchfield, 2013) because of more adversarial encounters by the community with police. Officers tend to view minority communities with suspicion and consider policing these communities more dangerous than other communities (Barrick, Hickman, & Strom, 2014).

Police culture is a product of the culture of the police department and the individual (Van Steden, Van Der Wal, & Lasthuizen, 2015) and both are instrumental in the decisions and actions taken by officers on the street. An individual's organizational identity is related to organizational culture (Alvesson & Sveningsson, 2015, p. 40), indicating that police culture has an impact on how an officer identifies and behaves. The major problem causing hostile encounters between the community and police department is the culture, as suggested in an FBI (2015) report on the culture of the Ferguson Police Department. Current research is focused on police deviant behavior and the results of that behavior (Antrobus, Bradford, Murphy, & Sargeant, 2015). In my study, I identify the problem areas of police culture and recommend methods for changing the culture to implement positive social change between officers and the community.

Purpose of the Study

The purpose of this study was to learn how culture influences a police officer's decision-making. The explanation and analysis of this study included an adaptation of Akers's (2011) social structure social learning theory built on Sutherland's (1947) differential association theory. Akers first described his approach as differential association reinforcement. Social learning theory is symbiotic with other methods in sociology (Akers, Krohn, Lanza-Kaduce, & Radosevich, 1979). Decisions made by

officers can calm an adversarial encounter with hostile and angry citizens or exacerbate the situation. The problems of overcoming a culture in making effective choices can be resolved or diminished by training, but culture is a layered phenomenon (Cockcroft, 2012) that is a challenging and a continuing process that requires input from many people in the organization (Hacker, 2015).

Mitigating the adverse effects of police culture and strengthening the positive aspects can create better community relations and reduce adversarial encounters. A long-standing culture is sustained by “belief perseverance” (Greitemeyer, 2014; Savion, 2012), and overcoming that obstacle is another purpose of this research. Approaches used in industrial/organizational psychology have been shown effective in changing corporate cultures to produce more productive and positive relationships (Aamodt, 2012). The purpose of this research was to learn the meaning of police culture to street-level officers, how culture affects decision-making, and gain guidance in structuring training that is supported by officers in overcoming cultural differences between officers and minorities. The officers’ support of a training initiative may produce a positive social change through officers making more appropriate and compassionate decisions by understanding the influence of police culture and the cultures of the people with whom they interact. Trainer’s developing and presenting training accepted and supported by officers also overcomes cultural resistance to training. Finally, trust and respect can be strengthened between officers and the communities, improving the legitimacy of law enforcement, increasing safety, and improving community relations.

Research Questions

The research questions were designed to define police culture and how it is acquired. Variables of sex, race, age, education, the level of experience and technology advances were investigated to determine how they shape and change the culture. The significance of these variables is depicted in a report on personnel issues in 2020 by Jensen and Graves (2013) identifying changes in workforce demographics and evolving technology. The interview questions consist of the central question, RQ1, and five subquestions (see Appendix D).

RQ1: What does the term police culture mean to you?

RQ2: How does police culture affect your decisions on the job?

RQ3: How were you first introduced to police culture?

RQ4: How do the differences in generations affect the culture?

RQ5: Describe how technology has changed police culture.

RQ6: How comfortable/competent are you with the technology in your department?

Theoretical Framework

Akers's (2011) social structure social learning theory is the framework I used to explain police culture and the influence it has on decision-making. The social learning theory extended Sutherland's (1947) differential association theory, and both are used to examine behavior based on human associations and bonds. I spoke with Dr. Akers on the appropriateness of his theory for my research, and he replied by e-mail "the theory is highly applicable to and does a good job of explaining police behavior that includes both

conforming and deviant police actions” (personal communication, February 2017). The theory can be used to look at imitation, normative learning, and coercive regulation (Akers & Jensen, 2006), helping researchers explain how culture is acquired, maintained, and changed (p. 2). My research was centered on conforming behavior rather than deviant behavior, which may occur when conforming to the accepted cultural behavior of a group or organization if that behavior is deviant. Introduction to police culture begins on entry to the police academy and is continued by field training officers. Consistent (differential) association with officers furthers adaptation to the culture.

Akers’s (2011) social structure social learning theory was adapted for this research and using Colaizzi’s (1978) 7-step method for analyzing descriptive phenomenological data. Social learning has been used most frequently to explain police misconduct or deviant behavior. Dr. Allison Chappell (Old Dominion University) is a former student of Akers and has written several articles about the police using the social learning theory. I corresponded with Dr. Chappell about the effectiveness of using social learning to examine police culture and decision-making, and she agreed that using the theory from a view of conforming behavior instead of deviant behavior was plausible and had made this argument in her dissertation (personal communication, May 1, 2017).

Culture is a tenant of moral and ethical reasoning employed in decision-making (De Schrijver & Maesschalck, 2015), but little time is devoted to ethics and moral reasoning skills in police training. According to Whelan (2016), “culture is to an organization what personality is to an individual” (p. 583). This statement establishes the relationship between the actions of street-level officers and the culture of the

organization. The four variables in social learning theory—differential association, definitions, reinforcement, and modeling (Akers, 1979)—help determine the proclivity of an individual to conform to the culture. The research questions were designed to draw out the feeling and experience of officers with police culture.

In addition to using Akers's social structure social learning theory, I used a phenomenological approach. Phenomenology relies on inductive reasoning gained from in-depth, open-ended interviews (Thorne, 2000). A challenge to phenomenology is the bias and preconceived notions of the researcher which denigrates validity of the research. Overcoming this problem is a method called "bracketing," a term coined by Husserl (1913), or epoche (Moustakas, 1994). This process is used to set aside bias, experience, and past knowledge by a 5-step method suggested by Patton (2015). In writing a bracketing statement the researcher writes about personal or past experiences with the phenomenon (Creswell, 2013, p.216). Chapter 3 includes a discussion of this research conceptualization in greater detail.

The central question of my research is focused on how police culture affects officers' decision-making, which I answered through semi structured interviews with street-level officers with questions designed to expand data into the phenomenon. Semi structured interviews are the most common in qualitative research because they are flexible and provide the ability to pursue emerging ideas (Doody & Noonan, 2013). The results of the data can then be explained in a narrative form (Maxwell, 2012). An interview protocol guide (Appendix A) kept the interviews focused on collecting relevant data and pursue emerging information.

Akers's (2011) social structure social learning provided a basis for analyzing both social and institutional learning of culture. The elements involved in conforming behavior of a personal and professional culture frames decision-making. Generations are in the social culture whereas technology is in institutional culture. These features were found in the literature. MAXQDA assisted in analyzing data by locating significant recurring statements and developing clusters of meanings and creating themes.

Nature of the Study

I used qualitative methods incorporating a phenomenological approach. An interpretative approach provided meaning and understanding from officers living the culture. Open-ended interview questions with 12 officers purposively collected from a demographic representation of the population of officers in Tennessee provided data on the topic. A phenomenology sample size can vary from three to 15 participants (Creswell, 2013), or grow larger due to the emergent nature of qualitative research (Patton, 2015). I used MAXQDA data analysis software to analyze data and identify themes from the interviews, literature review, and journal notes. Phenomenology helped gain a descriptive meaning to police culture on how the officers became involved with the culture and how it changed with experience and the influence of technology and generations. I also used Colaizzi's (1978) 7-step process for analysis in this phenomenology study:

1. read and re-read transcripts to obtain a general sense of the content
2. look for significant statements that pertain to the phenomenon under study
3. formulate meanings from the statements
4. sort into categories, clusters of themes, and themes

5. integrate into an exhaustive description of the phenomenon under study
6. describe the fundamental structure of the phenomenon
7. validate the finding with the participants

This research can lead to positive social change by providing information to improve and evolve trust and respect between officers and citizens. The FBI report (2015) on the Ferguson Police Department shows examples of the influence of police culture on officer's decisions and behavior. A consistent theme in the report is a lack of trust and respect for officers and suspicion of the law enforcement system from the minority communities caused by the culture of the Ferguson police. Recruit selection, training, and retraining was recommended to change the existing culture in Ferguson. My research defines police culture and the barriers it creates in relationships between officers and communities, and it provides information on how to develop training to mitigate the negative aspects of the culture that is accepted and supported by officers.

Definitions of Key Terms

Police culture: Has varied meanings due to different police departments, the demographics of the officers, the areas where officers serve, and the natural evolution of culture. However, many researchers agree on some basic tenets described as widely shared attitudes, values, and norms. The broadest definition presents police culture as a means to cope with the strains of the occupation based on experience, structural cultural, and perceptions of the meaning of being a police officer (Ingram et al., 2013).

Organizational culture: The norms, shared values, traditions, and attitudes particular to an organization or workplace shared by members of the organization and

shapes acceptable and unacceptable standards (Alvesson & Sveningsson, 2015; Cockcroft, 2012).

Industrial/organizational psychology: The study of human behavior in the workplace (Aamodt, 2012).

Subculture: A culture within a broader culture that may deviate in some aspects from the broader culture and influences daily decisions (Greene, 2010; Herbert, 1998).

Legitimacy: Belief in the right of authority, acceptance, and recognition of the authority of a person or organization and associated with procedural justice linking a relationship of cooperation and compliance between officers and citizens (Antrobus et al., 2015).

Procedural justice: People believe law enforcement is being conducted fairly showing respect and dignity to citizens equally (Fischer, 2014).

Assumptions

I assumed that there is a significant influence of police culture on the decision-making of street-level officers. Interviews represent the experience, thoughts, feelings, and opinions of the participants but do not clinically and empirically prove the influence of police culture or its existence. There is an extensive amount of research covering police culture from many different aspects, but all agree it shapes decisions made by officers. The responses from participants were assumed honest, considered, and representative of real feelings. Purposeful selection of participants was believed to mirror the national demographics of police provides a more representative measure of officers' views on culture. Changing the negative influences of police culture requires supervisors

and trainers to decide on the desired culture, mitigating the old culture, and gaining support from officers for a new culture (Aamodt, 2012).

Scope and Delimitations

I conducted this study to understand the role police culture plays in decisions officers make during interactions with citizens and provide officers with better tools to use during their daily duties. A purposeful sampling of uniform police officers from five different agencies in Tennessee was conducted by using a list obtained from the Tennessee Police Officers Standards and Training Commission of P.O.S.T. certified officers (Appendix E). This method provided a broad participant selection representing agencies across the state to demonstrate the similarities of the phenomenon among the general population of street-level officers from departments of varying size. A letter of cooperation was sent to the chiefs of police of the respective departments selected for the research.

The study was limited to street-level uniform patrol officers because this is the area with the most interaction between police and citizens. The culture of street-level officers forms a cultural subgroup that differentiates from supervisors, detectives, and command officers (Ingram et al., 2013). Much of the research of police culture has been ethnographic and focused on the collective experiences of a group over an extended period as a participant/observer (Creswell, 2013). Phenomenology is used to examine the phenomenon in the present to learn how words, emotions, and experiences shape the thoughts and attitudes of individuals living in the phenomenon (Patton, 2015). Ethnography does not provide the deep meaning and perception of life events found in a

phenomenological study. Akers's (2011) social structure social learning theory supports the belief that it is possible to change a culture through environmental (structure) and individual behaviors. Social learning links structure and personal behavior (p. 322).

In this study, I relied on organizational culture and interpreting it through industrial/organizational psychology. This approach allowed the transfer of the results of the police culture to organizational culture and cultural studies of other subcultures in a police agency. Validation of the transferability relies on the generalizability of results to other groups (Elo et al., 2014, p. 2).

Limitations

A significant limitation to the research of police culture is that the culture is changing with each new generation and technological advance. Technology prototypes exist now that can dramatically change decision-making such as computer implants that could augment human senses and cognitive capabilities (Kott et al., 2015, p. 7). The culture will evolve with each new generation and technology advance (Kempe & Mesoudi, 2014). This constant evolution limits research to the moment, but the methods may be viable in the future. The transferability and dependability of the current study are limited by the speed of technology and cultural changes in each succeeding generation. A strong effort was made to keep the literature to the most current time and circumstances and update the research questions with new information. Another limitation is the bias to my research through my experiences as a police officer. However, this may have made participants comfortable due to my past professional association and the ability to understand their challenges. Credibility was strengthened when several of the participants

related overlapping themes, shared emotions, and shared similar professional experiences. I confined myself to asking questions and not making statements or relating personal experiences, which is a method to avoid influencing a participant's account of experience (Sorsa, Kiikkala, & Åstedt-Kurki, 2015).

Significance

This study will contribute to expanding the knowledge of police culture, which is a significant factor in the decision-making of officers. My research places emphasis on how the officers living the phenomenon view and understand it. The focus of the research was on the street-level officer and how demographics and technology shape and evolves the culture. Much of the existing research is focused on the supervisory or leadership of police organizations (Alvesson & Sveningsson, 2015) and takes an ethnographic approach. I used a phenomenology approach to learn the feelings and experiences of the participants; whereas ethnographic research is focused on the collective experience of a group. Previous work on police culture shows a gap in researching the individual, street-level officer's lived experience in this phenomenon. Interviews and observations of the participants through a heuristic lens led to a better understanding of the phenomenon under study (Patton, 2015, p.119). This study provides a direction for improving the trust, respect, and legitimacy of police in the community producing a positive social change in the harmony and peace of neighborhoods.

Summary

Values have a significant influence on behavior (Tyler & Jackson, 2013) and an emotional impact on decision-making (Tamir et al., 2016). The research questions were

designed to learn the values of street-level officers and the emotions involved in making decisions when engaged with citizens. Culture is a combination of traditions, beliefs, values, feelings, and associations with numerous groups and experiences in life events. Knowing the implications of culture involved in an officer's decision-making is the most efficient tool supervisors and managers have for understanding and changing behavior and attitudes (Linton, 1938).

Loss of legitimacy, respect, and trust from the community has precipitated an unprecedented level of violence against and by the police. The result has been an oversight by external agencies of local police departments and has led to "de-policing," a term coined by the media meaning officers actively disengaging in active police work (Rushin & Edwards, 2016). The slow down, or de-policing, of law enforcement, is also referred to as the Ferguson Effect (Wolfe & Nix, 2016) relating to numerous deadly force encounters by police involving Black suspects that began in 2014.

Trust, respect, and legitimacy from the community for the police is in decline, and a significant catalyst for the reduction is police culture as found in the FBI (2015) investigation of the Ferguson Police Department. The consensus of scholars is that police culture is developed in the street and continues throughout an officer's career (Terrill, Paoline, & Gau, 2016). Variables that shape police culture are age, race, sex, experience, education, military service, and social structures experienced by an individual's life frame. Community policing and procedural justice have been suggested as resolutions for solving disharmonious relationships between police officers and citizens (Fischer, 2014).

Training in these areas will be difficult without changing the police culture that resists training (Squires, 2015).

Chapter 2 will include information on culture, police culture, and the effects of technology and generations on culture. The literature included exploration on culture through psychology, industrial/organizational psychology, sociology, and criminal justice. Chapter 2 addresses the beginning of the study of police culture with the pioneering works of Banton (1964), Bittner (1967), Skolnick (1966), Van Maanen (1975), and Westley (1953). The existence of a police culture is endorsed by many previous works (Brough et al., 2016; De Schrijver & Maesschalck, 2015; Schlosser, Chajua, Valgoi, & Neville, 2015; Terrill et al., 2016). The effects of technology have also been shown to be important in police culture (Kott et al., 2015; Lum, Koper, & Willis, 2017; Mason, 2015; Yüksel, 2015). Generations are the third component of my research and have been investigated to determine the effects on police culture from Gen X, Y, Millennials, and others (Côté-Boucher, 2017; Lang, 2017; Parry & Tamkin, 2016; Pollock, 2014).

Chapter 2: Literature Review

Introduction

The degeneration of trust, respect, and legitimacy for police has created violent adversarial encounters between officers and citizens in some communities. This has historical significance, as excessive police force was usually the spark of violence in 1960s race riots (Skolnick, 2008, p. 39). Studies and reports indicate that police culture has a culpable role in a communities' response to law enforcement (Antrobus et al., 2015; FBI, 2015; Fischer, 2014). The problem is that decisions made by uniform patrol officers are influenced by negative aspects of police culture. The purpose of this study was to understand what police culture means to uniform patrol officers and how generations and technology change and shape the culture (Brough et al., 2016). Police culture inspires resistance to training and suspicion of people not involved in the daily challenges of a street-level police officer (Paoline, 2003; White & Robinson, 2014). Understanding how police culture is acquired, perseveres, and evolves provides methods for overcoming officers' resistance to training that can improve trust, respect, and legitimacy of the police in the community.

The study of police culture requires examining social and organizational culture (Brough et al., 2016). The terms *organizational culture* and *police culture* are interchangeable when a police department is recognized as an organization (Cockcroft, 2012; Smircich, 1983). A review of cultural studies in psychology, anthropology, sociology, criminal justice, and other fields contributes to a comparison of police culture to different cultural layers. A person has layers of culture and life experiences; culture

always has historical context (Glover, & Friedman, 2014, p. 83). I examined the historical works on the evolution of understanding culture in societies, organizations, and police agencies. The influence of technology and demographics of officers are included to provide a complete understanding of how police culture exists and changes. Individual emotions and temperament affect decision-making, “but in most situations, the cultural factors will be dominant” (Linton, 1938, p. 432). An individual’s culture is a limiting factor in my research, because that culture is in constant change.

Evolution is a genetic and cultural process (Morgan, Cross, & Rendell, 2015) and both will change and evolve. Knowing how culture evolves contributes to predicting, in some degree, what culture will be in the future. This gene-culture coevolution (Lumsden & Wilson, 1981) is associated with social learning. An individual’s thinking and learning processes are shaped by culture (Hornik & Tupchiy, 2006) and associations with individuals, groups, and organizations, making culture a product of the individual and institutions.

Industrial/organizational psychology began to develop at the turn of the 20th century in the United States (Aamodt, (2012). Industrial/organizational psychology is used to study human behavior in a work environment. In the 1980s the study of organizational culture began to take shape. There are strong similarities between organizational culture and police culture. Both have a strong influence on its members and encourages resistance to change (Whelan, 2016).

Technology is rapidly becoming more significant in shaping police culture. The implementation of body and dashboard cameras, license plate readers, computerized

records systems, drones, and a host of other technology has increased the efficiency and accountability of police officers (Lum et al., 2017). Technology is greeted with apprehension and suspicion by senior officers and with enthusiasm and support by younger officers creating a subculture within police culture. Acquiring new technology and training officers in its use adds additional burden to many police department budgets. The technology must be simple and easy to use to be useful (Mason, 2015).

Generations present another world view of culture. The differences in worldview not only affect generational responses to police culture but create difficulties in departments (Parry & Tamkin, 2016, p. 8). New generation officers are more technologically astute than their older colleagues and disagree on how police work should be done. These differing views dispel the notion of police officers being a homogenous group. The more technology incorporated into a police agency, the greater the break with the past (Côté-Boucher, 2017). Generational changes in the public is also a noted variable in the reaction of contact with police. Race, gender, age, criminal history, and socioeconomic status of citizens are predictors of police contact outcomes (Pollock, 2014). This is a form of social structure social learning from the public culture influence.

Chapter 2 will include a review of literature involving organizational culture, social culture, and the effects of technology and demographics of individuals and groups on culture. It is only since 1967 that attention has been given to the relationship between organizational culture and police culture. Organizational factors influence police practices and actions in addition to environmental factors (Klinger, 2004, p. 124). For example, the influx of more significant numbers of military veterans into law

enforcement introduces a warrior culture that affects not only the police but first responders (Malmin, 2013).

Literature Search Strategy

Literature was retrieved from databases found in the Walden Library, Thoreau multi-database search, the Bureau of Justice, Pew Research Center, Google Scholar, psychology database, criminal justice databases; policy, administration, and security databases; Sage journals; military and security databases; Boolean Internet searches; and personal correspondence with social learning theory researchers. I also collected information from textbooks, articles from professional journals, the Tennessee P.O.S.T. Commission, personal contacts with active and retired law enforcement officers, and the U.S. Army Research Laboratory. Keywords for searches were *police, cultures, traditions, social cultures, organizational cultures, cultural influences, cultural evolution, cultural decision-making, gender cultures, generations and culture, technology and culture, and psychology of culture*.

Theoretical Framework

Akers's (2011) social structure social learning theory guides the research into police culture. It is an adaptation of Sutherland's (1947) differential association theory that is used to examine conforming and deviant behavior. Akers's theory is not an alternative to Sutherland's differential association but a reinforcement. When Akers and Burgess formulated the social learning theory in 1965, it was called differential association-reinforcement (Akers, 2011). In a personal correspondence with Dr. Akers (2017), he advised that his theory is "highly applicable" in explaining police officers'

conforming behavior related to police culture. The theory helps explain that the same learning process through social structures and interactions leads to conforming and deviant behavior (Akers, & Jensen, 2006, p. 1). Westley (1953) explains the culmination of the learning process in this context: “He [the officer] begins to recognize emotionally that his interest lies with those of his fellow officers and he begins to differentiate himself from nonpolicemen by defining them as enemies” (p. 160). Officers’ social learning of the police circle has become complete incorporating culture, traditions, and policies of the department.

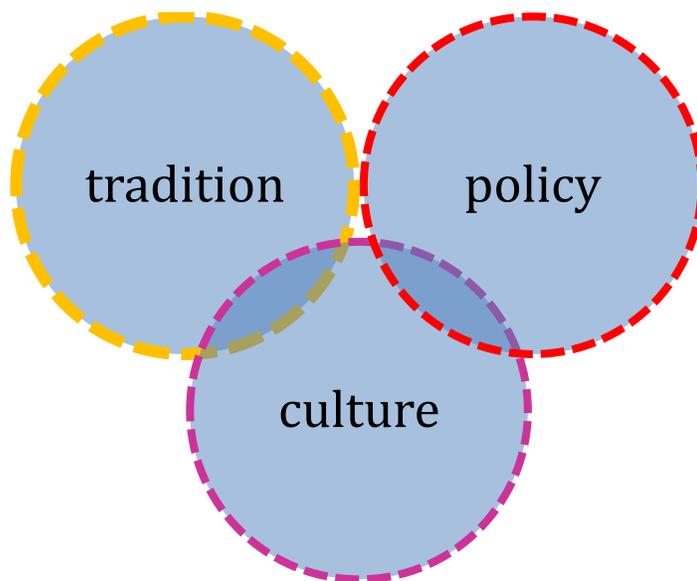


Figure 2. Cultural circle.

Another expression for social learning is differential reinforcement, meaning contemplating the consequences of behavior in the group (Akers & Jensen, 2006). If an officer’s behavior is acceptable to the norms of the group, the officer is in, if not the officer is out. Practicing acceptable behavior is often accomplished by imitating or modeling the behavior of an officer considered professional or admired. Continued

participation in the group teaches the officer what behavior is acceptable or unacceptable by the comments and actions of others in the group (Burgess & Akers, 1966). The social structure social learning theory is focused on deviant behavior that contributes to crime. Some parts of a police culture are deviant behavior, but the focus of my research was on conforming behavior, or why officers conform to the positive aspects of the culture.

Police Culture Research Origins

Researching police culture is deficient if the work of William Westley is not consulted. His book published in 1953 is primarily his dissertation completed in 1950. Westley found that public hostility, public pressure, and political influence was instrumental in shaping police culture (p. xii). Westley provided the only empirical research on the police before 1960 and was an influence on the pioneers of police research—for example, Michael Banton, Jerome Skolnick, and Egon Bittner (Reiner, 2015).

Since Westley's work, the research of police culture has progressed through four stages. The consensus stage began in 1960 and supported the police. The controversy stage in the late 1960s and early 1970s was critical of police. The conflict stage into the early 1980s saw the immersion of policing and politics, and the contradiction stage in the 1980s introduced new policing initiatives (Thomas, Rogers, Gravelle, 2014). Although much of the research on police has been focused on deviant behavior and generally ignoring conforming behavior, a common observation of police culture is that officers are resistant to change (Cordner, 2014). To overcome this resistance the culture must be changed.

Social learning theory has been used in investigating conforming and deviant behavior of groups in industry and organizations. The theory's use in studying the police historically has looked at deviant and not conforming behavior (Chappell & Piquero, 2004) and generally focused on police misconduct. The social learning theory is the most practical choice for investigating police culture and has been used consistently in social behavior research (Akers, 2011). Social structure is an extension of social learning by Akers that views the environment and links to social learning to produce an individual's behavior (p. 322). Akers argued that applying social learning to a culture's deviant or conforming behavior can be changed through the environment of the individual's belief (p. xxxviii). Variables associated with social structure social learning are "peer associations, parental models, prosocial and deviant attitudes, informal social sanctions and reactions to deviant" (p. 112) or conforming behavior. Prior research shows that sex, race, age, education and military experience are variables that affect the perception and opinion of an individual on issues.

The research questions were crafted to collect meaningful data to learn how the culture influences decision-making, behavior, and relationships between the officers concerning these issues. Each question represents the learning process in acquiring the culture by the social structure social learning theory.

RQ1: What does the term police culture mean to you?

This establishes the officer's awareness of a police culture and invites support or criticism of the various aspects of police culture.

RQ2: How does police culture affect your decisions on the job?

This question is designed to evoke thought from the officer on how the culture is involved in decisions made during an interaction with the public.

RQ3: How were you first introduced to police culture?

This is to determine when an officer first experiences police culture and to provide a point of interdiction to change negative aspects of the culture.

RQ4: How do the differences in generations affect the culture?

Answers to this question seek to determine how to effectively and positively bridge generational gaps.

RQ5: Describe how technology has changed police culture.

Responses to this question reflect generational and demographic gaps in accepting technology and administrative changes in a department.

RQ6: How comfortable/competent are you with the technology in your department?

Responses to this question will display exceptions to competency with technology with older officers, and the level of comfort all officers have with technology.

These research questions are related to prior research employing social structure social learning theory except focusing on conforming behavior instead of deviant behavior. The generational, demographic, and technological knowledge of the officers are variables that have been used in past research into police behavior and are the main strength of the social structure social learning theory.

Belief perseverance discussed earlier, is a significant block to changing an individual's beliefs, and creates resistance to training and change. Using social structure

social learning provides a holistic examination of culture and instituting positive changes. The culture of the police is changing and evolving because “policing itself has experienced a comparable need to explain and understand a growing demand to account for itself, to scientifically validate its working practices and to professionalize” (Squires, 2015, p. 2). Understanding and working through police culture is a method of accounting and professionalizing the police.

Organizational Culture and Officer Subculture

Much of the research in police culture is ethnographic meaning close personal contact with the study group from observation. My research is a phenomenological emic approach, to study police culture from the perspective of the people who live it by personal interviews and surveys. Akers’s (2011) social structure social learning theory can be applied to many sociological theories and is supported by empirical laboratory experiments (Akers, Krohn, Lanza-Kaduce, & Radosevich, 1979). Cochran, Maskaly, Jones, & Sellers (2017) tested Akers social structure social learning theory and through structural equation models were highly supportive of the theory. Learning deviant or conforming behavior is by the same process and the most marked difference in behavior among the group will be age and sex (Akers, 2011).

The study of the culture should not be affected by our values (Cockcroft, 2012) but by assessing it from the people who have lived the phenomenon. Setting aside, or suspending, personal experience and biases are called bracketing, which is engaged from the beginning of the research to neutralize personal values and biases. Bracketing is a concept from Husserl’s view of phenomenology that a researcher can suspend personal

experience to only essentials to understand the phenomenon. In contrast, Heidegger believed it is impossible to suspend preconceptions (Sorsa, Kiikkala, Åstedt-Kurki, 2015).

Organizational culture is an element that must be recognized in police culture. The police department is an organization and possesses many of the characteristics of other organizations. The notion of organizational culture has two views. Some think of it as something an organization has, and others that it is something an organization is (Whelan, 2016). In the book, *The smartest guys in the room: The amazing rise and scandalous fall of Enron* (McLean & Elkind, 2013), the concept of organizational culture being both are and has is clearly demonstrated. The culture of the police department equates to organizational culture. The culture of police officers in the street is a subculture. It is clear that to change police culture both the organizational culture and the officer subculture must be changed. A police department has many of the components of organizational culture found in other organizations and industries, but “what differentiates police culture from other organizational cultures is the constant potential for life-and-death encounters combined with the unique stresses and strains that originate in the policing environment (White & Robinson, 2014, p. 260).

Police Culture Literature

Cochran, Maskaly, Jones, and Sellers (2017) tested Akers social structure social learning theory and through structural equation models were highly supportive of the theory. Learning deviant or conforming behavior is by the same process and the most marked difference in behavior among the group will be age and sex (Akers, 2011). The

expanding literature on policing and procedural justice have focused primarily on the promise of securing public cooperation and compliance through building the legitimacy of the police. Far less attention has been focused on how police officers might be encouraged to display consistently the types of attitudes and behavior that might foster legitimacy (p. 349).

Changing the negative aspects of police culture requires an organizational change involving administrators, managers, supervisors, and trainers. Changes in organizations usually fail because organizational leadership did not consider the culture of the organization. The importance of culture in an organization and how these aspects transfer to police officers is highlighted by Alvesson, and Sveningsson (2015).

Training plays a significant role in changing police culture. Training in many police departments is structured in a military type environment, which is a behavioral approach. Changing police culture through training necessitate a different method, and an andragogy structure is better suited for this task (Ozuah, 2016). Changing an organization and its culture is done by education and training. Andragogy is the way adults learn and is self-directed, which is the way to change the culture. The changes are bound for failure if the learning environment and curriculum are not designed to achieve and support changes.

The study of the culture should not be affected by our values (Cockcroft, 2012) but by assessing it from the people who have lived the phenomenon. Controlling for personal values is done by bracketing (Chan, Fung, & Chien, 2013). Considering my own experience in law enforcement, the interpretation, and analysis of officers' perceptions

may contain some pro-officer bias that must be minimized. This limitation is mitigated by coding and journaling procedures (discussed in detail in Chapter 3) were designed to impart the data collection and analysis phases with the essence of participants' meanings while simultaneously providing the transparency requisite to establish trustworthiness. My prior experience in the field of law enforcement helped build rapport with the participants so they could "disclose detailed perspectives about" their personal experiences (Creswell, 2013, p. 154). This experience also aided in the analysis and comparison of participant interpretations with contextual and environmental variables affecting the contacts.

Understanding police culture can only be correctly understood by examining the culture through the experiences of police officers, or through a cultural lens. Which is the only way police behavior can be understood (Crank & Crank, 2014). Many influences create a culture, and personal interviews with officers living the experience are the primary methods of understanding the personal and individual culture of the participants and how it developed. Learning of life experience, the cultural development of the officer is essential because "the individual is never familiar with the whole of the culture in which he participates nor conscious of it as a distinct entity" (Linton, 1938, p. 426).

Belief systems are the foundation that shapes the thinking of culture. Understanding how an individual may respond to a situational incident requiring interaction with other people is critical. A person reacts to specific stimuli according to cultural influence, and it does not matter if the response is right or wrong as long as it adheres to the cultural belief of the individual. The implications of cultural roots for

decisions made by police officers based on culture is identified as “belief perseverance” (Douglas, 2000; Greitemeyer, 2014). Overcoming belief perseverance is the first significant step in changing police culture.

There are many facets of police work that mirror the experiences of soldiers in combat, and this is referred to as a warrior ethos (Malmin, 2013). Many soldiers seek out law enforcement jobs after separating from the military because of the similarities between the two organizations. The aggressiveness of an experienced soldier transfers easily into police work and fits with the organizational structure, wearing uniforms, and carrying of weapons. However, law enforcement is an entirely different mission. A police officer’s job is to protect property and save lives, including the lives of criminal perpetrators. Retraining for military members is imperative for the transition from warrior to a police officer.

Stoughton (2016) defines soldiers as warriors and police officers as guardians. An idea that warriors and police officers share is “Warriors serve others, not themselves and do so only for honorable ends. Warriors pursue justice—the triumph of right over wrong—and they seek to defend the weak from those who would take advantage of them” (Stoughton, 2016, p. 632). Police officers more frequently assume the guardian role to build trust and lasting community partnerships (p. 667). The police-warrior concept began with the Los Angeles Police Department (LAPD) after riots in South Central Los Angeles resulting in thirty-four people killed, over a thousand injured and \$200 million in property damage (Stoughton, 2016). The LAPD was not equipped or trained to handle an incident of this magnitude, and it took the California National Guard

to restore order. Special Weapons and Tactics (SWAT) units were organized, equipped, and trained to counter any other incidents on the scale of the riots, negating the need for military troops. The further militarization of police was advanced by President Nixon's "War on Drugs" and President Bush's "War on Terror," which was intended to be a homeland police responsibility.

Critics of police acquiring military equipment and training are abundant. Dansky (2016) uses the police response to riots in Ferguson, MO and racial disparity as examples of police militarization, and criticizes the lack of oversight in the use of SWAT units. The use of weapons depends on the mindset of the user. A warrior's mission is to take lives and destroy property. A guardian's mission is to save lives and protect property. Military type weapons and training used by police have all evolved from critical incidents experienced by police departments. The Bank of American Shootout in North Hollywood (Botched LA bank heist, 1997) proved the need for police to have military grade weapons and armored vehicles. L.A.P.D. 9mm pistols and shotguns were no matches for two heavily armed bank robbers wearing bulletproof equipment. Wounded people were lying exposed to gunfire in the street and officers commandeered a civilian armored car to extract the wounded. There is a long and continuing series of incidents involving police that emphasizes the need for military-grade weapons and equipment, which precludes the necessity of involvement by the military. The difference in culture between warrior and guardian determines how these arms and equipment are used.

Military technology is often adapted for use by civilian police agencies. Technology in the mid-point of the 21st century will bring challenges and changes not

only to police culture but societies culture. However, technology will be ineffective if officers do not believe it is related to their work (Lum, Koper, & Willis, 2017). Older officers are often intimidated by new technology and suspicious of its implementation by the department. The millennial generation matured in the computer age and are enthusiastic about the introduction of new technology (Harvey, 2014).

Cultural differences between police and the public can be utilized to improve relationships and establish better communication lines. The diversity of communities increases with the global migration to the United States (Moran et al., 2014), and with more diversity more cultural differences arise between law enforcement and the community. New skills and attitudes for the established law enforcement system are needed to find a way to cope with these cultural changes. Changing and adapting police culture is a significant move to meeting these new cultural challenges.

Stone and Travis (2013) explore the new professionalism of police in the areas of accountability, legitimacy, innovation and national coherence. The author's term "New Professionalism" includes police culture and its ever-evolving meaning. Much of their work is a modern perspective on legitimacy and authority. The people subject to police gives authority and legitimacy to the authorities. Stone and Travis discuss community policing as a tool to achieve the new professionalism, but it requires officers to change in their way of life and their view of the relationship with the communities they serve. It is necessary to modify the resistance of police culture to change to be more acceptable to training, and this is the second part of the research.

Tyler and Jackson (2013) examine the legitimacy of police in the minds of the public and equates fairness with the exercise of authority. Bad decisions and overreaction by uniform patrol officers can abrogate the legitimacy and authority of the police. The study of police culture and how to make a positive consequence of decision making through a cultural lens will increase the legitimacy and public confidence in the police. Tyler and Jackson (2013) state that the police need to project their authority by incontestable force, but the public's reaction can be expected to be both compliance and defiance. The research of police culture will investigate the appropriate and acceptable use of force through developing a more compassionate method of decision making viewed through a cultural lens.

Two variables influence officer-based decisions. The race of the officer and involvement in the community (Barrick, Hickman, & Strom, 2014). The most important part of their study determined that how officers conduct themselves in the day to day encounters with the community is more important than the race of community involvement. An officer's daily conduct is responsive to the officer's culture, and the police culture. The report emphasized training for recruits and re-training for veteran officers in a well-planned community policing program.

New people joining a group, or a culture new to them, will adopt the views of the culture to be assimilated into the group and will change their behavior to reflect the group culture (Morgan, Cross, & Rendell, 2015). The problems in a culture are never definitively solved, which requires changing the minds and behaviors of many people (Hacker, 2015).

A recognized use of Akers social structure social learning theory was by Chappell and Piquero (2004) studying police misconduct. It has also been employed by Nissen (2013) examining police use of force, Proctor (2010) investigating formalization of micro-level criminological theories, but none regarding police decision-making. However, there is vast support for the increasing use of the theory for the study of officer behavior (Maskaly & Donner, 2015). Chappell and Piquero (2004) used the theory to examine police misconduct and how officers became participants in deviant behavior. They found peer pressure a significant catalyst in the conduct. Chappell was a student of Akers and references him many times in the article. I contacted Chappell about the feasibility of using social learning for conforming behavior in my research. She responded: “Akers, like Sutherland, believes that social learning theory explains any type of learning, not simply the learning of criminal/deviant behavior” (Chappell, personal communication, May 1, 2017).

Research has demonstrated that police culture affects officer behavior and their interactions with citizens and is well documented (Brough et al., 2016; Rose & Unnithan, 2015). Individual and organizational culture is learned (Akers & Jensen, 2006; Mead & Métraux (Eds.),2000) and the learning process in police culture begins with entry into a police academy (Rose & Unnithan, 2015). Social Structure Social Learning theory links individual behavior, social structure, and culture to the conforming behavior of the individual officer (Akers, 2011). Since my research is about how culture affects an officer’s decision-making social structure social learning theory is the most appropriate for my research.

Westley (1970) was apparently discussing police culture in his dissertation and later book publication in *Violence and the Police*. His research questions were (1) isolate and identify significant social norms, (2) obtain an interpretative understanding of these norms, (3) and analyze the effects of these norms on officers (Westly, 1970, p. 11). The norms researched by Westley are also examined by Akers (2011) in his theory of social learning to explain how the norms direct an officer's conforming behavior in a police culture. My central research question is what does the term police culture mean to you? What is the meaning of police culture is a question asked from Westly (1970) to Terrill, Paoline III, & Gau, 2016) and the works of many other authors in between. The social structure social learning theory is one of the most widely and empirically tested theories of crime and deviance [conforming] behavior (Akers, 1970). My research will build on this approach focusing on conforming behavior of officers to police culture.

Police culture has been studied extensively since Westley's (1953) dissertation. The significant portion of the research has been ethnographic centered on police misconduct or lack of legitimacy among citizens. This study produced the same views that police culture consists of a us vs. them, code of silence, thin blue line, a coping mechanism, and a deviant producing behavior (Brough, Chataway, & Biggs, 2016; Chappell, & Piquero, 2004; Cockcroft, 2012; Crank, J., & Crank, J. P., 2014; Ingram, Paoline, & Terrill, 2013; Myhill, & Bradford, 2013; Skolnick, 2008; Van Craen, 2016). The ethnographic method of the research presents an etic approach that precludes valuable insight into the phenomenon. A phenomenological method is an emic approach

that produces a clearer understanding of police culture by having it defined and explained by people living the culture.

It is not crime rates that create problems between citizens and police officers, but interactions between them that cause a loss of trust (Rosenbaum, Lawrence, Hartnett, McDevitt, & Posick, 2015). The police become ineffective without the trust and respect of the community they serve. Chappell & Piquero (2004) studied police misconduct using Akers social learning theory. Chappell had been a student of Akers and recognized early the effectiveness of the theory in studying police behavior. Ethnography and deviant behavior is the most used approach to explore police conduct, and most studies focus on deviant police behavior. Social learning also has a conforming behavior context often overlooked when considering how and why police make decisions that cause an escalation in citizen animosity toward officers. Some researchers believe influence from the culture is one of the most powerful forces in an officers' actions (Maskaly & Donner, 2015).

Major Literature Themes

Since the mid-twentieth century the most frequently researched group in business and industry is the police (Squires, 2015). Studies in sociology, psychology, organizational structure, and numerous other organizations and disciplines investigate police behavior. In the beginning, police culture was deemed to be monolithic, or a culture shared by all officers. Current and later research refutes the concept by finding uniqueness in various police departments and officers (Alpert, Roject, & Porter, 2012). The importance of culture in a police officer's decision making and an agency's public

image is significant to the identity of both. Because “culture is arguably the product of organization and management as much as it is the product of one’s inherent personality” (Van Steden, Van Der Wal, & Lasthuizen, 2015, p. 223).

Studies on the police are often from the perspective of culture (Andersen, & Papazoglou, 2014; Bayerl., Horton, Jacobs, Rogiest, Reguli, Gruschinske., ...& Elliott, 2014; Paoline, 2003). A common theme is the misconduct of police (Chappell, & Piquero, 2004), or the militarization of police (Dansky,2016; Malmin, 2013). The organizational culture and psychology of both the organization and officer are frequently researched (Loftus, 2010; Tyler, Goff, & MacCoun, 2015). Police culture is often presented as unique from other professional cultures, which results in “virtually no research on the differences and similarities between the police’s and other professional groups’ patterns of interaction with the public (Loyens & Maeschalck, 2014, p. 3). Some recurring themes are adapting officers to community policing (Cordner, 2014), and relating police culture to organizational culture (Crank, J., & Crank, J. P., 2014). Most of these studies center on the behavior and attitudes of police toward the public shaped by deviant behavior acquired in police culture. Many cultural influences shape an officer’s conduct. The police culture is unique because many consider being a police officer a calling and not an occupation (Brough, Chataway, & Biggs 2016). Studying culture is an intricate work because “culture...is an abstract concept, an elusive entity that is experienced as much as witnessed” (Cockcroft, 2012, p.8) and is in constant change.

Nearly all the studies of police culture focus on the officers’ deviant behavior and Akers (2011) social structure social learning theory is frequently used to describe officer

behavior. The conforming of officers to the culture has mostly been neglected and overlooks the importance of understanding the process of conforming to the culture to institute positive changes in the culture. An individual's worldview and mindset are at the core of culture (Hacker, 2015) and is where cultural change begins. Belief modification starts with overcoming the biases and unsubstantiated beliefs, or belief perseverance (Douglas, 2000; Savion, 2012) of an individual making acceptance to change difficult. The major themes in the literature is that police misconduct is the result of police culture and that continuing (differential) association in the culture produces deviant behavior and instills resistance to change or to train in new police methods. The culture isolates officers from the community they serve with an "us vs. them" attitude. Research shows that police culture affects deviant behavior and decision-making in officers. What is not known is how conforming behavior can be a method for changing negative behavior to positive and how to use this tool to improve trust, respect, and legitimacy for officers in the community.

Akers (2011) states that "conforming and deviant behavior are learned in the same way" (p. 328) and most research purports individuals conform to deviant behavior as a learning process. My study looks at the positive factor of conforming to positive behavior, or if the structure of the group is positive members of that group will conform to the expectations of that group. Knowledge in developing positive and constructive behavior in police culture adds a tool to improve trust, respect, and legitimacy of officers and police departments. If community policing is chosen to improve police and citizen relationships my research provides direction in gaining officer support for that program.

The culture of the organization is as important as the culture of the individual officer and guides behavior of both organization and officer not recognizing this factor dooms change to failure (Alvesson, & Sveningsson, 2015).

Most of the research on the effectiveness and problem-solving ability of police are compounded by problems with trust, respect, and legitimacy of street-level officers by citizens in minority communities (Antrobus, Bradford, Murphy, & Sargeant, 2015).

Culture is a significant factor in how citizens and police view each other and have social circumstances for actions from both sides (Fisk & Taylor, 2013). Police culture is the focus of much research, but mostly are ethnographic studies with a view of culture as monolithic or encompassing all ranks and duties as one (Ingram, Paoline, & Terrill, 2013). Many researchers focus on the deviant behavior of police officers and disregard the importance of conforming behavior. “Conforming and deviant behavior are learned in the same way...[and] the general process is the same for both” (Akers, 2011, p. 328).

Using a phenomenological method collecting data with interviews will explore the conforming ability of social structure social learning in police culture. Details of the methods for achieving this goal are in Chapter 3.

Chapter 3: Research Method

Introduction

The purpose of this study was to gain a better understanding of how culture, both social and institutional, shape the decision-making of street-level police officers. Leaders must first recognize that a culture exists in an organization and is an active force in the success or failure of that organization (Warrick, 2017). This qualitative research was designed to provide leaders, police commanders, and trainers with an understanding of how police culture is acquired and evolves through demographics, generations, and technology. My research can provide information on the methods for changing the negative aspects of the culture to positive aspects and is based on previous research in sociology and psychology.

Chapter 3 includes the theory and design chosen to interpret my research. Data collection consisted of open-ended semi structured interviews from a pool of Tennessee P.O.S.T. certified police officers. Akers's (2011) social structure social learning theory guided the research combined with Colaizzi's (Morrow, Rodriguez, & King, 2015) seven steps to analyze the collected data. Participants in the study were not identified by name or organization, but by a researcher code, sex, race, age, and size of the police department where they are employed. This method was used to protect the confidentiality of the participants and to mitigate any possible ethical issues. MAXQDA was used to assist in analyzing data to identify themes and recurring patterns (Miles, Huberman, & Saldana, 2014) on research questions. All the research methods are reviewed and summarized at the conclusion of Chapter 3.

Research Design

There are many studies on the deviant behavior produced in a police culture, but there is a gap in the literature on the conforming aspect of behavior. The social structure social learning theory gives equal credence to conforming and deviant behavior.

According to Akers (2011), the learning process through social structures and interactions leads to both conforming and deviant behavior (p. 50). The research questions were designed to probe the essence of police culture from people currently living in the culture. The data for this research was gained by the following questions:

RQ1: What does the term police culture mean to you?

RQ2: How does police culture affect your decisions on the job?

RQ3: How were you first introduced to police culture?

RQ4: How do the differences in generations affect the culture?

RQ5: Describe how technology has changed police culture.

RQ6: How comfortable/competent are you with the technology in your department?

Generations and technology affect changes in police culture and is therefore necessary to explore questions on these issues.

The central concept of the study is that police culture influences the decisions made by officers and therefore affects the relationship between officers and the community. Police culture and the culture of the community have equal effect on the relationship between the two. The way people or social circumstances are held responsible for actions has implications for law and morality (Fisk & Taylor, 2013, p. 26)

The research tradition is a phenomenological, nonexperimental, cross-sectional design with participants selected from a purposeful pool. Husserl's (1931) views on transcendental phenomenology guided me in bracketing my personal experience and purposefully selecting participants with experience in the phenomenon (Creswell, 2013) of police culture. Husserl identified the term "intentionality" as a core element of phenomenology:

In the transcendental phenomenon, the intentionality has two dimensions, noema, and noesis. Noema is the object of experience or action, reflecting the perceptions and feelings, thoughts and memories, and judgments regarding the object. Noesis is the act of experience, such as perceiving, feeling, thinking, remembering, or judging. (Yüksel & Yıldırım, 2015, p. 6)

The core, or intentionality, of my research, is the street-level officer's experience and perceptions of police culture. The noema and noesis of intentionality provide the essence of the experience of police culture and its relationship to officers.

The rationale for choosing Akers's social structure social learning theory is based on the use of the theory by other researchers exploring police behavior, and it is widely recognized and used in criminal justice research. Social structure social learning is used to investigate the development of conforming or deviant behavior from consistent (differential) association with a group or groups. My research was focused on why officers conform to police culture and how the variables of generations and technology affect and change the culture. In a personal correspondence with Akers, he advised that social structure social learning is adaptable to the study of conforming behavior.

Social identity theory (Tajfel & Turner, 1979) was considered for my research. In the social identity theory, an individual identifies with a group, and the group gives the individual an identity and self-esteem. It is a social psychology theory based on the idea that individuals define, protect, and strengthen their identities around social groups (Islam, 2014, p. 1781).

Role of the Researcher

I had the role of a participant/observer because of my experience in law enforcement and familiarity with the socialization of police officers. This allowed me to be open to discovery (Patton, 2015, p. 333). The participant/observer role provided the opportunity to interact with the participants and observe the culture in a personal context and to look for things that may have been overlooked in previous research. Observational notes and thoughts were written down using an observational protocol with descriptive and reflective notes (see Creswell, 2013).

I have no personal relationships with any of the participants who were chosen by a demographic equation from a pool of volunteers. Discriminant sampling provides additional information about the culture and support from knowledge gained in interviews. I had no previous contact with the participants.

Phenomenological qualitative research requires the researcher to become involved in the study and develop a rapport with the participants. Without empathy and sympathy, the researcher cannot understand the phenomenon (Patton, 2015). Experience in the phenomenon could introduce biases of the researcher, which requires bracketing or setting aside personal experience. Bracketing is the process of a researcher discussing his

or her experience with the phenomenon (Creswell, 2013, p. 78). However, bracketing or setting aside personal experience may not be completely possible (Heidegger, 1962; Koch, 1995). But reflexivity helps identify possible personal bias influence in data collection and analysis of the project and keeping a diary during the research keeps the researcher focused on the threat of bias (Chan et al., 2013). I answered my research questions to compare to the collected data searching for signs of bias.

Methodology

The participant population is from a pool of certified law enforcement officers obtained from a list provided by the Tennessee P.O.S.T. Commission. Officers were selected to match the national demographics from the Bureau of Justice Assistance (see Reaves, 2015). The participants were purposefully selected from street-level officers. The officers work in five different police departments across Tennessee with a range of 15 to 231 officers.

Organizational culture varies among organizations (Shafritz, Ott, & Jang, 2016) and selecting officers from different departments separated organizational culture from police culture. My sampling strategy filtered out organizational and prior social cultures to identify police culture. The answers to some interview questions showed similar responses, or themes, whereas some questions led to different responses. The answers with similarity are police culture and dissimilar answers are organizational culture.

Demographics and department size were the criteria used in selecting participants. The demographics consisted of officers' sex, race, age, education, military and police experience. A demographic form was completed by participating officers. Officers were

chosen for interviews based on the national demographics of police officers (see Reaves, 2015). The demographics for police officers in Tennessee was computed by information on national demographics acquired from the U.S. Department of Justice, Office of Justice Programs, Bureau of Justice Assistance, Washington, DC and is displayed in Table 1. These demographics were used as a guide in selecting officers for interviews. The Tennessee P.O.S.T. Commission did not have a demographic breakdown of Tennessee Officers; therefore, the demographics were calculated using national percentages. All the officers interviewed are P.O.S.T. certified law enforcement officers at the rank of patrol officer. The certification is verified by attendance at in-service training at TLETA, and rank determined from a demographic heading. The interviewees were selected from five police departments across the state according to the size of the department. Interviewee represented departments employing from 15 officers to 231 officers, or from a small to a large police department in Tennessee.

Table 1

Tennessee Police Demographics

Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
White	White	Black	Black	Hispanic	Hispanic
64.2%	12.0%	8.8%	3.4%	10.0%	1.60%
8,719	1,629	1,195	462	1,358	217

Note. Numbers represent total certified Tennessee Officers 13,581

A phenomenological approach is centered on a phenomenon experienced by a mostly heterogeneous group. There is no specific number of interviews required in

qualitative research, but three to 10 individuals is the norm (Creswell, 2013; Patton, 2015) and more can be selected depending on the research. I selected 12 participants based on national demographics of police officers published in a report by the Bureau of Justice Assistance (see Reaves, 2015). The Tennessee P.O.S.T. Commission provided a list of the number of certified officers in Tennessee, but it was not broken down by demographics. The list showed 13,581 certified officers in Tennessee. The number of officers interviewed provides a number of participants to represent the total community of Tennessee's certified officers. This is the rationale for the selected number of participants.

Interviewees were selected from small, medium, and large departments ranging in size from 15 to 231 officers. A letter of cooperation was obtained from the chiefs of police of the selected agencies asking for permission to distribute a letter of invitation to officers to find participants matching the research criteria. The chiefs were advised the demographic of the officers selected would consist of the sex, race, age and experience level needed of the interviewee. The interviewees were chosen after reviewing the letters of invitation demographic heading to determine if they fit the requirements of the research. Contact information for the interviewees is known only to me, and that information is stored on a master list kept in a locked safe not accessible to anyone other than myself.

Data saturation and sample size depend on the research method and approach. There is much discussion on what is the best sample size for qualitative research. The sample size in phenomenology can range from three to 15 or more, and data saturation is

reached when no new information is being gained (Creswell, 2013; Fusch & Ness, 2015; Marshall, Cardon, Poddar, & Fontenot, 2013; Patton, 2015). Triangulation is an excellent method for knowing when saturation has been obtained and improves the reliability of the data (Fusch & Ness, 2015).

Instrumentation

The interviews conducted with participants were recorded on a cassette tape recorder and then transcribed and saved in MAXQDA for analysis. Notes were taken during the interviews for follow-up questions and coded to extract the most rich and descriptive responses. Table 2 demonstrates the purpose of the questions.

Table 2

Purpose of Research Questions

Research Questions	Purpose
1. What does police culture mean?	Establish awareness of the culture and gain officer definition of the phenomena
2. How does police culture affect decisions?	Determine the level of effect from the culture on decision-making
3. How were you introduced to the culture?	Learn a starting point to initiate retraining emphasizing positive effects
4. How do the differences in generations affect the culture?	Discover how to bridge gaps in generational differences to improve communication and training
5. Describe how technology has changed police culture.	How much influence does technology have on the culture and prepare officers for technological advances
6. How comfortable/competent are you with the technology in your department?	Show relationship between generations and competency with technology and identify need for technology training

Interviews provided the primary data for the research. Triangulation increases depth and understanding in addition to establishing validity and confidence (Hussein, 2015). The interviews were member-checked for accuracy, credibility, and any additional input from interviewees (Weyers, Strydom, & Huisamen, 2014; Creswell, 2013, p.252). Triangulation is accomplished by a, “mix of interviewing, observation, and document analysis” (Patton, 2016, p. 316).

I developed an interview protocol to guide the interview (Creswell, 2013). The interview protocol has several advantages. The protocol ensures the continuity of fundamental questions during the interview, establishes a checklist to cover the central subject, and facilitates a comprehensive method for interviewing a number of people (Patton, 2015) I created all the instruments in the data collection following guidelines established by Creswell (2013), Maxwell (2013), O’Sullivan, Rassel, and Berner (2008), and Patton (2015). Transcriptions of recorded interviews were used as a measure of trustworthiness through a process of member-checking (Harvey, 2015).

The social structure social learning theory has been used in a number of research projects on police behavior, criminal deviance, juvenile delinquency, drug and alcohol abuse, academic dishonesty, and numerous other areas. According to Akers (2011), “it is...one of the most widely recognized theories of crime and deviance and has been the object of a number of empirical studies and critiques” (p. xvi). Social Learning Theory has been used by Cochran, Maskaly, Jones, and Sellers (2017) in the study of intimate partner violence. Capece. Lanza-Kaduce (2013) applied the theory to binge drinking among college students. Bates, Watson, and King (2016) examined learner driver

compliance with road laws with the theory. And Chappell and Piquero (2004) used social structure social learning theory to explore police misconduct.

Akers Social Structure Social Learning Theory is the most appropriate theory for exploring the conforming behavior of police culture. Dr. Chappell advised “Akers, like Sutherland, believes that social learning theory explains any type of learning, not simply the learning of criminal/deviant behavior,” and that using the theory in my study can also “explain the learning of conforming behavior rather than deviant behavior” (personal communication, May 1, 2017). Dr. Akers also confirmed the use of social structure social learning in my research, “the theory is highly applicable to and does a good job of explaining police behavior that includes both conforming and deviant police actions” (personal communication, February 2017).

Validity is a term more appropriate in quantitative research. Qualitative research uses the terms trustworthiness, authenticity, and credibility (Creswell, 2009) rather than validity. In my phenomenology, qualitative research validity refers, “to the integrity and application of the methods undertaken and the precision in which the findings accurately reflect the data” (Noble & Smith, 2015). A method for checking the accuracy of the data is through content analysis. There are three approaches to content analysis, conventional, directed, and summative (Yuen, Knight, Dodson, Ricciardelli, Burney, & Livingston, 2014). The advantage of Conventional Content Analysis is extracting information directly from the participants through interviews using open-ended questions. Directed Content Analysis is to validate a theoretical framework or theory. Summative Content Analysis is more aligned with a quantitative method (Yuen et al., 2014). Triangulation

and member-checking give my research “credibility, authenticity, transferability, dependability, and confirmability” (Creswell, 2013, p. 246; Harvey, 2014).

Police culture and its effect on decision-making is the central research question in my project. The context of my research is examining how generations and technology shape and change the culture. The literature supports the concept of a police culture being a closed society where members are secretive and suspicious of others outside the culture (Wickersham, 2016). My experience in law enforcement set a level of trust among the participants, and a written assurance of confidentiality was instrumental in overcoming the trust issue. Understanding the unwritten codes of police culture from my own experience provides a cultural interpretation of the group and phenomenon being explored (Creswell, 2013).

The literature on studies involving police culture was the impetus for a project examining the conforming aspects of the culture. Prior research focuses on deviant behavior. The social learning theory “produces both conforming and deviant behavior” (Akers, 2011, p. 50). Discussions with colleagues in law enforcement and education suggested that demographics, generations, and technology have strong influences on the development and evolution of the culture. These suggestions became a part of the research to derive a richer, deeper understanding of the police culture phenomenon. Ingram, Paoline, and Terrill (2013) supported the variable nature of police culture in writing on the limitations of prior research. The culture is shared by officers with differing views depending on the shift and assignment officers work. Akers (2011)

suggest that social, structural, and institutional cultures of the individual play a role in how an individual conforms, or resist, elements of a culture.

The data collection instruments were interviews, observations, and literature review. Triangulation is used in qualitative research to corroborate findings and test for validity by using multiple sources (Patton, 2015). Some of the ways to triangulate are coding different sources, member checking, bracketing, and external audits (Creswell, 2013). Interviews were analyzed for recurring themes and validation of results content. Additional research was done on aspects of dissimilarity in the responses of the interviews “identifying and analyzing discrepant data, and negative cases is a key part...of validity testing” (Maxwell, 2013). These methods established the sufficiency of the data collection instruments.

I contacted the Tennessee P.O.S.T. Commission for a list of certified police officers in the state of Tennessee. The P.O.S.T. Commission sent me an excel spreadsheet of certified officers in each municipality, the number of officers in each municipality, and if the agency is authorized by the Tennessee Post Commission. There is a total of 13,581 certified officers in the state. The commission did not have this number broken-down in demographics. I then went to the U.S. Department of Justice, Office of Justice Programs, Bureau of Justice Statistics and obtained the demographics of officers nationwide. These statistics were used to establish demographics for Tennessee, and interview participants were selected representing these demographics. An expert review was done by colleagues in law enforcement and education examining the interview questions and methods of data collection and analysis.

The purpose of the expert review was to check the appropriateness of the instruments to collect the desired data. Reviewers made suggestions to clarify questions, delete some questions, and add others to improve the quality of the research instruments. An expert review can provide a researcher with the best method and use of instruments, and the potential results of the research.

Data were collected from interviews conducted by me. Interviews were conducted in a location determined by the interviewees who are employed at different law enforcement agencies across the state. The frequency of the data collection events was dictated by the availability of officers and their work schedule. Data collection occurred in January 2018. Interviews were recorded on small cassette tape recorder and later transcribed. The transcriptions were contained in a computer file. There are over 13,000 certified police officers in Tennessee and if the data collected is insufficient additional officers will be recruited from a list provided by the Tennessee P.O.S.T. commission.

The participants exited the study by reviewing the consent form that provided information on how to contact me and/or Walden University if there were any additional questions, concerns, or complaints. Participants were advised they would be contacted after the interviews were transcribed so they may review their responses and give any clarification or additional information concerning their interview. This is one step in member-checking. The participants in this study were not from a vulnerable group and were advised from the beginning of the process of my prior law enforcement experience. A letter was written to each participant thanking them for their participation and emphasizing the importance of their contribution to the study (Morrison, Gregory, &

Thibodeau, 2012). Participants were advised they would be contacted when their interviews were transcribed for their review and clarifying questions.

The central research question on police culture was specifically asked at the beginning of the interview. Sub-questions were designed to identify variables that effect police culture, e.g. generational differences and technology use. The interviewees provided demographic information indicating sex, race, age, and police experience. Participants were selected in part by race and sex representing the national percentages.

Data Analysis Plan

The specific research question is how police culture effects decision-making. Colazzi's (1978) seven-step method of descriptive phenomenological data analysis was used to analyze the data. In the first step, the interviews are read several times and the researcher's own experience with the phenomenon is considered and noted in a reflective diary. Significant statements and phrases locations are noted, coded, and formulated into meanings. Structures begin to appear as formulated meanings display themes. Findings were refined as redundant, misused, or unrelated data is deleted but filed for possible use later. Member checking was then used to validate the findings (Shosha, 2012).

Coding is the engine for analyzing qualitative data. The number of codes is unlimited and can become difficult to manage if there are too many codes. Coding is more manageable using computer software, and I chose MAXQDA to assist in my research. Codes are identified by categories, words, or colors. Some of the codes I used were culture, generations, technology, impact, theory, and a few others. I can view and

print selected text from any or all codes in an excel spreadsheet that provides a quick visual of how the codes are interacting.

Discrepant or outlier data is more often associated with quantitative research but has an established foundation in qualitative research (McPherson, & Thorne, 2006). Some of the reasons for discrepant or outlier data is the research question was possibly faulty or unclear, an error in transcription, or sampling error. Patton (2015) uses the term “negative cases” and advocates searching for these cases. “They may broaden understanding of the pattern, change the conceptualization of the pattern, or cast doubt on the pattern altogether” (p. 654). Negative cases should be investigated to learn how and why they occurred. Negative cases and discrepant data can be treated by member checking, examining how great the distance is from the data point to the outlier, and triangulation. In most cases, the outlier is discarded after careful examination. I created a code for discrepant/outlier data and retained it for possible reevaluation later.

The terms to describe accuracy in qualitative research differs from those in quantitative research. Trustworthiness in qualitative research is equated to rigor, credibility to internal validity, transferability to external validity, dependability to reliability, and confirmability to objectivity (Patton, 2015). Triangulation is a common method for proofing qualitative research. Triangulation in my study is achieved by experts in education and law enforcement working together reviewing the study. Identifying my position in the research by bracketing or epoch and describing my experience as a police officer with the police culture. Member checking by revisiting the

interview participants to review and critique the transcriptions of their interview.

Identifying and investigating negative cases, or outliers.

Transferability

Transferability is akin to external validity (Patton, 2015). Sampling affects the external validity and generalizability of the research (O'Sullivan, Rassel & Berner, 2008). Transferability and external validity are accomplished if the methods of a research project can be replicated or transferred to other groups (Krupnikov, & Levine, 2014). My research included many aspects of Industrial/Organization Psychology and organizational culture and can be easily transferred to organizational subgroups. Substituting the word for police for any organization and my methods can be transferred to the research of other organizational cultures. Technology and generations are also applicable for studies of other organizational cultures. Strategies for establishing transferability include prolonged engagement, triangulation, peer review, member checking, bracketing, thick description, and external audits (Creswell, 2013).

Dependability

Dependability is used in qualitative research instead of the quantitative term reliability (Chowdhury, 2015). Consistency is another term for dependability. Triangulation is one method to establish dependability by, combining interviews, observations, and purposeful sampling (Patton, 2015). The use of triangulation and the multiple ways involved provides a deeper, richer understanding of the phenomenon.

Confirmability

Confirmability is used to mitigate researcher bias, or in quantitative terms to show objectivity. Triangulation is one strategy to establish confirmability. Another is creating an audit trail of the research by journal notes or diagrams, or any method that would allow an uninvolved party to follow the development of the study (Shenton, 2004).

Coding

Coding is “the heart of qualitative analysis” (Creswell, 2013, p. 184). Emergent and priori coding was used in establishing an analysis process for my research in addition to keeping a journal and memos. I was the only researcher coding the data (Intracoder), and reliability is achieved by multiple observations of the intracoder. The first step in Colaizzi’s seven-step method is to read and re-read each transcript. The seventh step is having research participants read transcripts of their interviews and compare their statements with the researcher’s descriptions (Colaizzi, 1978), or member-checking and confirms the accuracy of the data. “Conformability of findings means that the data accurately represent the information that the participants provided, and the interpretations of those data are not invented by the Inquirer” (Elo, Kääriäinen, Kanste, Pölkki, Utriainen, & Kyngäs, 2014, p. 5).

All the research participants were advised verbally and by written document (consent form, letter of invitation) of the purpose and method of the research, why they were being asked to participate, how their identity is protected, the nature of any potential risk, and the ability to withdrawn from the research at any time without cause and have their information and replies destroyed in their presence (Patton, 2015). All research

instruments and their application were presented overtly ensuring all participants had a complete understanding of the process in compliance with Withdrawal from the Research.

Ethics

Ethics were considered through each phase of the research beginning with an email to the Tennessee P.O.S.T. Commission requesting a list of certified officers. An informed consent form and letter of invitation fully stated the purpose of the research, my prior law enforcement experience (bracketing), and central questions to be asked. The Informed Consent Form provides several forms of protection for the participants. The form shows respect for the participant, informs about the nature of the research before consent, and assures no coercion is involved in participating and all association with the study is voluntary. These assurances are continually made throughout the study and the issues of risk, reward, and benefit are clearly stated (Halai, 2006).

Participants were advised in the consent form that they may withdraw from the research at any time without cause, explanation. A web-based training course in “Protecting Human Research Subjects” conducted by the National Institutes of Health was completed on 17 Jan 2017 (Appendix C). Some possible steps to see and respond to adverse events are checking for representativeness, checking for researcher effects, triangulating, weighing the evidence, checking rival explanations, and member checking (Miles, Huberman, & Saldana, 2013).

Interview data is stored on a USB, and the recordings of the interviews are on individual cassettes for each participant. Transcripts of the interviews are also in a paper

file with the participants identified only by a code and demographic. All of this data is locked in a combination safe and only I have the combination. All the data will be destroyed after five years in compliance with Walden University instructions “Students are required to maintain all raw data—interview tapes, spreadsheets, questionnaire results, and so forth—for no less than five years upon completion of their dissertation” (Walden University, 2016, p. 16).

Summary

The purpose of my research is to determine the influence of police culture on an officer’s decision making, and how generations and technology affects the culture. The theory, design, data collection instruments, and data analysis of my research is discussed in Chapter 3. Akers (2011) Social Structure Social Learning theory guided the research and analysis combined with Colaizzi’s (Morrow, Rodriguez, & King, 2015) seven steps method to analyze the collected data. These two processes are frequently used by researchers to explore questions about police. Exploratory in-depth interviews were conducted with participants selected from a purposive sampling pool.

Akers (2011) social structure social learning theory focuses on the deviant behavior of police, but it can also highlight the conforming behavior of officers. My research is centered on conforming behavior. Phenomenology is the approach used to gain knowledge about police culture from the people who are living in the culture through stories of events making decisions. Sample size, data collection and analysis, and bracketing are phenological methods used in my research (Creswell, 2013). Credibility,

transferability, dependability, and confirmability achieved the internal and external validity of the study (Patton, 2015).

Ethical standards and protecting the participants was a constant concern, and the guidelines in the Belmont Report (1978) of respect for persons, beneficence, and justice were followed before, during and after the course of the research. Understanding the concepts and meanings of the Belmont Report was demonstrated by completing an online program by the National Institutes of Health (2017). The primary directive of social science research of do no harm guided every contact with participants. The confidentiality of the participants and the security of the data provided is expressed in consent forms. The choice to withdraw from the research is explained in the consent form and assurance to the participant of no consequences for withdrawing as stated in 45 CFR 46.116.

Transition

Interviews were transcribed and entered in MAXQDA for analysis. Priori codes culture, generations, and technology were established with the opening of the software. Research literature and interviews were coded during and after the acquisition of the data. Colaizzi's (1978) seven-step method for analysis was used in addition to MAXQDA and Aker's (2011) Social Structure Social Learning to extract the most accurate meanings of the data. The methods and processes are fully explained in Chapter 4.

Chapter 4: Results

Introduction

The culture of an organization is an integral and important characteristic of that organization's members. Organizational culture influences the occupational decisions made by members and sets standards for expectations of behavior in the organization.

Alvesson and Sveningsson (2015) explain,

Culture does not refer to social structures and behaviour but in contrast to mental phenomena such as how individuals within a particular group think about and value the reality in similar ways and how this thinking and valuing is different from that of people in different groups. (p. 36)

This qualitative study of police culture was designed to provide insight into the influence on decision-making shaped by police culture, and the impact of technology and generations on the culture. The significance of police culture on officers is best ascertained from people living in the culture. because "Culture is shaped by history (and)...people's experiences" (Whelan, 2016, p. 591). A phenomenological approach was determined to be the best method of learning the intricacies of the composition of police culture and "recovering the living moment of the now" (Patton, 2015, p. 115). This was achieved by interviewing 12 officers who are currently living the phenomenon.

Setting

Settings for the interviews varied because the interviews took place in different locations with different departments. Interviews were done at a police station in a conference room or private office. The room could be locked to prevent interruption or

distraction. The choice of locations was made by the participants. There were no outside influences or traumatic events that could impact the study during the time of the interviews. All participants were off-duty at the time of their participation and advised they were comfortable and secure in the interview location.

Table 3

Data Source Agencies Population and Demographics

Agency	Commissioned Officers	Demographics
Agency A	231	1MW, 1MB, 1MH, 1FB
Agency B	99	2MW, 1FW
Agency C	78	2MW
Agency D	61	1MW, 1FW
Agency E	15	1MW

Agency A employed the largest number of officers of the five agencies participating. Four officers were selected from Agency A because all the demographic scale was covered in that agency. The purpose of interviewing four officers from one agency was to determine if the sex, race, and age of an officer in the same agency influenced the views about police culture. Officers' responses to the research questions were similar with the vocabulary of the individual officers' being the only noticeable variation. I attempted to gain the participation of larger departments, but the invitation was declined without explanation. This difference between large and small departments, or organizations, influences the community's impression of the department. Large and

small police departments and the operational culture may differ and “impact the existence of negative aspects of police culture” (Anderson & Papazoglou, 2014, p. 183).

My research showed that the smaller the department the more involved officers were with the community, the more accessible the chief, and the more positive the relationship.

Demographics

The participants consisted of 12 officers at the rank of patrolman. The demographics are male White 64.2%, female White 12.0%, male Hispanic 10.0%, male Black 8.8%, and female Black 3.4%. These numbers represent the national demographics of police officers. Female Hispanics comprise 1.6% of nationwide officers and were not included in my research because of an even lower percentage in Tennessee. Seven male Whites were selected for this research to represent the national average of 64.2% in addition to two female Whites, one male Black, one male Hispanic, and one female Black to represent the other percentages. The experience level ranged from 5 to 26 years. The educational level of the participants spanned from one semester of college to one PhD, and four bachelor’s degrees. All participants had some level of college education. Two participants had military experience. The number of officers in the responding police departments extended from 15 to 231 officers. All the respondents had worked nonpolice jobs before becoming police officers. Those jobs consisted of construction, apartment maintenance, corrections, military, college professor, factory worker, dispatcher, and golf course manager. Two officers became involved in law enforcement in college and through a police department explorer program and have not held any other jobs. All the participants are married with children and one officer’s spouse is a federal agent.

Data Collection

Data collection was begun after receiving approval from Walden's IRB (approval number is 02-21-28-0562795). Phone calls and e-mails were sent to approving authorities to acquire participants. A schedule for interviews with volunteers meeting the research criteria was established and data collection began on Wednesday, March 7, 2018 and continued through Monday, April 9, 2018. Twelve officers from five police agencies were interviewed during this time. Interviews were conducted in-person using a semi structured interview guide to focus on the research questions, facilitate new information, and follow up on questions (see Patton, 2015). I assigned each participant an alpha numeric code to maintain their confidentiality. This code was used to identify the recorded interview and transcripts of the interviews.

Gaining approving authority assistance from law enforcement agencies was essential in locating participants for the research. Initial contact with a potential police agency's approving authority was made by phone. I identified myself as a retired police officer and briefly explained the theme of my research and requested an in-person meeting. An e-mail was sent to the approving authority consisting of the research questions, letter of cooperation, letter of invitation, and individual consent form, and the desired demographics of volunteer participants. After meeting with the approving authority, a letter of cooperation was obtained. The meetings were concluded by leaving letters of invitation to be distributed among officers in the cooperating departments. The letters of invitation contained my phone number and e-mail contact. The letters were distributed among officers in the cooperating agencies. Approving authorities knew the

pool of potential participants but did not know who was selected to participate or their responses to the research questions. Officers considering participating in the research contacted me by phone. I collected demographic data from the potential participant, discussed the research, and answered any concerns the officer might have about participating. Twelve officers were selected from the pool of volunteers and the determination of how many officers from each agency was made according to the size of the agency and the demographic composition.

The interviews began with participants reading the consent form and the interview questions (Appendix D). Participants agreed to the interview being recorded on a cassette recorder and me making written notes during the interview. Each interview lasted approximately 30 minutes. I used in-vivo codes, or exact names (see Creswell, 2013) during the interviews to alert me to emerging themes. The recorded interviews were transcribed, and each participant read the transcript of their interview, made changes or corrections if needed and approved the transcript. The transcripts were entered into MAXQDA and color coded for analysis. Transcribing the interviews myself provided the opportunity to hear the participant's responses several times, which is the first step in the Colaizzi (1978) method of reading and re-reading the transcript. During the interviews while making in-vivo notes themes were noted being repeated by several of the participants. Table 4 depicts the most common responses to the research questions.

Table 4

Research Question Recurring Themes

Research Question	Interview Response	Frequency Rank
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1. What does the term police culture mean to you?	Family	1
	Looking out for each other	2
	Outsiders do not understand police	3
2. How does police culture affect your decisions on the job?	Makes me more suspicious of people	1
	More alert to my surroundings	2
	Minimal effect on decisions	3
3. How were you first introduced to police culture?	First day in the academy	1
	Field Training Officer	2
	Working the streets	3
4. How do differences in generations affect the culture?	Focused on goals and advancement	1
	Less confident of their ability	2
	Impatient, do not listen to older officers	3
5. Describe how technology has changed police culture.	Is changing the “us vs. them” mentality	1
	Is challenging the “code of silence”	2
	Gives advantages to younger officers	3
6. How comfortable/competent are you with the technology in your department?	Very comfortable	1
	Comfortable	2
	Pretty good	3

Data Analysis

Data were analyzed using Colaizzi’s (1978) 7-step method and using a software program in MAXQDA. Interviews and literature were entered in MAXQDA and color-

coded according to subject matter or theme. The codes covered general culture, police culture, organizational culture, generations, technology, interviews, and memos. The software arranged the information in spreadsheets that could be compared and incorporated into a master spreadsheet. This permitted a ready reference to the collected data and analysis by the Colaizzi method. I began a tertiary analysis while taking notes during the interviews and continued analyzing responses while typing the transcripts. Common themes, words, and phrases began to appear during this process and was very useful when actual analysis began.

I had read each interview transcript several times while doing the transcriptions but read each one again several times according to Colaizzi's Step 1. The transcripts were read again when the participants reviewed the transcript of their interview (member-checking) and some very minor corrections were made in a couple of the transcripts, but most were approved by the participant as it was written. The transcripts were entered in MAXQDA where significant statements and/or recurring themes were coded under "Interviews." This is the second step in the Colaizzi method and adds strength to the credibility of the research. The themes and statements were posted in one or more of the codes "Police Culture," "Organizational Culture," "Generations," and "Technology." These are the third and fourth steps in the Colaizzi method of locating significant meanings and formulating meanings into categories and themes (Creswell, 2013).

Colaizzi's fifth and sixth step in data analysis is exhaustive description by coding topics, comparing themes and bridging meanings (Wojnar & Swanson, 2007). Statements were taken from interview transcripts and coded according to the research questions and

entered in MAXQDA. Repeated word and phrases were located that were common in each transcript and entered in MAXQDA. A spreadsheet was developed combining all this data with associated data from the literature. The spreadsheet illustrated the “essence” of the data and the fundamental structure of the phenomenon of police culture. There were no changes in the final description of the essence of the phenomenon by any of the participants (Colaizzi’s seventh step), but some grammatical and repeated sentences (typographical) errors were corrected. These corrections did not add or change the meaning of the phenomenon.

Evidence of Trustworthiness

In qualitative research terms used to achieve trustworthiness differs from those expressed in quantitative research. The words, credibility, transferability, dependability, and confirmability in qualitative research are used in place of validation, generalizability, reliability, and objectivity in quantitative research (Creswell, 2013). Achieving validity for a qualitative researcher is finding “grounds for distinguishing accounts that are credible from those that are not” (Maxwell, 2012, p. 122) and is accomplished by triangulation, member-checks, and rich thick descriptions (Creswell, 2013).

Credibility

Credibility is the first step in establishing trustworthiness and confidence in the data. A method to establish credibility is triangulation, which consist of interviewing, member-checking, observation, and document/literature analysis (Patton, 2015). The pros and cons of triangulation are “strong similarities could be viewed as a validation of the data or conclusions, while incongruencies would be indicative of either one or more

faulty procedures or data sets” (Weyers., Strydom., & Huisamen, A. 2014). Establishing confidence in the research is the primary purpose of credibility and assesses the strength of the data to the intent of the research (Elo, et al, 2014). Rigor is a word that relates to the credibility of the research and can be achieved by triangulation, or by using several sources for data collection. One method is clarifying researcher bias, or epoch, meaning the researcher addresses past experiences, biases, or prejudices that may affect interpretation of the data. Member-checking is returning to the participants for an assessment of the accuracy of their information (Creswell, 2013). Using Colaizzi’s seven-step process for analyzing data incorporates many of the steps for acquiring credibility in the data. Constantly reviewing the data strengthens the researcher’s understanding of the content of the data and the trustworthiness of the research.

The questions in Table 5 were not the focus of this research but are found in the literature and by participants during their responses to the main questions and are presented as an example of a triangulation method. This table is the result of doing the transcriptions myself and re-reading the data several times finding additional information.

Table 5

Similarities Between Interviews and Literature

Culture	Literature	Interview Agree	Interview Disagree
“us vs them”	Rose, T., & Unnithan, P. (2015).	P112	P11
	Wickersham, E. (2016).	P416	P209
	Terrill, Paoline, & Gau (2016).	P454	P388
	Brough, P., Chataway, S., & Biggs, A. (2016).	P566	P186
	Squires, P. (2015)		P231
brotherhood, family	Stoughton, S. (2016)	P11	P231
	Skolnick, J. (2008)	P112	P388
	Malmin, M. (2013).	P186	P515
	Scaramella, G., Cox, S., & McCamey, W. (2010)	P209	
		P350	
not a job, a calling	Stoughton, S. (2016).	P416	
	Loftus, B. (2010).	P454	
	Squires, P. (2015).	P566	
	Westley, W. (1953).	P602	P11
		P602	P112
code of silence	Skolnick, J. (2008).	P566	P186
	Morin, R., Parker, K., Stepler, R., & Mercer, A. (2017).	P454	P209
	Schlosser, M., Cha-Jua, S., Valgoi, M., & Neville, H. (2015).	P566	P388
	Myhill, A., & Bradford, B. (2013).		P416
			P515
			P602

Literature supports the concept of “us vs them” only 33.3% of the officers agree, while 66.7% disagree. The literature supports the view that officers see their group as a brotherhood or family and 75.0% of officers agree with 25.0% disagreeing. Literature favors officers thinking of the job as a calling, but only 16.6% of officers agree while 83.7% disagree. Finally, literature believes the “code of silence” exist and 33.3% of officers agree with 66.7% disagreeing. The officer’s views show similarity with agreement or disagreement on each question. The disagreement with the literature indicates a shift in cultural values in the 21st century.

Transferability

Transferability means “emphasizing how things that are learned in one context can be applied to another context” (Rudestam, & Newton, 2014, p.61). Transferability is accomplished if the methods of the research can be replicated in other research as explained in Chapter 3. The questions on police culture can be transferred to organizational culture because the police are essentially an organization based not only on industrial/business models but military organizations. Technology and generations are also applicable for studies of other organizational cultures due to the advancement in technology and cultural shifts in generations. Using my research design and methods can be transferred and utilized in similar organizational research.

Dependability

Consistency is another term for dependability. Triangulation is one method to establish dependability by, combining interviews, observations, and purposeful sampling (Patton, 2015). These overlapping methods contributed to the dependability of the

research. The data were tracked by a spreadsheet in MAXQDA, review of the transcripts by the participants (member-checking) and coding cross-referencing. I was the intracoder for all data minimizing complications with interpretations.

Confirmability

Qualitative confirmability equates to quantitative objectivity and to ensure the findings are of the participants and not the bias of the researcher (Shenton, 2004). Confirmability of my research was achieved by bracketing (epoch), member-checking, and reflective notes during and after data collection. Colaizzi's seven-step data analysis method reinforced confirmability.

Results

There were six research questions in a semi-structured format presenting the same questions to twelve volunteer participants selected from five police agencies and matching national demographics. Semi structured interviews are versatile, flexible and enables follow-up questions to gain additional information and insight of the question (Kallio, Pietilä, Johnson., & Kangasniemi, 2016). Participant responses to the research questions are displayed in Table 6.

Table 6

Participant Responses to Research Questions

Question	Participant Code
1. What does police culture mean to you?	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • P11. When I think of police culture, the word “brotherhood” immediately comes to mind. • P112. There is this general sense of we in the occupation have to band together, lean on each other, and get ourselves through all that negative weight that we carry to a fault. • P186. Police culture would be things that you would basically have to be a police officer to know and understand. The way we think. And you have to basically be a badge carrying member to understand, or a family member, to understand. • P209. Establish a set of norms that guide expected behavior in most circumstances and encourage certain types of decision-making while discouraging others. • P231. We share a common interest and common understanding. • P350. I don’t know really. Is that like the culture of us, the brotherhood? • P388. The way you do things and people that do it know where you’re coming from. They know what I’m experiencing, and the general public doesn’t understand that or your thinking of things. • P416. When I go out to eat I always sit with my back against the wall. I constantly play scenarios in my head. • P454. That would be the overall ideas and attitudes that police officers share in common. It’s kinda of like a fraternity or sorority, we share certain common ideas and beliefs about, just about everything. • P515. It’s not the same as it used to be. Now everything has to be handled by a supervisor. • P566. I think of a family, it is very family orientated as far as we all try to look out for each other. The culture is try to have each other’s back on the road. • P602. Family. I look at the other officers as part of my family. It is one of those things that you make sure you back everybody up, even if you don’t like him, you make sure you are there, you know if they call for help you get there.

(table continues)

Question	Participant Code
2. How does police culture effect your decisions?	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • P11. I did not begin my law enforcement career until I was 31 years old. I think my career has minimal effect, if any on my decisions. • P112. I would probably say very little. Reason being is you have policies and procedures and how you are supposed to react to various situations or address various problems and that's how me personally I approach things and what is expected of me in my job. • P186. I would say so, cause you have to second guess yourself sometime. You want to make a decision, but you also have to look at the big picture. • P209. There are societal expectations of us that are almost constantly evolving there is a base level of expectation. Anyone who does this job has immediate superiors and there are constant reminders every day of not only being careful as we do our jobs, but to do our jobs professionally and to do them well. • P231. I have seen more, I've done more than I had then, so, to answer that and say no would be a lie. Yes, I've changed but only because I know more. • P350. I think that's where the public's perception of us is really bad is that they think that we enforce laws that we break when we are not working. And don't get me wrong a lot of police officers do get arrested for breaking the law. Back in the old days they used to cover each other there ain't nobody up here doing that now. • P388. I try to communicate with people on their level, I don't try to belittle nobody, I try to talk to everybody on the same wave length. • P416. Every call you got to play a scenario to make you well aware of your surroundings when you get there. • P454. I try to treat everybody with fairness and respect, until they give me a reason not to. You ask somebody nicely, then tell them to do it, and if at that point they still don't want to then you physically have to make them, basically make them respect your authority. • P515. I don't think it does. • P566. I think that not everybody is suspect or out to harm us, but you always have to be on your guard and know that at any moment someone can turn and want to hurt you. • P602. Each situation is different, but if they have to go, then they just have to go. If it is something small and they are honest about it and they tell you up front, I might be able to let them go.

(table continues)

Question	Participant Code
3. How were you introduced to the culture?	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • P11. A recruit is introduced to police culture at some level on day one. Field Training Officers (FTO's) have the most influence on police culture. • P112. For each person its different. I don't know that you really get a full concept of what you got yourself into till well after you been through your training, and you've been through the academy, and you're out on you own, and you're just out doing the work on a daily basis. • P186. I would say through the police explorer program, because they had us in the cars with the cops. • P209. A friend of mine who had been involved in law enforcement for many years approached me about the reserve deputy program. I got to work with the guys and see what they see on a daily basis. • P231. When I was a rookie the first day it was like if I put my hands on somebody, you better put your hands on. It was my first day in the car with my field training officer. • P350. I think it was when you were first hired it is a kind of give me that if they get in a scrap you better be in the scrap too. • P388. My step-father was in law enforcement and he was probably the biggest influence on me. • P416. When I first got hired, when I was in my FTO program. • P454. I did a ride along and the more I rode with them I learned that if an officer called for help you help, and if this happens you do this, and this is how us guys bond together. • P515. Probably once I got on the street. It was probably once I already got cut loose. • P566. My mom has always worked in and around juvenile services and there were male judges, sheriff's deputies and officers and growing up I always knew all of them because my mom worked with all of them. • P602. Police culture was first introduced when I started in corrections. I didn't ride with anybody before I went to the academy, but you kinda talk and hear things from other in the academy but as soon as you come back that all goes out the window.

(table continues)

Question	Participant Code
4. How do differences in generations affect the culture?	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • P11. Younger officers with less experience tend to be focused more on individual goals and advancement. Many younger officers are not skilled in the art of using informants. They tend to be stat driven and competitive. • P112. I think to whether you are in police work or not if you grew up the 50s, 60s, 70s, just your upbringing in general is different than a person like me who was born in the 80s, and maybe didn't experience the harder times that the older generation did. I have seen exceptions to that, both ways, but I think it could go either way. • P186. They are not reliable. • P209. Some of the younger guys I have seen come in choose this career for themselves it is something they want to do but their norms and standards are guided more by a different culture when they grew up than the one I grew up in. So, they just naturally have different attitudes not about the work we do, but the work itself and priorities in life. • P231. I think they're less respectful. The newer generation when they come in (is different) than when I came in if you see another officer and he is senior to you, whether he had stripes or bars you respect them. Now it's different the newer generation generally they don't care if you have been here twenty-years if you don't have sergeant strips you're nobody. • P350. They're just like the rest of what we call the snowflakes. They think everything should be handed to them. They don't have any respect. • P388. To me the younger guys handle it differently. The younger generation does not take criticism that well. That's my perspective with the ones I have had to deal with. • P416. It's one of those things these younger officers are going to end up getting another officer hurt or hurt themselves. A lot of these officers are very skittish. There are of couple of officers out there that I would not want to be on a call with. I think a lot of these younger officers are too passive. • P454. When I first started I had a lot of older officers and I felt like I had to prove myself and show them I could handle myself and I could handle the call and make my own decisions...for good and bad reasons they (new generation) have developed some different social skills. They are more about talking through things and socializing, where the older generation was showing their authority by talking things out. • P515. They are different when I came on, but at the same time I think that is a society thing as well. I think a lot of officers before me lived to work and not work to live. I think a lot more guys come in here and it's just a job, and this is a job, but it's more than a job. • P566. I think officers from an older generation had, I don't know if I want to use respect, they had a different way of showing respect to people. Younger generations that are coming into law enforcement treat people differently than I have seen with older generation officers... (they are) less polite and less civil it is more matter of fact and to the point...there is still some respect just given what we do we want to show respect to the general public. • P602. Some of them (millennials) come in with the entitlement (attitude) like, oh, I want to have the best car, and I should have the best car, and I should have this, and I should have that. And it one of those things you just go, no that's not how that stuff rolls.

(table continues)

Question	Participant Code
5. Describe how technology has changed police culture.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • P1. This new technology challenged the code of silence that once existed. Officers are instantly held accountable for their actions. Another way in which technology has impacted police culture is the misinterpretation of cell phone videos. As the negative social media gains steam, police officers feel hated and the “us vs. them” mentality grows. • P112. I just try to operate the same no matter who I’m around or whether they are recording me or not, but I can definitely see how you would hesitate during some decision-making if you knew that decision was going to be documented even if you decided to go back and reassess later. • P186. I don’t use social media. What I use on my work phone is the criminal justice portal. • P209. They can cause the culture to adapt. In some ways it encourages us to change the culture more to a level of consciousness that we didn’t have before in terms of the actions that we choose. It can also mold the culture in terms of our being aware of the need to look out for each other in a different way than we did before. • P231. It has made a big difference in how police officers respond. A lot of the other guys second guess a lot of stuff. Some of the older guys you know, you just do what you need to do to get the person, to make the arrest, whatever, to resolve the issue. • P350. I think technology is getting a bunch of officers killed, that’s my opinion. I was just in an incident last Monday where I almost got myself killed because of this camera (body camera). I was so worried what this camera was going to show later that I really didn’t take care of business, and I almost let a 6’7”, 304 pound, twenty-five-year-old kill me. • P388. I remember an incident where me and another officer here a couple years back (responded) to a burglary of a house...I look down the road and I see a bunch of cell phones out people videotaping me with my gun out. I did what I had to do to make sure I go home to my family, that’s all I worry about. Everything can be explained at a later time. Its aggravating to a degree. • P416. In a way it’s a good thing, but also a bad thing. Sometimes some officers are too aware of their surroundings instead of dealing with what’s in front of them then they start playing how am I going to approach this. • P454. I rely technology significantly more than some of the older officers. I can check to see if there are warrants even before I even make a traffic stop, so if the computers go down I have to get back to basic policing in making traffic stops. • P515. I think it has. Not that they are doing anything wrong, but you get a camera stuck in your face you are unconsciously probably second judge yourself.... I think, not so much cameras, but social media has had a huge effect on law enforcement probably in a more negative way. • P566. I think it can have an effect on people... I think it makes you aware that you really need to study up and know the law that you are enforcing. I think it makes us as officers more aware of what we are doing. It kinda can be an inhibitor as far as your decision making, I think it slows our decision-making process down a little bit because we’re trying to second guess how it’s going to look on camera. • P602. It actually hasn’t changed anything that I’ve done.

(table continues)

Question	Participant Code
6. How comfortable/competent are you with the technology in your department?	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • P11. I have no problems with it. I use my personal computer all the time and text-messaging on the cell phone and several other aps. All our reports are on the department computer and I use it several times a day. • P112. Fairly competent I would say for what we have, our video cameras and what not. • P186. When I got here they were just doing baby steps starting out. In the department I came from everyone had issued computers and all its tools. Since I got here they've got everything up to national standards. • P209. In terms of operation very comfortable. We get well trained on everything we do. • P231. I've actually gotten pretty good with it. • P350. I love the computers, we have live real time computer stuff. It's kinda a double-edged sword we have this technology and it's great, but when it doesn't work then you are automatically presumed as somethings wrong. • P388. I wish the computer was more up-to-date than what we have. I would like to see more technology in here I think it could be beneficial and make more time for doing things pertaining to patrol. • P416. Very comfortable. It keeps officers on the street. • P454. I am more comfortable than a lot of other people. • P515. Comfortable, we have the online web-based reporting, but there are certain aspects of it that if you don't use every day, but as far as doing the report I feel comfortable. • P566. Comfortable and competent. • P602. Yeah, I wish we had some more. We just got computers in the car just last year I think and I'm glad we got them.

The core question to my research is *What does police culture mean to you?*

Participants used a variety of expressions to explain what the culture means but the most frequently used word was family followed by brotherhood, the way things are done, leaning on each other, the way we think. During my time as a police officer I never thought about a police culture but understood an expectation of behavior. There was no verbal or written explanation of the expected behavior but failing to back up an officer or avoiding a dangerous call quickly lead to being ostracized by other officers. Drinking on duty or stealing resulted in other officers refusing to ride with that officer. The concept was more a code of conduct than a culture. In explaining organizational culture Aamodt (2010) said, “this (organizational culture) establishes workplace norms of appropriate behavior, what’s right and wrong, and defines roles and expectations” (p. 522). Most officers agree with this definition. This question establishes the officer’s awareness of a police culture and invites support or criticism of the various aspects of police culture.

- P11. When I think of police culture, the word “brotherhood” immediately comes to mind.
- P112. There is this general sense of we in the occupation have to band together.
- P186. The way we think. And you have to basically be a badge carrying member to understand, or a family member, to understand.
- P209. Establish a set of norms that guide expected behavior in most circumstances.
- P231. We share a common interest and common understanding.

- P350. I don't know really.
- P388. The way you do things and people that do it know where you're coming from.
- P416. When I go out to eat I always set with my back against the wall. I constantly play scenarios in my head.
- P454. It's kinda of like a fraternity or sorority, we share certain common ideas and beliefs about, just about everything.
- P515. It's not the same as it used to be. Now everything has to be handled by a supervisor.
- P566. I think of a family.
- P602. Family. I look at the other officers as part of my family.

The second question, *How does police culture effect your decisions*, was designed to determine if and to what extent a police culture effected the decisions made by officers. Aker's (2011) theory of Social Learning Social Structure suggest the socialization of an individual is social learning "from parents, peers, and others, and take on as their own concepts of the right and wrong things to say and do in given contexts" (p. 73). Responses from participants to this question show a stronger influence from prior socialization than from association with officers. The wide range of answers from the participants strengthens this assumption.

- P11. I did not begin my law enforcement career until I was 31 years old. I think my career has minimal effect, if any on my decisions.

- P112. you have policies and procedures and how you are supposed to react to various situations.
- P186. You want to make a decision, but you also have to look at the big picture.
- P209. there are constant reminders every day of not only being careful as we do our jobs, but to do our jobs professionally and to do them well.
- P388. I don't try to belittle nobody, I try to talk to everybody on the same wave length.
- P454. I try to treat everybody with fairness and respect, until they give me a reason not to.
- P515. I don't think it does.
- P566. you always have to be on your guard and know that at any moment someone can turn and want to hurt you.
- P602. Each situation is different, but if they have to go, then they just have to go.

Decisions made by officers is determined more from policies and procedures, situations, experience, and prior social structure than by a police culture. This also demonstrates an expected behavior according to the rules, law, and policies and procedures, which produces a conforming behavior for doing the right thing.

The third question *How were you first introduced to police culture*, showed similarity of experiences and acknowledgement of a police culture; although what officers are describing is actually expected behavior. This question was to determine

when an officer first experiences police culture and to provide a point of interdiction to change negative aspects of the culture. Changing the culture should begin with the first day of training and continue throughout the probationary period.

- P11. A recruit is introduced to police culture at some level on day one.
- P112. You've been through the academy, and you're out on you own.
- P186. through the police explorer program.
- P209. I got to work with the guys and see what they see on a daily basis.
- P231. When I was a rookie the first day.
- P350. I think it was when you were first hired.
- P388. My step-father was in law enforcement.
- P416. When I first got hired, when I was in my FTO program.
- P454. I did a ride along and the more I rode with them I learned.
- P515. Probably once I got on the street.
- P566. My mom has always worked in and around juvenile services and there were male judges, sheriff's deputies and officers and growing up I knew all of them.
- P602. Police culture was first introduced when I started in corrections.

The fourth question *How do differences in generations affect the culture*, showed a very distinct difference in perceptions of police work and responsibility. One recurring theme is the younger generation has a lack of respect for other officers and citizens. Older officers view the new generation as self-centered and impatient.

- P11. Younger officers with less experience tend to be focused more on individual goals and advancement.
- P112. If you grew up the 50s, 60s, 70s, just your upbringing in general is different than a person like me who was born in the 80s, and maybe didn't experience the harder times that the older generation did.
- P186. They are not reliable.
- P209. They just naturally have different attitudes not about the work we do, but the work itself and priorities in life.
- P231. I think they're less respectful.
- P350. They think everything should be handed to them. They don't have any respect.
- P388. The younger generation does not take criticism that well.
- P416. A lot of these officers are very skittish...I think a lot of these younger officers are too passive.
- P454. For good and bad reasons they (new generation) have developed some different social skills.
- P515. I think a lot more guys come in here and it's just a job, and this is a job, but it's more than a job.
- P566. Younger generations that are coming into law enforcement treat people differently than I have seen with older generation officers... (they are) less polite and less civil.
- P602. Some of them (millennials) come in with the entitlement (attitude).

Question five, *Describe how technology has changed police culture*, Produced responses in accordance with the age and education of the officer. Officers are now more aware of their interaction with citizens and careful about their responses. Older officers have a negative view of technology, while younger officers embrace it's use and are enthusiastic about newer and coming technology.

- P1. This new technology challenged the code of silence that once existed. Officers are instantly held accountable for their actions.
- P112. I can definitely see how you would hesitate during some decision-making if you knew that decision was going to be documented even if you decided to go back and reassess later.
- P186. I don't use social media.
- P209. In some ways it encourages us to change the culture more to a level of consciousness that we didn't have before in terms of the actions that we choose.
- P231. It has made a big difference in how police officers respond.
- P350. I think technology is getting a bunch of officers killed, that's my opinion.
- P388. Its aggravating to a degree.
- P416. In a way it's a good thing, but also a bad thing.
- P454. I rely technology significantly more than some of the older officers.
- P515. Social media has had a huge effect on law enforcement probably in a more negative way.

- P566. It kinda can be an inhibitor as far as your decision making,
- P602. It actually hasn't changed anything that I've done.

The final question, *How comfortable/competent are you with the technology in your department*, illustrates how technology bridges generational gaps, but its use, and acceptance varies with the age and education of the individual officer.

- P11. I have no problems with it.
- P112. Fairly competent I would say for what we have.
- P186. Since I got here they've got everything up to national standards.
- P209. In terms of operation very comfortable.
- P231. I've actually gotten pretty good with it.
- P350. I love the computers, we have live real time computer stuff.
- P388. I would like to see more technology in here I think it could be beneficial and make more time for doing things pertaining to patrol.
- P416. Very comfortable. It keeps officers on the street.
- P454. I am more comfortable than a lot of other people.
- P515. Comfortable, we have the online web-based reporting.
- P566. Comfortable and competent.
- P602. I wish we had some more. We just got computers in the car just last year I think and I'm glad we got them.

Summary

Chapter 4 detailed the findings of the research and the relationships between the research questions and participants responses. The participating officers are employed in

agencies that have from 15 to 231 commissioned officers. There is no agreed upon definition of a large or small-town police department but communities with a population under 25,000 are considered small, and cities with a population over that number as large (Falcone, Wells, & Weisheit, 2002). Three of the cooperating agencies would be considered small and two as large, although the “small” departments are nestled in the metro areas of large communities. The recruiting requirements vary among large and small departments. Large department requirements usually have higher personal and physical standards and seek recruits with higher educational background from two years of college to a bachelor’s degree, and in many instances recruit on a national level. Smaller departments tend to hire from the local community and do not have the funding or benefits to compete with large departments. Higher standards do not necessarily acquire better personnel but does have an effect on the culture of the department because of the diversity of the recruits. Smaller departments tend to have less diversity than larger departments, therefore “one should also expect differences in culture across different departments, e.g. big, small, low bureaucratic, high bureaucratic, etc.” (Paoline III, 2003, p. 209). The responses of the officers from the cooperating agencies were generally in agreement in context expressed by different verbiage evolved from the individual’s social structure.

Chapter 5 Discussion, Conclusions, and Recommendations

Introduction

The 20th century produced many changes in the criminal justice system due to a culture shift, changing demographics, and population centralization. These changes will continue through the 21st century at an even more rapid pace. Technology has been a catalyst in police interaction in communities with events being broadcast in real time from many venues. These aspects affect change in the culture, which in turn affects morals and ethics that change the behavior in the culture, as culture is often seen as the main factor in a person's behavior (Moran et al., 2014. p. 11).

Changes in police organizations will occur in recruiting, technology implementation, social organizations, and tactical methods. The news media and watchdog groups will increase scrutiny in police activities and seek out corruption and discriminatory enforcement of the law. The improvement and increase in technological monitoring of businesses, communities, and neighborhoods will provide visual and audio record of police and citizen activities. Even today many crimes are solved from recovering images of the crime and criminal on security video. Police dash and body cameras record an officer's actions and interactions with citizens, and video from drones can add to information made available for scrutiny. However, this creates an intrusion of personal privacy. The question is how does the criminal justice system prepare to adjust to all these changes in the 21st century and how will technology affect culture, morals, and ethics and in turn affect laws governing society? Cultural traits are not only affected

by technology, but by ecological conditions and social learning (Mesoudi, Whiten, and Laland, 2006).

Discussion

While contacting police departments to gain cooperation for the research and locate participants, I discovered two cultural aspects I did not expect. First, the size of the department is related to the involvement and relationship between the department and community. Second, the command and administrative staff in larger departments have a suspicion of people asking questions about the department. That suspicion creates a schism between the command, street officers, and community. When calling some large police departments, it is difficult to speak directly with the police chief due to the number of administrative assistants. In smaller departments the chief usually answers the call immediately. The availability of the police chief in smaller departments produces a department that is seen as more readily involved and accessible to the community and establishes closer and trusting relationships between officers and the community. Community policing is purported to be the best method for improving trust, respect, and legitimacy between officers and the community. How community policing is implemented and trained affects its success. Cultural resistance to training by officers must be overcome by changing that cultural aspect. According to Falcone et al. (2002) the approach used by small, community involved police departments is the best and most effective model.

Interpretation of the findings

None of the participants used the word *culture* in responding to the question What does the term police culture mean to you? The leading response was “family,” followed by “brotherhood,” “band together,” “expected behavior,” “the way you do things,” “have to be a police officer to know and understand,” and “common interest and understanding.” The sex, race, age, education, and military experience had no effect on the responses to this question. The group was bound together by being police officers and their lives were immersed in that identity.

The question of how police culture affects decisions on the job drew mixed responses. Twenty-five percent said it had no effect and 75% believed it had some effect depending on the situation. Officers believed that experience is the major influence on decisions. The participants identified with the police community but maintained individuality in making decisions primarily guided by the law, policy and procedures, and their personal concept of right and wrong.

The participants agreed that introduction to the police culture was in the early association with other police officers. One officer’s introduction began with being a police explorer and riding with on-duty officers. Changing the culture would be the most effective on the first day of academy training.

Older officers have a low opinion of the new generation of officers. The new generation is viewed as unreliable, undisciplined, disrespectful, and have an entitlement attitude. The new generation is more technologically astute and enthusiastically supports

greater implementation and use of technology. Dealing with this cultural shift is a challenge for police trainers and supervisors that requires more study.

All the participants agree that technology has changed the way officers conduct themselves and make decisions. Participants saw technology as both good and bad. Some responses were

- challenged the code of silence
- hesitate during some decision-making
- encourages us to change the culture
- big difference in how police officers respond
- I think technology is getting a bunch of officers killed
- In a way it's a good thing, but also a bad thing
- second judge yourself
- an inhibitor as far as your decision making

The positive responses included speed of information, ability to check identities and suspects, ability to do reports and search for information from the squad car. In-car computers allows officers to remain on the street increasing coverage and shortening response time. All the participants are comfortable with the technology used by the respective departments, but younger officers are more competent.

Limitations

The study was conducted with five cooperating police agencies in Tennessee and may not be representative of departments in other parts of the country. Every organization has its own unique culture (Aamodt, 2012) which is affected by

environment and ecology. Society and culture is constantly evolving and changes with each new generation and this study examines only the culture of today in selected police agencies in Tennessee. Female Hispanics comprise only 1.6% of the commissioned police officers in the United States and none were employed at any of the cooperating agencies and therefore not represented in the research.

Delimitations

Research has shown there are many causes for the loss of trust, respect and legitimacy in local police departments by the community's citizens. There is a large diversity of cultures in today's society that impact a community's response to law enforcement and study of each of those cultures would be a monumental task. Police culture and its effect on decision-making by officers by understanding their own culture contributes to bridging the gaps in culture diversity. The thoughts and feelings of people living in a phenomenon is difficult to measure or understand in a quantitative method. A qualitative phenomenology method and design describes "the common meaning for several individuals of their lived experience" (Creswell, 2013, p. 76). The population of the cities of the cooperating agencies is not representative of major metropolitan areas such as New York City or Los Angeles and does not have the diversity of officers in those cities. Relating organizational culture to this study provides insight in defining police culture and examining its influence on the culture of the officers and department.

Recommendations

This study found that police culture consists of a close bond among officers considered as a family. The officer's experiences have created suspicion and distrust of

most citizens. Introduction to the police culture begins at the onset of an officer's career often in the training academy, and more intensely in the Field Training Officer (FTO) period of probation. Veteran officers believe the new generation of officers do not meet the expectation of dedication, professionalism, respect, or trust adhered to by the veterans. All officers are competent with the current technology, but older officers are less enthusiastic about implementation of more technology, while younger officers embrace the acquisition and use of additional technology. Overall officers believe that higher education and military service have minimal effect of the professionalism of officers and opt for "common sense and experience" as the most desired attributes. There is a resistance to training in social sensitivity issues especially among older officers because it is seen as demeaning to their character and integrity while diminishing their authority.

Changing culture of a police department and the officers requires training initiatives that will be accepted, supported, and implemented by the officers. Based on the findings of this research it is recommended that police leadership consider ethics and community policing training to improve the department's operational image to overcome the negative aspects of police culture. Law enforcement leaders must first determine the desired culture they wish to instill, compare it with the existing culture to decide on the changes needed, create dissatisfaction with the current culture and support for the desired culture (Aamodt, 2012). The first obstacle is to overcome the police culture of resistance to training in social subjects and developing instruction with a clear stated purpose "Without a road map of where the agency is going, it is difficult for police managers to

muster line-level support for changes in police services or styles of interaction with the public” (Greene, 2000, p. 329). Line officers must be empowered in the development of training to support the desired outcome. Course development and instructor presentation determines the success or failure of a training initiative. Utilizing the services of the curriculum and instruction departments of local colleges or universities will provide a more professional and effective teaching method. A more positive relationship with the community is improved when officers understand the effect of culture not only on their decisions, but how they are perceived by the community. A program designed to improve trust, respect, and legitimacy of the police must have interaction with line officers, trainers, educators, and community leaders.

Literature is abundant on community policing and officers in this research spoke frequently about helping people and communicating with citizens in neighborhoods where they worked. I attended a session of a citizen’s police academy and one precinct commander addressed the audience and said, “help us break down the blue wall,” and a chief said, “join our family.” These statements are elements of community policing. Small-town rural police departments have the most effective form of community policing and their greatest strength is the connectedness to the community (Falcone et al., 2002). Recognizing precincts in large police departments as small towns and following the examples of small town officers is recommended for changing police culture and creating positive social change between officers and the communities they serve.

Implications

Literature supports the importance of community policing in developing stronger, positive relationships between officers and citizens. The effectiveness of community policing is demonstrated by these comments from P416:

When I was in patrol I worked in (specific neighborhood) and I used to drive through and there was this old lady (name omitted) in a wheel chair, she was about a hundred and some years old, and she loved me. She would come out in that wheel chair, her lipstick all crooked, and wave, and she'd flirt, and I would get out there and talk to them. Then I was investigating a shooting and I didn't realize how many people still lived there that I knew when I worked that area.

They were coming up to me shaking my hand and when I got back to the office I had like three calls on who the shooter was.

This scenario was repeated several times during interviews with the participants. It is an excellent example of the effectiveness and benefit of community police and understanding the culture of the neighborhood an officer patrols.

Conclusions

The culture of society and police is changing rapidly driven by technology and succeeding generations. There is an ever-widening chasm between the police and the citizens they serve created by these changes. The FBI (2015) Ferguson police report purported a systemic and cultural cause for the disturbance in Ferguson resulting from a lack of trust, respect, and legitimacy by the community for the police. Improving relationships between the police and communities requires changing the individual and

organizational culture to adapt to the changing demographics in the population and the abundant technology of citizens to report incidents in real time. Immersion of officers into the community is the most effective method of achieving positive results in community policing. The small-town police model has produced an effective level of trust, respect, and legitimacy between the officers and the citizenry, because “the small-town police department’s greatest strength (is) community connectedness” (Falcone et al., 2002, p. 376).

My research intent was to learn the extent of police culture in decision-making and the influence of technology and generations on the culture. The qualitative method and phenomenology approach used in the research can be applied to any department or organization to examine the cultures in those institutions. Culture can be changed to create a positive social change of understanding and support from both the police and the community.

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Appendix A: Interview Protocol

Interview Protocol: Police Culture

Date:

Time:

Location:

Interviewer:

Interviewee:

Project: I am doing a research project on police culture for a doctorate from Walden University. I will ask you some questions about police culture and its influences.

Specifically, how does police culture influence your decisions? How do age differences (generations) among officer's effect views of police culture? And how do technology advances change the culture?

Questions:

1. What does the term police culture mean to you?
2. How does police culture affect your decisions on the job?
3. How were you first introduced to police culture?
4. How do differences in generations affect the culture?
5. Describe how technology has changed police culture.
6. How comfortable/competent are you with the technology in your department?

Thank you for your participation in this interview. Your identity will remain confidential and known only to me. I will contact you again when the interview has been transcribed so that you may review your responses for accuracy or additional information.

Appendix B: Letter of Invitation

Sex	Race	Age	Education/HS, Bachelor, Master's, PhD	Military Branch, Years of Service	Police Service	Department Size

Date

Recipient Name

Police Department Name

Street Address

City, ST ZIP Code

Dear Recipient Name:

I am a doctoral candidate at Walden University conducting research for a doctoral dissertation. The subject of my dissertation is *Police Culture and Decision-Making*. The purpose of this research is to provide officers with an additional tool for making decisions in an adversarial situation. It also is intended to improve the trust, respect, and legitimacy of officers in the communities they serve.

You were selected from the ranks of uniform patrol because you fit the demographic needs of the research regarding sex, race, and age that are employed to create demographics representative of officers nationwide.

Your participation is entirely voluntary, and your identity and responses will be kept confidential and known only to me. The interview will last approximately 30 minutes and will be conducted at a place of your choosing. Your permission is asked to audio record the interview to be transcribe and reviewed by you at a later date at which time you may correct or delete any responses. The review should take no more than 15 minutes, but you may take all the time you need for the review. Your permission is also asked to make written notes during the interview to stay focused on the interview questions.

Here are the 6 central questions for the interview:

1. What does the term police culture mean to you?
 2. How does police culture affect your decisions on the job?
 3. How were you first introduced to police culture?
 4. How do differences in generations affect the culture?
 5. What changes have occurred in police culture due to technology?
 6. How comfortable/competent are you with the technology in your department?
- There may be additional questions to clarify a response.

Whatever your decision, please accept my sincere thanks for your time and consideration of my request.

Sincerely,

Larry Anthony

Appendix C: NIH Certificate



Appendix D: Interview Questions

Interview Questions

1. What does the term police culture mean to you?
2. How does police culture affect your decisions on the job?
3. How were you first introduced to police culture?
4. How do differences in generations affect the culture?
5. Describe how technology has changed police culture.
6. How comfortable/competent are you with the technology in your department?

Appendix E: Tennessee P.O.S.T. Certified Officers as of March 2017

Name of County	Number of officers	Name of County	Number of officers
Adamsville PD	5	La Follette PD	17
Alamo PD	4	Lafayette PD	15
Alcoa PD	40	Lake County SO	8
Alexandria PD	1	Lauderdale County SO	22
Algood PD	13	Lavergne PD	44
Anderson County SO	56	Lawrence County SO	44
Ardmore PD	6	Lawrenceburg PD	33
Ashland City PD	12	Lebanon PD	73
Athens PD	24	Lenoir City PD	21
Atoka PD	19	Lewis County SO	12
Baileyton PD	1	Lewisburg PD	26
Baneberry PD	1	Lexington PD	25
Bartlett PD	106	Lincoln County SO	30
Baxter PD	4	Livingston PD	17
Bean Station PD	7	Lookout Mountain PD	16
Bedford County SO	35	Loretto PD	4
Bell Buckle PD	1	Loudon County SO	47
Belle Meade PD	15	Loudon PD	13
Bells PD	4	Lynnville PD	0
Benton County SO	16	Macon County So	23
Benton PD	6	Madison County SO	78
Berry Hill PD	13	Madisonville PD	17
Big Sandy PD	0	Manchester PD	32
Blaine PD	1	Marion County SO	23
Bledsoe County SO	11	Marshall County SO	24
Blount County SO	148	Martin PD	25
Bluff City PD	6	Maryville PD	44
Bolivar PD	18	Maury County SO	78
Bradford PD	3	McEwen PD	4
Bradley County SO	104	McKenzie PD	13
Brentwood PD	49	McMinn County SO	31
Brighton PD	6	McMinnville PD	29
Bristol PD	66	McNairy County SO	13
Bristol PD (correction) (batch 9)	1	Medina PD	10

(table continues)

Name of County	Number of officers	Name of County	Number of officers
Brownsville PD	29	Meigs County SO	16
Bruceston PD	2	Memphis Housing Authority	2
Burns PD	1	Memphis PD	1984
Calhoun PD	2	Memphis-Shelby County Airport	45
Camden PD	11	Metro Knoxville Airport Public Safety Dept.	24
Camden PD officer added	1	Metro Nashville Park PD	17
Campbell County SO	37	Metro Nashville PD	1341
Campbell County SO	1	Middleton PD	3
Cannon County SO	14	Milan PD	19
Carroll County SO	24	Millersville PD	9
Carter County SO	52	Millington PD	27
Carthage PD	8	Minor Hill PD	2
Caryville PD	6	Monroe County SO	41
Celina PD	5	Monteagle PD	6
Centerville PD	9	Monterey PD	7
Chapel Hill PD	4	Montgomery County SO	95
Charleston PD	3	Moore County SO	12
Chattanooga Airport Police	10	Morgan County SO	20
Chattanooga Housing PD	6	Morristown PD	83
Chattanooga PD	421	Moscow PD	2
Cheatham County SO	33	Mount Juliet PD	38
Cheatham County SO (cor. batch 10)	1	Mountain City PD	10
Chester Co SO	15	Mt Pleasant PD	8
Church Hill PD	9	Munford PD	13
Claiborne County SO	34	Murfreesboro PD	203
Clarksville PD	257	Nashville Airport Police	61
Clay County SO	12	New Hope PD	1
Cleveland PD	80	New Johnsonville PD	2
Clifton PD	5	New Tazewell PD	9
Clinton PD	30	Newbern PD	11
Cocke County SO	35	Newport PD	24
Coffee County SO	43	Niota PD	4
Collegedale PD	21	Nolensville PD	7
Collierville PD	88	Norris PD	6
Collierville PD	2	Oak Ridge PD	52

(table continues)

Name of County	Number of officers	Name of County	Number of officers
Collinwood PD	4	Oakland PD	15
Columbia PD	78	Obion County SO	23
Cookeville PD	66	Obion PD	4
Coopertown PD	1	Oliver Springs PD	10
Cornersville PD	1	Oneida PD	12
Covington PD	34	Overton County SO	20
Cowan PD	3	Paris PD	22
Crockett County SO	11	Parsons PD	7
Cross Plains PD	2	Perry County SO	11
Crossville PD	38	Petersburg PD	1
Crump PD	2	Picket County SO	8
Cumberland City PD	2	Pigeon Forge PD	53
Cumberland County SO	45	Pikeville PD	3
Dandridge PD	11	Piperton PD	6
Dayton PD	18	Pittman Center PD	4
Decatur County SO	13	Plainview PD	1
Decatur PD	6	Pleasant View PD	5
Decaturville PD	1	Polk County SO	21
Decherd PD	10	Portland PD	25
Dekalb County SO	22	Powells Crossroads PD	2
Dickson County SO	65	Pulaski PD	25
Dickson Parks PD	2	Puryear PD	1
Dickson PD	42	Putnam County SO	56
Dover PD	4	Red Bank PD	20
Dresden PD	8	Red Boiling Springs PD	5
Dunlap PD	12	Rhea County SO	31
Dyer County PD	28	Ridgetop PD	6
Dyer PD	6	Ridgley PD	5
Dyersburg PD	51	Ripley PD	26
Eastridge PD	31	Roane County SO	40
Elizabethton PD	39	Robertson County SO	46
Englewood PD	4	Rockwood PD	16
Erin PD	4	Rocky Top PD	7
Erwin PD	14	Rogersville PD	13
Estill Springs PD	6	Rossville PD	5
Ethridge PD	1	Rutherford County SO	211
Etowah PD	6	Rutherford PD	3

(table continues)

Name of County	Number of officers	Name of County	Number of officers
Fairview PD	19	Rutledge PD	6
Fayetteville PD	21	Savannah PD	16
Fentress County SO	15	Scott County SO	26
Franklin County	40	Scotts Hill PD	2
Franklin PD	116	Selmer PD	15
Friendship PD	1	Sequatchie County SO	19
Gadsden PD	1	Sevier County SO	95
Gainesboro PD	4	Sevierville PD	53
Gallatin PD	68	Sharon PD	1
Gallaway PD	1	Shelby County SO	574
Gates PD	2	Shelbyville PD	36
Gatlinburg PD	39	Signal Mountain PD	13
Germantown PD	88	Smith County SO	24
Gibson County SO	27	Smithville PD	12
Gibson PD	2	Smyrna PD	73
Giles County SO	29	Sneedville PD	1
Gleason PD	5	Soddy Daisy PD	30
Goodlettsville PD	39	Somerville PD	10
Gordonsville PD	5	South Carthage PD	3
Grainger County SO	24	South Fulton PD	5
Grand Junction PD	2	South Pittsburgh PD	4
Graysville PD	1	Sparta PD	15
Greenbrier PD	13	Spencer PD	2
Greene County SO	54	Spring City PD	7
Greeneville PD	50	Spring Hill PD	42
Greenfield PD	6	Springfield PD	32
Grundy County SO	13	Stewart County SO	17
Hamblen County So	33	Sullivan County SO	117
Hamilton County Parks and Rec.	21	Sumner County SO	92
Hamilton County SO	159	Surgoinsville PD	1
Hancock County SO	12	Sweetwater PD	19
Hardeman County SO	26	Tazewell PD	5
Hardin County SO	22	Tipton County SO	51
Harriman PD	18	Tiptonville PD	7
Hawkins County SO	57	Townsend PD	4
Haywood County SO	19	Tracy City PD	4

(table continues)

Name of County	Number of officers	Name of County	Number of officers
Henderson County SO	23	Trenton PD	15
Henderson PD	14	Trezevant PD	0
Hendersonville PD	95	Tri-Cities Airport Authority PD	11
Henning PD	1	Tri-Cities Airport PD (correction batch)	2
Henry County SO	33	Trimble PD	1
Henry PD	1	Trousdale County SO	18
Hickman County SO	21	Troy PD	3
Hohenwald PD	14	Tullahoma PD	32
Hollow Rock PD	1	Tusculum PD	2
Hornbeck PD	1	Unicoi County SO	19
Houston County SO	9	Union City PD	30
Humboldt PD	20	Union County SO	24
Humphreys County SO	23	Van Buren County SO	7
Huntington PD	11	Vonore PD	9
Huntland PD	4	Warren County SO	43
Jacksboro PD	4	Wartburg PD	4
Jackson County SO	9	Wartrace PD	1
Jackson PD	210	Washington County SO	86
Jamestown PD	9	Watauga PD	0
Jasper PD	7	Watertown PD	3
Jefferson City PD	22	Waverly PD	11
Jefferson County SO	38	Wayne County SO	15
Jellico PD	4	Waynesboro PD	4
Johnson City PD	139	Weakley County SO	21
Johnson County SO	14	Westmoreland PD	3
Jonesborough DPS	14	White Bluff PD	5
Kenton PD	2	White County SO	26
Kimball PD	9	White Pine PD	9
Kingsport PD	110	Whitefield PD	5
Kingston PD	11	Whitehouse PD	17
Kingston Springs PD	4	Whitwell PD	5
Knox County SO	416	Williamson County SO	146
Knoxville PD	398	Wilson County SO	111
La Follette PD	17	Winchester PD	22
Lafayette PD	15	Winfield PD	1
Lake County SO	8	Woodbury PD	6
Lauderdale County SO	22	Total	13,581