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Perceptions of Homeland Security Policing in an Urban Midwestern Community

Sukeena Stephens
Walden University

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Walden University

College of Social and Behavioral Sciences

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Sukeena Stephens

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Review Committee

Dr. Timothy Fadgen, Committee Chairperson,
Public Policy and Administration Faculty

Dr. Donald McLellan, Committee Member,
Public Policy and Administration Faculty

Dr. Michael Brewer, University Reviewer,
Public Policy and Administration Faculty

Chief Academic Officer
Eric Riedel, Ph.D.

Walden University
2019

Abstract

Perceptions of Homeland Security Policing in an Urban Midwestern Community

by

Sukeena Stephens

MPA IG, John Jay College of Criminal Justice, 2003

BA, Utica College of Syracuse University, 1995

Dissertation Submitted in Partial Fulfillment

of the Requirements for the Degree of

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Public Policy and Administration

Homeland Security Policy & Coordination

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Abstract

Since the terrorist attacks on the United States of America on September 11, 2001, approach to policing has observably been shifted across the country. Utilizing a qualitative methodology, this study explored the perceptions of community members from a Chicago, Illinois community regarding the shift in policing style post 9/11. Cooley's theory of the looking glass self, coupled with a phenomenological approach to understand the deeper meaning associated with the perceptions of the residents and the shift in policing styles in Chicago communities. The data were obtained from participants who were at least 40 years old and held a residence for at least 3 years in the area prior to 9/11 and 3 to 5 years immediately after 9/11. The study included the use of a semi-structured interview guide and the findings were analyzed using inductive coding with thematic analysis. The findings indicated that residents of the community want a positive relationship with the police but perceive that they are viewed negatively by the police and that police fear them. Participants agreed that they recognized a shift in policing strategies and consistently noted a desire for police to return to community policing strategies that they perceive have been abandoned in favor of more militaristic approaches to law enforcement. The positive social change implications stemming from this study include recommendations to police executives to consider the strategic and tactical demilitarization of the police department and integrate community preferences in future decision making regarding critical standard operating procedures including stop and frisk policies, training initiatives, and zero tolerance declarations. Adherence to these recommendations may improve oversight of officers and improve relationships with the community.

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Dedication

I dedicate this dissertation to my children. There is nothing you can't accomplish in life. To my parents, who are my biggest cheerleaders, who always love and supported me. To my husband, who kept pushing me to ensure I live up to my potential. Finally, to Dr. Wanda Gwyn who kept her promise to be there until the end; and to you....

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Chapter 1: Introduction to the Study

The aim of this study was to explore the perceptions of community members from Chicago, Illinois regarding the shift from community policing to homeland security policing. In 1994, the Community Policing Consortium defined 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” (p. vii). Kelling et al. (1974), Greenwood et al., (1977), and Spelman and Brown (1984) each identified community policing as a model to help improve the traditional policing model. The community policing model emphasized the use of preventive patrols, rapid responses, arrests, and investigations. The authors argued that this change came as a response to public dissatisfaction with the police and that this style of policing led police organizations to adapt a decentralized, less hierarchical, more generalized, and less formal police model.

However, after the attacks of September 11, 2001, law enforcement shifted focus from local community policing to keeping America safe by protecting the homeland as a whole from further terrorist attacks. This shift made homeland security the country’s number one focus (Brattberg, 2012; Schafer, Burruss, & Giblin, 2009) for each level of law enforcement. Ortiz, Hendricks, and Sugie (2007) pointed out that “Policing in the United States was forced to respond to changes in society with like changes in principles and practice” (p. 92). Stewart and Morris (2009) and Oliver (2014) argued that the mandate for police to include homeland security in their policing duties resulted in a new role for local police agencies. This new role has expanded the responsibilities and powers

of police in order to address new pressures and combat terrorism. Schulhofer, Tyler, and Huq (2011) explained that the strain on law enforcement has become uniquely acute and the community “can no longer subordinate conventional policing to the newer preoccupation with terrorism” (p. 337).

The terrorist attacks on the United States on September 11, 2001, changed how the country protected and defended itself from its enemies (Scheppele, 2004; Newmann, 2002). In pursuit of this change, a shift in the ideology of policing was vital to fight terrorism on U.S. soil. This ideological shift was two-fold. First, the shift involved local law enforcement adding more specialized officers and combat-ready equipment to the weapon arsenal (Hall, & Coyne, 2013). Second, the shift involved the development of homeland security. The Office of Homeland Security was established within the Executive branch of the U.S. government. The function of the new office was “to coordinate the executive branch’s efforts to detect, prepare for, prevent, protect against, respond to, and recover from terrorist attacks within the United States” (Executive Order No. 13288, 2001).

Oliver (2006) labeled the new era of policing as “homeland security policing.” The introduction of the homeland security policing was premised on the belief that it was essential to addressing the needs of the country and to combat terrorism (Alexander & Mors, 2007; De Guzman, 2002). In 2001, The Department of Justice issued a memorandum, *Preserving Life and Liberty*, which stated, “Congress simply took existing legal principles and retrofitted them to preserve the lives and liberty of the American people from the challenges posed by a global terrorist network” (p. 1). The United States needed tools that extended beyond simple weaponry. Thus, the Providing Appropriate

Tools Required to Intercept and Obstruct Terrorism Act of 2001 (USA PATRIOT Act) was developed as a catalyst to protect the homeland (Bloss, 2009). The establishment of the USA PATRIOT Act provided law enforcement officers with new tools to enforce old laws in the wake of terrorism (Bloss, 2007; Marion & Cronin, 2009; Whitehead & Aden, 2001).

To distribute the tools required by homeland security law enforcement, Congress utilized the National Defense Authorization Act of Fiscal Year 1997, including the transfer of excess department of defense property to support law enforcement activities. This was accomplished under Section 1033 the Transfer of Excess Personal Property to Support Law Enforcement Activities. The Secretary of Defense used these new laws to “transfer personal property, including small arms and ammunition suitable for law enforcement activities,” for the use of counterdrug and counterterrorism activities (10 U.S. Code § 2576a, p. 2639; Ehrhart, 1998; Else, 2014). By acquiring military equipment for law enforcement to combat crime, the police force had evolved to resemble the military in all but name.

Weapon Transfer

As of September 30, 2018, The Defense Logistics Agency reported that the Chicago Police Department has obtained approximately 332 five-millimeter rifles, 40 seven-millimeter rifles and other types of military-grade equipment valued at approximately \$697,799 through the Department of Defense 1033 Program. These transfers were less than those to comparable law enforcement agencies such as the New York Police Department and the Los Angeles Police Department. Nonetheless, after the accumulation of so much weaponry, local law enforcement began to perceive the enemy

as the residents of urban neighborhoods. Using them on the streets of America brings the military into our communities. The same residents whom the police are sworn to protect and serve became indistinguishable from foreign terrorists.

In 2017, the United States Department of Justice Civil Rights Division, and United States Attorney's Office, Northern District of Illinois investigation of the Chicago Police Department analyzed the results of this shift, which has had detrimental effects on addressing crime, which relies on trust, respect, and open communication between citizens and police officers. According to this investigation,

It has never been more important to rebuild trust for the police within Chicago's neighborhoods most challenged by violence, poverty, and unemployment.

Chicago must undergo broad, fundamental reform to restore this trust. This will be difficult, but will benefit both the public and CPD's own officers. The increased trust these reforms will build is necessary to solve and prevent violent crime. And the conduct and practices that restore trust will also carry out an equally important public service: demonstrating to communities racked with violence that their police force cares about them and has not abandoned them, regardless of where they live or the color of their skin. That confidence is broken in many neighborhoods in Chicago. (p. 4)

My goal in this study was to explore the perceptions of the residents in a Chicago community regarding the paradigm shift in policing policy as a response to the September 11, 2001, terrorist attacks. I focused on whether the attitudes and beliefs of citizens residing in this Chicago community have shifted because of escalated military style policing practices in relationship to enforcement of minor violations of the law.

Background

Community Policing

Preceding the events of September 11, 2001, police officers focused on proactive policing, problem solving, and partnerships with community protection (Yero et al., 2012). Community policing allowed law enforcement to focus more on the problems that affected their community and to remain proactive and community-centered when solving problems. Fleming (2009) suggested that community policing efforts, which build partnerships and trust and initiate dialogues within the community, are supported by analysts. A primary focus of community policing is to increase the quality and quantity of contacts between the police and the community, in hopes that it will increase the perceived legitimacy of the police departments (Cordner, 2014). Worrall (2009) summarized that community policing is designed to enhance a neighborhood's safety by increasing police presence and visibility and identifying crime-specific problem areas. The author argued that community policing would allow the local police to be more responsive to the needs and concerns of citizens by incorporating them into the neighborhood instead of them just responding to 911 calls. In turn, this enhanced contact would lead to increased police satisfaction and a decrease in crime coupled with the potential fear of crime (Torres & Vogel, 2001; Hawdon et al., 2003).

Oliver and Bartgis (1998) explained that communities forming alliances with the police to collaborate and reduce crime can only enhance their quality of life. Bull (2015) evaluated the success of community policing based on various scholars and experts who were “signaling a shift in policing styles from a model emphasizing expertise and a centralized bureaucratic command structure to an inclusive philosophy promoting community based problem-solving strategies and encouraging partnerships between the police and communities in a collaborative effort” (p. 163). The goal of community policing is to lessen the gap between the police and the communities they serve.

Hawdon, Ryan, and Griffin (2003) declared that since the 1960s, community policing has become one of the most promoted and discussed policing strategies throughout the United States. The importance of positive police-community relations has pushed many police departments to adopt a community-oriented policing model. Roh and Oliver (2005) stated that police-community partnerships should be enriched and encouraged to improve the overall quality of life in a community. However, a poor relationship between the police and the community can lead to a sense of distrust and fear among citizens. The authors noted that there is currently a general lack of consensus regarding what specific activities actually constitute community-oriented policing.

Despite this lack of a clear definition, community policing relies on the assumption that law enforcement and the community must work together to prevent crime and criminality (Worrall, 2009). Opportunities to collaborate changed with homeland security policing. Fagan and Richman (2017) examined the increasing crime rate in Chicago as a police and community issue. According to the Chicago Police Department Data Portal, homicides jumped from 423 in 2014 to 762 in 2016, while

nonfatal shootings also spiked from 25,996 to 35,507 during the same period. However, the increase in the crime rate and violence has become a mutual concern in the community, and police can also be viewed as locus of contestation, not collaboration.

Gill, Weisburd, Telep, Vitter, and Bennett (2014) determined that in community policing, everyone has a role as “co-producers of public safety” (p. 2). The community identifies their needs and the police work in tandem to find and implement a solution. Bullock (2013) theorized that community policing is important in stimulating interactions with groups that are usually afraid to engage with police officers, such as minority and ethnic groups. Their ability to build relationships can reduce a community’s fear of crime and address and prioritize areas of concern. This relationship is the bedrock of community policing (Jones, 2009; Minnaar, 2010). Fielding and Innes (2006) stated that when “officers are required to engage with the community to pick up information and respond to community needs, frontline officer discretion is enhanced, and officers can encourage negotiation of interests among community members” (p. 129). This symbiotic relationship can benefit both parties; for the police officer, the residents feel comfortable with sharing important information, which can aid the officer in solving crimes. This relationship allows residents to feel more secure when they are in a partnership with the police officer, rather than in an adversarial relationship (Cordner, 2014; Cosgrove & Ramshaw, 2015). However, the events of September 11, 2001, have changed the trajectory of the relationship between law enforcement and the citizens they are sworn to protect.

Page (2011) wrote, “After the September 11, 2001, terrorist attacks, police departments shifted emphasis from community policing to counter terrorism efforts,

damaging the relationship between authorities and communities” (p. 5). According to Page,

By December 2011, the Department of Justice (DOJ) initiated a voluntary interview project focused on Middle Eastern males holding temporary U.S. visas from countries where Al-Qaeda was known to have a strong terrorist presence. DOJ asked local police departments such as Dearborn Police Department to interview their residents with the hopes these males would voluntarily provide information that might be useful in the new war on terror. This request resulted in the Dearborn Police interrogating the same residents they previously swore to protect which caused significant mistrust from the community toward law enforcement. (p. 18-19).

Mueller (2006) defined what took place in Dearborn and other cities nationwide as “hypervigilance.” Kilburn, Costanza, Metchik, and Borgeson (2011) explained that hypervigilance can be viewed as a policing approach that uses policy to justify bias toward the individual and other stereotypes as the support needed to gravitate aggressively toward identifying security threats. Huddy and Feldman (2011) argued that hypervigilance has been the main ingredient used to shape police agencies’ policies since homeland security has become the primary focus in the United States. Mueller (2006) explained that “hypervigilance has been a force threatening both civil liberties and the economic infrastructure” (p. 20) within the United States. Hypervigilance is a growing threat that can be felt and seen in the interactions between officers and detainees and between officers and citizens. For example, hypervigilance can be observed and characterized in the interaction between a corrections officer and a prisoner. Hall (2010)

contended that officers' hypervigilance creates distance from the men in their care and control, and etches (and re-etches) the difference between citizens and others. According to Hall, "The detainees become bodies in time and space, objects to be tracked and scrutinized, surfaces which emotions inscribe, and to which are attached certain traits (trouble, compliant, disruptive). The detainee as person falls away" (p. 891).

Lee (2010) agreed with Oliver (2006), but pointed out that there appears to be a gap between what is being suggested and what is known with regard to law enforcement's responsibilities and expectations as they relate to homeland security efforts. Lee (2010) reported that there is active debate as to whether the community policing mission is now a homeland security mission or whether the two complement each other.

No matter the outcome of such debates, additional tools were needed to combat terrorism on U.S. soil. One such tool was the development of The USA PATRIOT Act. Armed with the USA PATRIOT Act, law enforcement officers were able to use whatever means necessary in the active pursuit of an individual who violates a law as long as they cited the prevention of another terrorist attack; this interpretation even defended against the violation of an individual's civil liberties. Awadi and Sharma (2015) stated that the "USA PATRIOT Act inadvertently targeted Arab and Muslim Americans or anyone who resembled that group by allowing law enforcement agencies to investigate without rights or constitutional limitations" (p. 3). The researchers further estimated that the PATRIOT Act is not the sole policy that has had an effect on people's human rights in the United States; however, it has had the largest impact on Arab and Muslim Americans. The USA

PATRIOT Act, coupled with law enforcement actions, empowered local police to join the campaign in keeping the homeland safe.

USA PATRIOT Act

On September 11, 2001, terrorists attacked the United States and made homeland security the country's priority (Brattberg, 2012; Schafer et al., 2009). The aim of the USA PATRIOT Act is to keep America safe from another terrorist attack. However, to accomplish this goal, new ideas and tools were needed to fight terrorism. The USA PATRIOT Act, signed into law by President George W. Bush on October 26, 2001, expanded the jurisdiction of law enforcement to provide more latitude to fight terrorism. Whitehead and Aden (2001) suggested that this new mission shifted how federal law enforcement "apprehended and incarcerated criminals to detecting and halting terrorist activity on American soil and abroad" (p. 1087). Liptak (2011) observed that the September 11 terrorist attacks on the United States provided a necessary cause to revive pre-existing legislation and judicial precedent previously enacted and used throughout U.S. history. However, there are several tools that have a potential impact on civil liberties and constitutional freedoms (Evans, 2002; Tauber & Banks, 2015; Whitehead & Aden, 2001). These include electronic surveillance, warrantless searches, and national security exceptions. Although the PATRIOT Act was designed to protect U.S. citizens from terrorists, the law has been interpreted to allow law enforcement officers and other agencies to use tactics on American citizens that would otherwise be used on terrorist cells (Carter, 2004). Awadi and Sharma (2015) predicted that the PATRIOT Act provided unlimited strength and resources to law enforcement agencies at all levels within the United States. Schwinn (2016) identified the new law as an opportunity for many

agencies to use this boost of power to keep a watchful eye on anyone associated with the Muslim faith. Bloss (2007) explained that the PATRIOT Act was the catalyst that introduced the homeland security era of policing. These laws established policies that permitted law enforcement to actively pursue any infractions of the law in the name of homeland security (Kerr, 2003; Toobin, 2002).

The idea of obtaining information or apprehending individuals who could potentially be terrorists for minor infractions became the new motive for law enforcement (Kamalu, 2016; Schulhofer, Tyler, & Huq, 2011). Waxman (2009) observed that The USA PATRIOT Act was designed because America wanted and needed to feel “safe” and were willing to make that sacrifice, regardless of whether the reasons were understood or morally acceptable. Schulhofer, Tyler, and Huq (2011) argued,

A perception that police must choose between them being tough cop vs protecting a person’s civil liberties arises almost everywhere in policing and in criminal law generally: street stops, surveillance, Miranda rights, and so on. In each instance, some people feel sure that social protection requires police powers that are unconstrained by procedural niceties, and others are equally convinced that harsh measures, if insensitive to individual rights, will prove counterproductive. (p. 341)

Local police departments are regarded as the key ingredient in spearheading national anti-terrorism efforts (Haynes & Giblin, 2014; Homeland Security Council, 2007; Newman & Clarke, 2008; de Guzman, 2002; Pelfrey, 2005; Oliver, 2006). Waxman (2009) pointed out that since the 9/11 terrorist attacks, local police agencies have taken on considerable responsibility for national security against terrorist threats (Schulhofer, Tyler, & Huq, 2011). However, the interpretation of their roles has had a

different effect on the communities they serve. The USA PATRIOT Act opened the door for the development of the Homeland Security Act of 2002 (Public Law No. 107-296).

Homeland Security Act

The Homeland Security Act of 2002 had a primary focus on the development of policies related to protecting the homeland from foreign terrorism after attacks that occurred on September 11, 2001. However, the result of this shift created an era in the United States characterized by law enforcement's militaristic tactics (Kim, & de Guzman, 2012; Waxman, 2009; Bornstein, 2005). Since 2001, various strategic documents were developed to define the Department of Homeland Security's (DHS) direction and mission. The DHS developed a series of evolving strategic documents that provided specific guidance to the department. While these documents provided a path for DHS to measure its performance and define its mission, an examination of these documents shows numerous meanings associated with the concept of homeland security; as a result, there does not appear to be a single definition for homeland security (Bellavita, 2008; Caudle, 2003; Hinton Jr., 2002).

Hall and Coyne (2013) argued that this policy shift included local enforcement adding more specialized officers and combat-ready equipment to their arsenals. Stewart and Morris (2009) and Stewart and Oliver (2014) pointed out that the demand for local police to be the helm of homeland security efforts has created a new role for local police agencies. Schulhofer et al. (2011) argued that the pressures have become extremely dire and society can no longer remain second-string to the preoccupation that law enforcement had with terrorism.

Problem Statement

The problem I explored in this qualitative study was whether a paradigm shift in policing policy occurred from community policing to homeland security policing as a response to September 11, 2001 (see Oliver, 2006; Schmalleger & Worrall, 2010). In addition, I attempted to understand the perceptions of the residents in several communities in Chicago. After the events of the terrorist attacks, the philosophy of policing, which had previously focused on proactive policing, problem solving, and partnerships with community protection (Yero, Othman, Samah, D'Silva, & Sulaiman, 2012), shifted to a more paramilitary-style homeland security era of policing (Oliver, 2006; Wilson, 2012; Yilmaz, 2014). In 2015, the American Civil Liberties Union reported that in Chicago communities, Blacks were subjected to 72% of stop-and-frisk stops even though they constituted just 32% of the city's population. Police officers use stop-and-frisk as an investigative tool to stop an individual for whom they have a reasonable suspicion of criminal behavior, according to the ruling in *Terry v. Ohio* (1968).

Under the Violent Crime Control and Law Enforcement Act of 1994, the Justice Department's Civil Rights Division and the U.S. Attorney's Office for the Northern District of Illinois investigated the Chicago Police Department (CPD). Investigators determined that the CPD had engaged in habitual usage of unreasonable, unrelenting, and aggressive force, including deadly force, which violated the citizens' constitutional rights under the Fourth Amendment (DOJ, 2017). The DOJ reported that the CPD had created a force that was unchecked, unchallenged, and exposed the community to unrelenting fear. The report uncovered abuses of power and identified them as results of an ingrained

culture of intrinsic organizational deficiencies stemming from a lack of proper training and accountability. Moreover, this report identified a systemic history of failing to train officers in de-escalation, proper use of force, and how to conduct meaningful investigations. The focus of this study was on examining whether the perceptions of the citizens residing in a Chicago community have shifted as a result of escalated military-style policing practices in relationship to enforcement of minor violations of the law since 9/11.

Purpose of the Study

The purpose of this study was to fill the gap in the literature regarding the perceptions of the residents of a Chicago community about the shift in policing policy as a response to the September 11, 2001, terrorist attacks. I explored the failure of the CPD to address the community's response to homeland security policing and to offer a different viewpoint to police officers' perceptions of the shift in policing (Stewart & Morris, 2009; Ortiz, Hendricks, & Sugie, 2007). Lum, Haberfeld, Fachner, and Lieberman (2009) argued that "not only do we not have a clear idea of what activities police are engaged in, but there is also a lack of empirical research that documents police activity or scientifically evaluates interventions" (p. 102).

In 2018, the Defense Logistics Agency reported on the purchase of military-grade equipment by police departments. These purchases included 205 grenade launchers, 3,972 combat knives, \$79,288 in assault rifles, \$124 million worth of night-vision equipment (including night-vision sniper scopes), 479 bomb detonator robots, 11,959 bayonets, 50 airplanes (including 27 cargo transport airplanes), 422 helicopters, and \$3.6

million worth of camouflage gear and other deception equipment that is suitable for law enforcement activities.

Monoson (2003) surmised that the military and police forces have two different focuses: the military's role is to annihilate the foreign enemy, while the police officer's role is to protect the constitutional rights of the citizens. Martinot (2013) argued that the militarization of the police has made the police more aligned with a military-type structure of discipline and unwavering obedience to command structure (Hodgson, 2001; King, 2003; Wenger, 1973). Rajan and Gabriel (2015) contended that the United States continues to use emergency powers found in the PATRIOT Act to increase the militarization of the police. The researchers further argued that the actions taken by the government were used as a cover to address critical issues related to national security and the protection and security of its citizens. However, these same tactics have "only further undermined the security and human rights of all civilians residing within US borders – including those of undocumented individuals, non-US residents and even US citizens" (p. 110).

The increased militarization of the U.S. police force has only continued to cause further alienation and increase the divide between police officers and citizens. Mihal (2015) pointed out that people of color in America are disproportionately subjected to police violence and oppression because of police militarization. The author further stated that the implicit, structural, and historic racism in policing and other institutions is exacerbated by counterterrorism and police militarization. Therefore, there is a conflict between the current role of the police and their original role within the community. This shift has not only changed police officers' mindsets and actions from policing within the

community to homeland security policing, but also their equipment and tactics. The use of military grade equipment has changed the dynamics of local and state policing and how the police serve their communities.

Research Questions

The central research question was: Has the shift in policing styles from community-oriented policing to a more military-type organization influenced citizen perceptions of police/policing in Chicago?

Theoretical Framework

Cooley's (1902) theory of the looking glass self was the theoretical framework for this study. Cooley theorized that the self is a result of a social process where individuals learn to see themselves as others see them (Giddens, 1991; Habermas, 1987). Akande (2009) stated that self-concepts define social comparisons and interactions with others, and by comparing the self with others, the nature of the self is defined. Everidge (2010) theorized that self-concepts may be positive or negative based on how interactions proceed with cultural peers. When Cooley's theory of the looking glass self is applied to a study, the theory can be manufactured through the application of negative labels (e.g. thug, pig) when individuals experience a negative interaction with others (e.g. law enforcement). Thus, in the field of procedural justice, researchers have debated whether people's reaction to law enforcement is a direct result of how they are treated by police. Their decision to comply with the direction of police is based on how they perceive police treatment of them (Bradford, Jackson, & Stanko, 2009; Murphy et al., 2008; Sunshine & Tyler, 2003; Tyler & Huo, 2002).

Skarlicki and Folger (1997) explained that “the anger and resentment associated with perceptions of unfair procedures may empower individuals to engage in retaliation” (p. 435). The authors’ viewpoint signals a shift in how citizens perceive the actions of the police; however, as little is known about the shift in policing styles as is known about the perceptions of the citizens within those communities (Engel & Worden, 2003). Despite the challenges identified more than a decade ago, a gap continues to exist in the literature on the perceptions of the members of a Chicago community. Bradford (2014) highlighted that negative experiences with the police can confirm feelings of separation or galvanize a feeling of exclusion by police officers who claim to serve and protect and serve all citizens. Bradford further stated that these experiences also provide insight about their status in their community. To understand the damage that can influence the looking glass self-concept due to the change in policing, I sought the views of those affected. Negative labels can be especially detrimental in a cultural context when applied to members in a community who police officers are sworn to protect and serve.

Nature of the Study

In this study, I used a qualitative methodology with a phenomenological approach to explore the community’s perceptions of homeland security policing. Researchers use phenomenological studies to explore the feelings, thoughts, perceptions, observations, and reflections of people experiencing the phenomenon under study. I theorized that the data would assist in yielding a composite characterization of the attributes of the collective experience (see Moustakas, 1994). Harmon (1991) stated that “we do not learn about reality from controlled experiments but rather by identifying with the observed” (p. 53). The study consisted of 12 interviews using a semi-structured interview guide. The

participants for the interview were asked questions to explore their perceptions regarding the shift from community policing to homeland security policing. Eide and Showalter (2012) theorized that using the qualitative method in research allows the opportunity to study the participants in their current environment. This type of research provides researchers with a chance to better understand the factors contributing to the phenomenon under study.

In this qualitative research study, I explored the lived experiences of residents living in a Chicago community and reported their perceptions as they related the phenomena under study (see Creswell, 2003). I used Cooley's theory of the looking glass self, coupled with a qualitative design, to understand the deeper meaning associated with the perceptions of the residents and the shift in policing styles in several Chicago communities.

Definitions

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

Hypervigilance: A policing strategy in which an agency's policy is rationally structured to maximize the pursuit of false positives and gravitate aggressively toward security threats (Mueller, 2006).

Militarization: "The contradictory and tense social process in which civil society organizes itself for the production of violence." (Orr, 2004, p. 455).

Procedural justice: The concept that citizens believe police will treat citizens with fairness and respect by abiding by the rules of the law (Skogan, Van Craen, & Hennessy, 2015; Tyler & Wakslak, 2004).

Phenomenology: A research method that involves studying a small group of subjects through an extensive engagement while looking at patterns and relationships of meaning (Creswell, 2013; Merriam, 2009; Seidman, 2006; Van Manen, 1990).

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

Stop-and-frisk: Defined in the Supreme Court’s decision in *Terry v. Ohio* (1968) that authorized the police to “stop and frisk.” The Fourth Amendment requires police to have a reason to suspect that a crime has been, is being, or is about to be committed before confronting a suspect. If a police officer reasonably suspects that a person is armed and dangerous, they may quickly pat down of the person’s outer clothing; this action is known as a frisk. Some stop-and-searches can take place without reasonable suspicion. (Butler, 2014; Coviello, & Persico, 2015).

USA PATRIOT Act: A pivotal legislation passed by Congress after the terrorist attack on September 11, 2001. This public law gave law enforcement officials sweeping new powers that many researchers believe conflict with the civil liberties of all Americans. The acronym USA PATRIOT Act stands for The Uniting and Strengthening America by Providing Appropriate Tools Required to Intercept and Obstruct Terrorism Act (Chertoff, 2009; Ibbetson, 2007; Smith & Hung, 2010).

Assumptions

Creswell (2007) identified four key assumptions rooted in the tradition of research. They are ontological, epistemological, axiological, and methodological. I assumed that the responses from participants were truthful and provided evidence to support the statements they made involving law enforcement. I was able to recruit participants despite their concerns or fears about the subject matter. I assumed that the in-depth face-to-face semi-structured interviews were appropriate to explore the community's perception of homeland security policing in Chicago. The in-depth semistructured interview questions were worded and presented in a way that participants could accurately answer, and the responses were accurate, open, and honest reflections of their experiences. I assumed that layers of interactions between key components such as racial and cultural bias might be revealed. Such layers included risk factors as a result of negative experiences or encounters with police that are associated with negative outcomes that had an impact on individuals' perceptions of the police (see Pascoe, Smart, & Richman, 2009; Vanderbilt-Adriance & Shaw, 2008). I reduced personal bias as much as possible in order to not hinder the outcome of the study (see Merriam, 1998; Silverman, 2000) by utilizing a third-party data collector because possible participants may not have been willing to discuss their concerns or fears with law enforcement directly. Finally, I assumed that the results of the study will lead to positive social change because findings can be used to bridge the gap between law enforcement and their communities. My goal was to assist law enforcement and policymakers in learning about the detrimental effects of the shift in law enforcement. Furthermore, I aimed to provide new literature to the field to assist in stopping the senseless killing of unarmed African

American males by police officers and address the need for stronger policies against police brutality as well as effective training and oversight of police officers.

Scope and Delimitations

In this study, I sought to obtain the perceptions of the residents of a Chicago community regarding the change in policing policies as a response to the September 11, 2001, terrorist attacks. The terrorist attacks led to a shift in policy that has encouraged law enforcement to move from community policing to homeland security policing (Oliver, 2006; Schmalleger, & Worrall, 2010). While the terrorist attacks are embedded in Americans' minds, little is known about the public policies that were enacted to safeguard the United States, such as the PATRIOT Act or the Homeland Security Act. Further, little is known about the effects on community perceptions of this shift. Although the judicial system and the training of police officers may be viewed as part of the system, the relationships between the two should be accounted for as influences. However, those relationships are beyond the scope of this study. I limited the research to residents in three Chicago communities who have resided in that community for at least 15 years. This study encompassed both men and women of many races from Chicago. In this phenomenological study using Cooley's theory of the looking glass self as a framework, I explored the perceptions and lived experiences of residents to have a better understanding of the unintended consequences of the shift on their daily lives.

Limitations

There were several limitations to the study. Access to the participants was limited due to their fear of law enforcement, socioeconomic factors, and fear associated with discussing law enforcement and retaliation. Maxwell (2008) outlined that interview

questions and observational strategies should concentrate on a specific subject. The research questions should appeal to people with various cultural backgrounds. Another limitation to this study was social desirability bias. I considered social desirability bias since participants may have wanted to over report the prestige of their identity and participation, believing that was required or needed for participation (Brenner et al., 2013). The findings from the study may be generalized to specific populations, such as all African Americans, Hispanics, or Caucasians with different economic statuses, and age groups of similar populations in various cities who have experienced a spike in protests as a result of police shootings.

Significance

This study is significant in that it provides findings that mark gaps in law enforcement services to the local community for urban populations and identify preconceived ideas about the perceptions of members within the community about local law enforcement. My goal was to understand that the militarization of the local law enforcement has dire implications for civil liberties and the service that the community receives. Throughout the history of law enforcement and the militarization of police forces, there has been a disconnect between what the community needs and what their police force's policy, intent, and governance believes is best for the ones they serve.

Within a few hours of the terrorist attacks on September 11, 2001, President George W. Bush declared the "War on Terror" (O'Connell, 2005; Kellner, 2007). The declaration of war has resulted in a culture in which it has become acceptable for law enforcement to treat members of their communities as the enemy and demand specialized weapons to contain and eradicate the enemy. Deer (2016) concluded that the acceptance

of violence and war reveals and conceals, producing a surge in violent imagery and rhetoric that “enforces a sense of commonality while simultaneously silencing, compartmentalizing, and excluding dissenting perspectives” (p. 56).

Summary

In this study, I explored a Chicago community’s perception of the shift from a community policing era to a homeland security policing era. Because of the terrorist attacks of September 11, communities have seen a shift in policing practices, and the introduction of the PATRIOT Act has had a detrimental effect on their lives. Smith and Hung (2010) and Woods and Youngs (2004) noted that the PATRIOT Act, in redirecting the national focus of security in the name of protecting the homeland, inhibited individual rights and private freedoms. The PATRIOT Act is viewed as a law that allows the government to discriminate against people and their behaviors under pretense of the need to protect the homeland from another terrorist attack (Leone & Anrig, 2003; Marovitz, 2008). However, the new laws have had a detrimental effect on policing within the communities (Ortiz, Hendricks, & Sugie, 2007). Communities also witnessed an acceleration of the militarization of their local police departments (Meeks, 2006; Williams, 2003). Balko (2014) noted there was an abundance of funding and equipment to local police departments as a result of the establishment of homeland security. The threat of another attack on the homeland, the need for police agencies to bulk up their arsenals, and the purported need for smaller towns to begin to arm and to protect themselves were used as the rationale for the militarization. Because of this shift from community policing to homeland security policing, the imagery of police officers being equipment-like soldiers is becoming the norm rather than the exception.

Chapter 2: Literature Review

Introduction

The problem I explored was the shift in policy that has encouraged law enforcement to move from community policing to homeland security policing as a response to the terrorist attacks that occurred on September 11, 2001 (Oliver, 2006; Schmalleger, & Worrall, 2010). In addition, I aimed to understand the shift and the influence the shift has had on the perceptions of the residents of communities in Chicago. In this chapter, I review the literature pertaining to the shift from community policing to homeland security policing. This study evolved from extensive reviews of literature on the terrorist attack on September 11, 2001, the development of homeland security, the shift in policing styles, and the people's perceptions regarding these changes.

Americans understood the need for the change in policing after the terrorist attacks on September 11 and embraced the tough stance and militaristic change of the police force and the changes in security (Ortiz, Hendricks, & Sugie, 2007). The change from community policing to homeland security policing, the use of military grade equipment, and the tools of the USA PATRIOT Act changed the dynamics of policing in U.S. communities. This shift in policy forced law enforcement from the community policing era to a homeland security era of policing (Oliver, 2006). A major section of this chapter also focuses on the documented loss of civil liberties resulting from the shift in policing models. In addition, I describe a variety of systemic legal issues resulting from multiple policy changes in law enforcement.

Literature Search Strategy

I searched for peer-reviewed articles using online academic databases. Researchers have conducted numerous studies on policing after September 11 including: the change in policing philosophy, uniforms, and tactics; and the collaboration of police entities to thwart terrorism in America. Using Google Scholar and ProQuest, I searched for key subject terms such as *police* and *homeland security* with relevant content topic terms (and relevant variations) such as *police paradigm shift*, *Chicago Police Department*, *militarization of police*, *effects of 9/11*, and *homeland security policing*. I reviewed articles from a wide range of disciplines such as criminal justice, homeland security, psychology, sociology, and criminology.

Theoretical Foundation

Cooley's Looking Glass Self

Cooley, a pioneer in sociological thought relating to the intersection between self and culture, developed the theory of the looking glass self in 1902. The basic tenets of the theory hold that the looking glass self is a manner in which the meaning of one's self-concept is developed by looking through the eyes of others. In doing so, individuals imagine themselves as others must see them, and this construction of what others must see is like an image reflected back from a mirror (Schaffer, 2005). Cooley focused on the cultural self of a person learning to understand the cultural world in which they live. Cooley held that three elements comprise the cultural self or "me." These elements are we imagine how we must appear to others, we imagine their judgement of what they see, and then we develop our self through the judgment of others. Jackson, Skirrow and Hare

(2012) noted that the “me” concept constitutes the summation of every quality or factor a person defines themselves by, including material, social, and spiritual characteristics.

In addition, Cooley (1902) argued that just as we view ourselves in a mirror to discover how we are presenting ourselves to the public, we also see ourselves through the eyes of other people. The author further explained that an “individual and society do not exist separately, but rather that one is the product of the other” (p. 184). Rochat (2003) furthered explained that as we discover ourselves in the mirror, we also begin to comprehend how others perceive us.

In order to see the connection of the looking glass self and the community, one needs to understand how citizens process their interactions with the police. Pickett (2016), Chow (2012), Hurst and Frank (2000), Johnson and Kuhns (2009), and Weitzer (2002) argued that the attitudes and perceptions of community members regarding the police are motivated by a collection of factors that include class, age, race, education, and prior personal experiences with the police. The authors suggested that a citizen’s encounters with the police, whether negative or positive, have a direct correlation with how they react and feel. Schuck and Rosenbaum (2005) indicated that understanding the nature of the community’s perception about the police can be the key piece in strengthening police-community relations, being able to join with the community and solve issues, and obtaining the community’s assistance in crime prevention initiatives.

The main weakness of the looking glass self is the possibility of a person being successful and a good citizen despite negative attitudes and perceptions displayed toward them. Cooley’s theory, when applied to the study problem, suggests that if one identifies him or herself as a criminal, that individual will behave in ways that allow others to

identify them as a criminal, such as possession of a firearm. The perception of being a criminal and the behavior associated with being a criminal is then reflected back to the individual, reinforcing the perceived identity of a criminal.

Mead (1934), building upon Cooley's (1902) theory, characterized the idea of "me." Individuals automatically take on the stance of other members in a group, thereby situating the "I" within a social context along with the objective self. If there was only a "me" component of self, we would lose our spontaneity and individual identity, and only be and see what society wanted from us. Damon and Hart (1988) reinforced the theory by stating, "The fact that no person's behavior is absolutely robotic is a reflection of the activity of the 'I'" (p. 131). Therefore, Mead proposed that the "I" is a person's freedom to act in a manner befitting to them. Although a person's ability to act in a manner that reflects them is positive and people can examine themselves in a mirror to see their appearance, one can also see how others view them through the eyes of other people via social media. Coudert, Butin, and Le Métayer (2015) and Young and Ready (2015) discovered that there has been an increase of people across the United States who have recorded and posted videos of their encounters with police. With the increased exposure to social media, people can interact and become someone either synonymous or autonomous to their actual self-identity in a world of cultural anonymity. However, although their self-identity is anonymous, their encounter with the police is the same.

Rosenbaum et al. (2005) and Weitzer and Tuch (2005) documented that on any given day, hour or minute, someone is posting on social media about their interactions with the police. Dowler (2002) and Weitzer (2002) focused on how the news media shapes individuals' perceptions of the police. This may include popular television

programs such as *The Shield* or *The Wire* (Eschholz, Blackwell, Gerts, & Chiricos, 2002; Surette, 2014). Other researchers, such as White, Mulvey, and Dario (2016), observed that residents expressed that they experienced a positive perception of police officers' interactions even during unpleasant circumstances such as being arrested. Citizens perceive officers' interactions as positive if the citizens feel that the police officers are fair. Rosenbaum, Schuck, Costello, Hawkins, and Ring (2005) argued that the most common mechanism from which attitudes and perceptions of police are derived are direct individual experiences with the police. The authors suggested that those who had experienced negative encounters with the police have negative perceptions of the police.

Weitzer and Tuch (2005) confirmed that citizens have a propensity to emphasize how the police treat them through what they do, what they say, and how their infraction is presented, rather than the final outcome of those interactions. However, the researcher further highlighted that race is the most common predictor of attitudes toward the police. Dhont, Cornelis, and Hiel (2010) are just a few of the researchers who have suggested that a citizen's satisfaction with engaging with a police officer begins with understanding that police officers are under the direct guidance of procedural justice principles (Lilley & Hinduja, 2007; Murphy, 2009; Wells, 2007). Shapiro and Kirkman's (2001) model of expectations holds that expectations directly influence procedural justice perceptions, which, in turn, influence outcomes (e.g., commitment, satisfaction). Brockner, Ackerman, and Fairchild (2001a) suggested that expectations play a moderating role in the relationship between procedural justice perceptions and outcomes. Thibaut and Walker (1975) defined procedural justice as the processes that are used to determine the outcomes. Procedural justice is the focal point of the "way police and other legal

authorities interact with the public, and how the characteristics of those interactions shape the public's views of the police and their willingness to obey the law" (p. 1274). The authors argued that police treating citizens with fairness brings out their shared sense of purpose and being a part of the community, thereby encouraging a sense of belonging and homage to group norms and values. If procedural justice is not valued, then communities may feel isolated and become less willing to participate in the solution. As a result of not seeing the value in procedural justice, residents become marginalized and alienated from their community.

Literature Review Related to Key Concepts

Historical Perspective

Lipset (1959), Gasiorowski (1995), and Przeworski and Limongi (1997) argued that the economic and political power embedded in a city is developed by systems that are in place to ensure order. Lucas (2015) pointed out that those systems "determine identities like race and gender are not merely a collection of individual traits, but the product of structural forces that create and maintain subordination" (p. 1605). In the literature review, I identified the restructuring of American policing procedures since the September 11 attacks (DeLone, 2007; Omer, 2007; Rees, 2006; Stuntz, 2002; Tenet, 2007) and focused on if and how state and local law enforcement agencies experienced organizational change since 9/11.

Borum, Deane, Steadman, and Morrissey (1998) argued that this change was a major shift from a community-oriented model to placing greater focus on operational and maintaining order. During the past few decades, Americans have witnessed a shift to

reactive responses. They have moved away from a proactive approach in the prevention of crimes through community policing (Chappel & O'Brien, 2014).

Mackenzie and Henry (2009) also noted a shift, emphasizing attributes such as the decentralization of responsibility in policing organizations, increased partnerships with other agencies to leverage more support to meet increasing demands from the community, community engagement, proactive problem solving, and a shift in philosophy. They further concluded that community policing involves a “changed understanding of ‘real’ police work that sees officers as ‘peace officers’ embedded in networks in their communities rather than simply, or only, reactive law enforcers” (p. 4).

DeLone (2007) found that the 50 largest police departments in the United States have changed their mission statements regarding enforcing homeland security. This further indicates that many law enforcement agencies continue to exhibit some confusion regarding their role when dealing with terrorism. Tyler (2001) and Arthur and Care (1994) established that although there is a community expectation for fair-mindedness in law enforcement, statistical data has proven that nothing has changed. Data showed that different racial groups have characteristic encounters with police (Banton, 1964; Brown & Benedict, 2002; Browning, Cullen, Cao, Kopache, & Stevenson, 1994; Brunson & Miller, 2006; Dunham & Alpert, 1988; Eitle, D'Alessio, & Stolzenberg, 2002; Fagan & Davies, 2000; Geller & Toch, 1996; Georges-Abeyie, 2001; Greene, 2000; Jones-Brown, 2000; Skolnick & Fyfe, 1993). For instance, Fagan and Davies (2000) identified patterns of stop and frisk were usually conducted in neighborhoods with a large minority racial composition and increased poverty levels. Police attitudinal studies have shown that

Blacks have a higher level of distrust of police and are equally dissatisfied with police response in their communities (Barlow & Barlow, 2002; Bordua & Tifft, 1971; Hagan & Albonetti, 1982; Hagan, Shedd, & Payne, 2005; Sampson & Jeglum-Bartusch, 1998; Stewart, Baumer, Brunson, & Simons, 2009; Webb & Marshall, 1995; Weitzer, 1999, 2000, 2002; Weitzer & Tuch, 2002). However, if relationships develop with the community and the police can support each other's needs, the continued interaction can enhance the police officers' abilities to effectively preserve order and prevent crime.

SWAT—The Police Respond

Before the declaration of the “War on Drugs”, the Los Angeles Police Department (LAPD) introduced the strategies, organization, and tactics of the military (Singh, 2000). The traditional policing method of deterrence by having a police presence was determined to be insufficient after several incidents that involved snipers and a barricaded suspect. LAPD Chief Darryl Gates established the Special Weapons Attack Team. The name was changed to Special Weapons and Tactics (SWAT) in the LAPD (Murch, 2015, Mahadevan, 2012; Phillips & Dantzker, 2005; Singh, 2000).

Chief Gates and several other supervisors developed SWAT teams by studying guerrilla warfare tactics and counterinsurgency operations from U.S. Marines. The goal of SWAT teams was to develop specially selected trained officers into anti-sniper military styled teams (Singh, 2005). Singh (2005) suggested that the typical reaction to this restructuring was the comment that “the LAPD is supposed to be a civil police force...their job is to relate to the community, not put on combat boots and helmets and assault the community” (p. 677). Gates ignored the criticism and felt SWAT teams were needed to become the face of the changing ideology of law enforcement. In 1967, SWAT

teams were developed as a response to the Watts Riot and to the Southern California Black Panther Office (Cannon, 1997). SWAT teams were originally used for hostage situations and other situations that could potentially endanger the lives of police officers (Dansky, Bunting, Solon, & Bohm, 2014; Williams, 2003). Eick (2016) outlined that modern SWAT teams are more likely to be used for situations outside of their original scope, equipped with military grade weaponry. The focus of SWAT teams has shifted from high level hostage situations to tasks that can be handled by local law enforcement, including serving all warrants and drug raids on suspected dealers.

Power and Race

Fyfe (1988), Friedrich (1980), Paternoster, Bachman, Brame, and Sherman (1997), Skogan (2006), Tyler and Bies (1990), and Tyler (2003) recorded that police officers engaging in contemptuous and aggressive behavior negatively impacts the citizens' perceptions of the police. Citizens' confidence and faith in the police deteriorates and they no longer accept their authority and directions. In relation to Cooley's looking glass theory, the image that is seen is negative. Community members perceive themselves as being undervalued and begin to distance themselves from the group.

Sunshine and Tyler (2003) defined police legitimacy as "a property of an authority or institution that leads people to feel that their authority or institution is entitled to be deferred to and obeyed" (p. 514). Tyler (1990, 2001a) and De Cremer, Tyler, and Den Ouden, (2005) correlated individuals willing to comply with police directives with those who perceive the police to be more legitimate. A greater willingness to comply results in more motive-based trust, which allows people to believe that the police have

legitimate motives and care about their community. Tyler and Huo (2002) validated that motive-based trust between the community members and the police fosters the relationship between them and makes community members more willing to provide information. In contrast, when individuals view the police as illegitimate, the relationship between both groups can become adversarial, if not fragmented. A disconnect can also emerge between the police and the community, which may make policing difficult.

Bradford, Murphy, and Jackson (2014) confirmed that there is a positive change in a community's perception of their local police force when they believe they are treated with respect and police officers are vested in their community. A police officer's treatment of residents determines how they are perceived and valued by residents and their status in their organization, further fortifying Cooley's theory. Cooley further explained that, in these cases, one's "image in the looking glass" is a positive one, generating feelings of pride and self-value that encourages them to identify with the group, legitimize its structures of authority, comply with its rules, and cooperate within and on its behalf" (p. 3). Ferrell (2001) dissected the effect of this power, which divides sections of a community into the haves and have-nots in regard to the acquiescence of services and accommodations they are subjected to. Milner, George, and Allison (2016) and other researchers such as Gabrielson, Grochowski, and Sagara (2014) have documented that "black males are 21 times more likely than their white counterparts to be shot and killed at the hands of police at a rate of 31.17 deaths per million as compared to 1.47 deaths per million for white males" (p. 2). In the United States, there is a greater incidence of a negative police-citizen encounters involving African Americans than any other members of other ethnic groups (Browning et al., 1994; Brunson, 2007; Fagan &

Davies, 2000; Hurst, Frank, & Browning, 2000; Weitzer, 1999). They also experience greater surveillance and unwarranted detention.

Several researchers (Blader & Tyler, 2003; Brunson, 2007; Feagin & Jones-Brown, 2000b; Hinds & Murphy, 2007; Murty, Roebuck, & Smith, 1990; Rosenbaum et al., 2005; Scaglione & Condon, 1980; Sikes, 1994; Weitzer & Tuch, 2002) identified citizens' perceptions of the police and their contentment on how well they are performing the functions of the job. Other researchers (Brunson, 2007; Gao & Brunson, 2010; Hawdon, Ryan, & Griffin, 2003; Jesilow, Meyer, & Namazzi, 1995; Weitzer, 2002) have also assessed the impact of the police's direct or indirect encounters with residents; both citizen-initiated and police-initiated encounters have been studied by researchers.

Carl von Clausewitz (1940) defined war as "an act of violence intended to compel our opponent to fulfill our will" (p. 101-109). Miranda (1998) determined that drugs are inanimate objects and cannot be ordered to stop; therefore, the "war" on drugs became a war on society. The next section outlines the attempts of each presidential administration to address a war based on protecting the homeland, who became the enemy, and who lost the war.

The War on Drugs

"We have been fighting the war on drugs, but now it seems to me the attack is on the Constitution of the United States."

~Peter J. Rodino, Chairman, House Judiciary Committee

Nixon era: 1969 – 1974. In 1971, President Nixon initiated a "War on Drugs" that emphasized fortifying law enforcement to reduce the use, sale, and availability of drugs, and the prevention and treatment of drug addiction (Musto, 1999). Nixon's policy on the war on drugs was focused on the people's demand for the drug; as a result,

Nixon's administration increased treatment centers for heroin addictions (Courtwright, 2004; Musto, 1999;). Goldberg (1980) reported that the ratio of treatment, rehabilitation, and law enforcement spending increased from 0.78 in 1970 to 1.56 in 1972 and 1.75 in 1973. The Nixon administration's emphasis on funding caused the treatment of heroin with methadone to be viewed as innovative since it was the first time treatment involved relieving the craving of the drug (Sharp, 1992).

President Nixon also condoned the infiltration on the civil liberties of America's poorest socioeconomic groups (Bewley-Taylor, 2006; Kennedy, 2009; Nunn, 2002). The war on drugs resulted in racial injustices and disparities that the United States cannot deny or erase (Boyd, 2002; Lipp, 2003; O'Hear, 2009). Sirin (2011) pointed out that low-level nonviolent offenders, who were more likely to be a minority, received more severe punishments than major drug dealers that distributed and manufactured drugs. Highly punitive and selectively enforced punishments were targeted at minority low-level drug users. Cook and Hudson (1993), Hawkins (1995), and Tonry (1997) argued that the war on minorities and immigrants is a result of news stories and reports from law enforcement, which made minorities and immigrants the face of America's drug problem. Thus, the war on drugs became the war on minorities and immigrants (Provine, 2007; Staudt et al., 2009).

Johnson and Wanta (1996) studied Nixon's use of the media to both publicize the government's efforts and influence the public perception of the war on drugs. Shoemaker, Wanta, and Leggett (1987) discovered that the more the media focused on the war on drugs, the more the public began to support the war; media focus resulted in the war becoming a personal issue as it moved into neighborhoods other than Black dominated

communities. Johnson and Wanta explained how Nixon's use of the media helped his administration to garner support for the nation's drug problem. By manipulating the media, the Nixon administration intimidated the public and provided them with insight into the nation's drug problem.

Staples (1973) argued that many policies have brought about "significant changes in the marital and family patterns of many Americans. Some of these changes have also occurred among minorities and have implications for public policy developed to help the minority Americans" (p. 378). Kraft and Furlong (2007) argued that with any public policy designed to help people there is bound to be collateral damage that can affect a particular population. Morçöl (2012) and Wilson (2012) agreed that public policies have unintended consequences for people. However, Gabbidon (2010) pointed out that selective enforcement of the law leads to assigning a group as the scapegoat for the problem (i.e., "the crime problem" is translated into the "minority crime problem").

Vance (2011) explained that while the intent of the war on drugs was to rid America of illicit substances by cracking down on the spread, sale, and distribution of drugs, ultimately there was an exponential number of minorities imprisoned. The enforced minimum sentencing laws resulted in the temporary or permanent disenfranchisement of these minority detainees from their families and communities (Boyd, 2002; Clear, 2007; Fitch, 2017; Glasser, 1999; Steiner, & Argothy, 2000). According to Glasser (1999), "the drug war hysteria has become an engine for the restoration of Jim Crow justice in America" (p. 707). This has become a common reality in minority communities: broken families, and inexorable socioeconomic inequalities (Boyd, 2001; Carpenter, 2012; Garrison, 2011; Small, 2001). Researchers (Greer, 2016;

Nunn, 2002; Sirin, 2011) have concluded that the war on drugs has “contributed to a vicious cycle of poverty and crime, which has partly dampened the achievements of the civil rights movement and largely undermined the essence of egalitarian democracy” (Sirin, 2011, p. 1).

Nixon enacted several policies that negatively affected police relations with the community, particularly in African American communities (Cooper, 2015). Tonry and Melewski (2008) and Chin (2002) supported the notion that racial disparities increased during the 1960s and skyrocketed as a result of the war on drugs until the 1980s. Tonry and Melewski (2008) further acknowledged that Blacks were half of American prisoners, despite comprising only “12 percent of the U.S. population, and had an imprisonment rate seven times higher than the white rate” (p. 7). Aviram, Bragg, and Lewis, (2017) noted that the drug offender cases that have seen the largest increase of felony convictions are those against people who are disproportionately Black. To further reinforce the racial disparities, according to the U.S. Census Bureau’s Survey of Income, Poverty, and Health Insurance Coverage in the United States, the median annual income in 1975 was \$39,463 for Whites and \$23,691 for Blacks. Twenty years later it was \$45,496 for Whites, \$28,485 for Blacks, and \$29,079 for Hispanics. Killewald (2013), Conley (2001), Hunt (2007) effectively compared White income to Black income, and the results demonstrate how this disparity has kept Black Americans “in their place” (Conley, 2001 pg. 44). The disparity of incomes furthers supports Sennott and Galliher’s (2006) premise that another means to control Blacks, if only temporarily, is by sending them to prison. Chavis (June 2011) summed up the effect of Nixon’s war on drugs as the “prolonged social disillusionment and self-destructive consequence of the petulant mire of decades of

poverty for millions of Americans actually sets the stage for the persistence of drug abuse, violence, and hopelessness.” (pg. 1). Bickel (1970) wrote,

An administration can take measures that millions of people disagree with, and govern effectively. Policy can do little about people who have given up on the system and want no part of it, and must govern despite them. But it cannot ignore the sense of exclusion of 20 million blacks and still govern successfully. (p. 19)

Butler (2010) and Bickel’s quote only draw a picture of the destruction of the war on drugs. The effects of the war on drugs become more evident when we examine the significance of Nixon’s policy on drugs.

Impact of the war on drugs. As a result of the declaration of the war on drugs by President Nixon, the escalation of the war by President Reagan, and the war on terror by President George W. Bush, there has been a progressive shift in the mission of the local police force from maintaining law and order to destroying the enemy (Balko, 2013; Hall-Blanco & Coyne, 2013). Lenox (2011) clarified that over the past 40 years, the war on drugs has caused “momentous transformations in crime policy, magnifying racial disparities in incarceration and amplifying the prison population” (p. 283). Travis, Western, and Redburn (2014) observed that there was a shift in every layer of the criminal justice system beginning in 1970. After the war on drugs, there was a 2,461% increase in arrests for marijuana possession offenses in New York alone and a national increase of 41% in drug arrests from 1990 to 2002 (King & Mauer, 2006, p. 3). People received increased prison time for minor offenses; harsh sentencing laws such as mandatory minimums keep many people convicted of drug offenses in prison for longer periods of time. For example, according to the Sentencing Project Trends in Corrections

(2017), people served an average of 22 months for a federal drug offense in 1986. By 2004, someone convicted of a drug offense was expected to serve 62 months, a threefold increase since 1986.

The war on drugs, like any war, has had collateral damages. The war on drugs affected women in a cumulative way. Women were punished by the criminal justice system for violating drug laws then subsequently punished again by welfare reform laws that denied them welfare benefits as a result of their drug convictions (Reynolds, 2004). Mandatory minimum sentences resulted in more women being imprisoned for longer periods of time for non-criminal violations of their parole such as failing to report to work, school, or to their treatment program, or testing positive for drugs (Chesney-Lind, 2002).

The argument to fight the interdiction of drugs rather than concentrate on the treatment of drugs was further supported when the focus became on an unborn innocent fetus (Shepard & Blackley, 2004). It was amenable to demonize prisoners with limited treatment options (Gustavsson & MacEachron, 1997). Ferguson (2016) stated that these consequences signify additional penalties resulting from an arrest, prosecution, or conviction, which are independent of the criminal sentence imposed. Moreover, the impact of the significance of these sanctions ultimately became a driving force in disenfranchising the family. Wheelock (2005) explained that while legislation compels “collateral consequences” for felony drug convictions, it does not explicitly discriminate against women. However, these laws reflect sex-based institutional biases and are therefore unequal in effect. Hartney (2006) stated the United States incarcerates more women than any other nation in the world. In September 2017, the World Female

Imprisonment List reported that the United States still has the highest number of females in prison.

In 2008, the Reducing Racial Disparity in the Criminal Justice System Sentencing Project reported that there was a 300% increase in the number of individuals incarcerated from 1980 to 2000 as a result of former President Reagan's war on drugs. The war on drugs came hand in hand with being tough on crime. California's Three Strikes Sentencing Law (Zimring, Hawkins, & Kamin, 2001) and New York's Rockefeller Drug Laws (Drucker, 2002) are two of the major laws that are responsible for the growth in incarceration rates due to drug offenses. The combination of both laws, along with the increasingly strict sentences, effectively increased the incarceration rate in America (Patten, 2016). Herring (2014) theorized that the goal of law enforcement was to weaken and oppress offenders. The use of drugs was seen as a problem that needed a robust response. Miranda (1998) pointed out that the war on drugs also came as a welcome opportunity for those involved in law enforcement who had long harbored a desire to disregard the Bill of Rights. Anti-drug operations are consistently linked with the de facto suspension of the fourth, fifth, sixth, seventh, and eighth amendments of the constitution.

Carter era: 1977 – 1981. After the resignation of Nixon, the war on drugs took a back seat. Neither Presidents Ford nor Carter believed that drug policies could eliminate drug crimes and, as a result, placed less emphasis on the war on drugs (Beckett, 1997; Musto, 1999). President Carter's administration focused more on refining policies enacted by his predecessors. During his administration, Carter spent more time responding to the media's questions on his plans for drug crimes than actually incorporating any substantial or noteworthy legislation (Johnson, 2004; Sharp, 1992).

Carter reassessed, reviewed, amended, and reauthorized Nixon's policies, programs, laws, and treatment programs, but enacted few new policies. Carter's administration chose to assess the therapeutic uses of heroin and marijuana and advocated for the decriminalization of marijuana (Trebach, 1982). His proposal to decriminalize marijuana was strongly opposed, especially by the Administrator of the Drug Enforcement Administration. The final blow to the marijuana decriminalization campaign occurred when the main contributor and author of the proposal was involved in a scandal that later caused his resignation (Musto, 1999).

Reagan era: 1981 – 1989. Ronald Reagan was elected during a time of intolerance toward drugs, and his policies reflected that intolerance (Musto, 1999). The Reagan administration's policies included increased interdiction efforts along the borders and extending law enforcement's jurisdiction into foreign countries to reduce the supply and demand of illegal drugs (Bagley, 1988; Carnevale & Murphy, 1999; Pallone & Hennessy, 2003). In 1981, there was a change to Title 10 Armed Forces of the U.S. Code, titled the Military Cooperation with Civilian Law Enforcement Agencies Act (Public Law 97-86), which provided the military with the authority to support federal law enforcement agencies which increased the military's involvement with the war on drugs (Abbott, 1988).

After President Reagan's declaration of "war on drugs and tough on crime" in 1982, the budget for the eradication and control of drugs was increased to \$4.3 billion annually in 1988 (Bagley, 1988). Travis, Western, and Redburn (2014) pointed out that Reagan's declaration of war on drugs was made even though there was a decline in illicit drugs since 1979. In an effort to explain the shortcomings of Reagan's predecessors,

Stuart (2011) suggested that the previous administrations did not view the war on drugs as a major societal issue that needed immediate attention. For example, President Ford used the term “war on drugs” only during three occasions during his entire presidency. One occasion was his remarks at the Annual Conference of the International Association of Chiefs of Police in Miami Beach, Florida (Sept. 27, 1976); another was during his statement on drug abuse on February 23, 1976 (Ford, 1976). President Ford’s anti-drug policies concentrated on reducing the demand for drugs through treatment centers and methadone clinics. His policies also focused on eliminating the source of the drugs from Thailand, Burma, and Mexico (Weimer, 2011).

President Reagan escalated the war on drugs by increasing funding to federal agencies and law enforcement. Under Reagan’s administration, there was a two-thirds increase in federal funding for the anti-drug efforts in areas such as intelligence and interdiction (Easton, 2002). The allocation of funds from the federal budget dedicated to combating international drug trafficking was substantial, with over \$60.2 million allocated in 1986 and another \$118.5 million in 1987 (Abbott, 1988). Rosenberger (1996) reported that

The average annual amount of funding for eradication and interdiction programs increased from an annual average of \$437 million during Carter’s presidency to \$1.4 billion during Reagan’s first term. The funding for programs of education, prevention, and rehabilitation were cut from an annual average of \$386 million to \$362 million. (p. 26)

In 1986, President Reagan signed National Security Decision Directive 221 on narcotics and national security “to direct specific actions to increase the effectiveness of

U.S. counter-narcotics efforts to enhance our national security” (House, 1986, p. 1). This directive expanded the role of the military and federal intelligence in the war on drugs. As a result of the war on drugs and Reagan’s efforts to increase national security, the military was sought to supplement law enforcement. An amendment to the Posse Comitatus Act was made as part of the DOD Authorization Act of 1982 in an effort to obtain military assistance in domestic affairs (Public Law 97-86). This amendment codified the military and civilian law enforcement’s relationship, specifically authorizing the military to share intelligence, training, expert advice, and assistance in using and maintaining military equipment (Bryant, 1990).

The Posse Comitatus Act of 1878 was enacted in response to the Army’s occupation in citizen’s homes during Reconstruction. The Posse Comitatus Act prohibited the use of the Army in civilian law enforcement (Hammond, 1997). Wyrick (2013) stated that up until the time the act was enacted, there was an open policy that allowed the military to go into a town, take over someone’s property, and declare martial law, effectively suspending the civil and constitutional law of an area for what was usually an indefinite amount of time. The sole purpose of the Posse Comitatus Act was to “end the use of federal troops to police state elections in former confederate states” (Doyle, 2000, p. 243). Bolduc (2016) confirmed this, stating, “when the military may assist police until it reaches the far outer limit of active intervention (e.g. actively engaging common criminals while acting as law enforcement), the Posse Comitatus Act is inherently crippled” (p. 278).

In January 1986, Department of Defense Directives (DoDDs) for homeland security (DoDD 5525.5) Cooperation with Civilian Law Enforcement Officials was

amended, requiring the Secretary of Defense to provide an annual technical support briefing for local law enforcement personnel in each state on equipment and facilities available to civilian law enforcement. This section also required the DOD to provide law enforcement officials with a comprehensive list of all suitable military equipment available (Bryant, 1990). It created a shift in the stance of law enforcement that can be seen by both Democratic and Republican candidates for president. Both parties had a similar stance on law and order. As governor of Arkansas, Bill Clinton supported the three strikes provision. Austin (1994) stated that the three strikes provision was a sentencing procedure which made it mandatory for second and third-time felons to be sentenced for a period of 25 years to life. Although these laws have arguably been effective means of ridding the streets of seemingly habitual criminals, three strikes laws have also contributed to a skyrocketing prison population (Shinbein, 1996).

Young (2000) argued that one of the consequences of the war on drugs was that it became a war on drug users, with an emphasis not on the development of appropriate rehabilitative models but instead on prevention, prohibition, and punishment of the community and its members. During the Clinton administration, in 1996, Congress specifically amended the Posse Comitatus Act to provide procedures for local law enforcement agencies to be able to purchase “law enforcement equipment suitable for counter-drug activities” through the National Defense Authorization Act for Fiscal Year 1997 (Public Law 104-201). This equipment (flash-bang grenades, assault rifles, armored personnel carriers, etc.), which was intended to protect America’s freedom, is now being used against residents during riots and other local demonstrations across the country (Doyle, 2000; Hall & Coyne, 2013; Rahall, 2015). The war on drugs and crime did not

result in a win for anyone. Gray (2010) argued that the war on drugs failed to meet its intended goal of reducing the street-level drug activity by reducing the supply and demand for the drugs by both Nixon and Reagan. The war on terror empowered Congress to grant the secretary of defense the authority to provide any type of military personnel and equipment available to local law enforcement after the terrorist attacks on September 11 (Tussing, 2008). According to Bolduc (2016), the United States' gradual shift towards militarized police occurred after the stifling of the Posse Comitatus Act in the face of the developing war on drugs and the war on terror. The accumulation of several laws, along with other security threats against the United States, has lead society to accept a more militarized police force (Deer, 2016; Hall & Coyne, 2013; Hansford, 2015; Kraska, 2007).

Impact on minority communities. The Civil Rights Movement of the 1960s and the equality laws created therein resulted in an opening for positive Black-White relations; however, hopes for improved relations quickly faded. Many of same bureaucrats who had enforced segregation were now enforcing civil rights laws. Instead of ensuring equality, these bureaucrats established new barriers to equality. Richard Nixon called for law and order in order to capitalize on southern White resentment of Black equality. Ronald Reagan's 1976 campaign cultivated White resentment of Blacks by adding a "Welfare Queens" narrative to the law and order discourse. These tactics paved the way for Reagan's declaration of the war on drugs in 1982 (Cooper, 2013).

The social and cultural consequences of the war on drugs have been widespread, especially with the recent design of homeland security policies that have threatened the civil liberties of all Americans. Nunn (2002) argued that the targeting of the African-

American community by law enforcement agencies has produced enormously harmful, but entirely predictable, results. Police were considered enforcers of segregation policies that touched every aspect of Black lives, reinforcing the racial hierarchy. The war on drugs has been deemed a policy failure; however, Congress increased their funding and resources were allocated to this war. The war hasn't ended despite the continued availability of drugs. The war on drugs was viewed as a politically impervious strategy to win the public's support; the message that drugs were hurting our society and had to be eliminated was thought to resonate with the public (Blumenson & Nilsen, 1998). Blumenson and Nilsen (1998) further theorized that the strategy of the declaration of the war on drugs was a conquest, especially to law enforcement entities that were rewarded with large block grants. These block grants were specific for drug enforcement and funded through assets that were seized from drug related cases such as cars, homes, and money.

As a consequence of the war on drugs, large numbers of African American males have been imprisoned and virtually erased from their communities (Boyd, 2002; Cooper 2002; Roberts, 2003). Alexander (2012) asserted that the war on drugs forced Black men into a cycle of incarceration and recidivism. The author argued that the prison system became financially dependent on these inmates. Crutchfield (2015), Bass (2001), Massey and Denton (1993), and Skolnick and Fyfe (1993) argued that this trend became particularly problematic, preventing police from building relationships and making connections within the community they serve, as well as potentially imparting the idea of certain citizens as enemies to the American people. King (2013) described the entangled relationship between the police and the community as "state control" and "White

supremacy” as the subsistence to feed the “cycle of poverty, racism, disempowerment and violence” (p. 535).

The mass incarceration of African American males has created many cultural and social problems for the communities in which they live. These issues include the loss of male role models, fathers, husbands, earnings, wealth, and membership within African American organizations, as well as educational and social development, which have been proven to significantly reduce the spread of HIV/AIDS (Nunn, 2002; Powell & Hershenov, 1990). Constantine, Wallace, and Kindaichi, (2005) affirmed that the war on drugs was a destructive and hefty social injustice to Blacks, their families and communities. The author suggested that Blacks were sentenced to longer prisons terms for minor offenses that dissolved their relationships. Proportionately, Black men were isolated, stigmatized, and marginalized economically and socially. They became and continue to be disadvantaged members of society. These destroyed opportunities have been referred to as invisible punishments and were a result of failed public policies that were organized and designed to keep them disenfranchised by preserving them in captivity and keeping them from becoming productive members of society. Wallace (2012) and Iguchi et al. (2002) found that those who are released from prisons are still afflicted by limited access to employment opportunities, possess very little education or skills, and struggle to obtain health care and housing. As a result of their felony conviction, they are deprived of their right to vote, further isolating them from society.

Singh (2000) argued that there has been an increase in abuses of power, indicative of a new trend of heavy-handedness used by law enforcement in their communities. Singh further indicated that law enforcement is relying heavily on paramilitarism as

police policy. Sonnenreich and Ebner (2012) pointed out that the implementation of the no-knock raids were a response to the war on drugs. Sonnenreich and Ebner examined the Controlled Dangerous Substances Act and its no-knock provision, Section 702(b), which was reintroduced by the Nixon administration as a “realistic compromise between those who favor the common-law exception in its totality and those who insist that such authority is an unconstitutional invasion of privacy” (p. 627). Unfortunately, there has been a lack of oversight by police departments on their use of force. The researchers argued that although these tactics existed prior to the war on drugs, these specialized units often targeted African Americans disproportionately to other ethnicities.

This new development of police activities has led to deadly outcomes for the community and negative community perceptions of police militarization (Ross, 2015). Nunn (2002) pointed out that the “police expend greater resources and time looking for drug infractions in Black neighborhoods than in White neighborhoods and [focus] the bulk of their energies on Black suspects rather than White ones” (p. 383). Balko (2006) argued that when the legislation was written for the war on drugs, the original intent of no-knocks raids was to catch alleged suspects of drug dealing in the act of committing a crime, despite the fourth constitutional amendment. The intent was to protect officer safety during the raid situation. Now, the legislation has been interpreted to apply to all instances where they need to apprehend an alleged suspect, which has resulted in negative outcomes for innocent civilians and an overreach of jurisdictional power by law enforcement officers.

Ross (2015) stated that the United Nations Committee Against Torture denounced the growth of the militarization of police departments in the United States. Criticism has

been steadily increasing as more evidence has been discovered about excessive use of force and race-based torture, as seen within the Chicago Police Department under the leadership Commander Jon Burge between 1972 and 1991. Bass (2001) pointed out that the “police policies and practices associated with the war on drugs have been the most influential in perpetuating racially discriminatory police discretionary behavior” (p. 164).

The drug war can be understood as a punitive approach to drug crime because its predominant focus has been on punishing offenders and isolating them from society rather than attempting to treat them. It also has resulted in the loss of individual freedom for a large segment of the population, many of whom did not inflict harm on others. According to the Justice Policy Institute (2007), the war on drugs did not reduce drug sales or the use of drugs.

The transition. The Reagan era was witness to the emergence of the crack cocaine epidemic and the spread of HIV/AIDS. Media attention and the public’s fear prompted the passage of several significant federal anti-drug bills: The 1984 Sentencing Reform Act (SRA) and the Anti-Drug Abuse Acts of 1986 and 1988. The 1984 Sentencing Reform Act was established to reduce the inconsistencies in sentencing by limiting a federal judge’s discretion at sentencing via the “elimination of parole, and the implementation of supervised release” (Howell, 2004, p. 1072). The SRA’s principal goals of serving time were made to “punish, retributive, educational, deterrent, and incapacitative goals” (18 U.S.C. Section 3553[a][2]). These objectives changed when sentences were designed to rehabilitate the individual (Morris, 2006; NeSmith, 2015).

The Anti-Drug Abuse Act of 1988 aimed for a drug-free America and established the Office of National Drug Control Policy. This act established mandatory sentences for

all drug convictions. The purpose of the mandatory minimum sentences was to deter the use of drugs by punishing those who use and traffic them (Howard, Lazarus, & Glas, 2015; Mackey-Kallis & Hahn, 1994; NeSmith, 2015; Pritchett, 1997). The Office of National Drug Control Policy is responsible for creating policies and setting priorities and objectives for the federal Drug Control Program. This national program was designed to reduce the use, manufacturing, and trafficking of illicit drugs and to further the reduction of drug-related crime and violence (Duke & Gross, 1993; McWilliams, 1995; Meier, 1994). However, racial disparity in sentencing has resulted in a disproportionately high number of Black males being incarcerated on drug-related charges in comparison to Whites in the United States (Alexander, 2010; National Research Council, 1983; Mitchell & Caudy, 2013; Wilkins, Newton, & Steer, 1991). Zimring and Hawkins (1992) diagnosed that the drug control policies were historically targeted toward minority groups. Consequently, drug sentencing policies were more than a criminal or health issue but one of social injustice, given that the war singled out a particular group.

As a result of the war on drugs, this stringent legislation resulted in the incarceration of over half of the inmates in the Federal Bureau of Prisons for nonviolent drug offenses (Nesmith, 2015). The United States houses 25% of the world's prison population, with approximately 2.3 million people in state, local or federal prisons. The National Institute on Drug Abuse revealed that rates of drug use were declining before the declaration of a war on drugs (Tonry, 1994). These declines raised the question of whether the war on drugs was even needed. Meier (1994) identified that the enforcement of drug laws had little effect on drug policies and failed to discourage people from using drugs, except in the case of marijuana. NeSmith (2015) summarized the war on drugs as

an “unmitigated failure” (p. 253). Reflecting on Reagan’s presidency, Lanham (1998) summarized that Reagan’s goal was to dismantle programs that benefited minorities and the poor such as affirmative action, civil rights regulations, and welfare. For example, Reagan opposed affirmative action and did not provide alternatives to the affected parties. Reagan’s administration was also opposed to busing; however, they did little to end segregation in schools. Shull (2017) and Days III (1984) also observed that Reagan’s mandate to limit government while opposing affirmative action was a diversion to appeal to the “working-class whites, many of whom harbor racial resentments against people of color” (Lanham, 1998, p. 9).

George H. W. Bush was sworn into presidency after being Reagan’s vice-president, but he enacted no new policies. He used the fear of drugs and crime to sustain his political momentum and continued to introduce legislation against the betterment of Blacks (McAndrews, 2001). Meares and Kahan (1998) highlighted that the Bush administration presented evidence that there was a decrease in monthly drug use as a result of the rigid sentencing guidelines. However, critics reported that the decrease wasn’t because of the strict policies; others factors such as the recession and statistical information weren’t included in his reports (Degenhardt et al., 2008). Levine (2002) agreed that the ideology of the war on drugs became muddled between the lenses of actuality and illusion.

Cooper (2015) summarized that there was a connection between race and ethnicity, the erosion of the Fourth Amendments to the U.S. Constitution, Posse Comitatus Act, and policing. According to Herring (2014), oppression can only be matched with more ammunition to keep society in line. The notion behind providing

military equipment to local agencies was that a terrorist attack could happen anywhere, and law enforcement needed to be prepared. This rationalization was used to justify the need for military grade weapons.

The federal government provided funding through grants for police departments to obtain military equipment to protect their communities from terrorist attacks (Hall & Coyne, 2013; Hixson, 2015; Rahall, 2015). Rahall (2015) argued that the purposes of the deployment of this equipment were just as important as determining the change in the police role “from protectors of the community to soldiers fighting a war against it” (p. 1816). Rahall argued that the militarization of the police force and the distribution of military grade weapons has created a hostile environment between police and citizens that can escalate and become violent. According to Balko (2013), this increase in militarization has also negatively affected the perceptions of the citizens that the police were charged with protecting. Furthermore, Balko contended that law enforcement officers may now perceive each call of response as a hostile situation; police may be distrustful of the citizens they are supposed to protect. Rahall pointed out that this was akin to “soldiers facing suspected insurgents in wartime” (p. 1818).

During the Clinton administration, the drug interdiction by the Defense Department was declared a failure since it did not eradicate drugs in America. The war on drugs ended within the first term of Bill Clinton’s presidency (Easton, 2002). The failure of the war on drugs was accurately summarized by Mackey-Kallis and Hahn (1994):

In the American drug war waged from 1986-1991, the enemies--drug lords, drug pushers, and corrupt or inefficient politicians--became the scapegoats successfully

but inappropriately blamed and symbolically sacrificed for our guilt regarding drug use and our failure to stop drug use in America. (p. 2)

While the initial intent of the war on drugs was to crack down on the spread, sale, and distribution of illicit substances in order to protect American citizens, in the past 40 years, some of the policies enacted due to the ‘war on drugs’ have negatively affected police relations with the community in a number of ways. The war on drugs ended but the effect of the war was evident in the neighborhoods that were left vacated by the countless men in prisons, disbanded neighborhoods, single mothers, and fatherless children.

George W. Bush

George W. Bush was governor of Texas, the state with the second largest prison population in the United States. When he won his gubernatorial seat, his issue-driven platform was based on deregulating the educational system, decreasing the welfare rolls, and implementing stringent punishment on juvenile crime. Bush ran on the platform that Texans should take more personal responsibility to break of the cycle of dependency (Turek, 2014).

Platt (2001) argued that Bush’s platform was prevention, rehabilitation, community development, and the abolishment of the death penalty, which were all about moving past the traditional liberal agenda, replacing it with “bipartisan consensus of demagoguery” (p. 138). Bush ended his governorship upon the winning a controversial election and becoming the 43rd President of the United States. Miller (2001), the American Enterprise Institute (2000), and Jones (2000) agreed that Bush was quiet and operated behind the scenes. He avoided the fanfare of his presidency by sending his vice

president and aides to appear before the cameras. He was often viewed as disengaged and unknowledgeable about policies. Similar to his actions as governor, he relied heavily on his staff to review reports and brief him on the highlights (Greenstein, 2002). As a result of his top down management control, led by Vice President Cheney, his administration was led by secrecy (Pfiffner, 2007). That sentiment changed when America was attacked on September 11, 2001. Greenstein (2002) described Bush's performance as "self-assurance and calm determination" (p. 392). Cochran (2004) explained that, using the momentum of the public's anger regarding the attacks on September 11, and the anticipation of another attack, Bush abdicated his campaign principles and initiated his war on terror.

Fourth Amendment

The Fourth Amendment of the U.S. Constitution protects people from unreasonable searches and seizures by the government without probable cause. Probable cause is the legal requirement that needs to be met before a police officer can make an arrest or conduct a search (Fourth Amendment). If there is probable cause, a warrant must be issued detailing where the search will take place and what items are specifically being sought after. Many scholars and policy makers view the objectives of security and liberty to be diametrically in opposition to the PATRIOT Act (Bedi, 2014; Berghel, 2014; Simmons, 2013; Xhelili & Crowne, 2012; Yoo, 2014). The grappled voices of Fourth Amendment scholars stated that there is no legal justification for circumventing Fourth Amendment protections during domestic criminal proceedings or even during times of crisis. The Fourth Amendment was intended to protect the privacy of U.S. citizens, regardless of the state of affairs (Mondale, Stein, & Fahnhorst, 2014). Due to the rather

misleading nature of the law's name, significant amounts of scholarly opinions dismiss the aforementioned concerns about the circumvention of the U.S. Constitution and instead praise the authorities of Title II of the USA PATRIOT Act. Title II is the Enhanced Surveillance Procedures that enable law enforcement officers to conduct surveillance without probable cause (Cusick, 2003; Hoffman, 2003). Gilbert (2013), Lungren (2012), and Yoo (2014) strongly argued that not only are Title II authorizations essential for protecting modern America, but they are also in compliance with all U.S. Constitution protections. Federal Rule of Criminal Procedure 41, Search and Seizure, lists the procedural requirements of the issuance, execution, and return of search warrants. The USA PATRIOT Act Section 213, Authority for Delaying Notice of the Execution of a Warrant, amended those procedures.

***Terry v. Ohio* and Stop and Frisk**

Mearns (2015) examined the use of stop-and-frisk tactics by police departments and the intent of the decision of *Terry v. Ohio* (1968). The court's decision viewed the use of stop and frisk in *Terry v. Ohio* as an investigative tool to enable police to do their jobs. Mearns (2015) explained that in reality, stop and frisk is a program that has been used by police departments to "organizationally determined practice of stopping certain 'sorts' of people for the stated purpose of preventing or deterring crime" (p. 162). Milner, George and Allison (2016) revealed that "tall and heavy Black and Hispanic men" (p. 5) were at the greatest risk of being stopped and frisked. Black men were also at an increased risk of experiencing police brutality and were more likely to experience such encounters than White men (Geller, Fagan, Tyler, & Link, 2014; Greenawalt, 2014; Scheindlin & Manning, 2015).

Miranda (1998) pointed out that the war on drugs has also been useful as an excuse for the repression of various sectors in society around which radical movements might have coalesced. In addition, Miranda noted that minorities are arrested and incarcerated on drug charges disproportionately to other cultures. Bewley-Taylor (2005) argued that drawing upon that conclusion is important because while “Americans always possess an abstract belief in the protections provided by the Constitution, attitudes to the practical application of that protection have a natural tendency to fluctuate in times of war” (p. 83). Examples of this behavior include the acceptance of Lincoln’s suspension of habeas corpus during the Civil War, Roosevelt’s internment of Japanese Americans in the Second World War, and the conduct of the House Un-American Activities Committee (HUAC) during a chilly peak of the Cold War.

USA PATRIOT Act

Consequently, after the 9/11 attacks, a series of events changed the objective of policing. These objectives resulted in a shift from community policing to homeland security policing, forcing a merger between the objective of law enforcement and the needs of national security. Schulhofer et al. (2011) supported this notion, stating that “the pressures have become especially acute because we can no longer subordinate conventional law enforcement to the newer preoccupation with terrorism” (p. 336). As a result of the attacks, a political change occurred on September 20th, 2001. President George W. Bush declared a war on terror, and initiated the protection of homeland security. This protection came in the form of a new law called the USA PATRIOT Act. Rajan and Gabriel (2015) viewed the purpose of the declaration of the war on terror, both domestically and globally, as being to increase national security and to provide a sense of

security and protection to its citizens from further attacks by radical Islamists and other terrorists.

The Uniting and Strengthening America by Providing Appropriate Tools Required to Intercept and Obstruct Terrorism Act, or the USA PATRIOT Act, was signed into law by President George W. Bush on October 26, 2001. Several sections of the law became controversial with the American people, such as Section 215 (O'Donnell, 2004). Section 215 allowed the National Security Agency to collect telephone records and store them for five years; this section of the act expired on June 1, 2015. Section 215 was reformed under the Uniting and Strengthening America by Fulfilling Rights and Ensuring Effective Discipline Over Monitoring Act of 2015 (USA FREEDOM Act) (Public Law No.114-23). The National Security Agency can no longer collect phone data, but data can still be collected and stored by phone companies. In order for the government to access the records, there must be “a reasonable, articulable, suspicion that the specific selection is associated with a foreign power or an agent of a foreign power engaged in international terrorism or activities in preparation for such terrorism” (Uniting and Strengthening America by Fulfilling Rights and Ensuring Effective Discipline Over Monitoring Act of 2015, 50 USC 1801), which means that a particular phone record must be directly related to a terrorism investigation.

Another example of legislation enacted to preserve the lives and liberty of Americans is Section 203 of the PATRIOT Act, which allows authorities to share criminal investigative information. This section allowed federal law enforcement officials to share information that was acquired by wiretaps or through grand jury proceedings that involved foreign intelligence or counterintelligence information with other federal law

enforcement departments (USA PATRIOT Act, 2001). Information shared under these provisions can only be used in the officer's official capacity. There is also a prerequisite to notify the supervising court if the grand jury information is shared. The addition of Section 203 changed the way the federal courts viewed the use, role, and integrity of the grand jury (Beale & Felman, 2002; Collins, 2002; Levy, 2005).

According to the Department of Justice (DOJ; n.d.), The USA PATRIOT Act established policies allowing law enforcement officers to use surveillance, obtain wiretaps under broader categories, delay obtaining search warrants to thoroughly identify terrorist associations, secure evidence, and obtain business records without the owner's knowledge. The USA PATRIOT Act amended the legal definition of domestic terrorism under Section 802. The new definition authorized the federal government to assemble intelligence on American citizens and groups if they conduct a violation of a federal law that can result in a death in the United States. The amended definition re-examined the threat from an external terrorist "foreigner/international/outsider" to an internal one (Saito, 2006).

The USA PATRIOT Act was the catalyst for the homeland security policing era (Bloss, 2009). With the establishment of the USA PATRIOT Act, law enforcement officers gained new tools to enforce old laws in the wake of a new enemy of terrorism (Bloss, 2009; Marion & Cronin, 2009; Whitehead & Aden, 2001). The DOJ issued a memorandum which stated "Congress simply took existing legal principles and retrofitted them to preserve the lives and liberty of the American people from the challenges posed by a global terrorist network" (n.d., para. 1). With these tools, Department of Homeland Security was established with the sole purpose of keeping the nation safe. However,

Smith and Hung (2010) and Woods and Youngs (2004) noted that the PATRIOT Act redirected the national focus of security to inhibit individual rights and private freedoms.

The PATRIOT Act was also seen as a tool that allowed the government to discriminate against people and their behaviors by using the law as a scapegoat (Leone & Anrig, 2003; Marovitz, 2008). Smith and Hung (2010) stated that the PATRIOT Act also allowed for the classification of some individuals as suspicious persons or terrorists. Naeem (2012) argued that establishing this legislation was challenging because it overstepped the rights of many individuals. However, supporters of the act believed it was necessary and the infringements on civil rights were negligible compared to the fortification and protection of the country. Marcovitz (2010) believed that civil liberties changed through the enactment of the PATRIOT Act. Leone and Anrig (2003) argued that by not allowing citizens to participate in the development of the PATRIOT Act, the ground was set to allow violations of civil liberties to occur. Cole and Dempsey (2002) and Marcovitz (2008) argued that the problem with the PATRIOT Act legislation was twofold. First, the PATRIOT Act did not “focus on the acts of violence but rather, the legislation focused on the political or religious ideology that motivated them” (Cole & Dempsey, 2002, p. 15). The PATRIOT Act’s foundation is based on failed legislation that expanded the powers of the executive branch. The fears that followed from September 11 were exploited. Secondly, the new powers that were granted by the ratification of the PATRIOT Act stretched the limits away from the war against terrorism (McCarthy, 2002). Whitehead and Aden (2001) demonstrated that the PATRIOT Act contains provisions that empowered the executive branch to infringe on First and Fourth Amendments rights.

Homeland Security Act

In November 2002, the Homeland Security Act (Public Law 107-296) established the Department of Homeland Security (DHS). Eleven days after the 9/11 attacks, Pennsylvania Governor Tom Ridge was appointed as Director of the Office of Homeland Security. The Office of Homeland Security became a part of the Executive Office of the President. The function of the new office was “to coordinate the executive branch’s efforts to detect, prepare for, prevent, protect against, respond to, and recover from terrorist attacks within the United States” (Executive Order No. 13,288, 2001).

The DHS was the first federal reorganization since 1947 (GAO, 2003; Hsu & Goo, 2005; Kramer & Hellman, 2003). The DHS is comprised of 22 federal agencies and is responsible for America’s safety. The DHS is mandated by the Homeland Security Act (Public Law 107-296) and the Implementing Recommendations of the 9/11 Commission Act of 2007 (Public Law 110-53) to provide a series of evolving strategic documents that define the agency’s direction and mission. These strategic documents are the Quadrennial Homeland Security Review, the DHS Strategic Plan, and the Bottom-Up Review. The first Quadrennial Homeland Security Review (QHSR) was published in February 2010 and is required every four years thereafter. The QHSR identifies threats to national security and defines homeland security strategies, priorities, and capabilities to meet these challenges. Reese (2012) pointed out that the QHSR defines the operational plans of the department. The mission of the DHS is to: (1) prevent terrorism and enhance security; (2) secure and manage our borders; (3) enforce and administer our immigration laws; (4) safeguard and secure cyberspace; and (5) strengthen national preparedness and resilience.

Similar to the passage of the Homeland Security Act of 2002, the National Security Act of 1947 was enacted in response to an attack on American shores: the bombing of Pearl Harbor. It combined the Department of War and the Department of the Navy into the newly formed Department of Defense. The National Security Council was also founded that day, joining the Department of Defense, the Department of State, and the Central Intelligence Agency (Kahan, 2013; Relyea, 2003).

The National Security Act of 1947 and the Homeland Security Act of 2002 restructured the federal government to respond to a new enemy. The principal undertaking of the DHS is to secure and prevent terrorist attacks by keeping America safe. This involves minimizing the country's vulnerabilities by securing the borders and critical infrastructure. The DHS is also responsible for coordinating the response and recovery of natural disasters or terrorists attacks.

The DHS also ensures that the liberties of all Americans are secured, and that their interests, aspirations, and ways of life can thrive. In order to carry out those duties, The DHS acquired additional responsibilities such as managing transnational criminal threats, administering and enforcing our immigration laws, keeping our waterways safe, intercepting smuggled drugs and weapons, combating human trafficking, and enforcing customs regulations (Daalder, Destler, & Gunter, 2003; DHS, 2008).

Another stipulation of the act is the DHS Strategic Plan. The strategic plan defines the potential logistics for meeting their goals as outlined in the QHSR. The third requirement the department has to meet is the Bottom-Up Review. The Bottom-Up Review assesses the department's organizational ability, structure, management, and procurement systems, as well as the physical and technical infrastructure to meet the

missions and objectives of the QHSR. It focuses on strengthening the department's performance, operation, and management of DHS missions.

The DHS is responsible for investigating and prosecuting terrorism. The DHS does not hold the primary responsibility for investigating and prosecuting acts of terror; rather, federal, state, and local law enforcement agencies have jurisdiction over such acts (Homeland Security Act of 2002; Public Law 107-296, 2002). As the establishment and mission of the DHS have developed, so has the role and meaning of homeland security with local police departments. DeLone (2007) stated, "The terrorist attacks of September 11, 2001, have forever changed many of the duties and responsibilities of American law enforcement agencies" (p. 218). Shafer (2009) stated, "the call for police involvement in homeland security efforts has created new and potent pressures for the state and local police agencies that have been cast as a key to the success of national anti-terrorism efforts" (p. 264). Local police departments were expected to be first responders to terrorist incidents and to assist federal authorities in the investigation, apprehension, and detention of terrorists and terrorist activities (Oliver, 2009).

According to Miranda (1998), the "War on Drugs has also come as a welcomed opportunity for law enforcement who have long harbored a desire to disregard the Bill of Rights" (p. 69). Anti-drug operations are consistently linked with the de facto suspension of the fourth, fifth, sixth, seventh, and eighth amendments of the Constitution.

Militarization of Tactics and Strategies

The declaration of the war on terror after the September 11 attacks on America became the ultimate reason for the militarization of police forces in America (Kraska, 2007). Namely, the police force has evolved to resemble our military, in part through the

free transfer of military-grade weapons from the Department of Defense to local police. The federal government needed a way to keep the homeland safe from another terrorist attack by increasing “anti-terrorism enforcement” and “intelligence gathering practices.” However, these policies have resulted in citizens being viewed as enemies (Ortiz, Hendricks, & Sugie, 2013).

In 1997, Congress passed the National Defense Authorization Act of Fiscal Year 1997 (Public Law No. 104-201), including the Transfer of Excess Personal Property to Support Law Enforcement Activities. The Secretary of Defense used these new laws to “transfer personal property, including small arms and ammunition suitable for law enforcement activities” (10 U.S. Code § 2576a, p. 2639) to police departments for the use of counterdrug and counterterrorism activities (Else, 2014; Ehrhart, 1998). As a result, local police departments began receiving excess equipment. They began to function in a quasi-military fashion and be armed with the same equipment as the military (Oakes, 2015). Oakes (2015) stated that this change created a problem regarding how local police departments were able to protect their community without encroaching on their civil liberties. What America is faced with is local police departments that are dressed like the military, trained in military tactics, and are operating and carrying military equipment, that feel as though they are facing “enemies” in their community. With the combination of the militarized structure and behavior coupled with military equipment, one could argue that the local police department has become a military force.

Huq (2017) acknowledged that even the most novel surveillance techniques that are initially solely authorized for national security purposes quickly bleed into more mundane crime-control functions. The Defense Logistics Agency (2018) reported that the

CPD obtained approximately 332 five-millimeter rifles, 40 seven-millimeter rifles, and other military grade equipment valued at approximately \$697,857 through the National Defense Authorization Act since October of 2016. That department received far less than comparable law enforcement agencies such as the New York Police Department and the Los Angeles Police Department, where the populations are much denser and ethnically varied (Defense Logistics Agency, 2018). Bolduc (2016) further explained that the external risks for providing weapons are materialized risks that occur outside of a designated area. Manufactured risks are the opposite, since they are manufactured based on society's perceptions of the known and unknown of the world. Thus, manufactured risks are the result of a society's agenda.

The most prominent sector of a society that responds to its risks is law enforcement. Merely implying national security allows many resources, monetary and otherwise, to be made available to combat threats. Thus, many issues are claimed to be national security concerns because many politicians claim that increased military involvement will solve the problems. These objectives shifted policing from a community focus to a homeland security focus, which forced a merger between the objective of law enforcement and the needs of homeland security.

The deployment of SWAT teams to serve warrants on minor offenses and low level criminals has become the standard (Balko, 2006; Rahall, 2015). There are no criteria to determine when a SWAT team must be deployed. There is also an insurmountable incidence of SWAT teams entering people's homes without announcing themselves (Balko, 2006). The typical strategies of home raids by a SWAT team include being unannounced and unexpected in an attempt to catch the suspected criminal off-

guard; these tactics include dynamic entry, where SWAT team members dress in all black, obscure their faces, and secure the house from all entry points. According to a study conducted by the American Civil Liberties Union (2014), 79% of all SWAT deployments searched a person's home and 60% of deployments were initiated to search for illicit substances. The American Civil Liberties Union found that as military grade weapons and training continue to increase, the use of specialized teams like SWAT to execute search warrants for what may result in few or no drugs also increases. These searches often result in the death of both the suspect and those that are in their vicinity, including children and pets (Rahall, 2015).

Campbell and Campbell (2010) discovered a phenomenon they coined "role convergence" (p. 327). The authors argued that the shift from peace officer to military style officer is a "role convergence." The convergence is shifting roles; soldiers are more police-like, police are more like civil soldiers, and both sets of soldiers have developed into a paramilitary force (Campbell, 2009). Balko (2013) argued that law enforcement officers may now perceive each call to action as a hostile situation; police may be distrustful of the citizens they are supposed to protect, akin to "soldiers facing suspected insurgents in wartime" (Rahall, 2015, p. 1818).

Summary and Conclusions

In most of our wars, the Bill of Rights has suffered as individual liberties were subordinated to the needs of national security. This appears to be true of the war on drugs as well (Finkelman, 1992). Meeks (2006) noted that the effects of the militarization of the police have been prominent throughout the history of the United States but were greatly highlighted after the events of September 11 and the war on terror.

The local law enforcement culture has transformed from community policing, where police officers know their residents in their patrol area, to a seek-and-destroy system of law and order. Grabiner (2016) supported this position, stating that police departments would rather purchase drones, deploy SWAT teams, and employ a toolkit relying on militarization instead of implementing community policing. Violence and kicking in doors to serve simple warrants have become the norm versus knocking on doors and having a non-violent, civilized exchange with residents. The implementation of the USA PATRIOT Act, coupled with the militarization of local police departments, has led to clash of the community with the people who have sworn to protect and serve them. This clash can be seen through various media outlets during community unrest.

The USA PATRIOT Act was the catalyst of the homeland security era policing (Bloss, 2009). With the establishment of the USA PATRIOT Act, law enforcement officers gained new tools to enforce old laws in the wake of terrorism (Bloss, 2009; Marion & Cronin, 2009; Whitehead & Aden, 2001). The DOJ issued a memorandum stating, “Congress simply took existing legal principles and retrofitted them to preserve the lives and liberty of the American people from the challenges posed by a global terrorist network” (n.d., para. 1).

The United States Department of Justice’s Office of Community Oriented Policing Services defined “community policing as a law enforcement philosophy” (n.d., para. 1) that encourages cooperative relationships between the police and the community they serve to identify and address the issues affecting them. Weisburd et al. (2012) stated that, “in community policing, the community was seen as critical in defining the problems the police should address, and as co-producers of public safety” (p. 2). In other

words, both the residents and the police officer take responsibility of the problems by understanding the history of the problem and by solving the problems to prevent their perpetuation. Gau and Brunson (2015) and other researchers asserted that police officers are a significant component of a community's ability to govern itself (Carr, 2003; Vélez, 2001; Warner, 2007). To be beneficial, the community must possess confidence and assurance that the police will execute their duties by enforcing laws and applying them fairly. This was the goal of community policing. It was critical for the police officer to make the residents feel comfortable by sharing important information that may have aided law enforcement officials in solving a crime (Greene, 2000). This relationship can also be relied upon when the department requires resources.

After September 11, 2001, Oliver (2006) claimed that the role of the police officer in the new era of homeland security was defined by a greater focus of police resources into crime control. This change of focus was justified because it was thought that crime control, enforcement of the criminal law, and traffic laws would allow police to neutralize potential threats gather intelligence. In addition, police began to undertake anti-terrorism roles when they started focusing on passive measures that could reduce the vulnerabilities of their communities to future attacks. A new policing model that incorporated homeland security and terrorism with the old duties of law enforcement emerged; the new model included crime prevention, problem solving, and the sharing and gathering of intelligence (Oliver, 2007; Stewart & Morris, 2009; Xu, Fiedler & Flaming, 2005). Due to fear of another attack, local law enforcement has become an important player in national security. A paradigm shift in policy occurred, pushing law enforcement from the community policing era to a homeland security era of policing (Oliver, 2006).

Chapter 3: Research Method

Introduction

The purpose of this qualitative phenomenological study was to fill the gap in the literature regarding the perceptions of the residents of a Chicago community regarding the shift in policing policy as a response to the September 11, 2001 terrorist attacks. Researchers use phenomenology to examine the participants' thoughts, feelings, perceptions, observations, and reflections regarding the phenomenon being studied (Moustakas, 1994). Moustakas (1994) theorized that phenomenological data provide a composite description, which reflects the essence of the collective experience. My objectives in the study were to determine if there was a commonality between the residents' perceptions of law enforcement and their lived experiences in a Chicago community. In addition, I explored common themes or patterns that have existed in policing policies since 9/11. In this chapter, I focus on the research design and rationale, participation selection, instrumentation, field testing, recruitment, data collection, data analysis, and ethical procedures.

Research Design and Rationale

Research Question

This study was guided by the following research question:

Has the shift in policing styles from community-oriented policing to a more military type organization influenced citizen perceptions of police/policing in Chicago?

Research Design

I used a qualitative research design with a phenomenological approach.

Phenomenology is the study of lived experiences to discover and understand the essence of consciousness, which gives meaning to objects (Husserl, 1970). Morris and Crank (2011) stated that by using a phenomenological approach, a researcher can take the perceptions of community members and incorporate them into objective assessments to be used as tools for research purposes and practical policy. My goals were to interpret participants' perceptions of homeland security policing and to offer rarely studied viewpoints on the shift in policing beyond those of police officers (Schafer, Burruss, & Giblin, 2009; Stewart & Morris, 2009).

Yin (2015) posited that, in phenomenology, the researcher is able to study the everyday lives of many different kinds of people and their thoughts under various circumstances. The author further explained that a researcher uses qualitative research to obtain an understanding of how people cope in their natural habitat or lived space (i.e., home and work environment). Macann (2005) described lived space as an existential theme that refers to the world in which human beings exist. In researching my topic, it was imperative to illustrate the lived space of Chicago communities and their shared everyday values, problems, and issues that have an impact on their daily lives. In doing so, I worked to suspend previous experiences, biases, and assumptions to see, understand, and interpret the experiences of my research subjects. Waugh (2004) postulated that in order to understand human behavior, a researcher must recognize how one perceives the world and is affected by it based on their actions, thus identifying how their perceptions differ when viewing reality as a social construct. In addition, qualitative results allow

researchers to understand social, political, and economic factors associated with contemporary and emerging problems (Alase, 2017; Kruth, 2015).

Rationale

Qualitative research, unlike its quantitative counterpart, does not lend itself to empirical inference to a population as a whole; rather, it allows the researcher to generalize to a theoretical understanding of the phenomenon being examined (Gentles, Charles, Ploeg, & McKibbin, 2015; Ploeg, 1999). Patton (2001) stated that qualitative research involves a naturalistic approach that solicits information to appreciate the phenomena within their environment, such as a “real world setting [where] the researcher does not attempt to manipulate the phenomenon of interest” (p. 39). Ofonedu, Percy, Harris-Britt, and Belcher (2013) characterized the phenomenological researcher as one who documents subjects’ experiences as real people, not just as objects of the investigation. By adopting this approach, human beings will theoretically be better understood within the context of their subjective experiences (Norlyk, Martinsen, & Dahlberg, 2013; Todres & Holloway, 2006). Thus, I determined that a qualitative research design with a phenomenological approach was the best method for this study.

Role of the Researcher

I am a Black woman who is employed as a law enforcement officer with the federal government. My experience in law enforcement spans over 20 years with experience as a correctional officer, an immigration officer, and a transportation security specialist. In my current law enforcement position, I am responsible for law enforcement officers nationwide in a supervisory capacity. This duty requires the knowledge of federal governmental policies and procedures to effectively uphold the law. Throughout my

career, I have coordinated with several government entities including the DHS, the Department of State, the FBI, the Department of Defense, and the Federal Aviation Administration. My experience included interviewing individuals involved with other government agencies.

Methodology

Denzin and Lincoln (1994) defined phenomenological qualitative research as using an interpretive approach to study phenomena in their natural settings and “attempting to make sense of, or interpret, phenomena in terms of the meanings people bring to them” (p. 2). Qualitative research methods involve in-depth interviews and observations, with a smaller sample size to obtain participants’ lived experiences in relation to the phenomenon being observed. Creswell (2013) and Lincoln and Guba (1985) stated that a qualitative paradigm is based in interpretivism and constructivism where “individuals seek understanding of the world in which they live and work” (p. 24). My goal was to “rely as much as possible on the participants’ views of their perceptions regarding the shift from community policing to homeland security policing” (Creswell, 2013, p. 25).

Participant Selection Logic

I used purposive sampling to select participants. Yin (2011) defined purposive sampling as “the selection of participants or sources of data to be used in a study, based on their anticipated richness and relevance of information in relation to the study’s research questions” (p. 311). In 2014, the U.S. Census Bureau reported that the Chicago metropolitan area is home to more than 9.9 million people. Therefore, to participate in this study, the following selection criteria must have been met. Potential participants must

have resided in the Washington Park, Austin, or West Englewood neighborhoods. The participant must have been at least 40 years old and must have held a residence of at least 3 years in the area prior to 9/11 and 3 to 5 years immediately after 9/11. Finally, participants must not have been a familial relative to any current or former law enforcement officer of the CPD or sheriff's office. The neighborhoods were selected from the Police Accountability Task Force Report (2016), as they are heavily segregated with high rates of poverty and unemployment, despite Chicago's diverse population.

Sample

I used purposeful sampling to recruit participants for the one-to-one interviews. Patton (2002) identified purposeful sampling as a technique qualitative researchers use to identify and select information-rich cases to maximize results when limited resources are available. Creswell and Plano (2011) indicated that purposeful sampling involves identifying and selecting individuals or groups of individuals that are especially knowledgeable about or experienced with a phenomenon of interest. I gave participants the option to choose to conduct the interview on the phone or face to face at a time convenient for the participant. For both options, I recorded the interviews. The sample comprised 12 participants who lived in Chicago.

Koerber and McMichael (2008) theorized that the selection of convenience or purposeful sampling techniques has more to do with the quality of the sample than the quantity. The sample size was determined by using a criterion-based, purposive sampling approach. The researchers further stated that as long as the sample is sufficient enough to ensure the caliber of the results to support the study, then a researcher can justify the use of their sample size. Pietkiewicz and Smith (2014) confirmed that is more important to

develop a comprehensive analysis of the phenomena that is being studied. Therefore, there is no fixed minimum of how many participants should be included in a study.

Pietkiewicz and Smith further indicated that research has been conducted and published with as “few as one, four, nine, and fifteen participants” (p. 9). Creswell (2007) argued that the participants must have experienced the phenomenon being examined and have had the lived experience to provide the perceptions relative to the research problem.

Creswell (2003) affirmed that the study’s assessment and conclusions may lead to potential generalizations of that population. In my study, the primary source of data was the interviews. Flyers were distributed to various Chicago communities to solicit interest for participation. The survey instrument included 14 interview questions and seven probing questions designed to identify and measure the perceptions of the participants. The seven additional questions were used to elicit further responses from the participants. In order to understand human behavior, a researcher must recognize that how one perceives the world affects how one behaves; perceptions differ because reality is a social construct (Seidman, 2013).

I used a snowballing technique to obtain additional participants in the event the residents were unwilling to discuss their perceptions of the police out of fear, feelings of hopelessness, or any other factors that may deter them from participation. Denscombe (1997) described snowballing sampling as a process where one person refers another person, allowing the researcher to invite the referral to participate in the study. The sample was generated from a series of referrals from a friend who was then also invited to participate in the study (see Elo et al., 2014; Oppong, 2013; Shorten & Moorley, 2014; Thomson, 2011).

Instrumentation

Asiamah, Mensah, and Oteng-Abayie (2017) noted that researchers must adequately know and understand the population they are going to study. They are also expected to clearly and concisely define their population in the proposal phase of documenting their research. Banerjee and Chaudhury (2010) and Lunsford and Lunsford (1995) articulated that a proper definition or specification of the population is critical because it guides others in appraising the credibility of the sample, sampling technique, and outcomes of the research.

Field Test

Van Wijk and Harrison (2013) reported that field testing can strengthen the credibility of the research project. Prior to submission to Walden University Institute Review Board (IRB), I field tested the 14 interview questions and seven probing questions. These questions were submitted to PhD-level scholars and practitioners who had experience with facilitating and individual interviewing, and who worked in the field of law enforcement, social services, and policies and procedures. All comments, suggestions, and recommendations were analyzed, at which point I amended the questions were amended. Once revisions were made, the final instrument was documented on the IRB application and submitted for approval to the IRB. I received IRB Approval # 07-27-18-0154120.

Procedures for Recruitment, Participation, and Data Collection

I recruited participants from local supermarkets, libraries, businesses, and beauty and barbershops in the Chicago neighborhoods of West Englewood/Englewood, Austin, and Washington Park. Yin (2015) theorized that semi-structured interviews are

modifiable and exploratory, and enable the researcher to maintain control through structured questioning. Greig et al. (2007) indicated that it was necessary to have a well-designed interview that included willing participants who could be involved in a “relatively free-flow[ing] interaction” (p. 127). The telephone interviews of the eligible participants were digitally recorded and scheduled to last 30-45 minutes. The interview questions were open-ended and probing, designed to elicit further responses from participants. The steps to collect the data from the participants were as follows:

1. Recruited men and women who resided in the Chicago neighborhoods of West Englewood, Austin, and Washington Park to participate in the study.
2. Prescreen interested participants:
 - a. Answered any questions regarding the study;
 - b. Reviewed inclusion criteria;
 - c. Provided them a consent form;
 - d. Provided them follow-up or next steps information.
 - i. If interested:
 - ii. Obtained consent form. Participants could respond to email stating they consented to participating; they could return the form via email, or return the form in the self-addressed stamped envelope. Made appointment for a phone interview either via telephone or in person (face to face). Participants were able to request a face-to-face interview at Kennedy King College. Time, place, and date to be determine if participant’s request. However, there were no requests for a face-to-face interview.

- iii. Not interested- thank them for their time.
3. Conducted the interviews based on participants' preference of either telephone or in person (face to face) at Kennedy King College.
4. Reviewed notes for clarity and additional comments or questions.
5. Sent recordings to the transcription service.
6. Obtained transcripts of audio-recorded interviews. The transcripts were sent to participants for review and feedback.
7. Assembled and evaluated the data.
8. Formulated and exhibited conclusions and recommendations.

The consent form was comprised of required information such as an explanation of how the data were to be acquired and used in the research. Participants who volunteered to complete the study could return the form via email or return the form in person on the day of the interview. The consent form explicitly stated that their participation in the study was voluntary. They were free to withdraw at any time and without reason. Each participant was assured that his or her personally identifiable information would be kept confidential.

Data Analysis Plan

The collected data were complex and descriptive in nature. The data were obtained from the responses using a semi-structured interview guide that included both focused and individualized research questions. Once collected, the information was analyzed using a qualitative phenomenological research approach. This approach allowed for the discovery of common themes and patterns. By using these themes, I was able to

understand the perceptions of the residents in a Chicago community and their involvement with the phenomenon under investigation (see Patton, 1987).

Individual interviews, which were conducted telephonically and lasted approximately 30 to 45 minutes, were completed within the following week. The first five minutes of the interviews were concentrated on building rapport by asking open-ended questions about the participants' experiences with law enforcement. I inquired about the participants' perceptions of the role of the police and their definitions of policing before September 11, 2001. During the remaining time, the interviews were focused on the changes in policing since September 11, 2001. The interview guide can be found in the appendix section of this research.

In the individual interviews, participants were provided an opportunity to process their experience in participating in the study. In addition, once all data were transcribed, participants checked the data to ensure validity (Carlson, 2010). I used developmentally appropriate reflective listening techniques based on the ages of the participants to ensure that their thoughts were accurately captured. During this time, I also noted errors and edited the data as needed. All sessions were audio and video taped, transcribed verbatim, and reviewed by myself to decrease bias and documentation error.

Issues of Trustworthiness

Evaluating the quality of research is paramount to ensuring the validity of the findings. Farrelly (2013) stated that qualitative research must be consistent, systematically conducted, strategic, flexible, and exhibit integrity. Ang, Embi and Yunus (2016) added that establishing trustworthiness is paramount to ensuring the quality of a qualitative research. Plummer-D'Amato (2008) defined validity as the expansion of

discoveries that represent ideas of study participants. Creswell (2013) suggested that reliability and validity represent the accuracy of the research process and the value of discoveries. Reliability refers to the extent the research can be replicated. Shank (2006) stated that in qualitative research, trustworthiness and precision of the research is achieved through accurate data collection. Patton (2001) theorized that validity and reliability are two important factors when designing, analyzing outcomes, and judging the quality of the study. Guba and Lincoln (1985) clarified that the term of reliability in qualitative research should be “dependability,” which closely corresponds to the notion of “reliability” in quantitative research. They further identified “inquiry audit” (p. 317) as a measure which increases the dependability of qualitative research. Hoepfl (1997) examined both the process and the product of the research for consistency.

Credibility

In qualitative phenomenological research, interviews and observations are used. Therefore, an essential requirement for the researcher is to employ bracketing, or the setting aside of personal assumptions or biases during the duration of the project. Chan, Yuen-ling, and Wai-tong (2013) argued that bracketing ensures credibility by attempting to control researcher’s bias. By using bracketing, the researcher does not influence study participants’ understanding of the phenomenon, which permits study participants’ true perceptions and experiences to be exposed. Creswell (2008, 2013) consequently generated credible qualitative evaluation data through interviewing, observation, and content analysis that required knowledge, education, practice, and diligence.

Transferability

Wang, Moss, and Hiller (2006) defined transferability as the extent to which the measured effectiveness of an applicable intervention could be achieved in another setting. Homeland security policing affects the entire nation, not just this Chicago community. As such, the results of this study may be transferable to other cities such as New York and Los Angeles in an effort to resolve similar issues between their police departments and communities.

Dependability

The strength and dependability of this qualitative phenomenological research is represented in the triangulation of the data analysis and the acknowledgment of reflexivity by the researcher in the interview process. The data collected was triangulated using field journals, interviews, and focus group responses. Creswell (2008, 2013) explained that there are two types of reflexivity: personal and epistemological. Shank (2006) defined epistemological reflexivity as the attempt to equate the foundations of knowledge with the implications of any discoveries. However, Walker, Read, and Priest (2013) pointed out that other researchers disagree with their position regarding the validity of their research. Patton (1999, 2002) explained that those who embrace the reflexive stance are viewed as reinforcing the integrity of the qualitative research and establishing the credibility of the researcher. In this qualitative phenomenological study, the researcher was determined to refrain from any bias. The full resistance to personal opinion reflexivity was ensured by the researcher identifying bias or suspending personal judgment through memoing, reflexive journaling, and bracketing prior to initiating research.

Confirmability

The goal of confirmability is to affirm validity. Creswell (2013) suggested that reliability and validity represent the accuracy of the research process and the value of discoveries. In qualitative research, trustworthiness and fidelity is achieved through accurate data collection (Shank, 2006). Generalizability of the data can be achieved through trustworthy data being applied to a larger population. Barusch, Gringeri, and George (2011) indicated that the strength, quality, and credibility of the research is found in the confirmability, transferability, reliability of the data as they relate to the rigor of one's research.

El Hussein, Jakubec, and Osuji (2015) indicated that no single process can ensure trustworthiness across every qualitative study. The process of verifying the quality of a sample is to ensure that the research is credible and reliable by ensuring that the participants meet the delimiting criteria. Mason (2010) indicated that verifying the quality of the sample is a repeated throughout the process to ensure that the sample meets the delimiting criteria of this study.

Ethical Procedures

Fiscella, Tobin, Carroll, and Ogedegbe (2015) stated that an “ethical review should consider soundness of the methods, including whether the methods are sufficiently rigorous to meet the goals and scope of the project and minimize invalid inferences” (p. 3). El Hussein, Jakubec, and Osuji (2015) pointed out that the role of academia is to ensure that all researchers involved in conducting the research have at minimum the necessary skills and knowledge needed to meet the ethical, safety, and accuracy standards that are set out by the IRB. The IRB examination is required in order to receive approval

for any research involving human participants (Tsan & Tsan, 2015). As a part of the proposal submission package, I completed the National Institutes of Health Protecting Human Research Participants course (Certification Number: 331636).

Chappy and Gaberson, (2012), Lunstroth (2011), and the Department of Health and Human Services (1981) summarized that the purpose of an IRB is to:

- (a) mitigate potential risks to or protect the safety of participants by ensuring there are following the school's policies and guidelines, (b) ensure equitable participant selection by conducting initial and continuous inspections of all processes, (c) codify documented receipt of participants' informed consent, (d) protect participant privacy, (e) protect data confidentiality, and (f) preserve potential knowledge gained in research. (Chappy & Gaberson, 2012, p. 683)

The objective of requesting and receiving approval from Walden University's IRB is to ensure the protection of study participants and guarantee the protection of their beneficence, respect, benefits, rights, and privacy (Zink, Kimberly, & Wertlieb, 2005).

Summary

The purpose of this study was to examine the perceptions of the residents of a Chicago community as they relate to the shift in policing policy as a response to September 11, 2001, terrorist attacks. The methodological aim of the study was to conduct in-depth interviews and observations with a small sample size to capture the lived experiences of the phenomenon. Chapter 3 discussed the many approaches that were utilized within the proposed research. Chapter 3 also included the research design, sampling, data collection methods, instruments, and data analysis. The findings and the results of this research study will be presented and examined in Chapter 4.

Chapter 4: Results

Introduction

The purpose of this study was to fill the gap in the literature regarding the perceptions of residents in Chicago as they relate to the shift in policing policy after the September 11, 2001, terrorist attacks. Specifically, I employed a qualitative phenomenological method to analyze the participants' responses related to the changes that occurred in their community. Moustakas (1994) pointed out that researchers use phenomenology to examine participants' thoughts, feelings, perceptions, observations, and reflections regarding the phenomenon being studied. Therefore, the participants' statements are a collection of those lived experiences. I collected data via semi-structured interviews that were modifiable and exploratory. This method enabled me to maintain control through structured questioning and provided a plethora of information.

Chapter 4 provides a description of the participants, recruitment, research setting, demographics, data collection, data analysis, and data management, evidence of trustworthiness, results, and summary. There was one central research question guiding this study: Has the shift in policing styles from community-oriented policing to a more military type organization influenced citizen perceptions of police/policing in Chicago?

Setting

The primary source for recruiting participants for the study was three Chicago communities: the Englewood (including West Englewood), Washington Park, and Austin neighborhoods. In 2018, the Chicago Metropolitan Agency for Planning Community Data Snapshot reported that Englewood has approximately 26,000 residents. Ninety-five percent of the population is Black non-Hispanic. Sixty percent of the residents earn less

than \$25,000 a year. Thirty-six percent of the residents earned a high school diploma, while 25% either do not have a high school education or have taken some college courses but have received no degree. West Englewood has a slightly larger population of 31,000 residents, 92% of which are Black. Forty-seven percent earn less than \$25,000 a year. Slightly higher than Englewood, 42% of the residents have earned a high school diploma or equivalent. Washington Park consists of a smaller community of 12,000 residents with a similar racial makeup of 94% Black non-Hispanic residents. Fifty-two percent of Washington Park's residents also earn less than \$25,000, and 22% earn \$25,000 to \$49,000 a year. Twenty-eight percent of the residents earned a high school diploma and 18% earned less than a high school diploma. Austin is in the west side of Chicago. The population is quite larger, with 98,000 residents. Eighty-two percent of the residents are Black. Again, 40% of the residents earn less than \$25,000 a year, which is 28% of the population of Chicago. Twenty-two percent do not possess a high school diploma, but 37% are high school graduates.

Demographics

There were 12 participants who engaged in the study. Each participant was assigned a participant identifier to ensure confidentiality. The assigned codes began with 1920 and ended with 1931 to correspond to the order in which the interviews occurred. The demographic information included birth year to determine generational affiliation; this information was collected and analyzed to make generalizations or inferences about the population (see Cozby & Bates, 2012). I interviewed seven males and five females for this study. The participants' ages ranged from 42 to 66 years old. Despite my attempts to recruit participants from West Englewood/Englewood, Washington Park, and Austin

neighborhoods, all the participants resided in the West Englewood/Englewood neighborhood (see Table 1).

Table 1

Summary of Participant Demographics

Participant identifier	Gender	Age	Neighborhood
1920	M	42	West Englewood
1921	F	56	Englewood
1922	F	50	Englewood
1923	F	65	West Englewood
1924	F	47	West Englewood
1925	M	57	West Englewood
1926	M	66	Englewood
1927	M	52	Englewood
1928	F	60	Englewood
1929	M	56	Englewood
1930	M	61	Englewood
1931	M	56	West Englewood

Data Collection

I obtained approval from my Walden University doctoral committee members and the IRB to begin collecting data. Given the small pool of participants, the results may be limited. In order to recruit potential participants for the study, I circulated flyers and used snowballing sampling. In total, 15 people contacted me and 12 met the prescreening criteria. Two potential participants did not meet the prescreening criteria since they did not live in the targeted neighborhoods, and one potential participant did not want to go beyond the prescreening and opted out of the study. All interviews were recorded and the transcripts were sent to the participants to review the accuracy of their responses. While there were no unusual occurrences during data collection, I did learn that longtime residents of Englewood did not separate Englewood from West Englewood although the

neighborhoods are divided by postal zip codes.

Flyers

I contacted several community organizations, barber shops, beauty salons, churches, and grocery stores that were in targeted neighborhoods to request permission to distribute recruitment flyers. I sent a copy of the flyer electronically and mailed hard copies of the flyer for dissemination. Since I did not live within in the city of Chicago, and since recruitment was slow and feedback was minimal, I intensified my recruitment and contacted by phone an additional 30 community organizations that included 20 beauty and barber shops in the targeted neighborhoods. After contacting the additional community organizations, I began within days to receive inquiries for participation.

Interviews

Once the flyers were distributed in the community, participants called the phone number that was provided on the flyer. The number was a local Chicago exchange to avoid any long-distance charges. I answered all phone calls and provided a brief overview of the study. If I was not available to answer the calls, there was a message requesting that they leave their name, number, and email address, and another time that I could contact them to discuss the study. Once on the phone, if the potential participant was interested, the researcher proceeded to conduct a prescreening interview to determine if they qualified to participate in the study. Once it was determined that they met the inclusionary criteria to participate in the study, a date and time to conduct the interview was arranged. In some cases, the interview occurred within a few minutes of the initial screening and others had to be rescheduled for a time that was convenient for both the researcher and participant. After providing a summary of the study and reviewing the

consent form with the participants, I conducted the interview. The interviews lasted approximately 15-20 minutes depending on how communicative the participants were on the subject. They were allowed and encouraged to discuss their experiences pertaining to the research questions that were presented to them. All the interview questions were presented to the participant. Some questions were presented differently to assist the participant in comprehending the question so they could adequately address it

In preparation for the interview, I requested each participant's full name and address. I asked each participant what gift card they would like to receive (Walgreens, Walmart, Starbucks, or Target). I also provided them the conference call number for to call in order to have the interview recorded. The interviews were recorded using freeconference.com services. Freeconference.com is an online conferencing phone services that connects people using the telephone or through the internet.

Once the conference line was set up, the participants called in on a recorded line using a local Chicago number. Once they called in, they were informed that the call was being recorded and that their information would be kept confidential. Before starting the interview, I asked the participants if they had any questions and again provided a brief overview of the study and the consent form prior to asking the interview questions. The use of a qualitative methodology allowed me to focus on participants' the lived experiences and subjectivity. The phenomenological approach "involves a return to experience in order to obtain comprehensive descriptions that provide the basis for reflective structural analysis that portrays the essences of the experience" (Moustakas, 1994, p. 13).

I relied on the first-hand life experiences of Chicago residents who resided in the targeted neighborhoods who were interviewed regarding their perceptions of the shift in policing. The final step in this phenomenological research process was the “intuitive integration of the fundamental textural and structural descriptions into a unified statement of the essences of the experience of the phenomenon as a whole” (Moustakas, 1994, p. 100). I used the lived experiences of participants to answer the central research question, “Has the shift in policing styles from community-oriented policing to a more military type organization influenced citizen perceptions of police/policing in Chicago?” The role of the research question in phenomenology is to provide a stage to assist the researcher in obtaining significant material from the transcriptions of the interviews. From a qualitative perspective, this reciprocal approach encourages finding meanings based upon the shared experiences of both the participants and the researcher.

Protection of Interviewees’ Data

Forgó (2015) claimed that data protection is a fundamental right that has received increasing attention in the last decade. The collection and processing of a person’s data may impinge on this person’s fundamental rights and should be forbidden without their permission, thus requiring justification either by consent or by legal avenues. The participants each received a written or electronic copy of the confidentiality form. Once the participants agreed to participate in the interview, I assigned them a four number identifier, which began with the number 1920. The codes were assigned in order as the interviews occurred (i.e. 1920, 1921, etc.). Each participant was informed that all calls were recorded and that only I would have access to the data. During the interview, the participants were permitted to ask questions for clarification and understanding.

Data Analysis

Coding Process

Winters, Cudney, and Sullivan (2010) defined the coding process as “a systematic procedure for managing and analyzing the data gathered [that] is required in order to make sense out of what can be an overwhelming volume of data that needs to be condensed and organized in some way so that the riches that dwell within it can be teased out and examined for themes, links, and relationships” (p. 1415). The interviews with the 12 participants produced rich data that I used to answer the research question that guided this study. I collected the data using digital recordings and notes during the interview process. The 12 interviews were transcribed using the freeconference.com service. Once transcribed, each interview was reviewed for clarity. I reviewed each transcript and highlighted recurring phrases. There were four main themes that emerged from the participant’s responses. Several themes overlapped and appeared in multiple areas (i.e. police response and older vs. younger police officers). I reflected on the participants’ responses and used descriptive analysis to understand the differential patterns that resulted in a list of emerging themes.

Once a list of emergent themes was compiled, I used an Excel spreadsheet to develop a table listing the terms and participant identifiers. Upon listing the identifiers, I then placed an “x” in the cell under the applicable terms. This process was repeated for each of the 12 transcripts. Once all the transcripts were reviewed the themes that were repeated by the participants were identified resulted as emergent themes. The codes are listed in Table 2 below.

Table 2

Emergent Themes

Themes	Themes
Harassment	Adopt
Trust	Military Based Policing
Criminal (being viewed as)	Police are scared
No cause	Worse after 9/11
Police Response	Older vs Younger Police Officer
Communication	Negative Perception by Police
Black Males vs Black Females (how police treated them)	Older vs Younger (how they are treated by police)
Police Shows No Respect	

Coding Strategy

The coding strategy is made up of three phases: open coding, axial coding, and selective coding at the utterance level. The first phase of the coding strategy, open coding, involves using line-by-line data coding to identify the descriptive patterns and emergent themes. The second phase of coding is axial coding. Axial coding consists of identifying the relationships among the identified open codes. This phase requires the clustering, elimination, and relabeling of codes categories (Wren, 2017). Wagner (2010) pointed out that codes are indicators that describe the meaning of descriptive information. When selective coding is applied, the sequence information is preserved (Ongena1 & Dijkstra, 2006).

Emergent Themes

There were four themes and seven sub-themes that emerged from the interviews that discussed, “Has the shift in policing styles from community-oriented policing to a more military type organization influenced citizen perceptions of police/policing in Chicago?” Theme 1 was “perceived to be viewed negatively by the police” and the sub

themes were “viewed as a criminal,” “police harassing us,” “stopping us for no cause,” and “police show us no respect.” Theme 2 was “after 9/11 changed to military style policing” and the sub theme was “policing became worse after 9/11.” Theme 3 was “police are scared,” and sub theme was “response of police.” Theme 4 was “return to community policing” and the subtheme was “communication” (see Table 3).

Table 3

Themes

Themes	Subcategory
Perceived to be viewed negatively by the police	Viewed as a criminal Police harassing us Stopping us for no cause Police show us no respect
After 9/11 changed to military style policing	Policing became worse after 9/11
Police are scared	Response of police
Return to Community Policing	Communication

Theme 1: Perceived to be viewed negatively by the police. The theme “viewed negatively by the police” was the most frequent themes. Ten of the 12 participants responded to research question 3. The participants spoke with conviction when discussing how they felt they were perceived negatively by the police. This theme perception was repeatedly identified regardless of the participants’ ages and genders. The participants all felt that they, their children, and their grandchildren were viewed negatively by police. Gamal (2016) echoed the perceptions of the participants by acknowledging that although police possess a military presence, there is a flagrant pattern of use of excessive force that can be observed along race. The author compared the treatment of Baltimore residents

after Freddy Gray died in police custody. In West Baltimore, Black residents were peppered sprayed and beaten for disobeying the curfew that was implemented by the mayor. However, the National Guard was deployed to protect Hampden and other predominantly White neighborhoods in Baltimore. In contrast, White residents were not exposed to the harsh military treatment that Black residents were Participant 1924 discussed the fear she has for her son: “He’s treated like a common criminal, or what’s the word for it? Looks “suspect” maybe?” All of the female participants discussed how Black men are treated by the police. The male participants expressed anger and embarrassment at how they are treated by the police. Black men, regardless of their age, reported succumbing to the police’s treatment so they would not be detained longer than necessary, arrested, or killed. Participant 1920 shared a similar experience in agreement: I’m always seen as a criminal; police treat you as a child. They push you to give them a reason; probable cause. I know my rights and I don’t want to end up shot so you ‘yes Sir no sir’ them to they let you go. Although some participants felt they were always viewed negatively by the police, they felt that those negative perceptions were reinforced after 9/11. The following sub themes were identified as a result of the participants’ perceptions: viewed as a criminal, police harassing us, stopping us for no cause, and police show us no respect (see Table 4).

Table 4

Theme 1: Perceived to be viewed negatively by the police

Theme	Subcategory	n
Perceived to be viewed negatively by the police	Viewed as a criminal	7
	Police harassing us	6
	Stopping us for no cause	7
	Police show us no respect	6

Theme 2: After 9/11 changed to military style policing. Theme 2 emerged from research question 2 (see Table 5). All 12 participants voiced that they were not aware of the terms “homeland security,” “homeland security policing,” or “military style policing” until I provided a simple description. However, they were all very familiar with community policing. Once I explained the context of the terms “homeland security,” “homeland security policing,” and “military style policing,” participants could immediately express the changes they have seen since 9/11. Participant 1924, for example, stated the following:

Well, I'll put it this way. I do see a change; they were more comfortable earlier in years than they are now. Now they come together as. They come in group form out of fear, that's how I see it.

This statement was further supported by Participant 1925:

Yes, I think that before 9/11 the policing there was no familiarity but you wasn't apprehensive about approaching them. After 9/11 yes, there is no community policing it policing it seemed more like a martial law, you know hey, whatever the police officer says that's the law. That's what I get.

Hasisi, Alpert, and Flynn (2009) discovered that assigning police officers as the first line in the fight against terrorism can negatively affect the people that they serve and protect. Metcalfe, Wolfe, Gertz, and Gertz (2016) reported that adding homeland security to a police officer's responsibilities changes their role and their relationship to their community. The author further stated that the police officer becomes more focused on homeland security rather than issues that are important to residents such as neighborhood crime. As a result, residents perceive the police officers as less legitimate.

The sub theme of "policing became worse after 9/11" also emerged from research question 2. Ten of the 12 participants stated that policing became worse since 9/11. When the researcher asked probing questions to have participants recount how policing has gotten worse since 9/11, Participant 1921 stated: "I don't interact with them. I have seen them use excessive force on people and stuff like that. That's after 9/11. I don't compare 9/11 to now. This to me is way different." Participant 1928 further described how policing has changed after 9/11: "After 9/11, I believe the police have gotten a little rougher."

Johnson and Hunter (2017) validated that policing has changed since 9/11. Police officers' concentration on homeland security resulted in them eroding their relationships with minorities in the communities that they serve. Seventeen years later, police departments face the challenge of determining where to place their focus and to find a balance between homeland security and community policing in an effort to repair the relationships with their minority communities.

Table 5

Theme 2: After 9/11 changed to military style policing

Theme	Subcategory	n
After 9/11 changed to military style policing		9
	Policing became worse after 9/11	10

Theme 3: Police are scared. The police are scared is the third theme that emerged from participants' responses (see Table 6). This was an unpredictable theme that materialized from the participant's responses. Participants 1921, 1922, 1924, 1929, and 1931 all had a similar response to research question 5. Five of the 12 participants sympathized with police officers who are faced with unknown troubles when entering their neighborhoods. The five participants were cognizant that their neighborhood is filled with crime; the gangs are ruthless, and the gang members and drug dealers do not care about life. Participants also felt that police officers were unwilling to answer 9-1-1 calls in their neighborhoods. Residents want the police to know that they are afraid of what's taken place in their neighborhood. Participant 1924 characterized the following:

There is fear for their life, well, it's because of them, but they're fearing for their life due to their behaviors and the behaviors of the neighborhood, the behaviors have changed so they've changed. Without a little fear, they come in groups and

now they'll draw their gun out if he jaywalks or something. Everybody looks suspect to them now. So they're in fear.

Participant 1921 stated:

But I'm supposed to ... It's going to take a whole lot for them to come back because people don't trust the police. Too many shootings. People don't have guns. They just reacting because I know they're probably scared. They probably leave out of the house in the morning and be scared to go to work. In their mind, it's premeditated. They don't shoot you in your leg or arm to stop you. Sometimes you don't even have a weapon, but they kill you. They shoot to kill you. That's crazy.

They all felt that they did not want to be seen as criminals just because they lived in a particular neighborhood. They want the police to know that they are law-abiding citizens who are just as scared of the gangs and the crime; they are not immune or isolated from the shootings.

Carmichael and Kent (2015) reported that there is a greater incidence of use of force in poverty-stricken or minority neighborhoods. Reiss (1971) and Friedrich (1980) documented that race and socioeconomic status directly correlate with a police officer's use of force. As a result of the high crime rates in their neighborhood and the theme of police are scared, the sub theme of response of the police surfaced. Participant 1921 declared:

Police don't arrive when stuff is happening, especially when it's gunshots or something. They come after it stops. They be there real quick. You could call the police now. You have to tell a lie to get the police to a certain neighborhood for

them to come. Depending on where you live. On the north side, it's different from the south and the west side.

Participant 1926 further collaborated:

Well, no, it's like the police won't help. You got to constantly call, and when they do come, it's too late to get help. It's like the police are coming late now. It's like when you call and now they tell you ... It's like now on the phone, they saying is this a serious call? It got to be a serious accident, something like that. It's messed up now. 'Cause you call the police now, they don't even want to really come when you tell them to come, when you really need them. People on the streets, just like me. Black people. They pass and keep going. You might really need help. Some police do the pull up on you. You having a problem, anything, some of 'em will keep going, or they'll try you.

Residents indicated that the police they either do not respond or arrive in force just to respond to an officer writing a ticket. Participant 1928 correlated the following: "Well, they don't need all them just to write no ticket, you know wha' I'm saying? And it's just like they light the whole block up. Nothing but blue lights, blue lights, just blue lights."

Table 6

Themes 3: Police are scared

Theme	Subcategory	n
Police are scared		5
	Response of police	5

Theme 4: Return to community policing. The change of policing from community to homeland security policing, the use of military grade equipment, and the

tools of the PATRIOT Act changed the dynamics of policing in their communities. This includes the sight of law enforcement officers dressed in more military style combat gear and carrying paramilitary style arsenals down American streets. Many participants believed that the abuse of power the officers' use was indicative of the move to more heavy-handedness in law enforcement (Singh, 2001). This was echoed by Mummolo (2018), who recounted Baldwin's (1966) view on urban policing as an occupation of forces within the Black community. The Mummolo (2018) identified that in recent decades, local police agencies have militarized their departments to varying degrees by adopting weapons, attire, tactics, and organizational structures more suitable for theaters of war. A challenge emerges when the objectives of law enforcement and the military mix. One's objective, normally, is to annihilate the enemy, while the other's is to protect the people (Staff, 2013). Participant 1921 stated:

If they do what they used to do. You know, walk around and police the streets. Okay, look. This is everything wrapped up in a nutshell for overall ... For everything you've asked me. The other day on the news, they were saying that 80% of the murders and the shootings, they have no suspects or nothing. If the police do what they used to do, people probably wouldn't be scared to let them know who did what. People are scared because they feel like if they tell, then them people might get them. They've got to live in that neighborhood.

Eight of the 12 participants would like to see policing return to community policing. Participants would also like to work with the police to identify problem areas and find solutions to resolve problems in their neighborhood. Participant 1927 shared the following statement: "Have them interact with the community more. Simple as that."

The residents want to have a relationship with police. They would like to collaborate to reduce crime and to feel safe in their neighborhood. Increasing communication can only assist the residents and police to build and develop trust between them. Building trust can result in an environment of mutual respect. Residents hope to have this type of relationship with the police one day. The sub theme of communication emerged as a result of the participants' responses. Participant 1929 stated: "You know more policemen communicate with ... be involved in the community like when we have these community meetings." This sentiment was also shared by Participant 1931, who stated:

Not just ride the bikes, stop and talk to the people that you patrol the neighborhoods in. You would find out a whole lot more about the community if you stopped and talked to some people. Not just laugh, have a look to see you think doing something. You get a ticket, so you get your merit results in the ranks. It's my life here. Don't arrest me if you 'can't get your ranks up. You going to look person to get to the other person so you can get your rank up. That's another rank. No. And then, while 'you're doing that, 'there's a lady around the corner getting raped and robbed.

Table 7

Themes 4: Return to Community Policing

Theme	Subcategory	n
Return to Community Policing		8
	Communication	6

Evidence of Trustworthiness

Credibility

Chan et al. (2013) pointed out that bias can be eliminated by utilizing bracketing. Creswell (2013) further explained that bracketing prevents the researcher from influencing the study participants' understanding of the phenomenon. Moreover, allowing the participant to voice their true perceptions allows their lived experiences to be uncovered. In this study, credibility was achieved through the triangulation of the data. Carter, Bryant-Lukosius, DiCenso, Blythe, and Neville (2014) stated that triangulation is an approach used in qualitative research to confirm and test the validity of information. I implemented triangulation in the data analysis process and throughout the review of the interview transcriptions, field journal, and government reports.

Transferability

Foster and Urquhart (2012) pointed out that a numeric coding process may allow for duplication in future studies. The recurrent themes are not unique to Chicago and the Englewood, West Englewood, Austin, or Washington Park neighborhoods. Malagon-Maldonado (2014) described qualitative interviews as "unstructured with open-ended questions that are few in number and intended to elicit participants' ideas, thoughts, and feelings" (p. 127). The interviews can be successfully applied and evaluated in another targeted neighborhood. Pompeii (2015) explained that the criteria that is used as a tool in qualitative research incorporates the tool's ability to enhance credibility, transferability, dependability, and confirmability.

Dependability

Stanley and Nayar (2014) recounted that the only way to truly comprehend the depth of a person's experience is through an interview. They further explained that the aim of phenomenological research is to access the essence of the lived experience. Phenomenology is based in the belief that those who have experienced a phenomenon are the most knowledgeable about that phenomenon (Giorgi & Giorgi, 2003; Moustakas, 1994). I used triangulation and kept a reflective field journal during data collection.

In addition, I was able to check the transcripts for accuracy and add additional comments and interpretations based on the participants' responses. The utilization of sources such as interviews, field journals, and government reports increased the understanding of the phenomena shared by the residents. Seidman (2013) declared that interviews allow researchers to understand the meaning of participants' behaviors. I ensured that the interviews were consistent by using the same interview questions and allowing the participants as much time as they wished to respond to each question (Thomas & Lacy, 2016).

Confirmability

Greenfield, Greene, and Johanson (2007) characterized confirmability as how much the results are free from objectivity and the researcher's bias. I used an Excel spreadsheet to assist in the identification of various emergent themes by reading, interpreting, confirming, comparing, identifying, and recording the available data (Chowdbury, 2015). In addition, I was able to check the transcripts for accuracy and add additional comments and interpretations based on the participants' responses. Klenke (2016) conveyed that researchers must collect data until data saturation is achieved. In

this study, saturation occurred quickly and the participants spoke of the same negative interactions with the police within the targeted communities.

Results of the Study

This section reviewed the study results coupled with the validation of the themes identified from the interview transcripts. The results of the analysis were then used to develop the textual synthesis to determine if the citizens' perception of the policing styles identified a shift from community-oriented policing to military-styled policing in the targeted neighborhoods Englewood, West Englewood, Austin, and Washington Park in Chicago. There were four overarching themes and several sub themes that were disclosed from several of the participants. Theme 1 was perceived to be viewed negatively by the police; Theme 2 was after 9/11 changed to military style policing; Theme 3 was police are scared; and Theme 4 was return to community policing. Cooley (1902) theorized that the self is a result of a social process where we learn to see ourselves as other see us (Giddens, 1991; Habermas, 1987).

The first theme solidifies Cooley's theory that the view of ourselves originates and manifests from how others perceive us. In the application of the theory, the participants perceived themselves as criminals as a result of how they felt the police perceived them. Participants such as 1920 always felt that they were perceived as criminals before 9/11, but that perception has since risen to the level of being shot by the police without just cause. Baldwin (1897) further asserted that one transfers behaviors and the behaviors begin to be a part of one's demeanor, similar to a child adjusting their behavior to obtain the approval of their parents or those who are in charge; they act obediently to remain out of trouble. Participant 1920 explained:

I'm always seen as a criminal; police treat you as a child. They push you to give them a reason; probable cause. I know my rights and I don't want to end up shot so you "yes Sir no sir" them to they let you go.

This perception is amplified in the police's response once they receive a call from the targeted neighborhoods. Participant 1922 supported Participant 1920's perception by stating:

Yes, I think if they stop judging the book by the cover and give people a chance, because everyone ... just because they're dark or they're in the Englewood area, which is basically bad area, it doesn't mean that I'm a criminal, it doesn't mean that-

Participant 1923 validated the feelings of all the participants when he stated the following: "You're another black person. There go another nigger."

Cooley (1902) claimed that we determine our self-concept based on the perceptions of others. If residents of Englewood/West Englewood, Washington Park, and Austin are perceived to be "criminals," "children," and "niggers," then their self-concept becomes the same. Despite any successes, as long as they remain in those neighborhoods, they will continue to see themselves as the police see them.

The second theme was that after 9/11, police adopted military style policing. Oliver (2006) characterized the terrorist attacks of September 11, 2001, as commencing a fourth era of American policing, labeled the era of homeland security policing. This new policing style focuses on maintaining law and order. However, local police agencies were faced with the function of securing the homeland against terrorist acts and other threats to national security (Hendricks, & Sugie, 2007; Lee, 2010; Oliver, 2006, 2007; Ortiz,

Pelfrey, 2007, 2009). In the aftermath of the September 11 attacks, there was an advance in the anti-terrorism industry that pushed weapons into the military and local law enforcement (Hall & Coyne, 2013). Johnson and Hansen (2016) further reinforced the paradigm shift that occurred after the September 11 attacks. The federal government provided local police agencies funding and directives to enhance their departments with the new responsibility (Hall & Coyne, 2013; Oliver, 2006; Safir, 2003).

The most unexpected response led to the uncovering of Theme 3: police are scared. Participants articulated on several occasions that police are scared of Black people. For example, Participant 1922 explained:

Basically, it really doesn't matter where you are, police are scared of us just like we're sometimes scared of them because there's so much tension and the evil in the room now and they're just trying to be aware and being able to survive.

They're trying to survive just as much as we are trying to survive. Basically, that's how I see it. Everything could go wrong from one wrong word spoken to one wrong movement.

Participant 1924 concurred with the fear when they stated:

There is fear for their life, well, it's because of them, but they're fearing for their life due to their behaviors and the behaviors of the neighborhood, the behaviors have changed so they've changed. Without a little fear, they come in groups and now they'll draw their gun out if he jaywalks or something. Everybody looks suspect to them now. So they're in fear.

This fear only strengthens Cooley's theory that people imagine themselves as others must see them, and this construction of what others must see is fundamentally like

an image reflected back from a mirror (Schaffer, 2005). Cooley (2017) summarized the point of reflection when he stated,

This is evident from the fact that the character and weight of that other, in whose mind we see ourselves, makes all the difference with our feeling. We are ashamed to seem evasive in the presence of a straightforward man, cowardly in the presence of a brave one, gross in the eyes of a refined one and so on. (p. 184).

Participant 1931 expressed the following statement when asked what can be done to feel safer with law enforcement:

Not just ride the bikes, stop and talk to the people that you patrol the neighborhoods in. You would find out a whole lot more about the community if you stopped and talked to some people. Not just laugh, have a look to see you think doing something. You get a ticket, so you get your merit results in the ranks. It's my life here. Don't arrest me if you can't get your ranks up. You going to look person to get to the other person so you can get your rank up. That's another rank. No. And then, while you're doing that, there's a lady around the corner getting raped and robbed.

The fourth theme was return to community policing. The residents want to have a better relationship with the police. They do not want to be feared and they do not want to fear the people that are there to protect them.

Discrepant Cases

Booth, Carroll, Llott, Low, and Cooper (2012) reported that there are inconsistencies that can be identified in the data that do not bolster or contradict patterns or provide a justification for the results of a data analysis. These conclusions can provide

unpredictable results that can ultimately result in the researcher revising, broaden, and strengthen their theory. Irrespective of the differences in the participants' genders and ages, they all shared similar experiences. The interview data were hand coded to establish triangulation and identify any discrepancies. Participant 1924 felt that interactions with the police were different between men and females. "Well, in Chicago, I'm treated fine as a woman. Can't say that about my son. He's treated like a common criminal, or- what's the word for it? Looks "suspect" maybe?" Participant 1922 further elaborated with the following observation:

Even with some Black women, if they're not dressed accordingly, they get treated [like a criminal] the same. The same women who was on drugs or drinking and they get mistreated too. If you don't act like you have some type of educational sense or some kind of common sense, you're mistreated. And sometimes the ones that have sense and a little educational background are mishandled.

All the participants stated that they were not afraid of the police however; they had to adapt to deal with the police to prevent them from escalating their interaction.

Participant 1925 explained the following:

I'm not afraid of them, but I'm very apprehensive and it's because of the atmosphere the state of the community and I guess the state of ... I don't know with the police shootings and all that, I don't know the state of them right now, so I'm more apprehensive I'm not actually afraid of them, but I'm reluctant to go to them for immediate help.

Participant 1926 summarized the same sentiments when she stated:

“Because I’m not doing anything to be afraid of the police. You’re a police and you can do what you want to. Might not be right. I’m not going be scared neither.”

The responses were the same from both males and female participants. Their age did not change the result. Older participants, male and female, mentioned that their age has an impact on how they are treated. Older participants felt that they were less likely to have negative interactions with the police. Participant 1928 pointed out the following:

Okay, I can say, I’ve never had an encounter, no bad encounter with the police.

And I thank God for that. You know, they be polite, just like I be polite. They’re not polite with me, you know, I’m 60 years old. I can do just as well as treat them same way they treat me.

Participant 1923 further agreed:

“It’s worse now than it was then. I’m 65 years old.”

Summary

Chapter 4 provided an in-depth explanation and illustration of the participants’ perceptions of police and the paradigm shift of policing after the September 11 attacks. The participants resided in a small community with only 28,000 residents, where 60% earned less than \$25,000 a year and only 36% earned a high school diploma. Residents responded that they were from Englewood even if their postal zip codes indicated West Englewood, Englewood or Chatham. Residents explained that zip codes do not define the neighborhood you are from. Despite an aggressive recruitment campaign, only 12 participants participated in the interviews. The participants’ perceptions were captured electronically using freeconference.com. Once all the transcripts were all reviewed and combined, four themes were extracted which deepened the understanding of how the shift

in policing styles from community-oriented policing to more military-styled policing influenced citizen perceptions of the police. The information gained from this research project may inform changes in the educational arena, improve the delivery of instructions to all students by identifying teachers' use of technology, and guide the development of policies made by local educational agencies (see Cozby & Bates, 2012).

Chapter 5: Discussion

Introduction

The purpose of this study was to fill the gap in the literature regarding the perceptions of the residents of a Chicago community as they related to the shift in policing policy after the September 11, 2001, terrorist attacks. For this study, I used a qualitative methodology with a phenomenological approach to explore the community's perceptions of homeland security policing. A phenomenological study explores the feelings, thoughts, perceptions, observations, and reflections of people experiencing the phenomenon under study. I theorized that the data would yield a composite characterization of the attributes of the collective experience (see Moustakas, 1994).

Eide and Showalter (2012) theorized that using the qualitative research method allows researchers the opportunity to study the participants in their current environment. This type of research provided me an opportunity to understand the factors that contributed to the phenomenon which was studied. I recruited 12 participants from Englewood/West Englewood. I used Cooley's theory of the looking glass self, coupled with a phenomenological qualitative approach, to understand the deeper meaning associated with residents' perceptions of the shift in policing styles in several Chicago communities. This chapter includes my interpretation of the findings, a review of study limitations, recommendations, a discussion of implications, and a conclusion.

Interpretation of the Findings

This study was guided by one central research question: Has the shift in policing styles from community-oriented policing to a more military type organization influenced citizen perceptions of police/policing in Chicago? Moreover, I sought to understand

whether the attitudes and beliefs of citizens residing in a Chicago community have shifted because of escalated military style policing practices in relationship to enforcement of minor violations of the law. The findings from this qualitative research study support indicate that the shift in policing styles from community-oriented policing to a more military type organization has influenced citizens' perceptions of police/policing in Chicago.

Theme 1: Perceived to be Viewed Negatively by the Police

Police may not know what level of threat is involved with particular risks until it is too late to prevent the threat. Thus, "Actions that respond to threats and risk are premised on mere guesswork, inferences, and predictions" (Bolduc, 2016, p. 270). Notably, risks and threats that originate in international drug distribution or organized crime typically pass under the radar. Many nations, such as the United States, designate these risks as national security threats. Therefore, by categorizing such risks as threatening the nation's security as a whole, military intervention and increased interaction with local law enforcement is therefore legitimized. However, when local law enforcement is dealing with the community, the outcomes are often very different. The attitudes and perceptions of the police are motivated by a collection of factors that include class, age, race, education, and prior personal experiences with the police (Hurst & Frank, 2000; Johnson & Kuhns, 2009; Weitzer, 2002).

The participants were very critical regarding their interaction with law enforcement and voiced how age and gender was a factor. If the person was an older woman, they found that law enforcement was not as aggressive. But they reported that law enforcement treated Black men with more aggression. However, Participant 1922

voiced her disappointment and embarrassment that her son was viewed negatively because of his color. She expressed feeling powerless when interacting with the police and reported that she feared for her son's safety. She said,

So, even when I'm with my kids, which are now grown, when I was with them it was always a little, 'Ma'am, I'm not talking to you. Ma'am.' Opposed to when I'm by myself and I'm asking the question, it was more calmer.

You could hear the disappointment in their voices.

The voices of the participants carried a sense of dejectedness that they were viewed as "nothing"; the men felt it even more than the "seasoned" woman. The women participants were a little more accepting and were used to the negative feelings expressed from local law enforcement; however, Participant 1924 reported that she had a son and felt very anxious about how her son is treated by law enforcement. She herself did not have those concerns but her sense of anger was expressed in how she voiced her interactions and experiences with the police. She reported, Well, in Chicago, I'm treated fine as a woman. Can't say that about my son, but... He's treated like a common criminal, or- what's the word for it? Looks 'suspect' maybe?

When applying Cooley's theory of the looking glass self to Participant 1922 and 1924's interactions with law enforcement, I found that their responses demonstrated the perceived view of negativity by the police as identified in Theme 1. Fundamentally, the participants imagined themselves as law enforcement viewed them, as "common criminals," and this developed viewpoint is the reflective mirror image. Harter (2015) contended that the destruction of a person is the internalization of unfavorable evaluation of self by others. Incorporating the negative beliefs will lead to perceptions of "personal

inadequacy and low self-esteem” (p. 680). In support of this viewpoint, Goff, Jackson, Di Leone, Culotta, and DiTomasso (2014) found that Black and White children are judged equally innocent until the age of 10. Thereafter, White participants consistently rated Black children as less innocent than their White counterparts. Furthermore, Rome (2004) explained that because Black males are treated unfairly and often subjected to racial profiling, this can have an adverse effect on them psychologically and legally. In some respects, this psychological effect can mirror the essence of an inferiority complex. Goff and Kahn (2012) pointed out that Blacks are more likely to fear unlawful and harsh treatment by law enforcement officials. This was echoed by Anderson (2013), who indicated that if a Black man is found out of his place, he may be treated with suspicion, stopped, frisked, searched, arrested, or worse.

In New York City, with a police force comparable to that of Chicago, Legewie (2016) discovered that there was an increase in stop-and-frisk incidents, resulting in the use of physical force by police officers against Blacks by 16.0% in 2007 and 13.3% in 2011. However, the statistics reported by the New York City Police Department continue to increase at a staggering rate, with more than 11,000 stops, 56% of which were of Blacks in 2017. In comparison, Chicago reports more than 71% of stop and frisks were of Black subjects.

When looking at comparable cities such as New York City, stories such as Eric Gardner who died at age 43 at the hands of law enforcement because they believed he was selling individual cigarettes. Gardner, who had a history of interactions with the police was standing outside of a beauty supply store, when he was approached by a plain clothes law enforcement officer. Reportedly, other law enforcement officers arrived on

the scene as a result of a recent fight that had occurred in the same location. There were a total of five officers who were on the scene when an officer attempted to arrest Gardner by placing him in a chokehold that lasted 15 seconds and ultimately resulted in his death. This interaction between Gardner and law enforcement illustrates the theme perceived to be viewed negatively by the police. It is an example how police officers can view people of color negatively. However, their mild interactions with the police can quickly escalate into situations that can cause death. The actions leading up to Mr. Gardner's death and the responses of my study participants demonstrate how people of color are negatively perceived by the police.

Theme 2: After 9/11, Change to Military Style Policing

All participants saw some change in the style of policing as the police appeared harsher and had a very "us vs. them" mentality. According to participants, the police appeared as if they did not have any time to be bothered by the citizens. Participants fervently responded to the question regarding the change in policing. It was as if they finally had a release or a platform to speak. All reported noticing a change in policing since 9/11. For example Participant 1929 stated, "Before 9/11 it looked like there was more community, friendly, you know what I'm saying? Now, the difference is there's so much crime and corruption going on. It just seems like we're disconnected." She then commented,

Lately, there's been a disconnection. And not just Blacks, everybody keeps on saying its Black, but it's not just Black. It can be White, Black, brown, it's just a community disconnection all around. That's how I feel.

Likewise, Participant 1927 reflected,

Well, yes. Well, not me personally, but yes, there is a difference. It's worse. Well, what it looks like is that they don't really give nobody respect. I mean, they'll see you walking down the street, they just want to stop you just for any reason, because it seems like they have nothing else to do.

Participant 1923's comments resonated with the others when she stated,

Well, police no longer respect. I would say the majority of them are power struck. They enforce the rules and the laws on the citizens, but they don't follow them themselves and they talk to you so crazy.

Similar to Participant 1929, Trinkner and Tyler (2016) observed that the police being disconnected from their community was not necessarily a race issue but a result of police officers failing to acknowledge the community's perception of their failure to uphold their authority and power as police officers. When this occurs, the community begins to question their legitimacy, authority, and their use of force (Jackson, Huq et al., 2013; Sunshine & Tyler, 2003; Tyler, 2006).

Barkworth and Murphy (2015) argued that citizens are more willing to comply with police officers who employ procedural justice. Moreover, police using heavy-handed tactics and acting rudely toward citizens often results in citizen resistance and escalations of violence. Police hypervigilance occurs when agency policies are rationally structured to maximize the pursuit of false positives and gravitate aggressively toward security threats; this has been the staple of agency decision-making in the United States with regard to homeland security since September 11, 2001 (Kilburn, Costanza, Metchik, & Borgeson, 2011).

Witnessing the changes of police officers' appearances to tactical gear in addition to being manned with military weaponry purchased through the F Program only leaves citizens with a vision of soldiers going into war. Lyle and Esmail (2016) summarized that local police departments have obtained excess military weapons to protect themselves from their enemy. However, many believe this militarization gives the police an ominous and menacing appearance. With the emergence of tanks rolling through neighborhoods, a resident can only imagine going to war. When the police officers are dressed for combat, they stop seeing residents and their community. Instead, they begin to see a threat, and the community as the enemy.

In the theory of the looking glass self, Cooley (1902) proposed that perceptions of another person's appraisal are more likely to become assimilated into the self-concept if the other person is considered relevant, important, valued, desired, and a member of the "in" group (Cast, Stets, & Burke, 1999; Rosenberg, 1973; Sinclair, Huntsinger, Skorinko, & Hardin, 2005; Turner & Onorato, 1999). Starr and Bruer (2015) validated this view point by noting that the National Guard's internal documents referred to protestors as "enemy forces" and used highly militarized language, intelligence gathering, and paramilitary tactics to prepare for their deployment against civilian protestors. War rhetoric around police shootings and the Black Lives Matter movement has drawn attention to the decades-long process of the militarization of urban policing, which escalated with the end of the Cold War when the federal government donated surplus military hardware and funding to local police forces under the rubric of the war on drugs. This practice has since continued and expanded during the war on terror and the policing of the anti-globalization and Occupy movements (Alexander, 2012; Apuzzo, 2014; Baker

2011; Schrader 2012).

Such militarization was evident in the aftermath of the murder of an unarmed teenager named Michael Brown on August 9, 2014, by Darren Wilson, a police officer with the Ferguson, Missouri Police Department. While walking in the middle of the street, Officer Wilson confronted Michael Brown over an alleged robbery at a nearby convenience store (Rios, 2016; Cuenca, & Nichols, 2014). In response to the protest of angry residents who were upset that there were unanswered questions regarding why Brown was shot when he had his hands up and why his body was left lying in the street for hours, police responded in tactical gear, and military equipment and weapons, including tank-like armored vehicles (Levs, 2014). Johnson and Hansen (2016) concluded the separation of the military and civilian law enforcement roles became obscured after the terrorist attack on September 11, 2001. Gillham and Marx (2018) stated that the overwhelming police response to the protest in Ferguson after the killing of Michael Brown was a reminder that more than any other model, the police remain the symbol of racial order in America.

Theme 3: Police are Scared

The participants' responses uncovered an unexpected recurring theme; the police are scared is theme 3. Participant 1921 voiced that,

But I'm supposed to ... It's going to take a whole lot for them to come back because people don't trust the police. Too many shootings. People don't have guns. They just reacting because I know they're probably scared. They probably leave out of the house in the morning and be scared to go to work.

Participant 1922 explained,

Basically, it really doesn't matter where you are, police are scared of us just like we're sometimes scared of them because there's so much tension and the evil in the room now and they're just trying to be aware and being able to survive.

They're trying to survive just as much as we are trying to survive. Basically, that's how I see it. Everything could go wrong from one wrong word spoken to one wrong movement.

Hill, Pollet, and Nettle (2014) expressed the view that police officers, just like anyone else, make judgements about a neighborhood based on its appearance. Lawns that are well maintained and free from litter, along with generally well-kept homes, give the appearance that the residents are invested in their community. Communities that are not well-kept give are perceived as being of lower socioeconomic status, making them less trustworthy and of inferior social quality. Cooley (1902) theorized that police officers looking through the looking glass see people who do not care about their neighborhood and in response look down at them. Thus, their response is either not to communicate, to delay answering a call from the community, or to respond with too many officers.

Participant 1928 stated:

Of course, because I've always believed in ... I was always taught to believe in Officer Friendly. You know what I'm saying? No, we don't have that any more. Even down here on Halsted, I live right here off of Halsted. Say, a police ...

When you turned around, it's about ten of them on one car. And then all they're doing is writing a doggone ticket.

In contrast, Participant 126 shared the following experience: “People on the streets, just like me. Black people. They pass and keep going. You might really need help.”

Theme 4: Return to Community Policing

The fourth theme is a return to community policing. Gill, Weisburd, Telep, Vitter, and Bennett (2014) defined community-oriented policing as a policing philosophy that concentrates on an alliance with the community to prevent crime and keeping their neighborhood safe. Community-oriented policing changes the relationship between the police and their communities to one of bilateral understanding and respect. Community policing stands in contrast to the military style policing which focusing on law enforcement and order maintenance. The participants had a sincere desire to have a relationship with their beat officers. Participant 1931 made the following comment:

Not just ride the bikes, stop and talk to the people that you patrol the neighborhoods in. You would find out a whole lot more about the community if you stopped and talked to some people. Not just laugh, have a look to see you think doing something.

Participant 1920 made the following plea: “There should be a level of respect to make me feel safe in their presence; communication, security, and trust.”

Wetzel (2012) identified that community policing is a symbiotic relationship between the community and the police where “protecting and serving” are synonymous stipulations between the officer and the community. They work together to assist each other to achieve their common goal of making their community a safer and better place to live. In order for this relationship to exist, they have to develop a mutual respect and trust for each other.

The CPD participates in a community police program called Chicago Alternative Policing Strategy (CAPS). It focuses on strengthening the relationship between the CPD and the people of Chicago (Chicago Police Department website). However, it appears to the residents of Englewood are disengaged from the CAPS Program. Although the program exists, the residents are unaware or unsure of the program's operation in their neighborhood. For instance, Participant 1927 made the following statement: "I'm trying to figure out what happened to the CAPS programs, the CAPS meetings, and everything. I mean, they still have them, but not as much."

Gill, Weisburd, Telep, Vitter, and Bennett (2014) supported the positive outcomes of participating in a community policing program. For example, community policing programs increase communities' satisfaction with the police. Under community policing, residents perceive their police interactions to be respectful and fair. Community policing also develops trust between the police officers and the community. In addition, community policing increases the community's perception of a safe neighborhood (Abubakar, Othman, & Mustaffa, 2017; Bull, 2015).

The participants viewed law enforcement as not liking them because they stopped the CAPS program within the community. While the program does still exist, it is now largely displayed online and is not a community-based program. Kirk and Papachristos (2011), Sampson (2012), and Weitzer (2002) found that this negative perception increases a community's skepticism pertaining to police misconduct and negative encounters with the police.

Limitations of the Study

During this research, I was confronted several limitations. This study encompassed two limitations: limited participants and limited historical information. Samuel (2014) expressed that promising candidates in various African American communities are often overlooked during research. There was also an issue with researchers not having access or relationships that gain them access to potential research participants.

Limitations of Participants

Despite a very aggressive recruitment campaign at a number of establishments where potential participants frequent and an offer of a \$15 gift card to a store of their choice to thank them for their time, the researcher struggled to obtain participants. As a result of not being a part of the neighborhood or from Chicago, I did not have any contacts or relationships to connect me with potential participants. I also was dependent on those who possessed relationships to assist me with recruiting participants. I was limited to connecting to participants via the telephone, as no participants agreed to a face-to-face interview.

Limited Historical Information

Since the September 11 attacks, academia has become saturated with research concerning homeland security and the role of policing. However, there is limited research using the theory of the looking glass self from the point of view of the residents that are directly affected by the shift in policing. The lack of past research constitutes a limitation; as a result, I had to pioneer unknown scholarly research.

Recommendations

The purpose of this study was to fill the gap in the literature regarding the perceptions of the residents of a Chicago community as they relate to the shift in policing policy after the September 11, 2001, terrorist attacks. Petrescu and Lauer (2017) claimed that the objectives of all researchers are to review prior research and articles that use all methods of research in order to determine their prevailing usefulness and make recommendations based on the information collected. Overall, I portrayed the ongoing conditions of qualitative research and practice and provided recommendations and guidelines for future research. Therefore, based on the data collected and analyzed, I formulated the following recommendations.

Assess the Effectiveness of the Chicago Alternative Policing Strategy

The CAPS program started in 1993 as a pilot program in five of the 25 police districts in Chicago. The program was designed for members to meet consistently in “beat meetings.” The beat meetings focused on community engagement, community capacity, crime prevention, and partnering with resources in the neighborhood to improve the neighborhood (Graziano, Rosenbaum, & Schuck, 2014; Skogan et al., 2000). Two of the target areas in the current study, Englewood and Austin, were a part of that pilot program. Each target area was divided into beats (meetings) and had an eight or nine officers assigned to each beat. Lombardo, Olson, and Staton (2010) explained that the CAPS program was implemented for residents and police officers to collaborate to solve neighborhood issues. Skogan and Steiner (2004) reported that approximately 6,500 residents participated in beat meetings every month. However, those participants represented less than 1% of Chicago’s 2.8 million residents. I recommend assessing how

the program markets its existence to the targeted neighborhoods such as Englewood, Austin, and Washington Park. After a thorough search on the CAPS website, the Department of Justice Office of Justice Program's website, and ProQuest to obtain updated enrollment information of the CAPS Program, I determined that updated information regarding the program was not available. Many of this study's participants were unable to provide me an email address or connect to social media sites, which indicated that their online capabilities were limited or nonexistent. Since the program relied on internet access that community members did not have, the members of the community that needed the program were not being reached. I recommend that the CAPS administrator should gather feedback from residents to obtain information on the best way to communicate with them. Furthermore, CAPS marketing should include physically knocking on doors to encourage members to participate in the program. Residents who are genuinely interested in participating in community events should be actively sought after and provided opportunities to have a seat at the table during beat meetings.

Reassessing Policing Philosophy

During this research, and as a result of conversations with the participants, three issues were uncovered: eliminate stop-and-frisk procedures, demilitarize the police department, and eliminate zero-tolerance policies. Richardson (2012) argued that the standard of reasonable suspicion fails to protect residents' individual civil liberties because it treats cultural norms as a suspicious behavior. Richardson further explained that people evaluate ambiguous behavior performed by non-Whites as suspicious and criminal-like, while the same behaviors, when performed by Whites, go ignored or unpunished. Thus, stop-and-frisk procedures fail to protect against unjustified

encroachments upon individual civil liberties because they treat suspicion as conviction rather than an objective concept. Courts assume that it is possible to objectively determine whether people are acting suspiciously without the knowledge and application of cultural understanding and sensitivity.

The United States has seen an increased quantity of military weaponry in local police departments. Officers sworn to protect and serve are in possession of military grade automatic weapons and entering neighborhoods in armored vehicles, giving the appearance of entering a war. These 900,000 officers with arrest powers are comparable to a small army with the responsibility of policing our neighborhoods (Steinberg, 2012). Police officers' increasing ability to declare war on a patrol sector is a major peril facing our civil liberties.

A perfect example of the application of police power can be viewed with the recent conviction of former Chicago Police Officer Jason Van Dyke. On October 20, 2014, Van Dyke shot and killed a 17-year-old African American named Laquan McDonald. Van Dyke testified that McDonald lunged at police officers and ignored repeated orders to drop his knife. According to Huq and McAdams (2016), five officers corroborated his story about the events that took place. Van Dyke had been the subject of several citizen complaints for use of excessive force allegations. The Freedom of Information Act was cited by the state court when ordering the release of a video of the incident in November 2015. The video demonstrated that a code of silence existed among the officers in the CPD. It revealed that what the officers claimed was self-defense was actually a cold and senseless murder.

Huq and McAdams (2016) found that the increase of police abuses and militarized police departments stem from their actions against citizens being revealed by dashboard or body cameras. The authors further explained that prosecutors are averse to bringing charges against police officers. They feel like they are betraying their own team members. The lack of willingness to convict also trickles down to jurors who are reluctant to convict police officers. Huq and McAdams pointed out that police officers' willingness to utilize unconstitutional force has been embedded within them as early as the police academy. Coupled with current police practices, public attitudes towards police, and individual cultural norms, these uses of force are likely to prevent the emergence of improved police behavior, leadership, and policing without force.

Zero tolerance has come to be synonymous with harsh, quick, and punishing consequences for any type of behavior that is deemed ambiguous and performed by non-Whites (Mitchell, 2011). Gabiner (2016) explained that zero-tolerance proclamations from police departments erode the relationship between the community and the police department. The proclamations are made in low socioeconomic neighborhoods, which sets a precedent for racial profiling, justifies the use of excessive force, and results in increased incarceration among teenagers. Giroux (2001) and Casella (2003) highlighted the changing views of what were considered zero-tolerance behaviors in the educational system. Initially, zero-tolerance behaviors only included bringing guns to school, but they quickly evolved to include any type of behavior that was deemed ambiguous, such as smoking and fighting. Moore, Adedoyin, Robinson, and Boamah (2015) summarized that the aggregate incarceration of young Black males was a new form of racism.

Notwithstanding the fact that the protections of the Constitution and laws guarantee

equality for all, there is a historical record of inequality and disproportion of racial injustices (Donnelly, 2017). Kamaly (2018) highlighted the inequality of racial injustices as a result zero-tolerance policies. Racial injustices, over the lifetime of a Black man, result in continual economic disparities.

Kamaly (2018) further pointed out that the collateral damage of the zero-tolerance policies does not counterbalance the effectiveness of the approach. The application of the policy is not uniform, meaning it becomes distorted based on who is using it. The premise of the philosophy exceeds the good of the confidence of a police department. As a rule, from a utilitarianism perspective, this policing philosophy needs to be eliminated for the good of everyone in society (Hinman, 2013).

Kamalu and Onyeozili (2018) acknowledged that the relentless contact of African American males with the criminal justice system often forces African Americans to earn meager livings or to become dependent on public assistance. Skogan and Hartnett (2007) and Kamalu and Onyeozili (2018) agreed that aggressiveness, dissatisfaction, and complaints against the police have given rise to increased public concern, particularly with police who work in minority communities. The authors pointed out that the police behavior in turn provides the information the community uses to determine their perceptions. Therefore, when looking at their negative behaviors rather than at their outcomes related to solving crimes, people will be less likely to comply with the law. Therefore, returning to community policing may be as important as focusing on police statistics. The ongoing zero-tolerance policies, stop-and-frisk policies, and militarization of the police only continue to reinforce the negative perceptions community members have about the police. The current policies allow the abandonment of the community

policing tactics of collaborating with community members to keep the residents safe and maintaining their legitimacy with the people they serve.

Implications

Academic scholars have warned that the continued development of militarized police will lead to an erosion of civil liberties and an end to traditional policing attitudes and practices that were once practiced under community policing (Balko, 2014; Whitehead, 2015). Gross (2016) demonstrated that a community that has the ability to identify problems, act collectively, and engage in informal social control tends to have less crime, whereas neighborhoods marked by poverty and instability tend to exhibit more crime (Drakulich & Crutchfield 2013; Morenoff et al. 2001; Sampson et al., 1997).

The results of the study echoed the need for change at the community level that may bridge the gap between law enforcement and their communities by providing data that amplify the perceptions of the people regarding the militarization of law enforcement. It was my goal to assist law enforcement and policymakers in learning about the detrimental effects of homeland security policing and about how community-based programs such as CAPS can provide community members and law enforcement an avenue to develop relationships. In addition, another goal was to address the need for stronger policies against police brutality as well as develop a policing philosophy that eliminates the racial injustices against Blacks. Once there is a change in the philosophy of the policing, we can then work on effective training and oversight of police officers.

Conclusions

The legal and historical basis for the criminal justice system finds its roots in the Declaration of Independence, which states that people have a right to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness and that governments are instituted to secure these rights. While the terminology is broad, it is widely assumed that governing bodies are responsible for protecting people's acquisition of these rights and that those inhibiting these rights are in violation of their civil liberties. However, the terrorist attacks on the United States on September 11, 2001, changed how the country viewed protecting and defending the homeland from its enemy (Scheppelle, 2004; Newmann, 2002).

Today, Cooley's (1902) theory of the looking glass self has evolved with the use of social media, which allows people to take photos and share their feelings through video blogs, thus providing people with the ability to see themselves in a mirror that reciprocates how they feel about themselves based on instant feedback. This permits a person to imagine how they appear to others, anticipate responses to their post, and provide an immediate response to Cooley's self-feeling, which influences a person's sense of self and activates their eagerness to question their own self-worth (Jones, 2015).

Individuals view the police as a legitimate authority (Hinds & Murphy, 2007). The roles and duties that our forefathers established when the Posse Comitatus Act was signed by President Hayes in 1878 greatly differ from modern policing. That act forbade the use of military troops to act as local law enforcement. Moreover, on January 16, 2015, President Barack Obama issued Executive Order 13688, "Federal Support for Local Law Enforcement Equipment Acquisition," to identify actions that can improve federal support for the appropriate use, acquisition, and transfer of controlled equipment

by state, local, and tribal law enforcement agencies. Despite the need to identify actions to improve federal support, the President called for caution, as local law enforcement needed limits on what items were provided for use when dealing with the local community.

This shift included local enforcement adding more specialized officers and combat-ready equipment to their arsenal (Hall & Coyne, 2013). Stewart and Morris, (2009) and Oliver (2014) argued that the call for police involvement in homeland security efforts has created a new role for local police agencies. This new role has expanded their responsibilities and powers; in addition, it provided new pressures to combat terrorism. The pressures have become especially acute and society can no longer rely on conventional law enforcement given the newer preoccupation with terrorism (Schulhofer, Tyler, & Huq, 2011). The National Defense Authorization Act assisted in the shift from community to military policing by arming local law enforcement with military-grade weapons. The initial intent of the militarization of law enforcement was to use the weapons during active shooter situations or hostage situations; however, they were primarily used in the war on drugs (Hall & Coyne, 2013; Hixson, 2015; Rahall, 2015). Yilmaz (2014) stated that “the events of 9/11 also showed that efficient cooperation and active commitment of the public were crucial in fighting against terrorism” (p. 105). Pelfrey (2009) argued that a lack of information exists regarding the manner in which homeland security corresponds with the intricate functions of community policing. Despite the shift in policing, communities still want to seek a relationship and build bridges with their local police departments and seek opportunities to be seen as partners and not as enemy combatants.

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Appendix A: Pre-Screening Form

Participant Name: _____ Date: _____

Time of call: _____ Participant assigned code: _____

In order to participate in this study, the following criteria must be met:

- 1) Do you reside in the Washington Park; Austin; and West Englewood neighborhoods? If so, please provide your zip code. Participant zip code is _____.
- 2) Did you live in the Washington Park, Austin, and West Englewood area for at least three to five years prior to 9/11 (1996- 2001) and three to five years post 9/11 (2001-2006)?
Yes ____ or No ____?
- 3) Do you have any relatives who are former law enforcement officer or any that are current law enforcement officers of the Chicago Police Department or sheriff's office? Yes ____ or No ____?
- 4) Are you at least 40 years old? Yes ____ or No ____?
- 5) What year were you born? _____

Exclusion criteria

- 6) Potential participant declines interest in participating. Yes ____ or No ____
- 7) Potential participant does not speak the target language (English). Yes ____ or No ____

Next Steps

The potential participant will be informed if they meet the eligibility to participate in the study based on the responses provided from the screening questionnaire. If they are eligible, they will be asked to provide their name, email address, address, and phone number for further participation. A copy of the consent form will be electronically emailed to them to obtain their consent.

Statement provided to the potential participant depending on eligibility:

Qualify:

Thank you for contacting us and participating in the prescreening process to determine eligibility to participate in the study titled Perceptions of Homeland Security Policing in an Urban Midwestern Community. At this point you qualify to participate in the study. In order to move to the next steps please provide your name, email address, address, and phone number. This information will assist in scheduling the interview and sending you a copy of the consent form which can be electronically emailed to you to obtain your consent. Thank you

Ineligible:

Thank you for contacting us and participating in the prescreening process to determine your eligibility to participate in the study. However, at this time you do not meet the inclusionary criteria to participate in the study. Thank you

Appendix B: Qualitative Phenomenological Interview Protocol and Questions Guide

Flyers will be posted within the community at various locations. The locations identified are West Englewood, Austin, and Washington Heights. Placement of these flyers will allow potential participants to contact the researcher via email or phone. Once they make contact, the potential participants will be subjected to screening in order to determine if they meet eligibility, to learn more about the study, and determine if they would like to participate.

If they are eligible, they will be asked to provide their name, email address, address, and phone number for further participation. A copy of the consent form will be electronically emailed to them for their consent. Within 24 hours of receiving their consent, the researcher will contact the potential participant to review the consent form and to arrange the interview either by phone or in person.

Once they arrive for the interview, the researcher will review the consent form and allow the participants an opportunity to ask any additional questions prior to the start of the one to one interview. The researcher will utilize an audio recorder and a journal to document responses from the participants.

Interview Questions

Interview start time:

Interview completion time:

Interviewee coded number:

Interview type: One to one

Greeting

Thank you for taking the time to participate in the study titled Perceptions of Homeland Security Policing in an Urban Midwestern Community. Your time and cooperation are

greatly appreciated. As previously mentioned in the informed consent materials, this study seeks to understand your perception of how policing has changed since 9/11.

During the interview, you will be asked to share your lived experiences regarding your interaction with police and how you view the police before 9/11 and after 9/11. Please remember as we proceed that I would like you to focus just on your experiences with the police. Do you have any questions, concerns or issues you would like to discuss before we begin? If not, (pause to allow them to answer) let's begin.

Interview Questions

1. Do you recall a difference in the way the police treat before 9/11 versus how you are treated today? If so, how is it different?
2. Do you think the police have changed from a community based police department to a more military based police department?
3. How do you think law enforcement perceive you in general? During police interactions?
4. How do you learn about current events in your community (local activities, criminal events, etc.)?
5. Are you afraid of the police? Why? What can be done to make you feel safer with law enforcement?

Law Enforcement and the Community

One to One Interview



Purpose of the Study: The purpose of this study is to give a voice to the members of the community about the changes in policing since 9/11.

Participation: Engage in an one- to- one interview by phone or face to face at a local college. Participation is voluntary.

Inclusion Criteria: Participants must reside in the Washington Park, Austin, and West Englewood neighborhood for at least three to five years prior to 9/11 (1996- 2001) and three to five years post 9/11 (2001-2006). Must be at least 40 years old and must not be related to a current or former police officer of the Chicago Police Department or Sheriff's office.

Call today 773-609-5206
You will receive a \$15 gift card for participating in the interview.

Appendix D: Summary of Participants Responses to Research Questions

1. Do you recall a difference in the way the police treat before 9/11 versus how you are treated today? If so, how is it different?

Participant 1921 stated:

Well, I see police harassing people now. You know, just stopping them just to be stopping them. Nobody did anything or nothing. Just ride up on them, search them, you know. To me, they do more inconvenience than anything.

2. Do you think the police have changed from a community based police department to a more military based police department?

Participant 1922 stated:

Yes, I do. Because it was a little different. Like you said, it was the same normal policemen, they would wave, you both were familiar with each other, especially because I used to sit out on the porch awhile. Opposed to now, when you have different policemen and they trying to figure out who you are, 'what's going on, you know, which is different than having the same ones that you see regularly.

Participant 1927 stated:

Yes. I mean, like you said, it is like more military now. It was like that before when you could approach the officer. You know their name. They know you. And would they name you right now? No. I mean, you rarely see a police until something happens around here, anyway. 'That's the only thing that ... you see the police presence real soon only when something happens. 'I'm trying to figure out what happened to the CAPS programs, the CAPS meetings, and everything. I mean, they still have them, but not as much.

Participant 1928 stated:

Of course, because 'I've always believed in ... I was always taught to believe in Officer Friendly. You know what 'I'm saying? No, we 'don't have that any more. Even down here on Halsted, I live right here off of Halsted. Say, a police ... When you turned around, 'it's about ten of them on one car. And then all 'they're doing is writing a doggone ticket.

3. How do you think law enforcement perceive you in general? During police interactions?

Participant 1923 stated:

You're another black person. There go another nigger.

4. How do you learn about current events in your community (local activities, criminal events, etc.)?

Participant 1929 stated:

Hopefully through the news or through my church.

Participant 1930 stated:

I have a tablet and it tells me about the current events and I watch the news.

5. Are you afraid of the police? Why? What can be done to make you feel safer with law enforcement?

Participant 1920 stated:

Not necessary afraid. You adopt because you know how you are perceived. I chose my freedom and I act to protect myself. There should be a level of respect to make me feel safe in their presence; communication, security, and trust.

Participant 1922 stated:

Yes, I think if they stop judging the book by the cover and give people a chance, because everyone ... just because 'they're dark or 'they're in the Englewood area, which is basically the bad area, it 'doesn't mean that 'I'm a criminal, it 'doesn't mean that-

Participant 1924 stated:

If they would just be a little more patient before they accuse and assume and pull out their weapons. Just have a little more patience and time just to listen first.

Subcategory: Policing became worse after 9/11. Participant 1920 stated:

Yes, there is no trust; a person has to feel trust. If we had community based policing maybe there will be trust.

Participant 1925 stated:

I would like to see them, hey get back into the community, come to my building, I live in a community building, public housing. Come here, and hey address the issues that we have at hand. Okay, yes I would like to meet the officers 'that's patrolling my area, you know I would like to become familiar with them, yeah 'let's break this ... I 'don't know this coldness or whatever, us against them mentality, yes that way I would be more, if they were more likely to come here and do a public forum in my building. Yes, I would be more likely to be very perceptive to this, yes.