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College of Social and Behavioral Sciences

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Sergio M. Montolio

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Walden University
2018

Abstract

Black Lives Matter Members' Perceptions of Police Attitudes Towards African Americans

by

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MPA, John Jay College of Criminal Justice, 2005

BA, John Jay College of Criminal Justice, 2000

Dissertation Submitted in Partial Fulfillment

of the Requirements for the Degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

Public Policy and Administration

Walden University

December 2018

Abstract

The relationship between the police and African Americans has been fraught for some time. In the 2010s, amid the rise of the Black Lives Matter movement, the relationship between African Americans and the police was marked by serious tensions including racism, White privilege, and perceptions of police brutality. The purpose of this case study was to explore the current relationship between the police and the Black Lives Matter social movement and assess movement activists' perceptions of police actions. The theoretical framework for this qualitative case study was based on procedural justice and the reason of actions component of Derrick Bell's critical race theory. Data for this study included more than 1,000 social media postings from Facebook and Twitter; 205 public documents, which included police interactions, incident reports, and interviews; and 25 observations from public gatherings between 2013-2016. Data were coded into a priori themes and then content analyzed. Findings indicated that the Black Lives Matter movement generally increases the tensions in the relationship between the police and African Americans, creating emotional strain due to activists' messages of racism, White privilege, and violence. Recommendations included expanding open communication with the police, providing more training for the police, and encouraging police officers to control their actions when having interactions with African Americans, all of which may result in positive social change. The study findings provided a blueprint for community policing in minority communities.

Black Lives Matter Social Movement Members' Perceptions of Police Attitudes Towards African Americans

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Dedication

This study is dedicated to all law enforcement officers, the members of Black Lives Matter Movement and African Americans, as well as all of the minority communities. It is dedicated to all the families that have lost a loved one due to the lack of communication and relationship between the police and the Black Lives Matter movement. Furthermore, it is dedicated to all the citizens who strive every day to make their communities safer to have a more peaceful environment.

We are only as strong as we are united, as weak as we are divided.

-- J. K. Rowling

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> All things are subject to interpretation. Whichever interpretation prevails at a given time is a function of power and not truth.
>
> Friedrich Nietzche

Table of Contents

List of Tables iv

List of Figures v

Chapter 1: Introduction to the Study 1

Introduction 1

Background 1

Problem Statement 9

Purpose of the Study 12

Research Questions 13

Theoretical Framework 13

Nature of the Study 15

Operational Definitions 16

Assumptions 18

Scope of the Study 18

Limitations and Delimitations 18

Significance of the Study 19

Summary 20

Chapter 2: Literature Review 21

Introduction 21

Literature Search Strategy 23

Theoretical Foundation 23

Procedural Justice Theory 23

Critical Race Theory 28
Literature Review of Key Variables and/or Constructs 30
The Police and African Americans 30
The Police–African American Encounter 33
African American Perceptions of the Police 43
Role of Social Media on Police Brutality 46
Social Media and Black Lives Matter Social Movement 48
Policing African Americans 52
Broken Windows Theory 56
Summary 63
Chapter 3: Research Method 64
Introduction 64
Research Design and Rationale 64
Role of the Researcher 66
Methodology 67
Sampling Procedure 67
Data Analysis Plan 69
Summary 70
Chapter 4: Results 71
Introduction 71
Research Questions 71
Data Collection 73

Data Analysis 76
Results 79
Summary 101
Chapter 5: Discussion, Conclusions, and Recommendations 103
Introduction 103
Interpretation of the Findings 103
Discussion of Findings 107
Key Points 112
Recommendations 114
Implications 115
Conclusion 117
References 119
Appendix A: Black Lives Matter Social Media Home Webpage 156
Appendix B: Sample Twitter Post 157
Appendix C: Sample Facebook Post 158
Appendix D: Black Lives Matter Chapters 159

List of Tables

Table 1. Supporting Items for Percieved Police Actions…… 87

Table 2. Supporting Items for the Development of the Themes……..96

List of Figures

Figure 1. Perceptions of police actions towards African Americans by the BLM movement.....88

Figure 2. Factors that affect the relationship between the BLM and the police 97

Chapter 1: Introduction to the Study

Introduction

Alicia Garza and Patrice Cullors created the Black Lives Matter (BLM) social movement as a response to the police brutality against minorities, especially towards African Americans (Roger K, 2016). The issue of police brutality has garnered extensive media coverage for several years (Roger K., 2016). For minorities, specifically African Americans, police brutality has become a predicament that permeates and maintains the racial divisions in the United States (Roger K., 2016).

Like previous African American civil rights leaders, the BLM social movement activists use tools of mass communication as their main strategy to express their message as to gain a mass following to expand their purpose (Bijan, 2015). In the last ten years, social media platforms such as Twitter and Facebook have become the most frequently used means of gathering and spreading information as it pertains to the BLM movement (Bijan, 2015). The BLM movement was created to allow the African American community members a way to fight against the actions of police brutality, racial inequality, and social injustice (Guynn, 2015).

Background

The founders of the BLM movement Alicia Garza and Patrice Cullors, are community organizers from Los Angeles, California, who introduced the hashtag #BlackLivesMatter to social media platforms (Guynn, 2015). The social movement began when the founders learned that George Zimmerman was acquitted of the death of Trayvon Martin on July 13, 2013, in the U.S. State of Florida (Guynn, 2015). Garza

(2015) stated that, “she felt not only enraged but a deep sense of grief that she could not protect Trayvon Martin against this cancer”. Therefore, she composed the love note to black people on her Facebook page, urging them to come together to ensure “that black lives matter” (Guynn, 2015).

Despite the fact that Zimmerman was not a police officer, he had a close relationship with and was familiar with some of the police officers in the Sanford, Florida police department which was the place where Trayvon Martin was shot and killed. During a community forum on January 8, 2011, more than a year before Martin was killed, Zimmerman, then a criminal justice student, told officials he had “ridden along” with Sanford police officers on patrol (Gutman, Tienabeso, & Smith, 2012). Furthermore, the State Attorney’s Office released a video as evidence 3 days after the shooting of Zimmerman’s relationship with the Sanford police department; showing that the video Zimmerman was walking unescorted through the police station (Trymaine, 2012). Benjamin Crump, the Martin family attorney, said that the video suggested that a cozy and comfortable relationship existed with Zimmerman and the Sanford police department (Trymaine, 2012). It is unknown, however, if Zimmerman’s relationship with the Sanford police department played a role in the outcome of the verdict. However, what is known is that the Zimmerman’s case gave rise to the BLM movement, which soon became a national force (Grigsby, B, 2018).

Upon hearing of Zimmerman’s acquittal 2013, the organizers felt hopeless. Alicia Garza responded to the acquittal on her Facebook page urging people to come together to ensure that Black Lives Matter (Guynn, 2015). The hashtag #BlackLivesMatter spread

quickly in social media in the summer of 2013. It distilled the complexities of police brutality, racial inequality, and social justice into a simple, easy to remember slogan, said Travis Gosa, a social science professor of African studies at Cornell University (as cited in Guynn, 2015; Lilly, 2016). Perceptions of the Zimmerman acquittal as unfair and illustrating the unjust treatment of African Americans, therefore, led to the rise of the BLM movement.

The #BlackLivesMatter hashtag trended in the United States and across the world after the Zimmerman verdict was announced (Sual, 2017). However, it was the death of Freddie Gray that came to symbolize the African American community's mistrust of police and which triggered days of protests and riots in Baltimore (Rentz, Luke, & Fenton, 2017). On April 12, 2012, Freddie Gray, a 25-year-old African American man was arrested by the Baltimore Police Department for possessing what alleged was an illegal knife under the Baltimore law. While being transported in a police van, Freddie Gray fell into a coma and was taken to a trauma center, where he died on April 19, 2015. A week later, the cause of his death was based on Spinal cord injuries (Ruiz., R, 2017). Six officers were indicted, but then released due to insufficient evidence (Ruiz., R, 2017). Upon Freddie Gray's death, the city became a focal point of ongoing series of protest by the BLM movement, and the nationwide debate on excessive police force (Ruiz., R, 2017). Since then, the movement has become the banner under which dozens of disparate organizations, new and old, and millions of individuals have pressed for change (Bijan, 2015). Keeanga-Yamahtta Taylor, a professor of politics at the University of San Francisco and the author of *Black Nationalism in the United States*, said "Black Lives

Matter" might be the most potent slogan since "Black Power", which Stokely Carmichael introduced to a crowd of civil rights demonstrators nearly fifty years ago (Guynn, 2015).

According to Garza (2015), BLM movement activists used Twitter, Facebook, and Tumblr to connect people fighting for social justice so they could meet offline and do something in their communities (Guynn, 2015). The BLM movement is an ideological and political intervention in a world where African American lives are systematically and intentionally targeted for demise (Garza, Tometi, & Cullors, 2014). As people took the #BlackLivesMatter demands to the streets, the mainstream and corporations also took up the call (Garza et al., 2014).

The BLM is a unique social movement with concerns that extend beyond extrajudicial killings of African Americans by the police and vigilantes (Garza et al., 2014). Garza et al. (2014) suggested that when activists say "black lives matter," they are talking about the ways African Americans are deprived of their basic human rights and dignity (Garza, Tometi, & Cullors, 2014). Furthermore, the #BlackLivesMatter movement does not mean that the lives of other races are not important; it means that Black lives are seen as without value within White supremacy, and are important to your liberation (Garza et al., 2014).

The wide spread of mobile phone cameras and social media platforms has moved social movements into the spotlight, especially BLM (Freelon, Mcllwain, & Clark, 2016). In 2014, videos, images, and text narratives of violent encounters between the police and unarmed African Americans circulated widely in the news and on social media platforms galvanizing public outrage (Freelon et al., 2016). The biased coverage of these

encounters was the fuel that gave rise to the BLM movement, a loosely coordinated, nationwide movement dedicated to ending police brutality (Freelon et al., 2016).

Keeanga-Yamahtta Taylor, a professor in African American studies at Princeton University, stated that social media has been critical in the knitting together of a national narrative of police violence and abuse (Safdar, 2016). The BLM movement members continued their advocacy work in the mass media, in the streets, through dialogue with elected officials, and online (Freelon, Mcllwain, & Clark, 2016). The BLM movement has demonstrated the loss of confidence and respect for the police that often occurs when a controversial incident takes place and garners media attention (Weitzer, 2015). In a study conducted by Dirikx, Gelders, and den Bulk (2013), the authors concluded that exposure to the news negatively predicts the respondents' perceptions of the distributive fairness of the police.

Police-citizen relationships have been influenced by controversial issues that have been publicized by the media (Weitzer, 2015), by racial profiling (McAlister, 2011), and by stop and frisk policies (Filimon, 2015) that have grown significantly since 2007-2017 (McAlister, 2015). Social media platforms have shown how these phenomena are part of a generalized and pervasive pattern of police abuse as seen by the public (Safdar, 2016). Furthermore, social media platforms help organizers overcome the distance created by geography by putting people in immediate touch with one another (Azarian, 2016).

African Americans living in majority African American communities are more likely to say their local police treated members more roughly when dealing with crime 88% compared to 74% (Swanson, 2016). More than (82%) of African Americans say that

police in their communities are more likely to use deadly force against an African American person compared to 66% of those living is non-African American majority areas (Swanson, 2016). Numerous studies document stark racial disparities in police maltreatment, finding that African American boys and men are disproportionately subject to excessive and sometimes deadly police force, even after accounting for situational factors of the encounter (e.g., resisting arrest) and officer characteristics (e.g., age, training (Desmond, Papachristos, & Kirk, 2016; Terrill & Reisig, 2003).

Lee, Steinberg, Piquero, and Knight (2011) stated that for many African Americans, especially those who live in low-income neighborhoods and in urban environments, police contact occurs in the form of neighborhood close observation, racial profiling, harassment, and/or arrest (Lee et al., 2011). Waddington, Williams, Wright, and Newburn (2015) argued that young, ethnic minority men are more likely to be in an environment in which negative encounters with the police are common place and in which accounts of those encounters may be exchanged so that the attitudes to the police are formed and shared in the neighborhoods by a mixture of African Americans' personal experiences and collective understanding. Between August 2014 and August 2015, BLM social movement chapters around the world organized more than 950 protest demonstrations (Herbert., G, 2015). Their call for social justice has ranged from targeting well-known police-involved deaths, such as Eric Garner's strangulation in Staten Island, New York, on July 17, 2014, to lesser-known cases involving the killing of 12-year-old Tamir Rice in Cleveland, Ohio, on November 22, 2014 (Herbert., G, 2015).

The relationship between the police and African American communities has been compromised due to the tensions that exist between the police and the BLM social movement members due to the disproportionate police killings of African Americans (Lopez, 2017). That tension is based on a long history of flat-out racist policing in America (Lopez, 2017).

Recent violence against the police and African Americans has resulted in bloodshed and severe injuries sustained from assaults, some of which have resulted in death (Barrik, Hickman, & Strom, 2014). The violent confrontations that have occurred between African Americans and the police in the United States have become a global concern where the lack of trust, confidence, and the perception of the police has yielded debates on reforms among politicians and the BLM social movement (Weitzer, 2015). Recent violent confrontations between the police and African Americans have provoked an exceptional amount of public debates regarding the frustration and concerns that African Americans have about the treatment that they receive from the police (Weitzer, 2015).

In an effort to tackle the violence and restore order in African American communities throughout the United States, police departments have moved to aggressive enforcement of minor violations (Vitale, 2014). However, Thompson (2015) felt that fatal incidents that have recently occurred in the streets, and that have received national attention, stem from *broken windows* policing. Broken windows refer to an observation made by George Kelling, a criminologist, and James Wilson in the 1980s, that when a window of a home is broken and left unrepaired, the rest of the windows will soon be

broken too (E.B, 2015). Keeling and Wilson, suggested that an unrepaired window is a sign of not caring (E.B, 2015). Therefore, breaking more windows cost nothing. Broken windows policing was implemented as an approach to law enforcement based on the theory of cracking down on minor crimes and offenses to prevent major crimes (E.B, 2015). However, it is argued that effect of the broken windows is discriminatory, as the police only targets non-whites (E.B, 2015). In a police reform organization project conducted in 2014, researchers found that young African American men are usually charged with criminal trespassing and locked up for standing in front of their building (Gangi, 2014).

The difficult relationship between the police and African Americans in the United States is evident in the deep-rooted racial divisions in the public's view of law enforcement and the criminal justice system (Swanson, 2016). These divisions have added to the tension that exists between the police and African Americans and, thus, have damaged the reputation of the police nationwide (Weitzer, 2015). Police officers have become more reluctant to conduct police work due to the isolated relationship they have with members of African American communities (Vitale, 2014).

The problems that are affecting all police departments across the United States stem from the absence of African American community cooperation, communication, and relationships with the police (Barrick, 2014). Previous studies have shown that African Americans often have unfavorable attitudes towards the police (Barrick, 2014). A review of annual Gallup data for 2014, 2015, and 2016 shows a 29%-point gap in the percentage

of Whites and African Americans who have confidence in the police; 58% of Whites have confidence in the police compared with 29% of African Americans (Swift, 2016).

Barrick (2014) suggested that it is essential for the police to have a good working relationship with African American community members because it plays an important role in the safety of the communities. Without community support, police officers risk putting their lives at stake when entering communities with large populations of minorities (Wasserman, 2010). Therefore, both parties need to be able to establish a working relationship, which is free of negative perceptions, as both need to be able to depend on each other.

Researchers studying perceptions of the police have examined the role of police contacts, finding that African Americans translate their perceptions as police harassment rather than as actions related to protecting them or their neighborhoods (Romaine & Hassell, 2014). Observing at the determination factors of the tensions between African Americans communities and the police (Barrick, 2014), it is needless to say that the torn relationship that exists between African Americans and the police creates negative perceptions and distrust for the police (Barrick, 2014). Improvement is recommended in the areas of communication, and enforcement to gain African trust and develop a trustworthy relationship.

Problem Statement

The way police officers interact with African Americans greatly dictate how African Americans view the police (Jannetta & Beiler, 2015). The current problem consist in that the relationship between the police and African Americans has been

compromised as a result of the conflicts and incidents upon encounters that have been publicized in social media.

Creating a culture of integrity within a department is crucial to building and sustaining community trust, effective policing, and safe communities (Jannetta & Beiler, 2015). The public perception of the police has been that the police's only concern is in African Americans communities is the reduction of crime (e.g., drugs, murder, rape, robbery, grand larceny, etc.) and pay little attention to how police attitudes affect African Americans perceptions of the police.

Since 1935, nearly every riot in the United States and there have been more than 100 ha been sparked by a police incident (Hanna-J, 2015). This can be an act of brutality, or a senseless killing (Hanna-J, 2015). Research also shows that African Americans harbor more negative feelings toward the criminal justice system (Jones, 2011). Regardless, of the trust that is placed on the police, previous studies claim that much more remains to be known about African Americans trust in the police, their views and experiences (Flexion, Lurigo, & Greenleaf, 2009). For African Americans, policing is "the most enduring aspect of the struggle for civil rights and it has always been the mechanism for racial surveillance and control" says Muhammad, a historian and director of the Schomburg Center for Research in Black Culture in New York (Hanna-J, 2015).

There has been great attention to police interaction with African Americans because studies have attested that African Americans have had negative experiences with the police where they have been verbally and physically absurd and overly aggressive to hold them back where the use of force was used (Weitzer & Brunson, 2009). Life

experiences of African Americans have made them more critical to opinions of the effectiveness, legitimacy, and lack of respect for the police (Weitzer & Brunson, 2009). Although, the problem is relevant, it is known if it has become part of repeated stories and embedded accounts of biased perceptions by the media that should encourage African American to detach themselves from the police (Hardin, 2015; Rojeck, Alpert, & Smith, 2012). However, African American communities want a good relationship with law enforcement because they want their families and property to be safe. After all, it is true that African American communities often face higher rates of crime (Hanna-J, 2015).

Hardin (2015) suggested that lasting negative experiences upon police and African American relationships create a hostile environment, mistrust, and fear from the police, and from police to African Americans that can lead to confrontations between both groups. This in part, explains why African Americans are more susceptible and critical of the effectiveness and legitimacy of the police, which only adds to the lack of trust and disrespect for law enforcement (Wietzer & Brunson, 2009). The relationship between the police and African Americans has been compromise in the United States based on the lack of trust, confidence, and actions that have impacted the relationship. The perceptions that African Americans and the police have is based on the shared experience with each other and the actions that have that have impacted that relationship. The relationship problem between the police and African Americans has come to light due to the publicity that social media has given to the Black Lives Matter social movement.

Purpose of the Study

The purpose of the qualitative study is to explain and describe the impact that the BLM movement has on the relationship between African Americans and the police. The poor relationship that remains between the police and African Americans through the United States is the disconnect that has occurred between African American communities and the police including the loss of trust, anger, frustration, faith, and respect for the police that encouraged the need for this qualitative case study. The BLM social movement's fight for social justice, and the effort it has put in to end more African American deaths directly or indirectly because of police violence (Herbert., G, 2015).

Despite the early formulation of attitudes towards the police and the centrality of trust in effective police programming, many questions are unanswered about African Americans trust in the police and the association between trust and experiences of adolescence (Flexon, Lurigio & Greenleaf, 2009). Police involved incidents that have led to death of African Americans in the U.S. have awaken the BLM social movement (Meyerson, C, 2016). The #blacklivesmatter social movement website says that a police involved shooting death occurs every 48 hours (Meyerson, C, 2016). The BLM social movement struggle to preserve African American lives has expanded into a new human and civil rights movement and it is continuing to grow stating that the aggressiveness of police officers and their behavior can leave people feeling humiliated, violated, or even victimized (Brunson & Gau, 2016). Building a partnership between the police and African Americans might reduce tension between the police and the BLM social movement supporters. Therefore, the study will be providing conflict resolutions between

the police and the BLM social movement to resolve conflicts, torn relationship, and hatred that's displayed on social media platforms and allow the public and law enforcement to see how the problematic relationship that exist between the police and African Americans are destroying communities.

Research Questions

In this study, I examined the relationship between the police and African American communities. I focused, in particular, on BLM social movement activists' perceptions of police actions and behaviors. I analyzed incidents that have occurred between both groups to better understand how African Americans perceive law enforcement organizations. I posed the following research questions to help establish what the present relationship is between African Americans and the police and how the BLM social movement perceives police actions towards African Americans.

Research Question 1: What is the current relationship between the police and the BLM social movement?

Research Question 2: How does the BLM social movement perceive the actions of police towards African Americans?

Theoretical Framework

In this study, I examined important aspects of the police-African American relationship by using procedural justice theory (PJT) and critical race theory. In formulating the theory of procedural justice, Tyler argued that if officers act fairly and respectfully when interacting with the public, they can win legitimacy (as cited in Waddington, Williams, Wright, & Newburn, 2015). Activists and scholars developed

critical race theory (Delgado and Stefancic, 2017). Critical race theorists are interested in studying and transforming the relationship among race, racism, and power (Delgado and Stefancic, 2017).

Critical race theory combines progressive political struggles for racial justice with critiques of the conventional legal and scholarly norms that are themselves viewed as part of the illegitimate hierarchies that need to be changed. Scholars, most of whom are they persons of color, challenge the ways that law and culture construct race and racial power (Barlow, 2016). Adopting critical race theory emphasizes the importance of examining and attempting to understand the socio-cultural forces that shape how others perceive, experience, and respond to racism (Allen., B, Tompkins, Chernouski, & Boyle, 2017). Scholars trace racism as a dually theoretical and historical experience that affects all members of a community regardless of their racial affiliations or identifications (Allen., B, Tompkins, Chernouski, & Boyle, 2017).

Critical race theory does not only draw attention to and address the concerns of individual affected by racism, but also those when penetrated and are seemingly unaffected by racial prejudice (Allen., B, Tompkins, Chernouski, & Boyle, 2017). According to critical race theory, race is one of the most consistent predictors of attitudes toward and reported experiences of the police and other criminal justice institutions (Weitzer, R., Tuch, S. A. 2004). People form opinions of the police based on their interactions with them or the experiences they hear from trusted friends and family (Schuck, Amie, and Dennis P. Rosenbaum, 2005). In addition, media reports also affect the public's view of policing agencies and how fairly laws are enforced (Weitzer, Ronald,

and Steven A. Tuch, 2005). Research also shows that an officer's demeanor and actions are crucial to perceptions of police legitimacy (Horowitz, 2007). If officers communicate well, listen, and treat citizens with respect, citizens will respond in the same kind (Horowitz, 2007).

People who perceive that they received procedural justice are likely to perceive the police as legitimate and trustworthy and are likely to comply in the future (Weitzer & Tuch, 2004). Different views of procedural justice have dominated recent discussions of police interactions with the public (Zamir, Mastrofski, & Moyal, 2013) to evaluate if using procedural justice while having police/minority encounters bring respect and fair treatment in their actions, can change the views of the public towards the police, and can encourage the public to become more complaint and cooperative with the police (Mazerolle, Antrobus, Bennett, & Tyler, 2012).

The combination of procedural justice theory and critical race theory are the foundation for answering the research questions regarding the study. Procedural justice theory suggests that judgments about fairness of the police will be the most important factor in such process (Bradford, 2012). Therefore, the BLM social movement impact on the relationship between police and African Americans will be based on the procedural justice theory and the current relationship is answered by the critical race and response theories.

Nature of the Study

I conducted this study to explore the current state of the relationship between African Americans and the police and how does the BLM social movement influence that

relationship. The study was conducted within predominantly minority communities in New York City and focused specifically on African Americans and police relationship, and the BLM social movement perceptions of police actions towards African Americans. As a case study, this study used a cross-case data analysis and coding method. The collection method approach was based on instructive examples that highlight the problem (Creswell, 2013, p.13) through various cases, instances, and individuals (Stewart, 2011, p.69) that compromises the data analysis of the study (Hardin, 2015). The data analysis was drawn out of various components of specific encounters, BLM social movement rallies, social media, and social media postings, which works as "an integral part of the broader picture" (Thomas, 2013, p.598). Existing case studies, existing interviews, social media postings, rallies and meetings of the BLM social movement compromised the purposeful sample techniques used in this study. A case study approach provided an in-depth essence of the research topic (Harland, 2014, p.6; Stewart, 2011, p. 70; Thomas, 2013, pp.592) through observations, purposeful sampling, and a "tenacious pursuit of the essence of each case" (Stewart, 2011, p. 80; Hardin, 2015). A case study approach offers the researcher the opportunity, knowledge, and experience to reinforce aspects of quality in the data collection and analysis stages (Stewart, 2011, pp.78-79; Hardin, 2013).

Operational Definitions

The following terms will be used throughout the study:

Attitude: A relatively enduring organization of beliefs, feelings, and behavioral tendencies towards socially significant objects, groups, events or symbols (Hogg & Vaughn, 2005, p. 150).

Community: Community is a group of people residing in the same neighborhood or area and who have some form of interest in common. Furthermore, a community can also be defined as a feeling of partnership with members of the community who share the same interest, attitudes, and goals, or a group of citizens united working together to accomplish and achieve a goal in the neighborhood (Pfortmuller, 2017).

Critical race theory: A collection of activists and scholars interested in studying and transforming the relationship among race, racism, and power (Delgado & Stefanic, 2012). It considers many of the same issues that conventional civil rights and ethnic studies discourses take up, but places them in a broader perspective that includes economic, history, context, group and self-interest, and even feelings and unconsciousness (Delgado & Stefancic, 2012).

Influence: Influence is the power and ability to personally affect others' actions, decisions, opinions or thinking (Scharlatt, 2011).

Minority: A culturally, ethnically, or racially distinct group that coincides with, but is lesser to, a more dominant group (Encyclopedia Britannica, 2018).

Procedural Justice also known, as procedural fairness is an evidence – based practice reliably associated with higher levels of compliance with and greater amounts of satisfaction with decisions by authority figures. Furthermore, procedure justice is an important predictor of victims' satisfaction with the criminal justice system (Murphy & Barkworth, 2014).

Assumptions

The basic assumption in this study was that African Americans based their perception of the police based on their interactions, whether positive or negative. The BLM social movement in part is a response to influence those perceptions of African Americans toward the attitudes of the police or law enforcement organization (Rosenbaum., Schuck, Costello, Hawkins, 2005).

Scope of the Study

The scope of the study was to extend an assessment of the current relationship between African Americans and the police and the effects of the Black Lives Matter social movement and its potential to influence the relationship between the police and the African American community. The study involves the views of academic scholars, community organizers, policy makers, and law enforcement personnel that had the knowledge about the purpose of the social movement, its influences, and its objectives.

Limitations and Delimitations

Taking into consideration my law enforcement experience and background in criminal justice, I may exhibit some level of pro-officer bias (Hardin, 2015). To ease the limitation, I will convey the coding of the data collection under analysis procedures on the Black Lives Matter Twitter and Facebook pages on the experiences of African Americans with the police, while providing transparency to provide trustworthiness. Some of the limitations and exceptions that are foreseen of this qualitative study is that I will not have access to the individual person posting the comments on Twitter and Facebook.

In addition, the Black Lives Matter Twitter and Facebook comments will be analyzed by written statements and based on personal experiences. It will be limited only to the experience of African Americans. Furthermore, the study limits to the sample of other minorities. This study has considered a further limitation: the data will be strictly analyzed from the Black Lives Matter Twitter, Facebook pages, and document reviews of existing interviews with members of the Black Lives Matter social movement. The community under this study are those in posting on the Black Lives Matter to social media is predominantly African American, which means that the research is limited to other ethnicities. While other ethnicities posting using #BlackLivesMatter will not be eliminated from the data analysis process, there is a user bias in the hashtag being assessed. The data will be limited to facts and will be based on the opinion of the BLM social movement members opinions as well as the opinion given on the existing interviews and social media.

Significance of the Study

The absolute social value adopted from encounters with the police can change African Americans perceptions of police officers and at the same time, clarify any grievances that exist over the tactics that are used by the police when encountering African Americans. The experience acquired from those encounters can be used to make recommendations to address issues over police attitudes towards African Americans, and African Americans behavior towards the police during encounter/contact. The findings of this study will provide enough data analysis for improving police and African Americans relationship and community engagement with the police. These improvements can raise

public awareness of police actions that can facilitate African Americans working for and with the police (Hardin, 2015).

Summary

The objective of this study was to collect data on the current relationship between the police and African Americans and how does the Black Lives Matter social movement influence that relationship. The Black Lives Matter social movement uses social media platforms for community organizing and to collect information on shared experiences that African Americans have had during their interactions with the police. It is important to analyze the reason why, and to what extent, police attitudes have influenced African American perceptions towards the police. The relationship between African Americans and the police will be analyze based on the theoretical foundation of procedural justice and the influence of the Black Lives Matter social movement through the critical race theory to see if police attitudes play a role on African Americans perception of the police.

Chapter 2: Literature Review

Introduction

The recent deaths of unarmed African Americans in the hands of the police have sparked the BLM social movement in the United States (Norberg, Crawford, & Praetorius, 2016). The BLM social movement It is fueled by grief and fury, by righteous rage against injustice and institutionalized racism and by frustration at the endemic brutality of the state against those it deems unworthy (Day, 2015). Alicia Garza created the #BlackLivesMatter with Patrice Cullors, Opal Tometi, and two of her sisters, as a call to action for Black people after 17-year old Trayvon Martin was posthumously placed on trial for his own murder and the killer, George Zimmerman, was not held accountable for the crime he committed (Garza, 2012). Trayvon martin was killed by George Zimmerman a neighborhood watch member on February 26, 2012 in Sandford, Florida (Garza, 2012). As Zimmerman was patrolling the streets of the gated community he worked for, he saw Trayvon martin walking who had just left the house and heading to the store. At the time Zimmerman called the police and reported Trayvon as a suspicious guy and was advice by the police to follow Trayvon (Robles, 2012). Upon Trayvon noticing he was being followed, he began to run. Zimmerman caught to Trayvon, and According to Zimmerman they got into a confrontation which resulted in Zimmerman killing Trayvon Martin (Robles, 2012). However, Zimmerman was acquitted of all charges.

After the verdict, Garza began the BLM social movement with a posting on Facebook urging African Americans to come together to ensure that Black lives matter (Guynn, 2015). Her friend, Patrice Cullors, a community organizer from Los Angeles,

California, spotted the Facebook post and put a hashtag in front of those three words, and the #BlackLivesMatter was born (Guynn, 2015). The hashtag #blacklivesmatter gained prominence once again and become the rallying call for protesters after the killing of Michael Brown in Ferguson, Missouri, in August 2014 (Carney, 2016).

BLM supporters are fueled by grief and fury, by rage against injustice and institutionalized racism (Day, 2015) and by the violence against people of color and the racial injustice of the criminal justice system (Emerson, 2018), 2015). Therefore, it is important to understand the experiences of African Americans who have had confrontations with the police and develop a negative opinion of the police (Norberg, Crawford, & Praetorius, 2016). Due to the violence from the police towards African Americans, the BLM social movement continues to move forward their movement. Furthermore, the BLM social movement is a broad umbrella for social justice campaigns to eradicate poverty and unemployment, overhaul the public education and health care systems, reduce the prison population, and end racial profiling (Guynn, 2015).

It has been disputed that police contact does not inherently undermine minority trust in the police (Tyler, Jackson, & Mentovich, 2015). However, minority trust and behavior are undermined by how the police communicate with minorities when they encounter them; furthermore, the threat or use of coercion has not increased minority trust in the police (Tyler et al., 2015). “The black lives matter social movement is an ideological and political intervention in a world where black lives are systematically and intentionally target for demise,” Garza wrote in the group’s official history of its founding (Lowery, 2017). According to the BLM website, the Black Lives Matter

Network advocates for dignity, justice, and respect. Black activists have raised the call for an end to violence, not an escalation of it (as cited in Simpson, 2016).

I will begin literature review by describing my literature search strategy. I will then discuss why procedural justice and critical race theory were suitable for the study's theoretical framework. After doing so, I will examine research on the relationship between the police and African Americans and the perceptions of both based on interactions shared. In the chapter's concluding section, I will summarize key points and offer a transition to Chapter 3.

Literature Search Strategy

The literature review for this study was conducted using the following research databases and journals: Google Scholar, Sage, ProQuest, Taylor and Francis Online, and the *Journal of Criminal Justice*.

Theoretical Foundation

Procedural Justice Theory

The theoretical framework consisted of procedural justice theory and critical race theory. Procedural justice theory suggests that judgments about the fairness of the police will be the most important factor in such processes (Bradford, 2014). Critical race theory (CRT) scholars and activists are engaged in studying the relationship among race, racism, and power (Delgado & Stefancic, 2015). Fairness promotes a sense of inclusion and value, while unfairness communicates denigration and exclusion (Bradford, 2014).

In 1974, and then again in a book published in 1975, Thibaut and Walker first used the term *procedural justice* to refer to social psychological consequence of

procedural variation, with emphasis on procedural effects on fairness judgments (Lind, Tyler, & Walker 1975). The study of justice as a topic in psychology has been concerned largely with distributive justice -- that is, with fairness oriented responses to the outcome rather than procedures (Lind & Tyler, 1998).

As Thibaut and Walker (1975) began to work on the theory of procedural theory, other theorists suggested that distributive justice was an important factor in social behavior (Lind & Tyler, 1988). Adams' theory was the most influential of the theories in the early work on procedural justice (Lind & Taylor, 1988). Adams argued that social behavior is affected by the belief that the allocation of benefits and costs within a group should be equitable -- that is, the outcomes should be proportional to the contributions of the group members (as cited in Lind & Taylor, 1998).

Procedural justice theory suggests that a fair procedure has the best outcome (Lynch, 2016). Furthermore, procedural justice suggested that based on the treatment the public receive at the hand of the police and justice officials it will define the public compliance (Paraschiv, 2012; Lynch, 2016). Within the last few years, there has been an increase in judicial and procedural injustice when it comes down to race, according to Lynch (2016). Many people are questioning whether the criminal justice system has done enough to protect its citizens from the misuse of authority by law enforcement (Lynch, 2016). Procedural justice is based on the premise that the criminal justice system must consistently demonstrate its legitimacy—that its existence is valid and justified—to the public it serves (Gold, E., 2013). However, many believe that procedural justice is not enough (Maiese, 2013).

Procedural justice have been applied to studies towards the criminal justice system as to the degree to which the public perceived what is fair and legitimate in police conduct (Hardin, 2015). Furthermore, procedural justice considered the motivations that citizens attribute to officers' action and decisions (Hardin, 2015). Procedural justice theory suggested that what matters most are the public views on how fair the process are through which the police make their decisions and exercise their authority (Dirikx, Gleders, & Parmentier, 2012). Moreover, fair practices tend to inspire feelings of loyalty to one's group, legitimize the authority of leaders, and help to ensure voluntary compliance with the rules (Burgess & Cast, 2013). Procedural justice is based on four central principles: (a) treating people with dignity and respect, (b) giving citizens a voice during encounters, (c) being neutral in decision-making, and (d) conveying reliable motives (Olmeda & Marzolli, 2016).

Philosopher John Rawls distinguishes three key components of procedural justice:

1.) Perfect procedural justice has two characteristics:
    a. An independent criterion for what constitutes a fair or just outcome of the procedure, and
    b. A procedure that guarantees that the fair outcome will be achieved (Lawrence, 2004).
2.) Imperfect procedural justice shares the first characteristic of procedural justice – there is an independent criterion for a fair outcome – but no method that guarantees that the fair outcome will be achieved (Lawrence, 2004).

3.) Pure procedural justice describes situations in which there is no criterion for what constitutes a just outcome other than the procedures itself (Lawrence, 2004).

Procedural justice theory will not ensure that the conduct of police officers will be viewed favorable, for evaluation that African Americans reach rely as much upon previous influences trust or mistrust –whether acquired from candid experiences or on behalf of how officers actually behave (Waddington, Williams, Wright, & Newburn, 2015). Procedural justice research has frequently found that adults are more likely to put off the police and are more likely to aid the police when they feel they will be treated in a fair, respectful, and unprejudiced manner (Murphy, 2015; Sunshine & Taylor, 2003; Murphy et al., 2008). Furthermore, procedural justice is important to the evolution of good will amid police and the people and is closely associated to improving community understanding of police legitimacy, the belief that authorities have the right to dictate proper behavior (trustandjustice.org, 2016). Procedural justice is thought to be productive in creating voluntary assistance because it increases the anticipated legitimacy of authority (Murphy, 2015; Tyler, 1990). Yet, procedural justice and critical race theory have not been integrated into policing to improve the relationship between the police and African Americans to assure fairness, and equality from the police.

Carney (2016) conducted a study where she focus particularly on the deployment of the phrases "#blacklivesmatter" and "#alllivesmatter", it examines the discourse of Twitter at a particular moment in time to investigate a contested site of knowledge production and power through discourse (pg. 182). In the findings of the study, Carney (2016) demonstrated that the #blacklivesmatter slogan met a great deal of resistance in

the wake of the killings of Michael Brown and Eric Garner. On social media, one of the primary ways in which people resisted the Black Lives Matter social movement came in the form of using #alllivesmatter as a counter slogan to undermine the purpose and message of the #blacklivesmatter call to action (Carney, 2016). In a study conducted by Olteanu, Weber, and Gatica-Perez (2015), they conducted a study where they put to test the Black Lives Matter social movement and hashtag on Twitter in order to get insights into the level of users involvement based on demographic. Their findings were that more African Americans engage with the hashtag, and are more active than any other race.

If the African American communities begin to perceive the changes in police attitudes, police fairness, and respect towards African American communities, the police and African Americans encounter will have a positive experience and outcome. Therefore, rebuilding trust in the police. Integrating procedural justice and critical race theory into policing African American communities, and switching process into how to approach, talk, and treat African Americans can result in positive outcome and reduce the violence between African Americans and the police.

Procedural justice can be tested by implementing it on patrol, while addressing patrol officers on how to use procedural justice when approaching, questioning, or arresting African Americans. Whereas, critical race theory recognizes that racism is engrained in the fabric and system of the American society (Deruvo, 2013). African Americans perceptions of police fairness can have a vital influence on their perceptions toward the police (Mazerolle, Antrobus, Bennet, & Tyler, 2012). Studies show that when citizens perceive the police acting in a procedurally just manner by treating people with

dignity and respect, and by being fair and neutral in their actions they view the police as legitimate and are more likely to comply with directives and cooperate with police (Mazerolle et al., 2012).

Critical Race Theory

Critical race theory came around in the 1970s and 80s as Derrick Bell and other law professors and activists became disillusioned with the results of the civil rights movement (Oremu, 2012). Bell is considered the father of Critical Race Theory because of his prolific writing on the topic; his instrumental role in educating many cohorts of law scholars who fostered the movement, and the principles by which he lived his life and his career (Landson-Billings, 2013). However, the critical race theory movement began organizing in the 1980s, holding its first session thereafter (Delgado & Stenfacic, 2015). During the past twenty years, critical race theory has served as a tool for exposing and analyzing race and racism in higher education. Since it was introduced to education by Ladson-Billings and Tate (1995), scholars, have used the theory to examine educational policy and practice.

Critical race theory sprang up when the civil rights movement stalled; new theories were needed to cope with emerging forms of institutional or "color blinded" racism and a public that seemed tired of hearing about race (Delgado & Stenfacic, 2015). Bell's thoughts were that blacks has supposedly gained equality before the law, they pointed out that whites continued to wield disproportionate power and enjoy superior standards of living (Oremu, 2012).

Furthermore, Bell and other legal scholars began using the phrase "critical race theory" in the 1970s as a takeoff on "critical legal theory," a branch of legal scholarship that challenges the validity of concepts such as rationality, objective truth, and judicial neutrality (Oremu, 2012). Critical race theorists showed how racism is routine, not exceptional, and that liberal accounts were inadequate to understand its persistence and power (Delgado & Stefancic, 2007). Delgado and Stefancic (2013) review the history of critical race theory, including the small number of efforts to come to terms with crime and delinquency by critical race theory scholars, and list several issues that seem ripe for critical analysis.

The individual racist need not exist to note that institutional racism is pervasive in the dominant culture (Deruvo, 2013). Critical race theory assumes that racism is "engrained" in American society at its core and that every white is part of the problem (Deruvo, 2013). Yet, it doesn't attempt to prove it, it just simply assumes it (Deruvo, 2013). According to Derrick Bell, the father of the Critical Race Theory, Critical race theory gives permission to blacks to believe in something that provides plausible-sounding reason for what they see in society (Deruvo, 2013). Because it is believed that racism is truly "engrained in the fabric and system of the American society," it stands to reason that it must be fought against (Deruvo, 2013). Although the term "theory" appears in its name, Critical Race Theory is not like behavior change or epidemiological theories (Ford & Airhihenbuwa, 2010).

Critical race theory integrates transdisciplinary methodologies that draw on theory, experiential knowledge, and critical consciousness to illuminate and combat root causes

of structural racism (Ford & Airhihenbuwa, 2010). Critical Race Theory challenges widely held out erroneous beliefs that "race consciousness" is synonymous with "racism" and that "colorblindness" is synonymous with the absence of racism (Ford & Airhihenbuwa, 2010). According to Delgado and Stefancic (2001), Critical Race Theory scholars believe that racism "is the usual way society does business, the common, everyday experience of most people of color in this country" (p.7).

Literature Review of Key Variables and/or Constructs

The Police and African Americans

The history of the relationship between the police and African Americans converge on the idea that police behavior carries important identity-relevant information (Bradford, 2014). Cooperation between minorities and the police is critical to the success of the minority communities (Flexon, Lurigio, & Greenleaf, 2009). If African Americans (minorities) are fearful and distrust the police, they will be more reluctant to cooperate with the police, to the point of not reporting crimes. Based on the lack of police and African American relations, and police violence against minorities, the Black Lives Matter social movement began surrounding states.

The former New York City Police Commissioner William Bratton came under pressure due to police violence and minority deaths on the hands of the police, which lead him to resigning to his position. His abrupt resignation gave a win to the Black Lives Matter protesters (Pyke, 2016). The abrupt change in the relationship between the police and African Americans has turned into violence, leading to deaths of civilians and police officers (Weitzer & Tuch, 2004). Due to the change in relationship between the police

and African Americans, Sholnick (1973) states that minorities have historically mistrusted the police, mostly for their offensive verbal, abusive responses, brutal actions, and the lack of effective service provided in minority communities. Former President Barack Obama in a speech given in 2014 stated, “In too many communities around the country, a gulf of mistrust exists between residents and law enforcement” (Olson, 2014).

There has been a mass of cases of minority incidents with the police since the drastic event of Rodney King in 1992 in Los Angeles, California, and Amadou Diallo in 1999 in New York City, New York (Olmeda & Marzulli, 2015). Amadou Diallo, Manuel Loggins Jr., Ronald Madison, Kendra James, Sean Bell, Eric Garner, Michael Brown, Alton Sterling, and Ramarley Graham; were black men or women who died at the hands of police (Funke & Susman, 2016). Their names represent only a handful of cases of minorities whom have been gun down by the police since 1999 (Funke & Susman, 2016). Other minorities who died in the hands of the police are:

- Manuel Loggins Jr. was 31 years old, a Marine who was shot and killed on February 7, 2012 by an Orange County Sheriff (Goffard, 2013).
- Ronald Madison 40, mentally disabled, a Katrina survivor, was shot in the back and killed in an ambushed by New Orleans police officers on September 4, 2005 (Granderson, 2006),
- James Brissette 17, was also shot in the back and killed along with Ronald Madison, 40, by the New Orleans police officers (justice.gov, 2011).

- Sean Bell, 23, was shot and killed on November 25, 2006 as he was coming out of a strip club celebrating his bachelorette party (Williams, 2016). Officers open fire shooting Bell in the neck and torso (Olmeda & Marzulli, 2012).
- Ramarley Graham, 18; Graham was shot by a New York City Police Officer in his Bronx apartment on February 2, 2012 (Williams, 2012).
- Eric Garner, 43; Garner got into a confrontation with an NYPD officer and was placed in an illegal arrest that resulted in his death (Williams, 2015).

The BLM social movement rises every time to protest police violence whenever an African American suffers injuries or deaths in the hands of the police. A database by kill by police have tracked that, approximately 4,377 people of race have been killed by the police in the United States, from 2013 to early 2017 (killedbypolice.net, 2017). According to the data collected for the counted (2016), Black males aged 15-34 were nine times more likely than other Americans to be killed by law enforcement officers (Day, 2017). They were also killed at four times the rate of young white men (Day, 2017).

Racial disparities persisted in 2016 even as the total number of deaths caused by police fell slightly. Police brutality with African Americans throughout history has enforced racist ideas, creating a barrier between minorities and police. Their unjustified actions leave us with the question of whether it is based on the actual crime or the color of their skin (Roethler, Kapur & Filippini, 2017).

In all, 1,091 deaths were recorded for 2016, compared with 1,146 logged in 2015 (Day, 2017). African American men were again killed by police at a clearly increasingly

rate than other Americans in 2016, raising concerns over the expected forsaking of criminal justice reform by Donald Trump's incoming administration (Day, 2017). These events have soared out of control where the community is labeling police brutality, discrimination, racial profiling and racism. The underlying racism exists because the day-to-day encounters with the people of color have been negative, and it has been dominated by the stereotype of police officers (Solis, 2004; see Bouza, 1990). Time and time again, this culture has proven to have fatal consequences for racially profiling African Americans (Fillimon, 2015). Police stereotype has been related to the negative interaction and attitude between the police and African Americans.

Incidents that have occurred between the police and supporters of the BLM social movement have been proof that racial profiling continues to grow (Higgins, Jennings, Jordan, & Gabbidon, 2011). Existing research on racial profiling indicates that racial and ethnic minorities are disproportionately stopped and searched (Higgins, Jennings, Jordan, & Gabbidon, 2011; Alpert, 2007; Engel & Calnon, 2004). The police have been accused of racially biased decision-making that contributes to the racial profiling, disrespectful encounters, excessive force, and, ultimately, disproportionate minority [African Americans] confinement (Vera Sanchez & Rosenbaum, 2011).

The Police–African American Encounter

Ever since the explosion of the BLM social movement, Americans have been bombarded with assertions that Black men face a unique and dangerous threat — not from members of their own community but from the very law enforcement officers who are sworn to "serve and protect" them (French, 2015). Hashtags such as

#DrivingWhileBlack and #WalkingWhileBlack have perpetuated a narrative that black Americans risk being gunned down by police simply because of the color of their skin (French, 2015).

In studies conducted evaluating the police and African Americans, Cheurprakobkit (2000) included analysis of citizen-initiated contact and police-initiated contact. Cheurprokobkit (2000) found that citizens who initiated police contact viewed the police performance favorable than those whose contacts were initiated by police. Furthermore, police contact was likely to result from a service aspect of policing more than a crime-fighting function, and positive police experience not only yielded positive attitudes towards the police but also neutralized or improved the negative attitudes of citizens (Cheurprokobit, 2000). Police and citizen's exchanges give the citizens a sense of importance, provide them with the basis for gossip, and allow them to explain to the police what is worrying them; giving them a sense that something is being done (Polite, 2010).

Public perceptions towards the police are one of the most important issues in a democratic society (Lai & Zhao, 2010). Furthermore, it is important to understand that the police need as much support from the citizen and needs for the community to view them as fair. Tyler (2005) suggested that the failure to acquire police legitimacy has serious consequences because the public will not be willing to respect the police and will be more willing to challenge their authority. Since the 1980's many researchers have concentrated on the issue of public perception of the police. Lai and Zhao (2010)

suggested that there has been little research on the public perceptions of the specific controversial actions of the police.

Police misperception, legitimacy, and lack of trust by African Americans contribute to police misconduct, abuse of power, and treatment towards African Americans. According to Weitzer, Tuch, and Skogan (2008), there are several Majority-Black neighborhoods in America, but they have not been research to draw any conclusion on their views of the police (Skogan.org, 2008). The public beliefs and prior experiences when they encounter the police, can affect the public being compliant with police demands, and their willingness to assist the police by reporting crimes (Weitzer, Tuch, and Skogan, 2008). However, for African Americans to assist the police and share information, the police must gain African Americans trust.

The deep racial tensions seen in many areas of American life underlie how blacks and whites view police in their communities, as well as their reactions to the deadly encounters in recent years between blacks and law enforcement officers, according to a new survey by Pew Research Center (Morin & Stepler, 2016). Six-in-ten Americans say the deaths of African Americans during encounters with police in recent years are signs of a broader problem between blacks and the police, while 39% say they have been isolated incidents (Morin & Stepler, 2016). Furthermore, blacks and whites differ dramatically in how they interpret these fatal incidents (Morin & Stepler, 2016). For about eight-in-ten blacks (79%), these deaths signal a larger problem between police and the black community (Morin & Stepler, 2016).

Weitzer, Tuch, and Skogan (2008) suggested that African Americans encounter with police officers influence their larger attitudes towards the police. Not to mention, some early studies have reported that citizens' prior contact with the police influenced their general views of the police (Weitzer, Tuch, & Skogan 2008). Recent research has indicated that the quality of treatment that people received during encounters makes a difference (Weitzer, Tuch, and Skogan 2008). If the interaction between the police and the minorities communities is poor, there will be a problem when attempting to build any relationship (Solis, 2004).

There are many aspects that can form the public perceptions of the police. Ward (2013) suggested that, assessing public opinions of the police is complex because it entails many aspects such as perceptions of police practices, performance of police results, and overall representation (Chapman et al., 2009). According, to Somerville (2009), minorities' encounters with the police affect their overall opinion of police services (Ward, 2013). Recent research indicates that people who feel that they have been treated respectfully by the police and informs them of their rights and reasons behind their action are more likely to be satisfied – even if the encountered had negative results (Weitzer, 2008). The kind of treatment that people receive from the police is important regardless of the racial background (Weitzer, 2008). Nevertheless, race continues to be a great factor in the form of treatment that African Americans receive from the police. Studies have found that citizen's satisfaction is higher when the encounter is citizen initiated (Cheurprakobkit, 2000). There is sufficient evidence that considered that police-initiated contacts negatively affect citizens' opinions of the police (Skogan.org, 2008).

Police and African Americans relations have historically been strained (Black & Kari, 2010). The relationship between the police and members of the community they serve play a major role on how the community perceives the police. Research has shown that citizens' perceptions of procedural justice influence their beliefs about police legitimacy, yet at the same time, some order maintenance policing efforts stress frequent stops of vehicles and persons for suspected disorderly behavior (bja.gov, 2013; Gau & Brunson, 2010). These sorts of frequent stops can threaten citizens' perceptions of police legitimacy because the targeted offenses are minor and are often not well defined (bja.gov, 2013; Gau & Brunson, 2010). Researchers have raised concerns regarding the impact of aggressive police strategies on community residents, particularly the younger residents of minority communities, and the effects that these interactions have on the relationship between the community and the police (Chuck, 2013).

The racial tensions of the 1950s and the 1960s led to the development of many alternatives police models that would reduce the tension between the police and African Americans communities (Black & Kari, 2010). Scholars have expressed their fears that the harsh treatment of younger African Americans by the police may produce a "lawless youth subculture" and create communities in which residents are alienated from the police and are therefore unwilling to cooperate with the police to address crime (Schuck, 2013). Hence, since today's youth become tomorrow's adult, these controversial strategies may generate a cycle of destructive police-community-relations (Schuck, 2013). The interaction that occurs is very crucial to the perception of African Americans communities towards the police. Prior research has shown that citizens' demeanor is

often influenced by police officers' behavior toward them (Gau & Brunson, 2010); thus, aggressive or demoralizing police actions have the potential to inflame a situation and expose minority citizens [African Americans] to more serious kinds of malfeasance (Gau & Brunson, 2010). Negative perceptions are often the results of a weak relationship that reflects great social distance between African Americans and the police (Jones, p.30, 2011).

A longstanding research tradition indicates that race plays a primary factor in attitudes towards the police, with African Americans more likely than whites to express levels of dissatisfaction (Rice & Piquero, 2005). A study by the Center for Policing Equity found that African-Americans are far more likely than whites and other groups to be the victims of use of force by the police, even when racial disparities in crime are considered (Makarechi, 2016). There is the testimony of black Americans, including some in uniform or in political office, about experiencing a disproportionately large share of encounters with police (Bialik, 2016).

Skogan (2006) argued that without trust between minority communities and the police, such partnerships could never be fully formed or sustained (umt.edu, 2006). In addition, African Americans who do not trust the police that are patrolling their neighborhoods, develop a fear or reluctance to report crimes or any other incidents that occurs in their community. By the same token, the fear will deter members of the community to assist the police in criminal investigation, to become a volunteer for the police, and to sponsored neighborhood programs or to call the police if in need of assistance (Flexon, Lurigio, & Greenleaf, 2009). Harris (2005) argued that, in African

Americans communities where there is a lack of trust for the police, it will be harder for the police to successfully prevent and resolve crime, and the police might be at a greater risk for verbal abuse or physical assaults (Flexon, Lurigio, & Greenleaf, 2009).

African Americans have been concerned with analyzing and challenging structures of inequality, which were expressed mostly geographically in the construction of race (Mullins, 2014). The African American experience is a history that is shaped by the presence of racial bias (Gottschild, 2016). Police can unwittingly contribute to impressions that they harbor personal animosity toward certain groups (Gau & Brunson, 2009; Brunson 2007). In this manner, public exchange between the police and African Americans are ripe for overt conflict because the police perceived minorities as low status residents (Flexon, Lurigio, & Greenleaf, 2009). Minorities who reside in urban areas are exposed to aggressive policing (Vera Sanchez & Adams, 2011). Past research reveals that African Americans who reside in minority neighborhoods fall prey to harassment, excessive force and early criminalization by the police (Vera Sanchez & Adams, 2011).

Attitudes and perception towards the police begin developing at a young age, when adolescences have a greater opportunity for direct and indirect contact with the police (Flexon, Lurigio, & Greenleaf, 2009). It is very important to analyze and understand how important it is the interaction that takes place when African Americans come in contact with the police. The association of aggressive policing of African American from detriment neighborhoods is extensive, but particularly evident is the

obstruction of crime control efforts. Research has shown that ethnic and racial background affects attitudes of minorities towards the police.

In a study conducted by McGlynn-Wright (2014) suggested that police encounters have no identifiable long-term impact on white's behavior or subsequent criminal justice involvement. On the other hand, the impact of early encounters with African American youth was astonishing (McGlynn-Wright, 2014). Early encounters increased the odds of illegal behaviors nearly 6 years later for African American (McGlynn-Wright, 2014).

According to McGlynn-Wright (2014), African American who experience contact by the 8th grade have a nearly 13 times greater odds of experiencing arrest when they are 20 years old than their non-contacted African American peers, even while holding constant self-reported criminal behavior. Gabbidon and Higgins (2008) research revealed that, in most instances, blacks have been less likely than other racial and ethnic groups to believe they are treated fairly. Furthermore, public polls have consistently reported African Americans as having lower confidence in the police than any other groups (Gabbidon & Taylor Green, 2009). The lack of confidence towards police might be due to the experience of policing acts towards African Americans, which led them to reveal their trust for the police. Minority citizen treatment by the police had an impact on their perception of the police that was independent of "whether the police: (a) solve the issue about which the citizen calls; or (b) cite the citizen they have stopped for a violation of the law" (Taylor, 2011).

In the early 1980s, research found that not only experiencing (Gabbidon & Higgins, 2008) but also witnessing the police engaged in misconduct might also

negatively influence African Americans views of the police (Gabbidon & Higgins, 2008). Under the period of the 1980s, critical research showed that African Americans felt the entire criminal justice system was unjust (Hagan & Albonetti, 1982). Based on Lee, Steingberg, Piquero, and Knight (2010) research analysis, many African Americans particularly those in low-income, urban settings, the contextual circumstances associated with being Black often include police contact in the form of neighborhood surveillance, racial profiling, harassment, and arrest processing (Brunson and miller, 2006). Importantly, biased police behavior also has been cited as a factor that plays a role in disproportionate minority contact with the police (Lee, 2010). Evidence suggests that African American recognize the "criminal" stigma associated with their group and have come to expect negative police behavior (Lee, Steingberg, Piquero, & Knight 2010).

Research has shown that personal experiences with the police are significantly related to believing about the legal system, with fair treatment (Lee, Steingberg, Piquero, & Knight 2010). Furthermore, have also identified racial groups' differences in perceptions of the police, with African Americans typically holding more negative views compared to other groups (Lee, Steingberg, Piquero, & Knight 2010). In a related point, another study found that "judgments of the fairness of experiences have an impact upon evaluations of the police that are independent of the outcome of those experiences" (Cheurprakobkit, 2000). Lasley et al. (1995) found that when the police treated minority residents as equals or took the time to understand their problems, significant improvement in citizens' opinions occurred (Cheurprakobkit, 2000). Previous studies have confirmed the significant impact of contact and experiences with the police on

African American attitudes in general (Cheurprakobkit, 2000). Distrust of the police is correlated with both concentrated neighborhood disadvantage (Sampson and Bartusch 1998) and personal experiences with negative and involuntary police contacts (Weitzer and Tuch 2002), which may influence African Americans. When public believes an authority figure lacks legitimacy, they are less likely to feel obligated to follow the rules and regulations of that authority figure (Lee, Steingberg, Piquero, & Knight, 2010).

In a study conducted by Rusinko et al. (1978) found that in situations in which police contacts were typically viewed as problematic, officers' communication skills, and supportive behavior could neutralize police encounters that have negative connotations (Cheurprakobkit, 2000). Negative contacts with the police led African Americans dissatisfaction and disaffection with the police (Cheurprakobkit, 2000). Cheurprakobkit (2010) argued that police contact is a critical determinant of African Americans attitudes and perceptions towards the police. Furthermore, the type of police experience produced a clearer and more distinct attitudinal pattern on how minority citizens assess police performance (Cheurprakobkit, 2000). It has been well documented that African American experience police encounter differently -from the content to outcomes of encounter (McGlynn-Wright, 2014). Interactions between police and men of color from disadvantage neighborhoods are frequently negative (Jones-Brown, 2000). African American often reports harassment, both physical and verbal, by the police (McGlynn-Wright, 2014). Jones-Brown, (2000) argued that the negative interactions have an impact not only on the individual but also on others who hear stories into overall attitudes about the police (McGlynn-Wright, 2014).

Drawing on Black's (1976) theory of law and social control, Engel (2003) suggested that the greater the stratification gap between a police officer and a citizen, the higher the likelihood of displays of disrespect towards the other party (Weitzer & Brunson, 2009). Engel (2003), further states that, it is possible that types of citizens {e.g., African Americans} may act in disrespectful, or otherwise resistant ways to symbolize their perceptions of injustice (Weitzer & Brunson, 2009). Even when such theories result in temporary crime reductions, they undermine relations between police and minority communities and expose large numbers of law-abiding citizens to unwelcome police contacts (Brunson & Miller, 2006).

A recent study of the impact of perceived racial discrimination on young African Americans males showed that racial discrimination both increased delinquency directly or indirectly, through depression, disengagement from conventional norms, and by creating a hostile view of relationships (McGlynn-Wright, 2014). This may be certain if encounters with the police are considered racially motivated (McGlynn-Wright, 2014). Relationships between police and minority communities had always been stressful (Solis, 2004; Goldstein (1990, p.159). In other words, police behavior has often induced conflict (Solis, 2004). Such experiences are part of the reason why African American communities hold more critical opinions of the police than other groups (Weitzer & Brunson, 2009).

African American Perceptions of the Police

Two decades of research on perceptions of crime and policing reveal that race is a key predictor of people's attitudes towards crime and policing (Cobbina, 2016). African

Americans are more likely than Whites to report police abuse, harsh treatment, and a culture of impunity (Cobbina, 2016). The common perception among many Black respondents was that the police targeted and treated poor minorities with disdain and hostility (Cobbina, 2016). African American perceptions vary depending upon expectations, roles, and experiences (Peed, 2008). Studies conducted attempting to link the types of contact with police and satisfaction, have indicated that African Americans generally expressed a lesser degree of satisfaction as compared with whites (Gau & Brunson, 2009).

The police are supposed to protect citizens, but in today's society some people are afraid to encounter police officers (Lynch, 2016). These fears are attributed by oppression and racial tension between minorities, and dominate white America (Lynch, 2016). Public perception is skewed in fear of what may happen to them (Lynch, 2016). The perception of police officers and treatment of citizens varies, but general perceptions from minorities' [African Americans] shows an increased amount of fear and perception of unfair treatment when dealing with law enforcement (Lynch, 2016).

The role of police in the lives of African Americans has been well documented (Gabbidon, Higgins, and Potter, 2011). Scholars have noted that, from the very beginning of American society, the police, first in the form of ''Slave Patrollers,'' and later in the form of organized police forces, have often engaged in unfair practices such as racial profiling (Gabbidon, Higgins, and Potter, 2011; Del Carmen, 2008). According to Weitzer (2002) blacks not only draw perceptions and attitude from their own experiences

but also from patterns of events they are exposed to in their communities, and knowledge imparted by members of their racial group (Brunson, 2007).

Few of the research conducted examining the relationship between perceptions and the context of minority communities; interaction with police suggests that unfavorable views of the police arise from negative, involuntary and voluntary, police contacts (Brunson, 2007). Therefore, the built experiences of police mistreatments develop tensions among African Americans, which impact the perception of the police. Unfortunately, African Americans are immensely burdened by these negative experiences. African American victim frequently shares the account with family and friends, often to lighten the burden, and this sharing creates a domino effect of anguish and anger rippling across an extended group (Brunson, 2007). Perhaps these issues have been particularly noticeable for African Americans, who have a unique, longstanding, and tenuous relationship with the police (Brunson, 2007).

Brunson and Miller (2006) suggested that, the actions taken by the police when dealing with an issue in a poor urban community, differs from their actions taken when resolving an issue in a middle and upper-middle class neighborhood. Areas characterized by concentrated level of poverty and minority racial segregation are subject to aggressive policing strategies (Brunson and Miller, 2006). Aggressive policing disproportionately targets African Americans (Bass, 2010). Therefore, undermines the relationship between police and African American communities (Brunson and Miller, 2006). The public has very little trust and confidence in the police, especially African Americans. This might be since, individuals may have direct contact with the police through their own personal

encounters, or may observe or hear about the physical contact of others with the police, and thereby form an opinion (Jones-Brown, 2000). The relationship between the police and the community consist of physical and emotional components (Jones-Brown, 2000); Physical and emotional components that will not humiliate, intimidate, harass, and/or add fear and uncertainty on minorities African Americans.

In a study conducted by K. P. Chan and M. S. Chan (2012), it suggested that mass media "constantly surround, frequently inform, and just as frequently misinform individuals" (as cited in Heath and Gilbert 1996). Hence, the influence of mass media is significant since media could be identified as a primary force (along with direct and indirect experience) in shaping people's views of crime (K. P. Chan & M. S. Chan, 2012; Dominick 1978). Scheufele and Tewksbury (2007) stated that media had potentials to produce strong attitudinal effects on readers but these effects also depended heavily on predispositions, schema, and other characteristics of the readers that affected how they processed the messages projected in the mass media (K.P. Chan & M.S. Chan, 2012).

Role of Social Media on Police Brutality

A string of highly publicized police murders of black citizens in Louisiana, Minnesota, and around the country has prompted news reports of an "epidemic" of police violence against African Americans (Dreier, 2016). Social media has added pressure to law enforcement agencies, and it is changing the game for governments under pressure (Ulgen, 2017). Social media as the modern-day news board by way of the Internet has made it harder and is making the suppression of police brutality by their respective departments more difficult all the time. People are starting to record police officers in

action while they are on duty with their smartphones so that they have proof against arrests of minorities and how police conduct themselves in arrest situations (Roger K., 2016). Social media fulfilled the role of real-time reporting that people had come to expect from the traditional media (Ulgen, 2017). Media has become the center stage where people are informed about events going on throughout the country and police brutality has become such a predicament through the eyes of minority groups especially Black people or people of color that it permeates in news reporting today (Roger K, 2016). The harshness of the police intervention was widely documented by the fast-flowing postings on Twitter (Ulgen, 2017).

Social media has suddenly turned into a powerful instrument of public scrutiny. Thus, devising efficient means to subdue traditional media will not be sufficient anymore for government's intent on concealing the harshness of their law enforcement (Ulgen, 2017). The days of evidence-suppression by police departments is over thanks to the proliferation of social media (Roger K, 2016). Today is the day of the citizen journalist where everything is caught on social media and it is this way that social media plays its role so that we can understand police brutality which otherwise would have gone unnoticed by the public at large (Roger K, 2016).

Research has definitively established that "racial profiling" by law enforcement exists — that persons of color are more likely to be stopped by police (Wihbey & Walter Killie, 2016). Crimes against African Americans in minority communities have given rise to public recordings of the police, and it has increased prevalence of cellphone recordings and sharing it on social media such as Facebook, Twitter and Instagram. Police officers

are being recorded with small handheld cameras so that their departments can be held accountable for unwanted use of force that results in brutality (Roger K, 2016) And the Black public in particular has become a giant media machine with their smartphones and the use of these Web based services (Roger K, 2016)**.** Black people are fed up with discrimination by police in terms of being killed or getting beat up in an arrest situation because of their skin color (Roger K, 2016).

Heated confrontations between police and African Americans across the country are regularly being captured via cell phone video and plastered on the news (Johnson, 2016). Black lives matter and we can no longer conduct ourselves in such a way where police brutality against minorities in their own communities is ignored (Roger K, 2016). We must eliminate police brutality in all its effects by using social media (Roger K, 2016). Through social media the public must not tolerate any injustices inflicted on minorities by the police and they must protest to seek justice or this is going to happen again and again and it's never going to end (Roger K, 2016).

Social Media and Black Lives Matter Social Movement

Social movements have long used media and technology to disseminate, escalate, and enlarge the scope of their struggles (Bonilla & Rosa, 2015). Black lives matter. These words have come to define this generation's ongoing struggle against persistent state-sponsored violence with black bodies as its target (Bailey & Leonard, 2015). The simple slogan gestures towards a complex set of issues, each of which contributes to a state of unbroken and unmitigated racial terror (Bailey & Leonard, 2015). Visible across the nation, from mass demonstrations to social media timelines, Black Lives Matter, as a

rallying cry, exists alongside daily evidence that proves (at least to those who would see with eyes unclouded by prejudice) just how necessary the cry is (Bailey & Leonard, 2015).

Racial inequality in the criminal justice system has been a consistent issue of socio-political significance in the United States. Empirical and official data, although scarce, indicates that over half of those killed by police in recent years have been black (Parker, Onyekwuluje; Murty 1995; Klinger 2011; Choudhury, Jhaver, Sugar, and Weber, 2016). Black Lives Matter was created in 2012 by Alicia Garza, Patrice Cullors and Opal Tometi after the acquittal of George Zimmerman, the neighborhood watch coordinator who shot and killed unarmed black teenager Trayvon Martin in February of that year (Dupere, 2016). The hashtag #BlackLivesMatter mobilized the online community into action around racial justice issues, morphing that three-word tag into a massive movement (Dupere, 2016). The Black Lives Matter social movement grew into a social juggernaut following the 2014 deaths of Michael Brown in Ferguson and Eric Garner in New York City (Bonilla and Rosa 2015; Choudhury, Jhaver, Sugar, and Weber, 2016).

Over time, Black Lives Matter has expanded its fight beyond racial police violence to situate itself as "an ideological and political intervention" (Garza 2014; Bonilla and Rosa 2015; Choudhury, Jhaver, Sugar, and Weber, 2016) that strives to end systemic presence of racial inequality against blacks. Some companies have such as Ben & Jerry's, Ford Motors, and Kellogg's Foundation tried to take a stand for racial justice, but it has been minimal (Williams, 2016). In doing so, the Black Lives Matter social

movement stirred up much controversy during this election year in effort to bring more attention to the challenges faced by African Ame4icans (Marks, 2016). Now, the Black Lives Matter is supporting Black owned businesses (Williams, 2016).

Right after the shootings of Sterling and Castile, music-streaming service Pandora posted a tweet in support of the Black Lives Matter social movement, and the backlash was immediate (Williams, 2016). It was accused by many of its followers of supporting a "terrorist group"(Williams, 2016). As retaliation, outraged subscribers canceled their subscriptions, and posted screenshots of their cancellations on social media (Williams, 2016). That same day, Facebook put up a #BlackLivesMatter sign in front of its headquarters in Menlo Park, California, listing the names of victims while CEO Mark Zuckerberg asked for peace on his personal page (Williams, 2016). Google employees held vigils, and the official Google account sent out a supportive tweet (Williams, 2016).

"Black lives matter," the rallying cry of the new social movement against racist police violence, is brilliant in its simplicity. But more striking than the slogan's ability to express so much in so few words is how painful it is that its message needs to be asserted (Petersen-Smith, 2016). Social media, especially Twitter, due to its pervasiveness and adoption, has provided the fundamental infrastructure to this activist movement (Choudhury, Jhaver, Sugar, and Weber, 2016). Twitter represent a larger struggle for power over the discourse on race and racism across the nation, drawing from critical theory and race theory to analyze a collection of posts on Twitter (http://twitter.com), and applying these theories to a pressing contemporary context (Choudhury, Jhaver, Sugar, and Weber, 2016). Video has been changing Americans' views toward police for more

than 25 years (Lopez, 2016). With the rise of the Black Lives Matter movement over the past two years, this issue is once again in the national spotlight (Lopez, 2016). And as Gallup found, public confidence in police has generally declined to levels not seen since the Rodney King riots (Lopez, 2016).

Black Lives Matter is an act of collective imagination, one that both envisions and tries to bring about conditions that will guarantee that the voices, humanity, and lives of African Americans are protected, valued, and embraced (Bailey & Leonard, 2015). Many things have changed since the start of the Black Lives Matter social movement. Black Lives Matter, the civil-rights protest movement that rose to prominence after Michael Brown was shot and killed by a police officer in Ferguson, Missouri, expanded its reach onto the campaign trail and college campuses (Foran, 2015). The movement forced presidential candidates to reckon with a legacy of racism and police brutality, and it has inspired student protests and demands (Foran, 2015). The Black Lives Matter social movement has provoked backlash, and it has been experiencing difficulties in making their voices heard (Foran, 2015). Nevertheless, critics and police organizations have portrayed Black Lives Matter as radical, anti-police, and anti-white (Balko, 2015).

The challenge, for the movement, is to stem the tide of violence against black men and women while working to fix what activists believe is a fragmented and broken society. The confrontations signaled the start of increasingly high-profile political engagement for the decentralized movement. They also laid bare the complicated and tense relationship between the movement and the progressive left. As Black Lives Matter becomes increasingly intertwined with mainstream politics, activists have found people

in high places ready and willing to listen to their demands (Foran, 2015). However, that creates new challenges (Foran, 2015).

Policing African Americans

Community policing has been the buzzword in Anglo-American policing for the last two decades (Brogden, & Nijhar, 2013). Some police departments began emphasizing community policing during the 1970s, in response to the political unrest and widespread protests of the 1960s (Abbey-Lambertz & Erbentraut, 2016). Over the past few decades, community policing has been the driver of police-citizen relations (Hardin, 2015). Community policing emerged in the 1980s as a new strategy to enhance police partnerships with the public (Fielding, 2005). Community policing uses diverse theoretical and realistic approaches to developing safer neighborhoods by improving the quality of life (Ward, 2013; Somerville, 2009). Further, community policing offers the police and the public an opportunity to share ideas and concerns in ways that can lead to improving the quality of life through reductions in crimes (Ward, 2013; Fielding, 2005).

During the early and mid-20th century, police in American cities strived to keep their distance from the neighborhoods the policed (Muniz, 2011; Garland, 2011). Distance was not only intended as a countermeasure to rampant corruption but as a way to safeguard the departments from public scrutiny (Muniz, 2011). Polite, (2010) suggested that, to measure the success within community policing, the police must gather sufficient information about the communities.

The origin of community policing can be traced back to the “broken windows” theory, first proposed by Wilson and Kelling in 1982 (Polite, 2010). Community policing

has no universal definition (Bryant, 2007). Yet, there are different definitions of community policing that department, researchers, and practitioners use to respond to changing environment (Ward, 2013; Lee, 2010). Although there remains little debate that policing in the United States has entered the era of community policing (Oliver, 2000), there is a continuing energetic disagreement over its appropriate definition and some discussion as to its precise origins (Oliver, 2000). Community policing means many things to different people (Reisig and Kane, 2014). However, some scholars have suggested that community policing involves reforming decision-making process and creating new cultures within the police departments (Bryant, 2007). Community policing is a philosophy that places an emphasis on police community relations to tackle problems of crime, disorder and fear within a specific community (communitypolicing.com, 2017).

The U.S. Department of Justice's COPS defines community policing as "a philosophy that promotes organizational strategies, which support the systematic use of partnerships and problem-solving techniques, to proactively address the immediate conditions that give rise to public safety issues such as crime, social disorder and fear of crime " (Abbey-Lambertz & Erbentraut, 2016). Moreover, community policing assumes a commitment to broadly focused, problem-oriented policing and requires that police be responsive to citizen's demands when they (Bryant, 2007); in fact, for most police administrators, community policing is a philosophy that can take on various shapes and strategies in practice (Bryant, 2007). Community policing emerged from a philosophy that quality community and police partnership can prevent, address, or solve crime and

social disorder (Ward, 2013; Somerville, 2009). Community policing is a relationship between the police and minority members of the minority communities.

Weisberg and Mazerolle (2000) asserted that community policing activities are centered on components such as community police officer(s), citizens survey information, geographic-based assignments, routine foot patrol, routine bike patrol, community group meetings, training citizens in community policing, and patrol problem solving (Bryant, 2007). Furthermore, a general agreement exists in the literature that community policing involves some type of law enforcement philosophy, and strategies that emerge tend to be based on efforts to forge partnerships with the community and to solve crime related problems (Bryant, 2007). Bryant (2007) suggested that a major function of community policing is to improve police performance through increased cooperation and improved relationships between the public and the police. The community must feel that the police department understands the efforts that the community puts in as an effort to improve communication and relationship.

Eck and Maguire (2001) defined community policing as providing an affirmative response to using citizen survey information in support of at least one of the following functions: (a) Allocating resources to target neighborhoods, (b) prioritizing crime/disorder problems, (c) formulating agency policy and procedures, (d) redistricting beat/reporting areas, or (e) providing information to patrol officers (Bryant, 2007). In support of community policing as a principal, Jesilow and Parsons (2000) linked community policing to peace making and, in support of community policing on a philosophical basis only, suggested that the evolving style of community policing may be

a means to a new criminological model, one they called peacemaking criminology (Bryant, 2007). On the other hand, Ponsaers (2001) stated that most evaluations of community policing have focused on how it is implemented and not the impact it has on the community.

Many departments stressed the need for community policing because the police alone cannot prevent and solve crimes (Ward, 2013; Galster & Lim, 2009). It's imperative that community police officers have an effective way of communicating and approaching community members. Lewis (2008) suggested that ineffective communication is a key concern for many police departments and community members (Ward, 2013). Reducing community problems requires feedback from the public and police in order to solve those problems (Ward, 2013). In order to develop a favorable communication, police officers must build positive relationships with the community by involving the community in crime control and prevention (Galster & Lim, 2009). However, effective communication between police officers and the residents depends on regular, positive contact (Ward, 2013).

In a study conducted by Roberg and Kuykendall (1997, p.416) suggested that a substantial amount of research already exist on community policing (NIJ, 1995;Sadd Grinc, 1994,1996), in which it indicates that successful implementation of Community policing required " the need for pre-implementation training of personnel, the importance of taking a long view at the change process, the need for support from elected officials and other city agencies, and the importance of listening and the community involve as well as becoming involve in the communities (Solis, 2004; p.416).

In a moment transformed by the Black Lives Matter social movement, community policing has become one of the go-to solutions to the crisis of police legitimacy (McQuade, 2015). Police departments have taken many initiatives to become more professionals, to change, and to meet public demands for a greater police presence (Solis, 2004). However, policing initiatives have encountered many controversies related to methods of implementation, the challenge of change in police practice, and the role of the community in policing initiatives (Solis, 2004). In some cases, community policing creates localized law-and-order lobbies that advocate for more aggressive law enforcement (McQuade, 2015). Community policing, and "broken windows" policing has been created to aid American police departments in crime prevention within minority communities (Gadek, 2010); disregarding the affect it has on minority communities.

Broken Windows Theory

The phrase *broken windows* is a metaphor that neatly illustrates the policy, as first put forth by James Q. Wilson and George L. Kelling in a 1982 essay of that name in The Atlantic (Greenburg, 2014). James Q. Wilson and George L. Kelling are the original founders of the phrase "Broken Windows" theory. It has been 30 years since Wilson and Kelling's published what is considered today a part of history in law enforcement, "Broken Windows Theory".

Broken windows theory (also known as order maintenance) suggested that targeting minor problems and disorder [loitering, prostitution, and graffiti] could help reduce more serious (Harcourt & Ludwig, 2006). However, it is time to retire the philosophy of policing that leads to mass arrests for low-level offenses such as loitering,

drinking in public or transience, and focus on what is important re-establishing police and minority relationship (Balko, 2015). There's plenty of academic literature suggesting that it doesn't work as well as its supporters claim (Balko, 2015). Yet, In the meantime, it leaves thousands of people with arrest records and can lead to unnecessary escalation (Balko, 2015).

When protesters developed a platform to end police violence in the wake of the 2014 police shooting of 18-year-old Michael Brown in Ferguson, Missouri, the first of their 10 demands were to end "broken windows" policing, the law enforcement paradigm marked by aggressive policing of minor offenses and heavy police presence in low-income Black communities (Ritchie, 2016). Moreover, Broken windows policing is not only all too often lethal, it also contributes to the use of excessive and illegal force in the context of the most mundane police encounters (Ritchie, 2016). Criminological theories such as "broken windows" have been argued to be behind the disproportionate rate of fatal police encounters, and broader perceptions of injustice in black communities (Goldkamp 1976; McKinley; Baker 2014; Choudhury, Jhaver, Sugar, and Weber, 2016).

Broken windows policing is what led Ferguson police officer Darren Wilson to approach Michael Brown simply for walking in the middle of the street. It is what motivated police to repeatedly harass Eric Garner, a 43-year-old Staten Island resident who was killed earlier that summer by NYPD officer Daniel Pantaleo, using a banned police chokehold during an encounter initiated over Garner's alleged sale of loose cigarettes (Ritchie, 2016). The role of broken windows policing in each death quickly

became the focus of protesters from the Black Lives Matter movement and other civil rights advocates (Ritchie, 2016).

The broken window theory primary focus was to adopt a more aggressive form of enforcement of minor misdemeanor laws, known as "order maintenance" (Harcourt & Ludwig, 2006). Wilson's theory of broken windows held that neighborhoods could prevent the growth of crime if they quickly took steps such as replacing broken windows, removing graffiti, keeping streets and buildings in good repair, and making arrests for petty crimes and misdemeanors such as littering and evading fares for public transportation (Harcourt & Ludwig, 2006). Nevertheless, despite the aggressive form of enforcement, "there is little evidence to support the claim that broken windows policing contributed to the sharp decrease in crime during the 1990s" (Harcourt & Ludwig, 2006).

Mathews (1992) and King and Lab (2000) rejected Wilson and Kelling (1982) broken windows theory by casting serious doubt on the connection between disorder and crime and by questioning the rationale of police suppressing disorder (Bryant, 2007). Moreover, Mathews denied any causal relationship between crime and disorder or those they are inextricably linked because there is only a minimal degree of support for it (Bryant, 2007). King and Lab similarly suggested that little empirical evidence exists to suggest that the broken windows theory does anything more than divert police attention from more serious criminal suppression to more trivial concerns (Bryant, 2007). The debate about the broken windows method of policing unavoidably turns around the question of racial injustice (Greenburg, 2014).

In 2004, James Q. Wilson told an interviewer that broken windows "was a speculation." "I still to this day do not know if improving order will or will not reduce crime." But there is plenty of circumstantial evidence that points to the policy as an important factor in reducing crime (Greenburg, 2014).

Wilson and Kelling (1982), "Broken Windows" emphasized the prioritization of order maintenance in relation to community policing. They held that the widespread physical and social disorders in a community break down the existing system of informal social controls and the mechanisms regulating social interaction (Bryant, 2007). Some theorist have argued that the proper role for police is controlling crime and that it is on their ability to reduce crime rates that they should be judged (Bryant, 2007). Furthermore, it is contended that incidents such as disturbances not involving illegal behaviors should not be areas where the police should intervene [noisy neighbors, loud music playing, etc.] Yet, following Wilson and Kelling's notion on broken windows, these are exactly the types of areas that police should be monitoring to prevent escalation into more serious crimes (Bryant, 2007).

Muniz (2011) suggested that broken windows policing and community policing, entails distinct roles for law enforcement and community members. Further states that, community policing involves cooperation between police and residents in the development of crime prevention strategies. Broken windows policing places emphasis on order maintenance by officers with community members in a supporting role (Muniz, 2011). Wilson and Kelling theory are that "if social and physical disorder in a community is not addressed, more serious crimes may follow". Therefore, citizen perceptions of

conditions in their community directly affect their reactions to crime and their perceptions of the police (Polite, 2010). Unlike community policing, broken windows imply a more passive role for residents who are viewed as being unable to battle disorder in their neighborhoods (Muniz, 2012; Herbert, 2001).

Advocates of the broken window theory argue that the accumulation of small acts of 'disorder' creates an environment conducive to serious crimes like robbery or assault (Muniz, 2012). Despite official race neutrality in the language of the broken theory, definitions of 'disorder' are laced with implications about race, class, and public space (Muniz, 2012). Researchers have broadly debated the theoretical and empirical merit of the disorder-crime continuum (Muniz, 2012) and the effects of order maintenance policing on public life. Informal economies, arrests patterns, and fear of crime (Muniz, 2012).

The practice of broken window policing (order maintenance) relies upon a racial ideology that connects the dark-foreign other unpredictable chaos and criminality (Muniz, 2012). The 'disorderly' people targeted by police are overwhelmingly lower class, blacks using public space (Muniz, 2012). Order maintenance means, "broad criminal laws allow the police to take people off the streets because they look suspicious" (Muniz, 2012). Furthermore, the police have broad discretion to remove people deemed undesirable (Muniz, 2012). Despite the effort of the implementation of broken windows, and its significant change in crime reduction, it has been noted that, the implementation of broken windows has not helped build a relationship between the police, and the public. Welsh (2015) argued that serious crime developed because the police and citizens did not

work together to prevent urban decay and social disorders. Illustrating this point, Greenburg (2014) told the story of Kenneth Thompson story, the newly elected Brooklyn district attorney.

> On July 2013, he paid a visit to the Tombs on 100 Centre Street Courthouse in Manhattan. In the crowded cells, he saw a neatly dressed seventeen-year-old sitting down with his head between his knees in what appeared to be a state of silent despair, in tears. The boy had made a mistake of asking a rider to swipe him through with her Metro Card. The boy told the district attorney that he was thirty-three cents short for a single fare. The boy neither jumped the turnstile nor harassed the woman, who decided to swipe him through. A police officer witnessed the exchange and arrested the boy. The officer then proceeded to let the woman go with a warning. Now the police began to search the boy and found the remnants of a joint in his pocket-crumbs of a pot. Though the boy had no prior arrests, he was now facing two charges: marijuana possession and theft of services, a class a misdemeanor punishable by up to a year in jail. The boys fear was that; due to the arrest, he would not be able to get financial aid in a college he was already granted for his freshman year (Greenburgh, 2014).

According to Thompson (2015), the fatal incidents that have generally sparked a national protest stem from this revolutionary "broken windows policing" have been: Michael Brown, and Eric Garner incident. According to Wilson and Kelling, broken windows theory was never meant to be the arrest machine that it became in practice (Greenburg, 2014). In other words, "I've never been long on arrests as an outcome,"

Kelling recently told The New York Times. This may not be an especially humane style of policing, but it's very different from incarceration as a first resort (Greenburg, 2014).

After the incident in Ferguson, Missouri, and New York City, Jackson (2014) writer from the Boston globe, called for the complete dismantling of the broken windows style of policing due to it "resulting in racial profiling and unleashing other indiscriminate policies on black people, "whereby "black people themselves became the broken windows" (Welsh, 2015). Furthermore, the Editorial Board of The New York Times (2014) called for a reappraisal of the policing strategy in the city, noting that it and its variations (e.g., zero tolerance, quality of life, stop-and-frisk) have pointlessly burdened thousands of young people, most of them black and Hispanic, with criminal records" (Welsh, 2015).

Broken windows can be quite effective when it instead focuses on problem solving, working in partnership with community residents and businesses, and targeting social and physical disorder conditions at particular places, which includes the use of situational crime prevention measures (e.g., graffiti removal, improved street lighting, and place managers; (Welsh, 2015; Smith and Clarke, 2012). If any police department, in any major city needs to use the broken windows approach, it must carry out a new version of policing strategy; a version that build, established a relationship with the community. Furthermore, an approach that enforces minor offenses with summonses and violations in lieu of arrests and offers minority youths resources available to them.

Summary

"Black lives matter" has become a rallying cry in light of evidence that the criminal justice system is failing to uphold this basic truth (Ghandnoosh, 2014). The outbreak of the mass protests in the vigil of the police murders of African Americans have challenged the freedom with which the police carry out violence against Black people and raptured the illusion of a post racial America (Keeanga-Yamahtta, 2016). The Black Lives Matter movement has awakened a new generation of activists (Keeanga-Yamahtta, 20 16).

The criminal justice system's high volume of contact with African Americans' is a major cause to the excessive rate of fatal police encounters, as well as African American perceptions towards the police (Ghandnoosh, 2014). Police policies such as "broken windows" have disproportionately impacted African Americans (Ghandnoosh, 2014). The Black Lives Matter social movement gain more attention Following, the wake of the fatal police shooting of unarmed teenager Michael Brown in Ferguson, Missouri, and that officer's non-indictment (Ghandnoosh, 2014). Social media has given the #BlackLivesMatter exposure and has helped the movement come together at any given day (Siscoe, 2016). The overall goal of the Black Lives Matter Social Movement is to fight the colorblind racism and change the structures and systems, in American society, that treat black lives like they don't matter (Siscoe, 2016). Chapter 3 will describe the methodology that will be used to conduct the study to find the answer for the above research question.

Chapter 3: Research Method

Introduction

The BLM social movement began as a response to police brutality and the relationship between U.S. racial and ethnic communities and law enforcement organizations (De Choudhury, M., Jhaver, S., Sugar, B., & Weber, I. (2016). The literature review in Chapter 2 provided background information on the current relationship between the police and African Americans, how social media platforms was used to push and drive the BLM social movement's organization and communication efforts, and how police attitudes and actions affect the current relationship. The concept of procedural justice is essential to criminal justice studies as it is the degree to which the public perceives fairness and legitimacy in police conduct, and that a fair procedure has the best outcome in analyzing procedural effects on fairness judgments on African Americans (Lynch, 2016).

The purpose of the qualitative study was to explain and described the impact that the BLM movement had on the relationship between African Americans and the police. In this chapter, I provided information on the research design, the data collection process, and the analysis procedures I used for my investigation. In addition, I explained the protection of participants' rights, the role of the researcher, and how I answered the research questions.

Research Design and Rationale

Due to the growing confrontation between African Americans and the police (see Nodjimbadem, 2017), it is essential that BLM social movement actions be studied to

provide more understanding of how social movements affect the relationship between the police and African Americans. A case study was the most appropriate research design because it requires an investigation of a problem, an examination of alternative solutions, and the proposal of an effective solution using supporting evidence (Soy,. K., 2006). The current problem was that the relationship between the police and African Americans had been compromised as a result of the lack of trust, confidence, and actions that have impacted the relationship (Lopez, 2017). Therefore, I focused the study's research questions on explaining the problem and addressing how other factors such as social movements influenced the state of that relationship.

In addition, the use of a case-study research design allowed the study to examined common themes, specific situations, and attitudes that have been previously studied (see Creswell, 2007). The purpose of case studies was to generalize the implications of cultural events to similar events that have occurred previously, are present, or may occur in the future (Johnson & Cotton, 2016). A case study design was used to identify and categorize specific themes expressed by the BLM social movement of police actions towards African Americans. My two research questions follow. I also discuss how I examined each question.

Research Question 1: What is the current relationship between the police and the Black Lives Matter social movement -African Americans?

This research question was answered through a content analysis approach based on previous studies conducted in the past 5 years by scholars, race and cultural organizations, and activists. The content was analyzed to form a current baseline of

police officers' and African Americans' points of view on each other's perception of that relationship. Interviews from scholars, law enforcement officials, and leaders of race and ethnic organizations helped define the current status of the relationship.

Research Question 2: How does the Black Lives Matter social movement perceive the actions of the police towards African Americans?

This question was answered through a content analysis approach involving a document review of the comments and posts made by BLM members on social media platforms such as Facebook and Twitter. Additionally, I attended public meetings to conduct observations of the BLM social movement in New York City as the city is an urban area and a major city where the social movement is active (Alcom, 2017)). The content was within a 5-year time period and was will also capture how African Americans are influenced to take on the relationship with the police regarding race relations. My objective was to gather information on how African Americans view the police, especially after incidents involving deaths of African Americans. Information on how African Americans view of the police was important to obtain because not all African Americans may share the same negative response or perception of the police (Scott, 2018).

Role of the Researcher

I am a retired police officer for the New York City Police Department (NYPD). I have acquired extensive training and experience in working with the police in minority communities. I also have a criminal justice academic background that helped in analyzing the concepts that influence the relationship between the police and African Americans.

During my time in the NYPD, I did not experience police abuse firsthand. I have not participated in expressing my views in comments or posts on Facebook or Twitter. Despite the fact that it will be impossible to be bias free, I refrained from my personal encounters with African Americans when analyzing the postings on social media platforms. This process providedd the opportunity to view the information as it was posted, thereby reinforcing the credibility and reliability of the data that was being collected and presented.

Methodology

Sampling Procedure

The data collection was conducted in two phases. The first phase involved purposive sampling. Purposive sampling is a nonprobability sampling method in which a sample was chosen based on the judgment of the researcher (research-methodology, 2018). To be able to answer the research questions, purposive sampling was the cost-effective and time effective sampling methods available and was the appropriate method available based on a limited number of sources regarding the BLM social movement. The second phase was through observations made by attending public meetings to collect rich data from the BLM social movement and gained that perceptive from the leadership of the social movement in an urban city such as New York City.

The data was collected by searching databases such as ProQuest, JSTOR, Taylor and Francis Online, Sage, *Journal in Criminal Justice*, and Google Scholar to obtain recently conducted studies on race relations in the U.S. criminal justice system. The document review of the articles provided data on a range of perspectives that allowed me

to identify the current state of race relations between the police and African Americans. This outcome on the current status of the mentioned relationship was defined by academic standards and not those by corporate media or public opinion. The articles and the studies conducted was from the past 5 years, as this time frame narrowed it down based on the conception of the BLM social movement.

The second phase of the data collection focused on collecting comments and posts from social media platforms specifically from Facebook and Twitter. The collection of data on social media was based on the hashtag #BlackLivesMatter. The collection of comments on social media was from a 3-year period from January 2013 through January 2016. This time period is important because it encompasses the activities of the BLM social movement from the time the movement began.

In order to enhance reliability, additional data was collected by conducting observations of public meetings organized by the BLM social movement. The meetings were public, and anyone could attend to express their views (Kandil , 2018) Because the meetings are public, informed consent forms was not necessary. During the observations process, I was taking notes to later transcribe the notes to obtain more accurate data. Afterwards, the notes of the observations was transcribed into word processing software to be analyzed to answer the research questions. The data was stored and organized as to have protection of the data to ensure privacy concerns. However, the data was already published and was public materials as social media platforms collected the data, and the public meetings do not have an expectation of privacy.

Data Analysis Plan

After the data was collected it went through the process of analysis. A content analysis was conducted on all the documents that provided information about the current state on the relationship between the police and African Americans. I used the program Nvivo 11 data management software to analyze the documents, as the program provided the language that is repetitive, common, and continuous.

The data was collected from social media sites especially from Facebook and Twitter will be imputed into Nvivo 11 data management software and it was analyzed based on the common themes, patterns, and descriptions. The notes from the observations was also be inputted into the program and it focused on the frequency of responses that was provided in social media and at the public meetings. The data was coded by ethnicity, neighborhood, positive postings/comments, and negative postings/comments.

Nvivo 11 data management software helped the data to be stored and easily accessible in the retrieving of specific materials for data triangulation. Nvivo 11 data management software has been described as a valuable tool in case studies because it provides a chance for numerous passes through the data while maintaining objectivity during a deeper contextual analysis of the concepts, categories, and themes (Patton, 2002, p. 442). The contextual analysis was done under the theories of procedural justice and critical race.

Protection of Participant's Rights

There was no subjects or participants used in this study. Before I collect the data, I requested permission from the committee on ethical standards in research for the

Institutional Review Board (IRB) at Walden University. The data that was collected was considered secondary data, as the sources are public domain such as social media sites and public meetings.

Summary

In Chapter 3, I included a description of the research method that was used in the study. The purpose of this qualitative study was to explain and described the impact that the Black Lives Matter social movement has on the relationship between the police and African Americans. The research questions was answered through the data collected and the contextual and content analysis of the documents reviewed. The data that was collected is all public domain and therefore, participants was not needed for the study. In Chapter 4, I will discuss the results of the study based on the analysis.

Chapter 4: Results

Introduction

The primary purpose of this study was to explain and described the impact that the BLM social movement had on the relationship between the police and African Americans. The study analyzed the problematic relationship between African Americans and the police and how racism, police brutality, and White privilege have contributed to BLM activists' perceptions of the police. In addition, the study has analyzed the emotional effects that police actions have on African Americans and how the emotional effects has encouraged the actions of the BLM social movement.

In Chapter 3, I described the methods, the alignment and appropriateness of the research design, and the process I used to ensure ethical standards in the study. In Chapter 4, I will present information on the procedures used in conducting the study, including those for data collection and analysis. I will also describe the results of the analysis; I will offer my interpretation of the main themes that arose from a thematic and content analysis meant to assess the current state of the relationship between the BLM movement and the police.

Research Questions

The research questions were specifically selected to examine the effects of police actions towards African Americans and to examine the perceptions of the BLM movement towards the police. The two research questions were designed to gain a better understanding of the current state of the relationship between African Americans and the

police and how the BLM social movement used the current relationship to further their message and agenda.

RQ1: What is the current relationship between the police and the Black Lives Matter social movement?

As discussed in Chapter 2's literature review, it was inferred that the current relationship between African Americans and the police is not good based on various police interactions with African Americans leading to the deaths of individuals (Richardson, S. 2018). Currently, the relationship between the BLM social movement and the police is tense, no relationship or communication exist (Pavlich, 2015). The relationship is nonexistent as the BLM social movement was more interested in promoting a specific agenda that was incited as the result of police brutality, racism, and White privilege (Pavlich, 2015).

Despite that African Americans founded the BLM social movement, not all African Americans support or are involved with the social movement. Hence, African Americans and the police have a relationship, while the BLM movement does not have a relationship with the police. The BLM social movement conducts itself in a more aggressive manner when it comes in contact with the police, while the average African American does not (Sidner, S & Simon, M, 2015). This is partially a result of the lack of accountability of the actions taken by the police (Ferreira, 2012). I went more in-depth about the relationship between the BLM social movement and African Americans in the data analysis section of this chapter.

RQ2: How does the Black Lives Matter social movement perceive the actions of the police towards African Americans?

A partial conclusion could be made based on the literature review that the BLM social movement perceives police actions against African Americans as racially motivated and unjust (De Choudhury, M., Jhaver, S., Sugar, B., & Weber, I. (2016). The BLM social movement held protests as a result of what they perceive to be police brutality and mistreatment of African Americans from the police (De Choudhury, M., Jhaver, S., Sugar, B., & Weber, I. (2016). The BLM social movement advocated that the arrests and shootings of African Americans for no apparent reason was the result of police abusing their power and the underlying issue of White privilege (Boot, 2017). I went more in-depth about how the BLM perceives the actions of the police towards African Americans and how those perceptions further their causes to expand the message of the social movement.

Data Collection

The data for this study was collected from comments and postings made on social media platforms such as Twitter and Facebook. The data collection process began by navigating the official page of the BLM social movement on Facebook. The page provided an overview of the BLM social movement actions and what their concrete message and agenda was. On the official page, I was able to analyze some of the postings that expressed the perceptions of the BLM social movement that made up the nonexistent relationship with the police. Those perceptions were based on specific behavioral sentiments expressed on the postings and were inputted into a Microsoft OneNote file.

Afterwards, I inputted the hashtag #blacklivesmatter into Facebook and Twitter through their search features for all of the posts and comments published from January 2013 to January 2016. I limited the search to a 3-year period that included the hashtag as it encompassed the years of the movement's founding (Anderson & Hitlin, 2016) and also the time where police brutality was most covered in media outlets (Simpson, 2016). The comments and posts are considered to be secondary data and public; therefore, consent for that data was not necessary. The data collected on social media platforms was rich on qualitative data as it illustrated emotions and behavioral reactions from African Americans, regardless of participation into the BLM social movement.

The data collected on both social media platforms was captured through the NVivo 11 feature of NCapture (Hai-Jew, S, 2017). Ncapture enabled me to be able to screenshot the information from Facebook and Twitter and store it into NVivo 11 data management tool to be able to analyze it for content at a later time. Additionally, data was also collected by conducting observations of the members of the BLM social movements events specifically to the New York City group meetings and existing interviews found on the Internet through Google Search, YouTube, and News Media Sources such as ABC News, FOX News, and USA Today.

The purpose of the data that was collected was to understand if the perceptions of the Black Lives Matter social movement of police attitudes towards African Americans have an effect on the relationship between the police and African Americans. Additionally, data was collected from existing public records on police interactions, patrol performance, and community policing records as supplemental to further

understand if community policing had an impact on the views of African Americans or was it just information that the BLM social movement used to further its propaganda.

During the data collection of the supplemental sources, I conducted a document review of public records and existing documents in social media journals focusing on comments that reflected emotions, frustrations, and actions. A document review is when a researcher gives voice and meaning around an assessment topic (Bowen, 2009). Analyzing these documents enables to incorporate a coding content into themes similar to how a focus group or interview transcripts are analyzed (Bowen, 2009). I would further get into that in the data analysis section of this chapter.

Once all of the data was collected it was placed into a file using Nvivo 11 data management tool by QSR International Inc. The data was separated into folders that resemble what type of data it was such as interview transcripts, meeting observations, public events observations, Twitter posts, Facebook comments, police interactions, community policing reports, and patrol interactions.

I decided to use the above sources to gather the data and organized it as such because it provided a critical point of view in the perspective of the views of African Americans and those of the BLM social movements perceptions of police actions towards African Americans. Moreover, methods of the data collection process were consistent with other recent studies conducted on the citizen-police relationship based upon procedural justice theory (Jonathan-Zamir, Mastrofski, & Moyal, 2013, p. 68; Hardin, 2013).

Data Analysis

The data analysis process for this study consisted in several methods used in qualitative studies in the social sciences. According to Patton (2015), the objective of a qualitative analysis is to have the ability to understand the qualitative data that has been collected by uncovering patterns, determining themes, and answering the main questions surrounding the research study; and offering noteworthy results (Patton, 2015; Jones, 2017). The first part of the data analysis process was the document analysis process. The document analysis process is a form of qualitative research where documents are interpreted by the person conducting the research to give voice and meaning around an assessment of the topic (Bowen, 2009). Analyzing documents incorporates coding content into themes similar to transcripts in an interview or in focus groups to be analyzed (Bowen, 2009). A rubric can be used to grade or score a document. I used the following documents to conduct a document analysis:

- Public Records: The official, ongoing records of an organization's activities for the purpose of this research study is the public records of the New York City police department. These records include community policing reports, patrolling interactions in New York City, and incident reports on police interactions.
- Personal Documents: First-person accounts of an individual's experiences, actions, and personal beliefs. For the purpose of this study, are Facebook and Twitter posts, existing interviews of BLM members, news channel videos, and observation notes taken during public group meetings of the social movement.

The rationale for the document analysis in a social research method is that it is an invaluable part of most schemes of triangulation, as it allows for a combination of methodologies in the study of the same phenomenon (Bowen, 2009). This method is used in order to seek convergence and corroboration and uses at least two resources using different data sources and methods. I used the process of triangulating to provide a confluence of evidence that breeds credibility (Bowen, 2009). The more data collected from different sources allows the reduction of impact for potential bias by examining information collected through the different methods of analysis.

I began the document analysis process through the method of content analysis. The content analysis process is the on-going, open, line-by-line coding process of the documents of transcripts, media interviews, and observational notes studying the word phrase clusters for the purpose of conducting a qualitative statistical analysis. I was able to obtained conceptual categories for the purpose of counting those words and phrases using Nvivo 11 data management tool. NVivo has been described as a valuable tool for "extracting common factors from cross-case analyses" in case studies and provide a chance for numerous passes through the data while maintaining objectivity during deeper contextual analysis of the concepts, categories, and themes (Creswell, 2013, p.196; Patton, 2002, p. 442; Stewart, 2011, p.79; Hardin, 2013).

Prior to analyzing the data, I created Nodes into common themes, patterns, and formed a description for each of the themes. The nodes that I created were based on the document analysis in which when conducting it the major themes were Emotional Strained, Hate Group, and Police Actions. These themes were reflective in the data

throughout social media platforms, public observations, public records, and patrol interactions. The nodes which are considered to be like Post It's into the Nvivo 11 data management program, allowed me to see the trends and patterns to answered the first question more clearly. In order to be able to answered the second research question more clearly, throughout the document review the themes that kept appearing were police brutality, racism, and white privilege.

The nodes surrounded the two research questions, which I wanted to understand what was the current state of the relationship between African Americans, that were not part of BLM movement and then those (African Americans) that did belong to the BLM social movement perceive the actions of the police when dealing with African Americans. Furthermore, Nodes created in NVivo are equivalent to sticky notes that I place on the document to indicate that a particular passage belongs to a certain theme or topic. That means the two types of nodes; contain the all known information about a particular concept or category which are Emotional Strained, Hate Group, and Police Actions for the first research question and police brutality, racism, and white privilege for the second research question (Hilal Hamed, & Alabri Said, 2013). As the data started to come together into analytical themes, the similar ideas, interpretations and hypothetical foundation for the nodes representing procedural justice and critical race theory (Hardin, 2015), all began to demonstrate the repetition and consistency of the terms used for the coding process. The terms that kept coming up was police brutality, racism, police actions, white privilege, hate group, abuse of authority, emotional strain.

The themes created were emotional strained, hate group, police actions, police brutality, racism, and white privilege. The themes outlined in this study were based on the comments, actions and reactions observed of the BLM social movement towards the police. This included, the social media postings, comments on the existing interviews, and their reactions and actions while conducting their rallies against police brutality. The style of coding that I used was deductive coding as most conceptual categories were pre-set themes such as racial discrimination/disparity, police brutality, unjustified police actions, racial tensions and strain relation that were suggested and inferred in the literature review. Coding of the pre-set categories were: 1) Police Brutality 2) Racism 3) White Privilege especially in addressing both research questions.

Results

RQ1: What is the current relationship between the police and the Black Lives Matter social movement (African Americans)?

As I reviewed the literature, a literature gap was found that previous social studies have not paid much attention to. For instance, a major gap was that social movements especially those after 2006 with the beginnings of social media platforms were not studied with regards to the social treatment of minorities. The racial group of African Americans has been studied throughout the time of the Civil Rights movement during the 1960's and 1970's, but the current literature has not addressed the rise of social movements in the digital era of social media platforms and electronic devices such smartphones and tablets. These forms of media allow for the expression of ideas to move more rapidly than ever before.

As mentioned in the literature review, the current relationship between African Americans and the police is not in good standards based on the various events of police interactions with African Americans and the results of those events. At the present time, there is no relationship between the BLM movement and the police. There is no relationship as the BLM social movement is more interested in promoting a specific agenda (message) that is fueled by police brutality, racism, and white privilege (Pavlich, 2015). The Black Lives Matter Social movement and the police relationship have turned into hostile encounters where Africans Americans have end up arrested, hurt, shot or killed by the police.

In response to the research questions, the study revealed that there is no relationship between the police and the BLM social movement. The non-existing relationship between the BLM social movement and the police is shown in the data analysis by the percentage in the emotional strained caused by police actions towards African Americans, it constituted that 45% of the leading cause of the non-relationship between the BLM social movement and the police, is due to police actions. These actions include police aggressiveness against African Americans during interactions, abuse of authority to include verbal and physical abuse, disrespect, unlawful arrest, and agitation. Therefore, the police actions based on previous interactions with African Americans is what has caused the emotional strain that dictates the relationship between the BLM social movement and its perception of the police. If there ever was a relationship between the BLM social movement and the police, the recent police interactions have clearly changed the perspective turning such relationship into a hostile one. The BLM social

movement claimed to be fighting for the injustice and inequalities that African Americans are facing in the hands of the police. Furthermore, fighting for racial injustice, and police brutality against African Americans. However, based on the data analysis, it shows the contrary.

After analyzing the data as a whole, it demonstrated that the BLM social movement message (agenda) is to push for hate and promoting violent actions against the police and whites. The definition of a hate group is a social group that practices hatred and promotes hostility and violence towards members of a nation, religion, gender, race, identity, sexual orientation or any other sector of society (insert citation). Upon the triangulation of the data, 35% of all of the messages from observations, public meetings, and social media postings indicated the promotion of violence against the police.

The BLM social movement have pushed and promoted violence against the police. Not only has the BLM social movement turned its supporters to become violent against the police, but it has also promoted violence against whites. The BLM social movement has brought violence and negativity against the police, making the streets unsafe for the police, whites, and African Americans. Analysis of the data showed that due to the BLM social movement promotion of violence against the police and white people it has place a strain on communities places them at risk. The data analyzed shows that there is a problem between the BLM social movement and the police. Racism constitutes 47% percent of the main cause of police brutality towards African Americans, which is the main reason to why the BLM social movement has no relationship with the police.

The evidence that is shown on the analyzed data suggests that the BLM social movement is a people problem, and a not a justice problem. The data analyzed from social media postings, existing documents, existing interviews and observations showed that the BLM social movement are inherently racist and is anti-American, and humanely racist. The BLM social movement repeatedly reminded African Americans of the fact that black men were being gun down by the police due to their racial indifference.

The study revealed that the Black Lives Matter Social Movement has shown their discontent of police practices through rallies and protest. Furthermore, it has shown their disapproval for police procedures and practices by showing disrespect for police authority leading to confrontational and violent encounters with the police. The relationship that exist between the BLM social movement and the police, is a relationship based on disrespect, hatred, anger, and vengeance. There is a battle for whose life really matters [Black Lives Matters] vs. [Blue Lives Matters], instead of "All Lives Matters".

Analysis of the data from the existing social media postings, existing documents, existing interviews and observations revealed that racism and police brutality play a major role on the current relationship between the BLM social movement and the police. Based on the tweets and postings of the BLM movement, "African Americans are treated differently than whites". The social movement claims that African Americans have been oppressed, discriminated, faced racial inequality, and racial violence from the police for many years just because of their race and color. They claim that whites had a privilege because the police treated them differently, and that the police were not out killing whites. The belief of racism on the part of the BLM social movement disrupts any

opportunity between the police and African Americans to establish a relationship because it promotes hatred against the police, and it promotes a violent movement where it persuades its supporters not to obey the police, nor to respect the police, and urges its supporters to have open season on killing whites and police officers.

The BLM social movement calls for an end to police brutality against African Americans and claims that the police mistreat them, abuse them, beat them, and are killing African Americans because of their race. The movement believes that the police are corrupt, and are systematically killing African Americans for no reason, and are racist against African Americans. The BLM social movement wants the demilitarization of local police forces (Cooper, 2015) and wants the police force to be dismantle and have the community take over. The BLM social movement rejects the use of military- grade weapons as appropriate policing mechanisms for any American community (Cooper, 2015).

RQ2: How does the Black Lives Matter social movement perceive the actions of the police towards African Americans?

For the purpose of this study, police brutality is defined as the use of excessive and/or unnecessary force by the police when it comes to dealing with civilians. The term "excessive use of force" is described as a force well beyond what would be necessary in order to handle a situation (Danilina, 2018). The most obvious form of police brutality is a physical form, in which police officers use batons, pepper spray, nerve gas, and guns in order to physically intimidate or intentionally hurt civilians. Another form of police brutality is false arrests, psychological intimidation, sexual abuse, verbal abuse, racial

profiling, political repression, police corruption, and the improper use of tasers (Danilina, 2018).

The BLM social movement repeatedly shows discomfort and aggression towards the police as a result of what they perceived to be police brutality. The BLM social movement claims that the police use excessive force and acts violently against African Americans. Police brutality toward Blacks in the United States is not something uncommon, however, in the absence of a standard definition or good data, the extent of police brutality remains difficult to quantify. Historical evidence of public harming of Black bodies by police dates back to at least the era of slavery, when police disciplined Blacks and recaptured those who escaped enslavement (Alang, McAlpine, McCreedy & Haderman, 2017). In most recent times, a process by the name of mapping police violence is used to describe police brutality. Mapping Police Violence is defined as police killing where a person dies as a result of being chased, beaten, arrested, restrained, shot, pepper sprayed, tasered, or otherwise harmed by police officers, whether on-duty or off-duty, and it is intentional or accidental (Saul, 2017).

The BLM social movement claimed in some of the tweets and postings that the police, “killed unarmed black people for no reason” and that, “law and order rules discriminate only against blacks”. Mapping Police Violence data was collected on over 1,100 killings by police in 2017. This information was compiled from media reports, obituaries, public records, and databases like those of the Fatal Encounters and the Washington Post. These reports represent the most comprehensive accounting of deadly police violence in 2017 (Saul, 2017). In addition to being 25 percent of the victims, black

people are also three times more likely to be killed by police than white people, according to the report, “Mapping Police Violence” (Saul, 2017).

For the purpose of this study, racism is defined as a set of policies that is exhibited by a person or persons toward a group of people of a different race. This is often antagonistic and confrontational, and it assumes the lower intelligence and importance given to a person because of their racial characteristics (Perazzo, 2015). Racism became a theme in this study as it kept reappearing through the content analysis as the BLM social movement continued to express concerns about the way the police acted and treated them because they were African Americans. The permanence of America's depredations, BLM maintains that: (a) our nation's “corrupt democracy” was originally “built on Indigenous genocide and chattel slavery” and that it “continues to thrive on the brutal exploitation of people of color”; (b) “the ugly American traditions of patriarchy, classism, racism, and militarism” pervade every aspect of our society; and (c) “structural oppression” still “prevents so many from realizing their dreams” (Perazzo, 2015).

The BLM social movement claims that police brutality is the main cause for the deaths of many African Americans, and that the police use brutality on African Americans because they are racist. The BLM social movement claims that the police called them “Niggers”, and that African Americans are “victimized by racist cops because they are not white”. The movement claims that the police are “racist”, and that the police will pull the trigger on a black person than on a white person. A tweet posted by one of the supporters of the #blacklivesmatter page, commented that “racism is in fact

reality because we live in a society where white people are idolize". The BLM social movement claims that blacks in the U.S. are routinely "de-humanized" and targeted for "extrajudicial killings by police and vigilantes" in our "white supremacist system" (Perazzo, 2015).

Based on the Guardian data, (2015), black males between the ages of 15 and 34 are nine times more likely to be killed by police than any other demographic (Craven, 2016). This group also accounted for 15 percent of all 2015 deaths from law enforcement encounters, even though black males in this age range make up just 2 percent of the U.S. population (Craven, 2016).

For the purpose of this study, White Privilege is defined as the particular and peculiar benefit or advantage enjoyed by a person, beyond the common advantages of other. In the definition for this study, White Privilege is the right, power, or immunity held by whites, against or beyond the course of the law. White Privilege is the exemption from some burden or attendance, with which certain persons are indulged in. In this case, it is being white that allows for a disparate treatment from blacks (Holes, 2018).

This leads to the theme of "White Privileged". The BLM social movement claims that the police have a privilege on treating whites differently. In America, only 47% of Black students graduate from college, compared to 65% for White students. Consequently, Black Americans average a yearly income of 35,000 a year, compared to 57,000 a year for White Americans (Sey, 2016). In fact, 27% of Black Americans live below the poverty line, compared to just 10% of White Americans (Sey, 2016). And

though Black Americans represent only 13% of the American population, they make up 37% percent of America's prison inmates (Sey, 2016).

The BLM social movement [African Americans] tweeted/posted that, "people tend to treat blacks different than whites". "White males created the system and manipulate it so that they will always benefit." Blacks are significantly more likely to experience police brutality than Whites, and whiteness affords protection against police use of force. Racially disparate use of force indicates that White supremacy—the systematic positive assessments of whiteness that go hand-in-hand with the devaluation of blackness permeates the US law enforcement system (Alang, McAlpine, McCreedy & Haderman, 2017).

White privilege is unseen and see-through preference that is often difficult to address. Given the long history of White supremacist eras in America, it is impossible to argue against the truth that White Americans have benefited from chattel slavery and Jim Crow at the expense of Black Americans (Alang, McAlpine, McCreedy & Haderman, 2017). Only upon closer inspection do we see how it creates a sense of entitlement, generates perks, and advantages for white people and elevates our status in the world" (Holladay, 2000). It is about acknowledging that the system already treats whites as if they have more value, as if they are worthier of protection, safety, education, and a good quality of life than blacks are. White people generally have an advantage over Black people (Sey, 2016).

Table 1 provides a summary of themes emerging from the data analysis. Under each theme are comments that were posted on social media. These comments illustrate

the preceptions that the BLM social movement has towards the actions of the police and its treatment of African Americans.

Table 1

Supporting Items for Perceived Police Actions and Development of the Themes

Police brutality	Racism	White privilege
1. Cops are killing unarmed black man for no reason 2. Police are systematically killing black people 3. Police are vigilantes-killing blacks for no reason 4. Cops shoot us first then ask questions 5. Cops are not hesitant to pull the trigger on blacks 6. Police arrest and beat blacks for no reason 7. Police abuse their authority against black people	1. Police treat blacks as animals 2. The Police and Whites want to lynch blacks 3. Police want to be the executioner of innocent blacks 4. The police are racist against blacks 5. Police treat blacks different than whites 6. There is racial inequality against blacks 7. The police use racial violence against blacks 8. The police use anti-black racist practice	1. White Privilege is responsible for significant numbers of black or African Americans deaths. 2. White Privilege characterize African Americans as “Savages” 3. White silence equals White consent 4. White privilege denies black community from being successful 5. White privilege manipulates the system 6. White privilege keep a generation of wealth while preventing blacks form wealth 7.White privilege is used to always benefit Whites

Figure 1 includes the percentages of percieved police actions towards African Americans by the BLM social movement. The chart illustrates the findings of the data analysis of the perceived police actions by the BLM social movement that has led the movement to become agrressive and non compliant with the police.

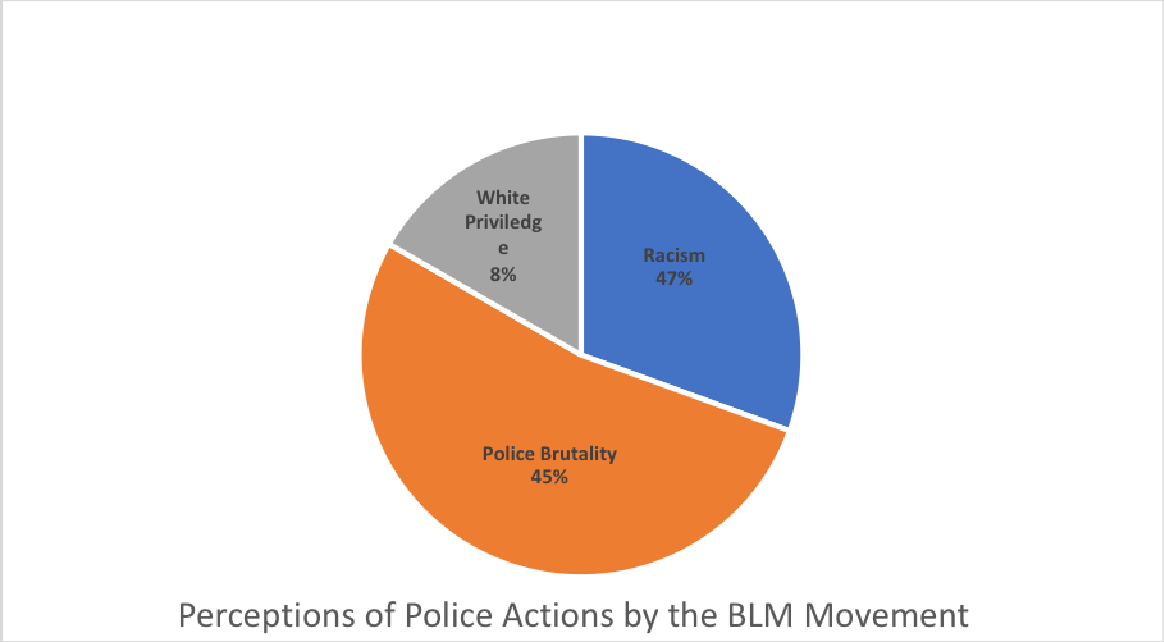

Figure 1. Perceptions of police actions towards African Americans by the BLM movement.

Based on the findings of the analysis of the data from social media postings, existing public documents, existing interviews and observations shows that racism constitutes 47% of the main cause of police brutality towards African Americans. Whereas, police brutality constitutes 45% of the main reason why the BLM social movement perceived police actions as unfair and racist. White privilege constitutes 8% of the reason why the BLM social movement perceives that the police abuse their authority when come in contact with African Americans. Due to the level of racism and police actions towards African Americans, the BLM social movement claimed that the police treat African Americans differently than whites because white people have a privilege that protects them against police abuse use of force.

Under the second research question, the themes were formed as 1) emotional strained 2) Hate group 3) police actions. These themes developed the first-hand explanations of the experiences and perceptions of the Black Lives Matter movement.

To answer the research questions, I used NVivo 11 Pro to code the data and develop themes. The themes that were identified with the help of NVivo answered the first research question: What is the current relationship between the police and the Black Lives Matter social movement (African Americans)?

The results of the themes were racism, police Brutality and white privilege were discussed as follows:

I. **Racism** was described as a practice, actions or beliefs a person has on another person of a different race due to the color of their skin, origin, or ethnicity that force that person to abuse or mistreat that said person.

II. **Police Brutality** was described as excessively use of force against an individual by the police where the use of force was unnecessary and unreasonable which can result in a person being physically and psychological harm, or death.

III. **White privilege** Refers to "white people" considers by non-white race to have advantages, immunity and benefits that other race does not have [African Americans].

To answer the second research question as mentioned previously, I began the document analysis process through the method of content analysis. I was able to obtained conceptual categories for the purpose of counting those words and phrases using Nvivo 11 data management tool. Prior to analyzing the data, I created Nodes into common

themes, patterns, and formed a description for each of the themes. The themes that emerge from the data I collected were police brutality, racism, white privilege, emotional strained, hate group, and police actions. The themes were created based on the outcome of the data collected from social media postings, existing public documents, existing interviews and observations. The themes were developed from words that kept appearing over and over on all the data collected. The style of coding that I used was deductive coding as most conceptual categories were pre-set themes that were suggested and inferred in the literature review.

Those pre-set categories were: 1) Emotional Strained, 2) Hate Group, and 3) Police Actions to address the research question #2.

RQ 2: How does the Black Lives Matter social movement perceive the actions of the police towards African Americans?

As mentioned in the literature review, the BLM social movement perceives police actions towards African Americans as abusive, unfair, and racially motivated. The BLM matter social movement has a very bad perception of the actions of the police when encountering an African American. Moreover, the BLM social movement believes that they are being target by the police because of its high-profile media presence and its ability to motivate its supporters (Craven & Wing, 2015).

Resentment towards the police who abused their authority existed prior the BLM social movement (Craven & Wing, 2015). However, the BLM social movement voiced out their concern publicly in response to police actions toward African Americans. The police actions that the BLM social movement perceives as unfair, unjust and racially

motivated is when it involves police misconduct, abuse of authority, illegal stops and searches, unlawful arrest and killings of African Americans. The BLM social movement has taken a stand on police actions towards African Americans by protesting and showing the affect by encouraging its supporters to turn on the police.

According to the FBI's Supplementary Homicide Report, 31.8 percent of people shot by the police were African-American, a proportion more than two and a half times the 13.2 percent of African-Americans in the general population (Mullainathan, 2015). These events of police actions towards African Americans has led the BLM social movement to experience emotional strained (mental, psychological, emotional, physical) that are unable to control them, (pushing its supporters to hate the police, become violent towards the police, and promote killing the police), labeling the BLM social movement as a hate group by non-supporters.

Based on a thorough content analysis of the data, the above themes kept appearing as the BLM social movement continued to express concerns about police actions towards African Americans. 1) Emotional Strained 2) Hate Group 3) Police Actions

The BLM social movement repeatedly tweeted / posted about the "Emotional strained" that police actions of brutality against African Americans influence their perception towards the police. The emotional strained can be defined as the (mental, feelings, psychological and physical) affect that the perceived actions of the police have on African Americans. The BLM social movement repeatedly tweeted / posted about "killing the police". The emotional strained that the BLM social movement displayed

while protesting was a sign of pain, and emotional weakness, which lead African Americans, to show no respect for the law.

Members of the BLM social movement shouted on the police face, “you are nobody”; “hands up don’t shoot”; “F—the police”. The emotional strained (psychological effect) that police brutality has caused on African Americans have developed mental health crisis on African Americans. In a public health study conducted by (Alang, McAlpine, McCreedy & Haderman, 2017), it investigated a relationship between police brutality and poor health outcomes among Blacks and identified five intersecting pathways: (1) fatal injuries that increase population-specific mortality rates; (2) adverse physiological responses that increase morbidity; (3) racist public reactions that cause stress; (4) arrests, incarcerations, and legal, medical, and funeral bills that cause financial strain; and (5) integrated oppressive structures that cause systematic disempowerment (Alang, McAlpine, McCreedy & Haderman, 2017). Based on their analysis of the relationship, they discovered that a direct pathway between police brutality and health is through injury and death (Alang, McAlpine, McCreedy & Haderman, 2017).

The most comprehensive information about the connection between race and death during police encounters comes from data collected by a UK newspaper, The Guardian (Krieger, Chen, Waterman, Kiang, Feldman, 2015). Analysis of the data collected from the existing public documents, interviews, postings and observations, concluded that in 2015, “young Black men were nine times more likely than other Americans to be killed by police officers” (Swaine, McCarthy, 2015).

The following theme “Hate Group”; tweets and postings about how the public views the actions of the BLM social Movement [African Americans] towards the police repeatedly, resulted in the public considering the BLM social movement a “Hate Group”. Richard Cohen, who heads the SPLC, defines hate groups as “those that vilify entire groups of people based on immutable characteristics such as race or ethnicity”.

Hundreds of Black Lives Matter activists marched against police brutality, in New York City, where protesters were being disorderly, and others were pushing up on the police. The crowed was rowdy and disrespectful towards the police. The following were some of the tweets that were posted on the hashtag #blacklivesmatter, “Black Lives Matter is a fraud and based on lies”; “They also promote cop killers”. On August 15, 2017, Donald Trump repeated his belief that “both sides” referring to the (white-supremacist and the Black Lives Matter) was to blame for the violence on August 12th at a white-supremacist rally in Charlottesville, Virginia that left one-woman dead (J.F, 2017). David Duke, a former leader of the Ku Klux Klan, thanked him for “condemning the leftist terrorists in BLM,” referring to the Black Lives Matter movement (J.F, 2017). David Clarke, the sheriff of Milwaukee County and a supporter of Mr. Trump, has also called Black Lives Matter “purveyors of hate”, and urged the Southern Poverty Law Centre (SPLC), to include it among the hate groups it monitors (J.F, 2017). “Black lives matter is a biased movement which stands for nothing, but ignorance and hypocrisies' based on disinformation and societal lies”.

The BLM social movement perceives police actions as unjust and unfair. However, based on the data collected, the downfall of the BLM social movement is that they are

considered a hate group among other African Americans, the public and the police based on their actions and statements against white people and the police. The following are some of their postings: “Its open season on them crackers”; “police should not exist”; “white people need to die”. The BLM social movement is considered a movement that is anti-American and humanely racist.

The third theme “Police Action” continued to repeat itself as the BLM social movement continued to use it as a defense to their behavior towards the police and white people. It has been noted that black individuals stopped by police are more likely to experience force which includes an officer drawing and/or pointing a gun (Kramer, Remster, Charles Z., 2017). The BLM social movement claimed that if police actions were different towards African Americans, and if the police would treat them as they treat white people the relationship would be different. Police actions can be referred as to police behavior when coming into contact with African Americans based on police tone, words used, manner of approach, body language and attitude. The BLM social movement refers to police actions, as the behaviors that the police used when interacting with African Americans that have resulted in serious injuries and death. Blacks are more likely to be stopped, but our results show that this disparity extends to police violence (Kramer, Remster, Charles Z., 2017). The BLM social movement rejects the faulty idea that disrespect is a crime, that black people should be nice or civil when they are being hassled or arrested on trumped-up charges (Cooper, 2015).

I. **Emotional Strained** was described as the level of stress, anxiety, apprehensive and psychological affect that may result from a person’s behavior or actions that

has a direct effect in your beliefs. Furthermore, emotional strained is a state of mental or emotional strain or suspense that causes tension, depression, and stress in which a person can break down and is unable to control their state of mind (Turner, 2016).

II. **Hate group** was described as an organization, sect, cult, of people whom act based on a shared belief that another person/race are inferior to them. Furthermore, perceive the actions of authority [the police] as unjust and unfair. These groups have no respect for authority, and no fear of the consequences their actions may bring. (Advocate hatred, hostility, and violence).

III. **Police Action** was described as the form of activity or conduct that the police respond to their duties against a person that is in violation of the norms or laws. (Police engagement, actions taken against African Americans when coming in contact (behavior, when coming into contact with African Americans such as police tone, words used, manner of approach, body language and attitude).

Table 2 provides a visual of repeated postings on the themes developed upon the data analyzes. The following, labels each theme that was quoted, and under each theme are comments that were posted on social media. The figure illustrates the reasons of why a bad relationship exist between the BLM social movement and the police. It addition, it shows comments of the BLM social movement and what prevents the movement from having a better relationship with the police as it relates to the treatment of African Americans.

Table 2

Supporting Items for the Development of the Themes

Emotional Strained	Hate Group	Police Actions
1. People keep calling us black 2. Cops are killing unarmed black man 3. Blacks rights are taken away. No free speech 4. Blacks are being astrocytes 5. There is hate and injustice/corruption against blacks 6. Black are being systemically killed 7. There is no black on black crime. Stop talking about black on black crimes 8. Cops shoots a black man for no reason 9. Nothing is being done to guilty cops 10. Black lives don't matter to the police	1. BLM is anti-cop because they get no justice 2. BLM called open season on cops and whites 3. BLM spread hate and influence violence on the police and whites 4. BLM Promotes racism 5. BLM promotes killing cops 6. BLM- promotes black people to hate white people and promote racism Black on black crime is not publicized as is cops against blacks. 7. BLM- encourages African Americans to throw their lives away. Bringing back the old days. 8. BLM promote hate and violence against the police 9. BLM want to abolish the police 10. BLM want to take over the community	1. Police use the Blue Wall of Silence 2. Cops are outlawed 3. Police shoot and killed black man and no action are taken against the police 4. Police are brutal on blacks 5. Police use abusive force on blacks 6. Police execute blacks for no reason 7. Police abuse their authority 8. Police are not transparent 9. Police cover up police misconduct 10. Police are racist when approaching blacks 11. Police use illusive violence with blacks 12. Police have their own agenda when dealing with blacks 13. Police used the stop & frisk on blacks hoping to lead to a crime

Figure 2. describes what is preventing the BLM social movement from having a positive relationship with the police. The following chart breaks down in percentage wise what is that mostly affects and prevents the BLM social movement on having a relationship with the police.

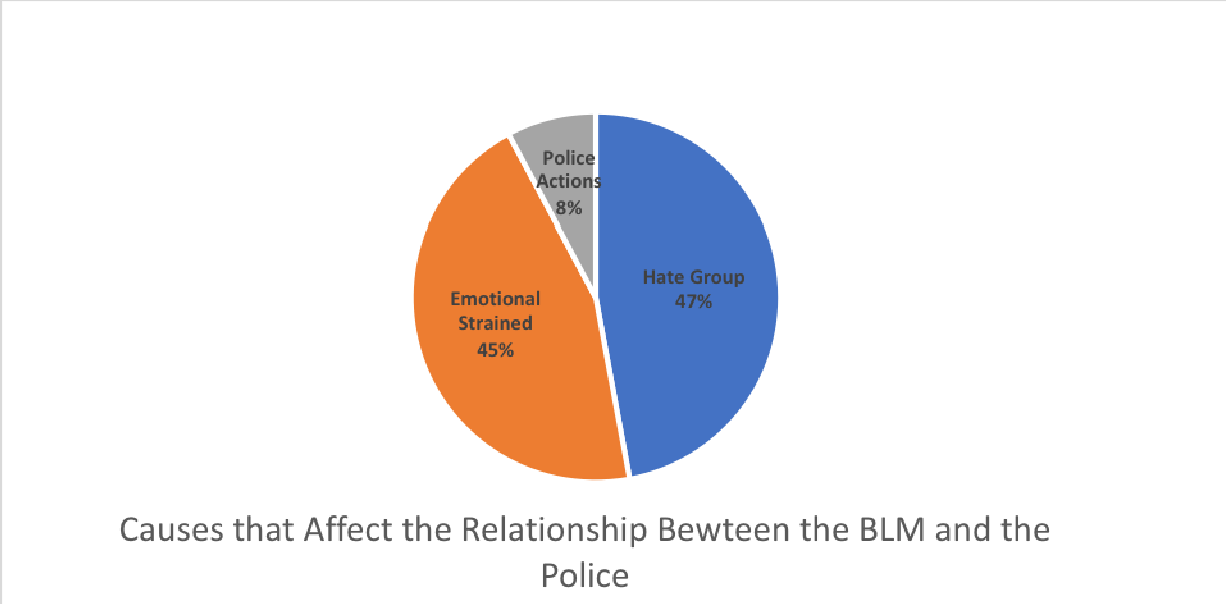

Figure 2. Factors that affect the relationship between the police and the BLM social movement.

Based on the findings, the emotional strained caused by police actions towards African Americans constitute 45% of the leading cause to why the BLM social movement has no relationship with the police. The BLM social movement action towards the police caused the movement to be labeled as a hate group, ranking it by 47% as the main reasons why there is a hostile relationship between movement and the police. Police actions towards African Americans constitute 8% of the main reasons of the actions the BLM social movement have towards the police. The BLM social movement actions towards the police are caused by the emotional strained African Americans have gone through due to police actions leading to police brutality.

Combining all the themes analyzed, leads to the findings that due to racism, and African Americans being underprivileged, the police use actions that leads to police brutality resulting in the killings of African Americans have caused the emotional strained forcing Africans Americans to react in a violent behavior towards the police and white people. This study can start by making some determinations about the explanatory data analyzed. The findings of this study were coded and analyzed in connection to the themes and data that rose from coding and the composed categories as mentioned in the previous section. It is from the analysis of the data that the research themes were established to address the research questions and facilitated in answering the research questions.

The responses to RQ1 and RQ2 come from the process of analyses described on previous section of this chapter. The answers were inductively generated from coding of related notions into classifications and themes that coordinated with the evolution of each question. The following section will address how the results support in answering the research questions. The results of the data analysis enable the findings to be more conclusive that in previous studies related to social movements and hate groups. The pre-set categories shape the data to be able to answered the research questions in which in some part was answered through the literature review. The literature did describe why do social movements happen in regards to race and law enforcement interactions especially in minority communities, but it did not address how technology especially in the area of social media platforms. This study fills the gap in the literature as it uses new technology such as social media platforms to gather information from all parts of the United States.

Usually other research studies have conducted studies on race relations based on a specific geographic location, while this study makes a broad assumption of a social movement that affects an entire country as it does in the United States as projected through national media. This study makes the conclusion that the perception of the BLM social movement towards the police and their actions is one of hostility, anger, hate, and distrust. The social movement has created a level of emotional strained that has affected the relationship between the police and African Americans as a whole. The social movement has exploited violence and social media platforms to promote a message of hate and anarchy.

Furthermore, the BLM social movement challenges the authority of the police and shows no respect in regards to public safety when it comes to community policing. The results within the study can make the conclusion that the BLM social movement motivates the actions of African Americans regardless of membership status to become aggressive when coming in contact with the police or other law enforcement agencies. In addition, based on previous interactions with the police, the BLM social movement has led others to believe that the police are out abusing their authority and powers towards African Americans and it uses violence towards the police and whites to convey this message. It is the perception of the BLM social movement based on the media coverage that empowers their message as the public continues to see many violent incidents between African Americans and the police; even though both parties have claimed lives for their causes.

Hence, not all African Americans perceive the actions of the police as unjust and racially motivated. Many African Americans claimed that the BLM social movement is responsible for the shootings on African Americans and the police. Some African Americans claimed that the BLM social movement leaders are responsible for inciting the violence against the police in retaliation for the death(s) of African American shot by the police and did nothing to dissuade the ongoing violence and injury to the police (Andone, 2017).

Summary

There has been rooted tension between the BLM social movement [African Americans] and the police. Brunson and Gau (2015, p. 214) and (Ferrandino, 2014) argued that these relationships are rooted in a history of animosity and distrust (Griggs, 2017). The actions of the police can influence the perceptions of African Americans and interfere in establishing a relationship between African Americans and the police. The study suggested that the BLM social movement perception of the police has an influence on the relationship on African Americans. The results of the study conclude that there is a negative outcome of that perception and that has increased the racial tensions among African Americans towards the police. The tensions between the BLM social movement and the police are displayed by the lack of trust for the police, the acts of violence towards the police and whites, and the non-compliance to authority. However, the study does make a distinction that there is a difference between those in the social movement and African Americans not participating in the movement; the BLM social movement is

calling a message of hate by promoting racism and intimidating African Americans that refused to believe in the BLM social movement and its causes.

The relationship between the BLM social movements and the police is a problem to our society. It is destroying minority communities by promoting inequality, violence, hate, and killings. The findings demonstrate that a problem does exist between the BLM social movement and the police. The BLM social movement believed that the police targets them because of their race and color. These negative views of the BLM social movement hold them back from trusting the police and are reluctant to building a relationship with the police.

The BLM social movement perceived police actions towards African Americans as abusive and racially motivated. Based on the perceptions of the BLM social movement challenges the police by promoting racism, hate, violence, killings and the abolishment of the police. Overall, this study extends the knowledge base in criminal justice research studies concerning the BLM social movement perceptions of police behavior towards African Americans by examining procedural justice and critical race theory.

In this chapter, I disclosed the collection of the data method I utilized, the data analysis methods, the result of my analysis, and the summary. In chapter 5, I will restate my interpretation of the findings, limitations of the study, offer a discussion and issue recommendations and provide final conclusions about the racial relations in policing.

Chapter 5: Discussion, Conclusions, and Recommendations

Introduction

I began this research as part of an effort to find the causes of police brutality against African Americans and assess the influences that the BLM social movement has on African Americans' perceptions towards the police. The purpose of the study was to find a connection between the existing literature and the present perceptive of the relationship between African Americans and the law enforcement community. However, further research can continue to enhance the significance of social movements especially those similar to the BLM social movement in the future. Regardless of personal bias and judgments, the desire for this study was to contribute to the analytical and methodological approach and to act as guidance for future studies in regards to race relations and community policing (Hardin, 2015) Furthermore, to share information with the public of the current relationship between African Americans and the police. The ultimate objective of this study was to bring social change and awareness to issues that minority communities, especially African Americans, face in regard to community policing.

Interpretation of the Findings

The findings from the study revealed that a problem does exist between the BLM social movement and the police. The study findings make it clear that there is a difference between the perceptions of the BLM social movement and those of African Americans who do not agree with the views of the social movement. The underlying perceptions of African Americans towards the police are based on the actions of the police when come in contact with African Americans. Enforcement actions by the police against African

Americans typically correspond to the behavior of those who are breaking the law or committing unlawful actions based on local or state laws (Smiley, C., & Fakunle, D. (2016).

However, the findings based on public observations in the New York City area exposed the BLM social movement agenda in promoting a message of racism among its supporters and motivating supporters to challenge police actions and authority. In its social media platforms, public interviews, and public gatherings, the BLM social movement promotes and urges its supporters and non-supporters to have no respect for the police, and terrorize the police. For instance, the BLM social movements called for the lynching and hanging of white people and cops (Shadwick, 2015). They encouraged others kill white people and cops to send a message about the killing of black people in America (Shadwick, 2015).

The findings revealed that the BLM social movement perceived the actions of the police as abuse of force because of the way the police treats African Americans when they come in contact. African Americans' contacts with the police affect the overall perception of the police (Maguire, Mastrofski, & Reisig, 2001). Therefore, the better the experience with the police, the better the overall perception of the police (Maguire et al., 2001). However, previous encounters between the BLM social movement and the police have changed African Americans perceptions and affected the relationship. The findings show that police actions towards African Americans tend to influence howAfrican Americans interpret their own experiences with the police and create their own perceptions of police behavior (Maguire et al., 2001).

These experiences and developed perceptions led BLM social movement activists to gather and protest to take over city streets, blocking vehicle and pedestrian traffic (Hoffman., D,2017). The BLM social movement supporters challenge the police by yelling profanity in their faces such as (you aren't S-" and "F- the police). Furthermore, the BLM social movement supporters are frustrated, stressed and full of anger as a result of police actions towards African Americans when come in contact.

Findings show that the BLM social movement is outraged by the mistreatment they receive from the police and view society as needing to acknowledge and remedy the grave mistreatment of Black Americans by the police (see, also, Hannon, 2015). Most police officers do not want anything to happen or go wrong while they are on patrol (Pinckney, 2016). Police officers are placed in a position of authority and responsibility. Therefore, the public holds them at a higher standard than civilians (debate.org, 2018). The worst nightmare of a police officer is to hurt or kill someone while on patrol (Pinckney, 2016). According to a New York City detective, a most officers spend an entire career without ever using their weapon in the line of duty (Pinckney, 2016). It is a matter of the individual officer's character and what he or she does in a time of an emergency (Pinckney, 2016).

Yet, the findings of this study revealed that the BLM social movement believed that the police kill African Americans because they are racially biased and prejudiced. According to Mullainathan (2015), data suggest that eliminating the biases of all police officers would do little to materially reduce the total number of African-American killings. These data are unequivocal (Mullainathan, 2015). "Police killings are a race

problem as African-Americans are being killed disproportionately and by a wide margin" (Mullainathan, 2015). In addition, the findings of this study showed that the relationship between the BLM social movement and the police has led to fear in minority communities in New York City. The outbreak of violence between African Americans and the police has increased in terms of crimes such as homicides and aggravated assaults on innocent individuals (Brunson & Braga, 2015). The findings also revealed that the outbreak in violence is not due to police killings of African Americans, but the call for violence against the police and White people from the BLM social movement and media representations of the crimes that stimulates viewers to react (see, also, Brunson & Braga, 2015).

The findings of the study revealed that the relationship between the BLM social movement and the police has escalated to a point of violence. Due to the nonexisting relationship, the BLM social movement has pushed for violence against the police and Whites, according to my findings. The hostile environment between the BLM social movement and the police has placed fear in African Americans communities. The BLM social movement demands an end to the disproportionate killing of African Americans by the police due to racial injustice (Alang, S, 2017)). Furthermore, it seeks to obliterate White privilege (Collins, 2018). The findings of study show that racism was the main cause of police brutality towards African Americans.

Based on the level of racism and police abuse towards African Americans, the BLM social movement claimed that the police treat African Americans differently than Whites because White people have privilege that protects them against police use of

force. Furthermore, the findings also show that the emotional strained caused by police actions towards African Americans was the leading cause why the BLM social movement was considered a hate group by people who do not support the BLM social movement. The actions of the BLM social movement towards the police have been caused by the emotional strain that African Americans have gone through as a result of police actions leading to police brutality.

The study findings suggested that the BLM social movement has reacted in a violent manner towards the police and White people due to police racial inequality with African Americans. Due to police racism, and African Americans being underprivileged, police actions towards African Americans have led to police brutality resulting in the killings of African Americans. Findings also suggested that, The killings of African Americans have caused emotional strain on African American communities, urging Africans Americans to react and promote violence towards the police and White people.

Discussion of Findings

On July 7, 2016, a Black man angered by what he saw as deadly racial bias in U.S. policing launched a downtown Dallas sniper attack, killing five officers who were deployed at a protest of police shootings of Black men (Herskovitz, 2017). A police officer, who was wounded in a shooting rampage, also in 2016, in Baton Rouge, Louisiana, which left three officers dead, sued BLM movement leaders, accusing them of inciting violence that spurred the attack (Batchman, 2017; Stole, 2017).

Social media platforms have created a climate where anyone can voice their opinions and message without being held accountable. This is the cause of the BLM

social movement in regards to the consequences of their ideology. The BLM social movement maintains its position of the police being racist, unjust, and abusive as it gathers it justification every time there is a police shooting of an African American being covered in the media. Social media platforms enable the BLM social movement to spread their agenda and message of frustrations towards the police and their views of disparate treatment among the races.

The BLM social movement advocates for the violence and hate against the police by promoting that African Americans are not equal according to the law and that the criminal justice system favors whites. This could be argued to an extent based on the research and studies conducted regarding the 13th Amendment of the Constitution of the United States and the Prison-Industrial Complex leading to the New Jim Crow policies based on the research conducted by Michelle Alexander (Alexander, 2010). According to Alexander, the New Jim Crow is the account of the rebirth of a caste like system in the United States, that has resulted in million of African Americans locked behind bars and then relegated to a permanent second-class status denied the very rights supposedly won in the civil rights movement (Alexander, 2010). In her research, Alexander shows that by targeting black men through the War on Drugs and decimating communities of color, the U.S. criminal justice system functions as a contemporary system of racial control, even as it formally adheres to the principle of colorblindness (Alexander, 2010).

In support of African American scholars such as Alexander, many African Americans believe that the police and the criminal justice system in itself systematically oppress African Americans. This is also the same perception that moves the BLM social

movement as it treats police officers as their enemies based on corruption, racism, and murdering of blacks. Social media platforms enable for the public to share evidence and their personal accounts of police use of force and brutality. It also plays a significant role into the membership recruitment, spread propaganda favoring its message, and forging a collective meaning out of heartrending news (McClain, 2016).

The simple use of a hashtag on Twitter or Facebook can link the disparate fates of unarmed black men shot down by white police in a way that transcends geographical boundaries and time zones (Day, 2015). A shared post on Facebook can organize a protest in a matter of minutes (Day, 2015). Documentary photos and videos can be distributed on Tumblr pages and Periscope feeds, through Instagram and Vines (Day, 2015). Power lies in a single image (Day, 2015). This is the power that social media platforms have in the creation of new social movements and in organizations that are looking for calls of actions from their local communities. While conducting this study, I came across on a very interesting point of the non-BLM social movement supporters and their opinions on social media of the BLM social movement. It was interesting to find out that not all African Americans support the BLM social movement.

Swain, a law professor at Vanderbilt University, stated on interview that she does not support or believe in the BLM social movement because she believed that “it's been a very destructive force in America, and she urges all of the viewers to go to that website and look at what they're really about” (Diaz, 2016). Stain, states “that the BLM is a Marxist organization all about black liberation and does not address the real problems

affecting African Americans, it is misleading black people and it needs to go" (Diaz, 2016)

The opinion of the non-supporters of the BLM social movement sees the movement as racist. [Giuliani, the former New York mayor who is a famous proponent of "stop and frisk" policing and a longtime master of backlash politics (Smith, 2017). Giuliani told CNN, Black Lives Matter is "inherently racist" because "it divides us - All lives matter: White lives, Black lives, all lives" (Smith, 2017). Others see the BLM social movement as a movement who promotes violence and careless of black on black crime. Seventy percent said a black people-committing crime against other black people is a bigger problem in African-American communities than police violence toward blacks (Easley, 2017). According to former New York City Mayor Rudy Giuliani, the Black Lives Matter never protests when every 14 hours someone is killed in Chicago, probably 70-80% of the time by a Black person. Where are they then? Where are they when a young Black child is killed? (Smith, 2017). African-Americans are split here, with 49 percent saying black crime is a bigger problem and 51 percent saying police violence toward blacks is the bigger problem (Easley, 2017).

The BLM social movement is still present today; it has been known across the globe and has formed many chapters along the United States. However, much confusion still exists around the structure, the goals, and the influence of the BLM social movement, and people still wonder if the BLM social movement will eventually resemble either the Tea Party or Occupy movements (Homes Pitner, 2016). Evidently, there has been a cultural shift, and many Americans are becoming more open to discussing racial

inequalities between African Americans and the police; Homer (2016) believes that the change can be attributed to the BLM social movement. The impact of this movement is both on a political and social level (Kehyeyan, 2016).

Black Lives Matter's social movement goal is to encourage empathy for black communities, illustrate lingering institutional oppression, and work towards policy changes that make everyone safer (Muscato, 2016). However, the findings of this study contradict the goals established by the BLM social movement. The findings show evidence supporting that the actions and behavior of the BLM social movement have caused oppression on the police, the community, and African Americans themselves. The findings further show that the BLM social movement has created uncertainty on the safety of African Americans communities. Furthermore, it has created unsafe encounters between African Americans and the police by encouraging violence against the police and attacking the African Americans who do not support the movement.

The movement has been criticized for appearing to tolerate violent demonstrations in its name (Russell, 2016), for stoking racial tensions (Sidner, 2017), and for creating an unsafe environment for police (Richardson, 2017). Other critics say BLM pushes a left-wing extremist agenda under the false appearance of a moderate reformist movement (French, 2016). BLM social movement associated persons committing acts of violence and lawlessness, particularly violence against police (French, 2016). Critics blame BLM for worsening race relations in America (French, 2016), but somehow the BLM social movement continues to recruit more people using social media at their advantage.

Key Points

This study provides an outlook on what today is one of the most important and controversial issues in the history of the United States regarding the police and African Americans relationship. The BLM Movement has endured the phase and change of political views, social movement, media and social media. The BLM movement hashtag is considered a powerful tool for social media sites such as Twitter and Facebook that enables the tracking of a topic that is trending across the population in the United States and the world. Social media sites such as Twitter and Facebook will continue to keep the public informed and give supporters the authority to publish their beliefs and opinions online.

Social media has been the backbone of the BLM social movement. The tweets, postings, and the news have taken the movement to a different level. The media has galvanized African Americans into action against the police and white people. Scientists analyzed the emotions behind almost 29 million tweets about four events in 2014 and 2015 that led to Black Lives Matter (BLM) protests (Safdar, 2016). Furthermore, Tweets with a higher level of "negative effect" and sadness, but lower on anger and anxiety were associated with larger rallies (Safdar, 2016). "Social media has been critical in the knitting together of a national narrative of police violence and abuse," (Keeanga-Yamahtta Taylor, 2016; Safdar, 2016). Social media platforms have shown how they are part of a generalized and pervasive pattern of police abuse" (Safdar, 2016).

Despite the social media presence, the Black Lives Matter protests have been fading. We see less and less protest, with less and less support on their side because they

have rejected the old style of leadership (Ransby, 2017). Ransby said Black Lives Matter "rejected the old top-down charismatic leader model. They are more decentralized and more democratic" (Hinton, 2018). Moreover, "they respect elders but are not looking for elders to tell them what to do. And they are focused on the most marginalized sectors of the black community: poor and working class and formerly incarcerated people," Ransby said (Hinton, 2018).

The BLM social movement still exists due to the social media presence. Social media protesting is still a new phenomenon and is the fastest way to spread information across the world (Engler, 2016). The BLM social movement has it at their advantage. The BLM social movement continues spreading across Twitter and other social media platforms, persuading listeners and viewers to become part of their selected movement. BLM social movement via social media has drawn public attention to the issue of racism and compels ordinary people to act—or at least choose sides (Engler, 2016).

As it stands today, it seemed that BLM had not thought beyond that raw emotion, had not questioned where it would all lead (Engler, 2016). The BLM social movement has no effect and no present clear stand on reforms (Engler, 2016). Yet, other findings of the study indicated that the relationship between the BLM social movement and the police has turned violent. The perception that the BLM social movement have of the police has turned into anger, rage, and vengeance where the BLM social movement have called for the killing of police and whites publicly.

Recommendations

This study has considered several notable limitations that were foreseen. First, there was no communication with the individuals that attended the BLM social movement events; therefore, it was hard to interpret their feelings, anger, aggressiveness, hostility towards the police and outcome of these events. Second, the data was strictly analyzed only from BLM Facebook page and Twitter account, existing BLM interviews and unanimously observations of the BLM social movement events. I was limited to the experience of African Americans. Third, I did not have direct access to the individual persons that was posting the comments on Facebook and Twitter. The data collected for this study was limited to an all African Americans sample and predominantly from New York City. The data collected only reflects analyzes from the BLM movement social media postings, predominantly from African Americans, and the observations are only of African Americans, the study limits samples from other minority communities.

Furthermore, the researcher's experience and background in law enforcement should be noted as a limitation in the study. Lastly, the data collected was based on the opinions of members of the BLM social movement, on the existing interviews and on social media. Although proper rules and procedures were taken, the quality of the observations taken of the BLM social movement attendees and the police only provided one side of this social movement phenomenon. Even though it is a valuable side, and a side that has not been explored in the literature or examined related to its meaning and substance. It would be careless not to take these limitations into consideration as other sides could be taken into consideration upon the development of future studies. The

present study was predominantly about the perceptions of the Black Lives Matter Social Movement in New York City, it is suggested that future studies on other minorities perception of the police should be conducted as well as the effect of the police perceptions towards minority communities.

In addition to the logical guidelines, this qualitative study seems recommended for calculating qualitative experiences. Some of the findings of the study provide further clarification that only new studies can propose. Having set a foundation for this study's outcome and procedures, it may be duplicated in other areas that could include the perception of other racial groups such as Latinos, Asians, or Indigenous Americans, or the perceptions of the police as it relates to gender, income, education level, or culture.

In addition, to the analytical guide to future goals of this study, the qualitative methods of research seem recommended for weighing the experience of the BLM social movement and its impact to the African American communities and its relationship with the police. However, this study was only able to address a few variables in regards to the BLM social movement; other results could rise as other variables are identified as determined by further research and the personal experiences of the researcher who may use their personal experiences to enhanced the study.

Implications

To minorities, police work is a largely an obscure experience, it is an experience that only being in that position can tell the state of reality. This research wanted to disclose the factual interpretation of the relationship of the BLM social movement and the police, and what can be done to restore that relationship, if possible. This study

revealed the significance of the interactive nature of the police when coming in contact with the African Americans. Ultimately, the police sets the tone for the interactions and determines all possible outcomes of such interactions. Therefore, it is encouraged that the police use their presence to improve on their decision making, to become more trust worthy by using a more passive voice that enables cooperation, respect, and to treat African Americans with dignity in the aspects of the procedural justice. The treatment based on aspects of procedural justice is that the police must be more informative in the interactions with African Americans advising them that the police are the authority and enforce the laws in that particular area.

The police must open in communication and understanding when coming in contact with African Americans, this must be a priority. Open communication is valuable and necessary as it can achieve collaboration and improve and strengthen the relationship. The open communication can lead to African Americans trusting and collaborate with the police to exchange information and improve policing efforts. Communication can provide a pathway to a working relationship between the police and the BLM social movement. It can also provide a pathway to a collaborative exchange of the emotions, feelings, and beliefs on both sides.

The methods of enforcement use by the police towards African American determines the compliance and outcome of an event. Therefore, depending on the methods used for compliance efforts the resolutions of conflict between the police and African Americans can determine the outcome of encounters with the police. For example, the process used by the police when encountering African Americans will built

on the trustworthiness and relationship; and it will build on the collaboration of information with African Americans. It will be more manageable for the police to interact and have a workable relationship with African Americans. Therefore, by reshaping police openness, responsiveness, behavior, treatment, interactions, attitude and discretionary implementation of police practices towards African Americans.

It is important that people know the truth about the relationship of the BLM movement and the police. As it is also important that people know the devastation that the existing relationship has on society. Therefore, it is important for the police to know and recognized the reasons to the behavior of the BLM social movement towards the police, and for the BLM social movement to know the reasons for the actions of the police. This study hopes to provide an understanding of the past, and present relationship between the police and African Americans, and implement policies and actions that preserve minority communities in the future.

Conclusion

In conclusion, this study was to provide the missing outlook in what is the most valuable and has a great effect on African Americans in regards to the relationship with the police. The torn relationship between the police and the BLM social movement has influenced cultural differences, generated violence in minority communities, and increase tensions when it comes to community policing. Media and social media platforms have influenced the current relationship between the police and the BLM social movement making it difficult for the police to build a workable relationship with the BLM social movement and African American communities. It is crucial that the police understand

the BLM social movement mission, as well as it is important for the BLM social movement to understand the mission and responsibilities of the police. Understanding and respecting each other's perspectives can ultimately rebuild a workable relationship between the BLM social movement and the police.

The relationship between the BLM social movement and the police has devastated minority communities. It has intensified resentment and anger towards the police. The bad relationship has brought, mistrust, insecurity, blame, lack of communication, and emotional crisis. It is my intention that this study brings awareness to what is the current state of the relationship between the BLM social movement and the police. I also wanted to make the distinction that the BLM social movement does not represent the sentiment of all African Americans. African Americans have a different perspective and perceive the police differently than what the BLM movement promotes during its meetings, rallies, and social media presence.

In conclusion, this study offers suggestions that the police can develop that will help rebuild a relationship that once existed. According to Rae (2018), when you are in the middle of any sort of relationship crisis, the very last thing you want to do is to let go (Rae, 2018). This is not the time to let go. This is the time to rebuild the relationship between the BLM social movement and the police and build a workable relationship that leads to safe communities. It is of value that the nature of this study and its recommendations for the BLM social movement and the police is taken into consideration and are used as a blue print to rebuilding the relationship.

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See Appendix A

Black Lives Matter Movement Social Media. 2013. https://blacklivesmatter.com

See Appendix B

Twitter Post. 2013. https://twitter.com/hashtag/blacklivesmatter

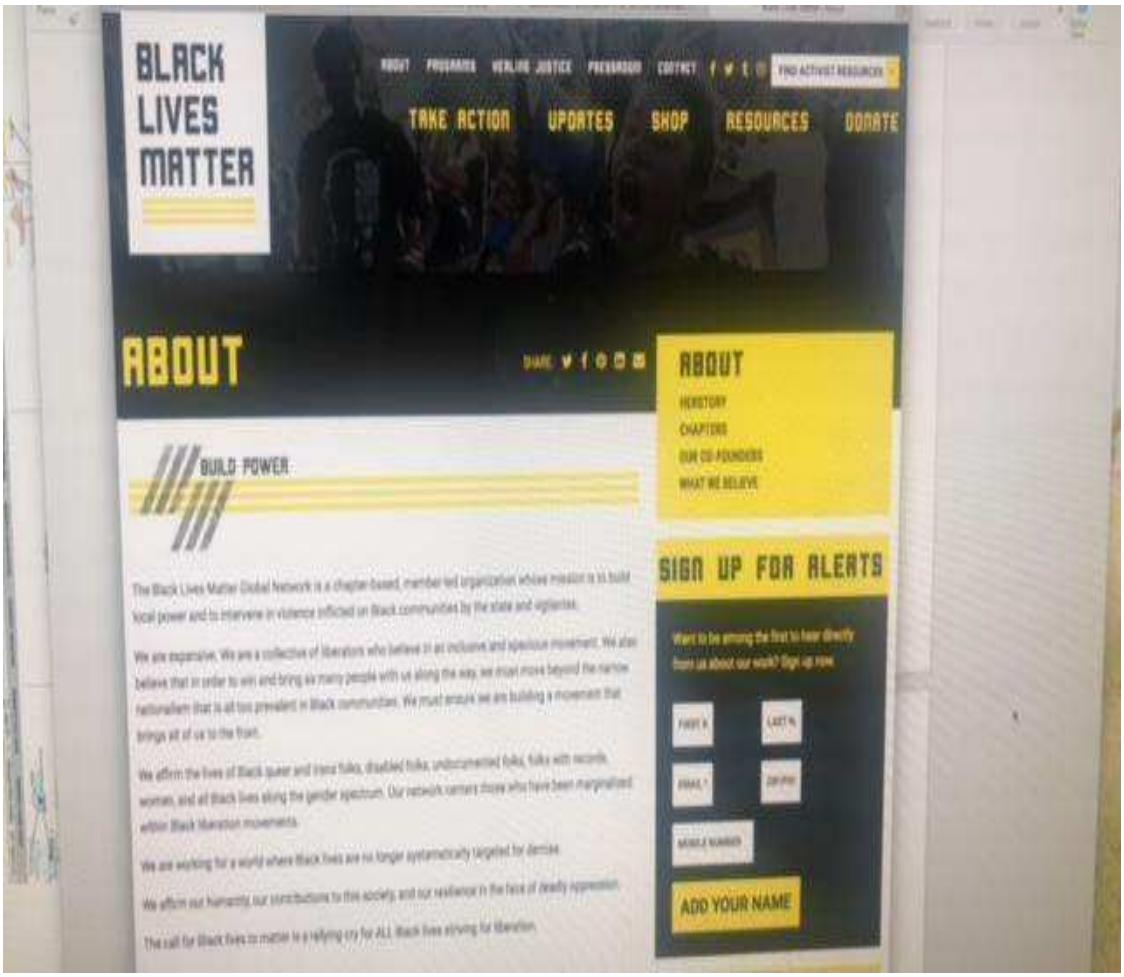
See Appendix C

Facebook Post. 2013. https://www.facebook.com/BlackLivesMatter/

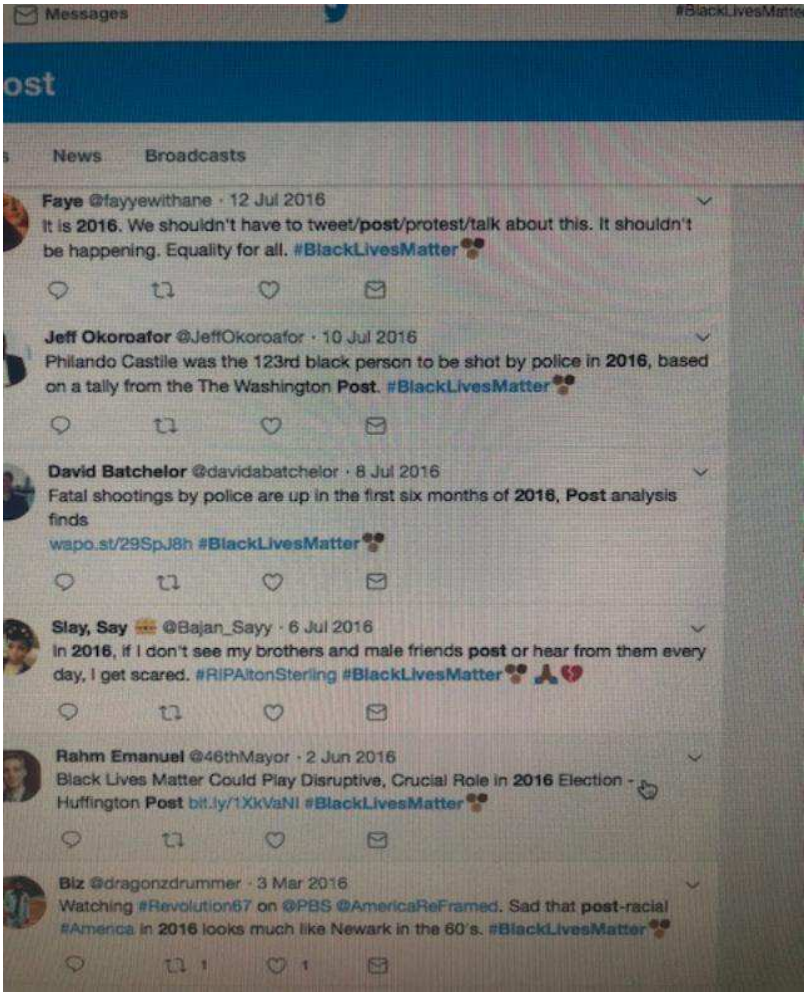
See Appendix D

Black Lives Matter Chapters. 2015. https://blacklivesmatter.com/take-action/find-a-chapter/

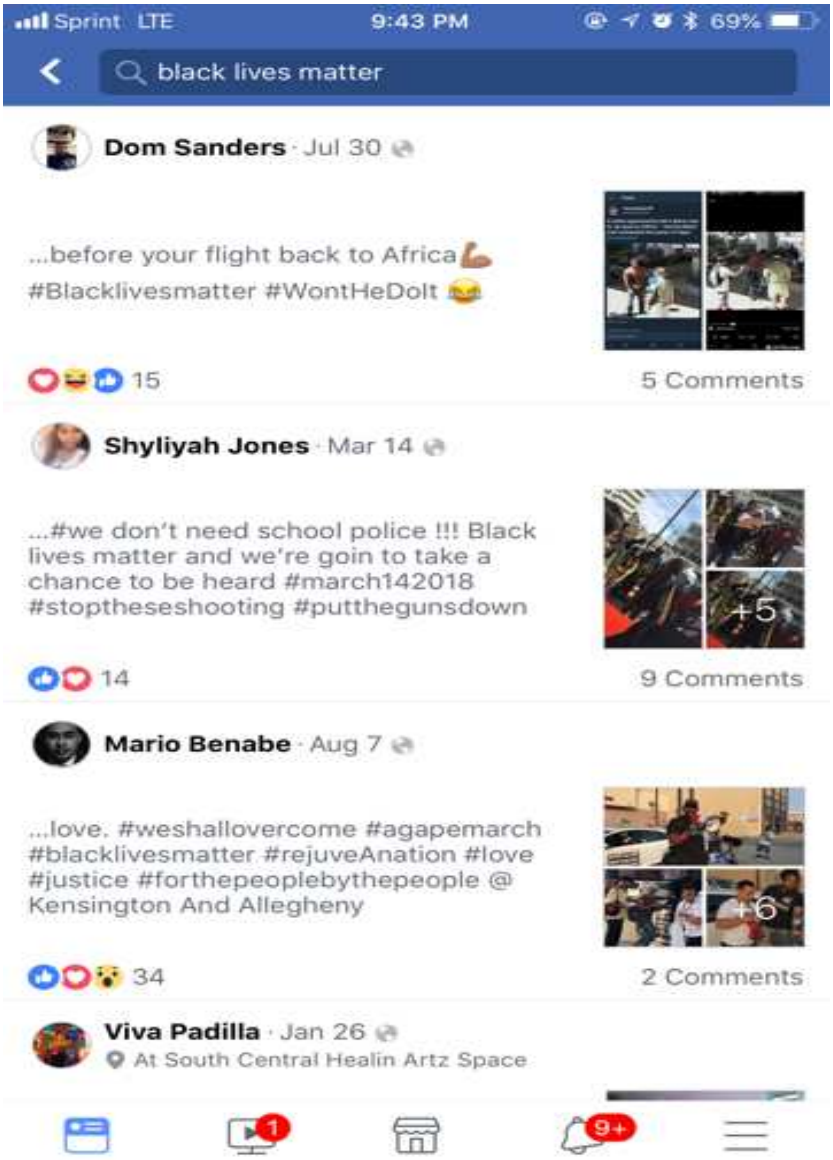
Appendix A: Black Lives Matter Social Media Home Webpage



Appendix B: Sample Twitter Post

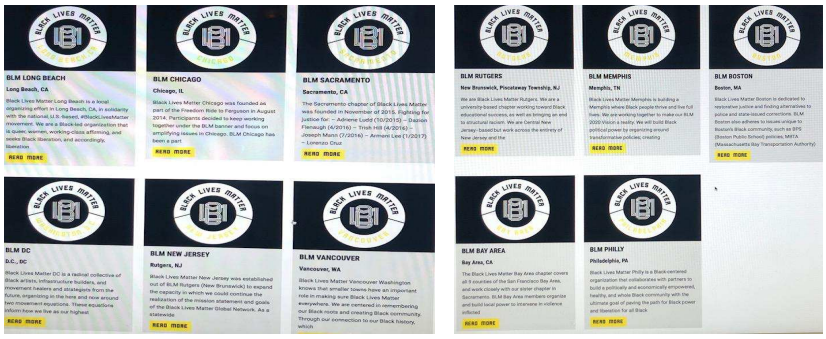
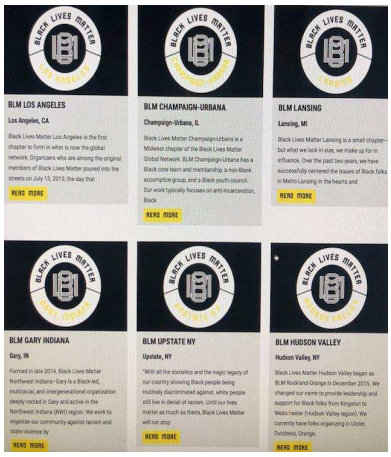
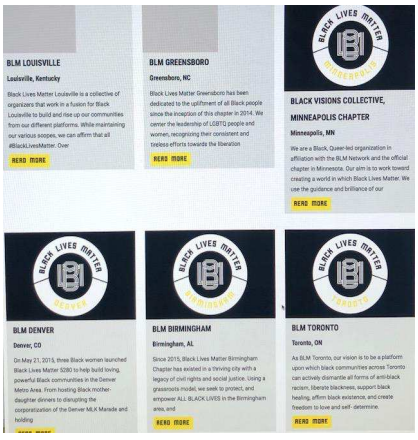


Appendix C: Sample Facebook Post



Appendix D: Black Lives Matter Chapters

Black Lives Matter Chapters



Black Lives Matter Chapters