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ABSTRACT

Title of Document:

THE BLUE PERSPECTIVE: POLICE PERCEPTION OF POLICE-COMMUNITY RELATIONS.

Deveraux Christian Smith, Master of Arts in Applied Sociology, 2018

Directed By:

Graduate Program Director, Marina Adler, and Sociology, Anthropology, Health Administration and Policy.

The increasing number of unarmed black men killed by police has flooded the national spotlight, generating scrutiny and outrage. This development has increased the focus of research and policy on effective policing strategies and their effect on police-community relations. This study seeks to understand police officers' perceptions of the community they serve as well as their perceptions of how community members view law enforcement officers. The research is based on inperson interviews with six officers in the Baltimore and Washington, DC area. The interviews focus on the following topics: 1) perceptions of neighborhood crime conduct, 2) perceptions of neighborhood safety and factors to crime, 3) perception of communities' attitudes towards police, and 4) collective efficacy. The results indicate that for this particular sample "The Blue Perspective," is actually a "black and brown" perspective of minority officers' experience. These officers' viewpoints are not drastically different from civilians in the communities they police.

THE BLUE PERSPECTIVE: POLICE PERCEPTION OF POLICE-COMMUNITY RELATIONS

By

Deveraux Christian Smith

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Introduction

According to The Washington Post, in 2017 fatal shootings by police have exceeded 2016 numbers of 1000 people killed. Since the aftermath of the 2014 killing of Michael Brown, an unarmed male shot by an officer in Ferguson, Missouri, police-community relations have been increasingly under national scrutiny. Following the killing in Ferguson, other fatal shootings by police have stoked protests and calls for policing reform. The pressure from the community to see changes in policing has brought intense media coverage and governmental policy debates directed at law enforcement practices. Under the microscope are not only the law enforcement agencies and their leaders, but police-community relations and actions by individual officers.

Police use of deadly force and police-community relations are topics that have garnered substantial attention in the criminology and criminal justice literatures. As far back as 1980, Reiss began exploring ways in which police use of deadly force might be controlled. Waegel (1984) fleshed out the means by which police officers rely upon organizational norms to routinize such violent incidents. More recently, Alpert and Dunham (2000) have analyzed police use of force data, compiled under a mandate by the Violent Crime Control and Law Enforcement Act of 1994 that the Attorney General collect such data (McEwan 1996). Terrill and Paoline (2007) have subsequently used data compiled from that collection to examine policy variations governing police use of force across police departments. McElvain and Kposowa (2008) have used the same data sources to explore the characteristics of police officers with regard to their propensity to use deadly force against a suspect.

Historically, the United States has not officially tracked how many people are killed by law enforcement officers. The number of people killed each year is estimated to range 400- over 1000, which is very high compared to other Western democracies (Amnesty USA, 2015). In

2015, data showed that about 400-500 citizens were killed by police every year; many more were physically assaulted. Although some of these cases garner national media coverage, they rarely result in the criminal conviction of officers involved in the case. Even when such incidents are caught on tape—such as the infamous Rodney King case or the more recent shooting of the unarmed Walter Scott in North Charleston, S.C.-or are exceedingly violent-such as the 41shot assault on Amidou Diallo, who was unarmed and simply reaching for his wallet (Cooper 1999)—the officers involved are rarely, if ever, held criminally liable for the shootings. In fact, even in cases in which a child is shot and killed by police, such as took place in 2007 in Washington, D.C., when two off-duty officers chased and gunned down an unarmed fourteenyear-old who they alleged was trying to steal a moped (Klein 2007), or more recently in Cleveland, Ohio, when officers shot and killed twelve year old Tamir Rice, officers are almost never held accountable. This high rate of use of force and the general lack of accountability of police officers raise questions about policing and police training in the US, about the rights of the public and police officers in the eyes of the criminal justice system and the public, and about the specific relationship between the police and the public. Is it still the case that the police mission sees its mission as to primarily "serve and protect" the public? The DC Metropolitan Police Department vows "to safeguard the District of Columbia and protect its residents and visitors with the highest regard for the sanctity of human life." (https://mpdc.dc.gov/page/mpdc-missionand-value-statement) and the Baltimore Police Department "is dedicated to fostering trust with community members, safeguarding life and property, and promoting public safety through enforcing the law in a fair and impartial manner" (https://www.baltimorepolice.org/aboutdepartment). Given these official missions to safeguard the community, the question arises how

police officers perceive the community they serve and what their assessment of community trust in police is?

The growing number of unarmed black people who are being killed by police officers around the country has increased the focus of research and policy on effective policing strategies and their effect on police-community relations. Today, there still is a racial component of policing. The criminal justice system disporpotionaltely profile, arrests and shoot African Americans. Police-community relations in general and encounters between officers and civilians are increasingly under scrutiny. While there is a large body of survey research on public perceptions of police, relatively little is known about police officers' perceptions of policecommunity relations.

Research Question

This study seeks to understand the police officers' perceptions of the community they serve as well as their perceptions of how community members view law enforcement officers. In particular the perspective of minority police officers will be investigated. The significance of this research is therefore empirical and practical analyses of an understudied population. The question of how do police perceive their role and reception in the community they serve has to be examined in the context of increasing awareness of police violence and misconduct, selflegitimacy, looking-glass self, and collective efficacy? Thus, this literature review will first review data on police dealdy encounters, media effect on police perception, law enforcement perception of their relationship with community, then the conceptual framework of policing.

Literature Review

In order to contextualize the current dynamics of the relationship between police officers and the communities they serve, the unique history of policing in the U.S. has to be understood. Ater a breif overview of this history, this literature review will present information on various types of police encounter data. Then the effect of media on perceptions about police and officer percepttions of community relations are covered. Last, the different types of policing are described.

The History of Policing in the United States

The United States was founded on the principles of the old English heritage in European culture, where common law places high value placed on individual's rights, the court systems and forms of punishment, creating different law enforcement agencies. The common law that was valued in America was slave ownership and the court as well as the law enforcement agencies was to protect the property of the slavemasters. Informal styles of watchmen in the community lead to organized patrol. American slave patrol was the first modern police force in this country. The patrol was intended to guard against slave revolt and capture runaway slaves. The informal slave patrol included 100 officers in 1837 and larger than northern city police at time (Walker, 2013).

Robert Peel, is known as the "father" of modern policing in London 1829 (Walker, 2013). Peel had law enforcement focus on crime prevention, deter crime by officers patrolling fixed "beats" to maintain a visible police presence. Officers on duites seek to address the basic needs of the community and help with crimes. The first Modern American Police was established in the United States in the 1830s and 1840s. Due to urbanization, industrialization, and immigration the old system of law enforcement was not sustainable enough to maintain control. Clashes between different ethnic groups (Irish or German immigrants vs. Native-born Protestants) lead to

community fueds where local politicians decided the agenda of the policing department (Walker, 2013).

The "Political Era" division made American policing unique from English Heritage Policing. Unfortunately the heavy influence of political pressure lead to Inefficiency, corruption and lack of professionalism. Patronage local politicians used police force jobs to reward their friends to carry out there political agenda. Officers were selected entirely on the basis of their political connections. Men with no formal education, bad health, and those with criminal records were hired as police officers. Political shifts throughout history determined the policing approaches in the community (Walker, 2013). Although police-community interactions is a topic on the forfront of the nations focus there is still a lack of data to properly analyze this dynamic public issue.

POLICE DEADLY ENCOUNTERS DATA

There is no readily accessible, nationwide compilation of data regarding lethal incidents of police violence and thus, no organizational structure to promote the analysis of such cases. Information and coverage about police use of force tends to be localized and it is difficult to locate in order to publicize these cases. Moreover, even when coverage of a particular case does generate national media coverage, the victim is likely to be portrayed negatively. The perpetrator of the violence is a police officer—a member of a privileged group that benefits from the "protect and serve" image, augmented by the idea that police are putting their lives on the line every time they go to work. While the latter is true for some, most officers-- if they even do actively patrol-- do so in very safe locales and very few officers are actually killed in the line of duty nationwide (Bureau of Justice Statistics, 2015). Additionally, most people are unwilling to believe that a sworn officer would have acted violently without good reason, even sometimes

despite visual evidence to the contrary. Finally, while the police officers involved in violent misconduct tend to be backed by powerful unions and the protection of the criminal justice system, their victims are deemed "suspects" and therefore assumed to have been "up to no good." The increased media attention, social media, and the ubiquity of cameras have begun to change these perceptions. Numerous officers have been caught on tape clearly abusing their authority, as in the Eric Garner and Walter Scott cases (Wolfe, 2016).

Formal reports are filed when these police-community incidents occur, but these are kept only by the specific agency involved in the incident. Until recently there have not been any means by which to *index* these incidents on a national scale; that is: there is no clearinghouse for this sort of information. Even in the case of lethal use of force, no national reporting agency such as the Federal Bureau of Investigation, which collects and retains the Uniform Crime Report (UCR) data, nor the Bureau of Justice Statistics (BJS), which collects many other criminal justice data, is incident data collected consistently. This makes it very difficult to identify systematic patterns or inequalities that play a role in police officers' decisions to use force. And while such incidents are by no means frequent when considered even on a national scale, they do occur with much greater frequency within certain segments of the population (Fryer, 2016).

POLICE FELONIOUSLY KILLED DATA

While no national data documenting patterns of police using deadly force is collected, information regarding police officers killed in the line of duty is available in remarkable detail. Compiled by the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) as part of the UCR data, this data, which is referred to as Law Enforcement Officers Killed and Assaulted (LEOKA) and dates back to 1996, includes forty-five tables and five figures (<u>http://www.fbi.gov/ucr/ucr.htm#leoka</u>). Details include the height and weight of the offender, the time of day of the incident, and scores of other

data points that painstakingly detail these incidents. In 2006, forty-eight law enforcement officers were felonious (as opposed to accidentally killed in the line of duty). The number of officers killed in the line of duty has been declining since the mid-1970s from an average of about one hundred officers each year to about fifty to sixty officers each year, but the average number of citizens killed by officers each year is not only higher, it has increased over time: about 350-400 per annum (Bureau of Justice Statistics 2006).

While the FBI provides no readily-accessible data covering situations in which a citizen is killed by police officers, they do offer a broad summary of incidents occurring between 1976 and 1998 (Brown and Langan 2001). The compiled data provide a broad sense of the age, race, gender, and socio-economic characteristics of the victims. The incidents are referred to as "justifiable homicides" and the persons killed by police are referred to as "felons." The report includes narratives of incidents involving police use of lethal force, provided voluntarily by urban police officers. The report does not include information as to the outcome of the cases (i.e., were officers punished?), either individually detailed or broadly summarized.

MEDIA EFFECT ON POLICE PERCEPTION

Negative international media attention following the deadly police shooting of Michael Brown in Ferguson, MO triggered public protest and gave rise to what is referred to as the "Ferguson Effect" hypothesis (Wolf, 2017). This hypothesis states that officers know about the negative publicity surrounding the police and that they may be recorded by the public, and that this results in officers being less willing to do their job in order to avoid being accused of racial profiling or excessive force. Wolf's (2017) study showed that the Ferguson Effect had a moderate, negative relationship with deputies' willingness to partner with the community. The media coverage, public protest and political attention concerning racial profiling and the use of force by police have consistently led to one conclusion: the public wants change in law enforcement (Wolfe, 2016). The use of social media has also made high profile incidents, such as Ferguson a nation-wide issue rather than a local one. High-profile citizen deaths at the hands of the police have caused such widespread negative attention that it may cause police officers to withdraw from their duties in order to avoid being accused of excessive force or racial profiling. Sutton (2015), a retired police officer, suggested in a New York Post article that when the media and the public make officers out to be "the enemy because of personal or political agendas…you will create a perfect storm that leads to de-policing."

LAW ENFORCEMENT PERCEPTION OF THEIR RELATIONSHIP WITH COMMUNITY

Research reveals that strong police-community partnerships can increase citizen satisfaction with the police, reduce fear of crime, and increase police accountability (Mastrofski & Greene, 1994; Moore, 1992; Skogan, 1994). It is important that community policing strategies consider how police and community residents view crime in their community (Barthelemy, 2016). Police and community residents may hold very different perception of crime in their area (Stein & Griffith, 2015), and evaluation of police perceptions of crime activity before and after high-profile police use of deadly force cases can pinpoint to what extent the perceptions differ, and how the style of policing affects police-civilian relations.

Waegel (1984) offers an analysis of the shortcomings of letting police tell the story, using an occupational subculture thesis to explain how police officers explain and justify their use of deadly force. Because officers use violence while performing occupational duties – as part of their jobs - it becomes rather routine for them to construct narratives which justify, in a legal sense, their reasons for using deadly force. The police officers' "blue wall" of silence, which is perpetrated through a shared sense of an "us" versus "them" perspective by which officers rationalize that the public really does not understand what they go through while simply doing their jobs, facilitates the rationalization of these narratives (Moreto, 2013).

While existing scholarship has explored how police feel about various crimes in the community, few recent studies have specifically examined how members of law enforcement perceive the communities they serve (Barthelemy, J., *et al* 2017). For this study police officers' perspectives are examined in order to understand how their perceptions influence the policing styles they enforce in the community.

Policing Styles

Contemporary law enforcement has developed out of social interactions on the local level and national policing mandates. These mandates have led to a reciprocal and self-reinforcing dynamic, which has stimulated the hostility between police and the very communities they were sworn to protect (Cange, 2016). A number of policing styles have emerged over time.

1. "Broken Windows" or "Zero Tolerance" policing.

Broken window theory was first proposed in a 1982 article by Wilson and Kelling (1982). The theory suggests that serious crime is incubated by conditions in which disorderly, disreputable, fear and withdrawal are the norm; therefore, police should proactively address minor, street-level disturbances that allegedly lead to more harmful patterns of criminality (Cange, 2016). Supporters of broken windows policing believe that promoting higher levels of informal social control will help residents themselves take control of their neighborhood and prevent serious crime from infiltrating (George Mason Dept. of Criminology, 2016). Zero tolerance policing complements broken windows policing, which illegalize certain actions in public spaces, including sitting, loitering or sleeping provided a justification for the selective policing of certain

residents in certain spatial contexts. This strategy of policing permits officers to target "undesirable elements" for detainment and removal for engaging in routine activities, in a manner that is legally defensible (Beckett, 2008). The broken windows policing style trains police officers to conceive of nuisance behaviors as prerequisites to serious criminal offenses, and consequently police began to treat misdemeanors as being on par with felonies in terms of resources allocation (Wacquant, 2014). Because public space is regulated by police, who hold broad and flexible powers, this policing style involved removing those residents designated as "disorderly," a term that encompasses the potentially criminal, the homeless, the mentally ill, and anyone deemed unpredictable or suspicious (Wacquant "Urban Outcasts", 2018). Although policing strategies that focused on disorder overall had a statistically significant, modest impact on reducing all types of crime (Braga, Welsh and Schnell, 2015), the types of strategies vary in the impact they have on residents of the community.

The rationalizations for these policing strategies come from the broader policy agenda of the War on Drugs and the War on Terror (Cange, 2016). These policies support the broadening of law enforcements' discretion in detaining and arresting suspects; the weakening of substantive due process in the case of search and seizure; a high priority of preventative and pre-emptive action in law enforcement; and the expunging of the legal distinction between criminal and noncriminal members of the community (Hall-Blanco, A.R. 2012). The "tough on crime" laws have increased the number of residents arrested, convicted and incarcerated for minor offenses, as well as the length of the sentences.

2. War on Drugs Policing.

The War on Drugs approach has distorted police incentives, so that law enforcement efforts policing drug-related crime are rewarded and efforts to investigate criminal intimidation,

robberies and homicides are deterred. War on Drugs policing has failed in its stated goal of reducing domestic street-level drug activity: the cost of drugs on the street remains low and drugs remain in high demand and widely available. (Baum, 1996; Bertam, Blachman, Sharpe & Andreas, 1996) <u>https://www.ncbi.nlm.nih.gov/pmc/articles/PMC4800748/</u>. There is a significant body of research that documents unintended, negative consequences of the War on Drugs policing strategies for public health and safety (Benson, Rasmussen & Sollars, 1995; Sherman, 1990, Sherman et at., 1995; Werb et al., 2011). War on Drugs policing appears to increase police brutality, even as they make little progress in reducing street-level drug activity (Cooper, 2015). The "Get Tough on Crime" campaign, resulted in a disportionate number of African Americans being arrested and giving harse sentencing.

3. Militarization of Policing.

The aftermath of September 11, 2001 in America drastically made a political switch to focus on terrorist attacks. This swtich lead to the miitarization of policing where of are training to handle domestic issues as potential terrorists attacks. Police officers became armed with military grade weapons, technology and armor and employ military tactics to search and destroy. This militaristic approach unfortunately amped up the hostile relationship between community and police, leading to more police use of deadly force and/ or excessive force. Officer aggressive politicing tactics increased officers visibility and activity throughout the community.

4. Community policing.

Community policing emerged out of the failures of the just reviewed policing strategies. Subsequently it developed into a line of theory and practices distinct from, and in conflict with "tough on crime" policies (Cange, 2016). Community policing is a philosophy that promotes

organization strategies that support the systematic use of community partnerships to collaboratively and proactively address the immediate conditions that foster public safety issues. Community policing trains individual officers to be facilitators, working with community members to develop creative strategies that ensure a safe, orderly social atmosphere in the neighborhood.

Conceptual Framework

This study of police officers' perceptions of the community they serve and their assessment of how the community views them uses several concepts from various theoretical approaches. Cooley's "looking glass self," legitimacy and lawfulness, organizational justice, and collective efficacy and social cohesion will be applied to police-community perceptions.

Police Officer Looking Glass-Self

Cooley's theory of the 'looking glass self' explains that one's perception of self is based on how they believe others in their community perceive them (Cooley, 1922). The concept of looking glass self is based on "I" being a state of feeling of self that garners a sense of power or causation. The feeling of self is instinctively connected with the important functions of stimulating and unifying the special activities of individuals (Cooley, 1922). The development of looking glass self is defined by experience, becoming incorporated with muscular, visual, and other sensations; with perceptions, apperceptions, and conceptions of every degree of complexity and of infinite variety of content and personal ideas. Sense of self is directly linked with feelings of anger, fear, grief, anxiety, and the like. Police officers study movements of others closely, they can see a connection between their own acts and changes in those movements; that is, they perceive their own influence or power over person (Cooley, 1922).

Police Legitimacy and Lawfulness

Legitimacy is linked to the public's belief about the police and its willingness to recognize police authority (National Institute of Justice, 2016). Self-legitimacy explains that the power holder recognition of and confidence in their own individual entitlement to power (Tankebe, 2014). Police lawfulness is when officers comply with constitutional, statutory and professional norms. Numerous law enforcement agencies have allowed the researchers to study efforts to improve the lawfulness and legitimacy of their policing activities in order to raise the level of trust and confidence of the people they serve while controlling crime effectively (US Department of Justice, 2016). The law enforcements organizational atmosphere has a significant impact on police willingness to engage in community relations.

Organizational Justice

Research shows that organizations and supervisors who are rated as fairer are likely to gain greater commitment from their employees to the organization (Cohen-Charash, 2001). Organizational justice consists of three components. The first component is "distributive justice" and refers to the extent to which employees feel that outcomes (ex. promotions) are fairly distributed within the organization. The second component is "procedure justice" and focuses on the extent to which supervisors are unbiased, explain the reasons behind their decisions, and allow employees a voice in the decision-making process (Wolfe, 2016). The last component "interactional justice" focuses on the extent to which supervisors are polite, honest, and respectful when interacting with their subordinates. Research reveals that perceived organization justice among officers (Bradford and Quinton, 2014). Officers who are less cynical are perhaps also less likely to withdraw from the community as a result of negative media and

community attention. Another study by Bradford (2013) indicates that officers with higher evaluations of organizational justice had more favorable perceptions of community policing (ex. "Police community support officers have a very important role to play in policing"). These important finding suggest that organizational justice may be a key correlate of police officers willingness to engage in community partnerships. Officers have more favorable attitudes toward the public when they feel their agency treats them with organization justice (Bradford, 2013). Therefore, if the members of the law enforcement agency perceive officers negatively, these officers will be less likely to engage in community relations. And how does this affect how they perceive themselves? This means that if the law enforcement agency views them negatively, they will view themselves as powerless

Collective Efficacy and Social Cohesion

In neighborhoods with collective efficacy, neighbors agree on what is acceptable behavior and reinforce it in each other (Higgins, 2016). Collective efficacy can be modest actions, such as calling the police when a neighbor needs help, fellowshipping with police officers and attending city council meetings. Police departments and local governments can work with community members and organizations to take extensive actions to eliminate nuisances and help improve collective efficacy. Neighborhoods are defined by the residents of that particular area. These areas consist of "anchor points," for example: schools, churches, libraries, parks, stores, community centers, child care centers, entertainment facilities and other spaces where neighbors meet and socialize. However, some neighborhood establishments can attract or generate crime; for example: bars, pawnshops, liquor stores, public transportation centers, shopping centers and fast food restaurants. Certain neighborhood locations may serve as anchor points in one neighborhood but as crime hot spots in another.

Social cohesion and collective efficacy of officers and civilians ultimately determine the encounters between police and community (Higgins, 2016). Social cohesion describes how residents think and feel about their neighborhood. Do people walk in the local park after dark? Do you feel safe? Residents' care and concern for each other's welfare provide the social glue that holds the community together. Collective efficacy refers to what residents are willing to do to improve their neighborhood. The core of collective efficacy is the willingness to intervene and the capacity of informal social control. In a study conducted by NIJ and the Children's Trust of Miami-Dade County, Florida, found that the relationship between perceptions of collective efficacy and social cohesion and perceptions of neighborhood conditions, confidence in the police, and fear of crime and incivilities varied across neighborhoods (Uchida, et al., 2014). The researchers further discovered that levels of social cohesion and collective efficacy varied considerably within neighborhoods. People who lived in areas within a neighborhood with better housing, better-maintained common spaces and more stable populations were more willing and able to protect their community. Police officers must be conscious of the culture and activities surrounding the socially active spaces in which they serve and protect.

Methodology

Study Area Selection

The Sandtown-Winchester, Baltimore and Southeast, Washington DC areas were utilized for this study because of their proximity to each other, as well as their similarities in crimes rates as well as their policing styles. Baltimore and Washington, DC have similar crime rates (see Table 1.) and demographics (see Table 2.). The distribution of offenses and their change over time are very similar in DC and Baltimore. The racial composition in both study locations is also comparable, with African Americans constituting 97.1-98.6% of the population. The median income in both areas is relatively low \$15,393-35,551, and there is a significant rate of poverty and food insecurity in both areas.

	District of Columbia					
Offenses	2015	2016	Per. Change	2016	2017	Per. Change
Violent Crime-Total	6,387	5,759	-10%	4,630	3,489	-25%
Property Crime-Total	31,512	31,577	0%	24,084	22,510	-7%
All Crime-Total	37,899	27,336	-1%	28,714	25,999	-9%
Recovered Firearms	1,706	1,870				
	Baltimore					
Violent Crime-Total	6,245	5,586	-10%	4,890	3,679	-25%
Property Crime-Total	30,318	30,477	0%	25,056	22,420	-7%
All Crime-Total	38,897	28,446	-1%	28,818	26,099	-9%
Recovered Firearms 1,821 1,960						
https://mpdc.dc.gov/page/district-crime-data-glance https://www.baltimorepolice.org/about-department						

 Table 1. Comparison of Crime Rates of District of Columbia and Baltimore, 2015-2017

Number Percent Number Percent Total Population 601,723 620,961 Sex 620,961 620,961 Male 284,222 47.2 292,249 47.1 Female 317,501 52.8 328,712 52.9 Race 0ne Race 584,407 97.1 608,006 97.9 White 231,471 38.5 183,830 29.6 Black or African American 305,125 50.7 395,781 63.7 American Indian and Alaska 2.079 0.3 2.270 0.4 Native 21,056 3.5 14,548 2.3 Asian 302 0.1 274 0.0 Native Hawaiian 24,374 4.1 11,303 1.8 Some Other Race 17,316 2.9 1,207 0.2 White; American Indian and 3,476 0.6 3,748 0.6 White; Black or African 2,068 0.3 937 0.2 <t< th=""><th></th><th colspan="2">District of Columbia</th><th colspan="2">Baltimore</th></t<>		District of Columbia		Baltimore	
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Table 2. Demographic Profiles in District of Columbia and Baltimore (2010)

The Sample of Police Officers

This research is based on in-person interviews with six police officers in Baltimore and Washington, DC. A convenience sample of the officers was drawn starting with 4 officers who are known by the principle investigator, a snowballing sample method lead to the remaining 2. Participants stated an interest in sharing their perspective on police-community relations. The Washington, DC interviews were conducted at the Arcadia Event Center, Washington Metropolitan Police Department 7th District and the Baltimore interviews were conducted at the Baltimore Police Department-Western District. An effort was made to have gender and age variation in the sample, but all officers belong to a minority group.

The final sample for the interviews consisted of six law enforcement officers, 3 from Washington area, 2 from Prince Georges County, MD and one from Baltimore (see Table 3.). The officers' age ranged from 30 to 50 years, and their tenure ranged from 13-30 years in law enforcement. Five officers identified as African American and 1 officer as Hispanic and there were 2 female officers in the sample. None of the officers had a college degree and all of them received their formal education through the police academy. The police academy training was 3-6 months. In addition, all officers in the sample have had extensive training and experience in public safety, which include the military, firefighter, EMT and corporate workforce.

	Officer C	Officer M	Officer R	Officer T	Officer W	Officer G
Rank	Sergeant	Captain	Sergeant	Sergeant	Captain	Lieutenant
Age	38	50	42	34	40	46
Gender	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Male
Race	Black	Black	Black	Black	Hispanic	Black
Tenure	20 years	30 years	19 years	13 years	14 years	15 years
Area Policed	PG County, MD	PG County, MD	Baltimore, MD	Washington, DC	Washington, DC	Washington, DC

Table 3. Profile of Police Officers in the Sample

Interviews

Semi-structured interviews were conducted with the six officers. Each interview took approximately 1 hour. The interviews asked about the officers' demographics (including race, gender, and education level, tenure in law enforcement, marital status and parental status), police training and experience, and views of community policing. Then the focus was on the following topics: 1) perceptions of neighborhood crime, and its causes 2) perceptions of neighborhood safety for civilians and police 3) perception of communities' attitudes towards police, and 4) collective efficacy. Law enforcement officers were also asked about their recommendations for improvements in their police-community interactions. During the interview the following topics and questions were discussed and explored:

(1) Police Experience

- How long have you been a police officer? What is you rank/official title?
- Please describe how and why you became an officer.
- Describe your training experience (years, certification, special training, and police academy)?

- What are the benefits of being a police officer? What are the challenges of being an officer?
- What do you like best about policing in the area? What do you like least about policing in the area?
- (2) Police View of Community
 - Describe how you view your community
 - Overall, do you feel your community has more positive or negative characteristics? Would you want to live there? Why/why not?
- (3) Law Enforcement Community Engagement
 - How does your law enforcement agency develop relationships with community members (e.g., residents, organizations, and groups)?
 - How does your law enforcement agency work together with community members to solve local problems?
- (4) Safety and Strength in the Community
 - What issues do you think are the greatest problems within your community?
 - How safe do you feel when you are in your community patrolling the streets during the day and night?
 - Since the media coverage of high-profile cases of police use of deadly force, how have your feelings of safety in your community changed? What are some concerns you have about community perceptions of you?
- (5) Police-Community Trust

- What do you think the community feels about your law enforcement agency? Do you feel trusted?
- In what ways is your law enforcement agency responsive to the concerns of community members?

(6) Proactive Policing

- In what ways do you think your law enforcement agency is effective at preventing crime?
- In what ways do you think your law enforcement agency is addressing the problems that really concern you in the community?
- In what ways are you satisfied with the overall performance of your law enforcement agency? What are the challenges?
- Which types of policing does your agency employ (ex. Stop and Frisk, Zero Tolerance, Broken Windows, Community policing, etc.)? Which do you feel is most effective?

(7) Community Contact and Satisfaction

- How many violent encounters have you had with members of the community? Please describe these encounters.
- How do you think the community perceives you as an officer?

(8) Accountability

• How do you view police agencies accountability both internally (agency) and externally (community)?

This interview protocol and the research process were approved by the IRB of the University of Maryland, Baltimore County. Respondents were asked to supply informed consent. See *Appendix A* for details on the forms.

Analytical Strategy

This study used theoretically informed measures that tap into respondents' perceptions of recent negative publicity and their willingness to work with the community. The concepts of looking-glass self, self-legitimacy, organizational justice, social cohesion and collective efficacy were guiding the analysis as they relate to each other in police officers' community encounters. However, the research also followed a "grounded theory" approach, which is based on inductive reasoning that aimed at extracting a "blue perspective" from the sample. The thematic coding process of the interviews was iterative, extracting common themes and subthemes related to each officer's perceptions. The extended analysis of the conducted interviews found similar codes in the information provided by the officers across the interviews.

Based on the information the officers were willing to share I was able to extract codes and themes – they are presented in a table that was categorized by the questions used for the interview. The first round of thematic coding pulled all the codes from the interviews, then the second round filtered the codes into those items that impacted the police officers' policing experiences the most and then the third round focused on condensing the thematic code table to the codes that had the greatest impact on police perceptions of the community.

Results

Reasons for Joining the Police Force

A few of the officers have family members that are in law enforcement that inspired them to pursue a career as an officer. All of the officers stated that they joined law enforcement to have a positive impact on the community. Identification with the community was key in effectively policing an area. Officer W stated that "I always had it sense of wanting to really help people that look like me and that I grew up with in my neighborhood." These officers found that identification of ethnicity, race and cultural experience is essential for officers to be an active stakeholder in the community. A few of the officers experienced culture shock when the joined the force because their hometown was completely different from the area which they now police.

Experience in public safety helped these officers thrive in law enforcement. Officer R stated that "I took a different path and started out as a fireman and went to the fire academy and from there became a fireman and EMT and then I got into what they called fire investigation or arson investigation and from there you actually had to go through a police academy to carry a gun and do investigation and things like that." The training the officer encountered during the academy is intensive: Officer M stated "That it was only 3 months now today they go through almost 6 months Academy" and Officer T mentioned that "The training was intense. We went through 6 and half months of training... similar to the militarily." The academy not only helped prepare officers to police the streets, but helped them develop character and habits. According to Officer C the "Academy changed my eating habits, I was probably in some of the best shape of my life at that point. And it really opened my mind to learning more things and seeing from a different view." All the officers stated that academy training providing the basics of policing, but

did not provide them with the skills to actually police the streets. Officer T stated "After graduation from the academy you are technically still learning your job, because you have the book version of what you are supposed to do, but once you get on the streets its completely different."

Thematic Analysis

The thematic coding of the interviews evolved around eight categories: [1] The Policing Experience, [2] The Police View of Community, [3] Law Enforcement Community Engagement, [4] Safety and Strength in the Community, [5] Police-Community Trust, [6] Proactive Policing, [7] Community Contact and Satisfaction, [8] Accountability. Each will be described in detail below. For a summary of these key themes, see Table 4. All thematical codes extracted from the interviews are presented in Appendix B.

1. The Policing Experience

The policing experience theme had three sub-themes – benefits, challenges, and traumatic experiences.

Benefits of Policing

According to the respondents, policing comes with many benefits. Through interactions with people in the community police officers have an opportunity to change the perception people have of law enforcement. It can be rewarding: as officer T stated, "The look on people's faces is just like 'wow', and now when they might have had a bias towards the police, they are like the police all right and they go back and tell their family and friends in the community." Officers see it as a responsibility to educate the community on the law, and Officer R mentioned "I looked at it as helping people; a lot of it transpires from enforcing the law where you can educate people

Table 4. Summary of Representative	Themes and Example Quotes
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Interview Question	Theme	Example Quote
[1] Police Experience Describe your training experience (years, certification, special training, and police academy)?	Theoretical training is different from the practical experience Academy training is different from real-life police application	"After graduation from the academy you are technically still learning your job, because you have the book version of what you are supposed to do, but once you get on the streets its completely different."
[2] Police View of Community Describe how you view the neighborhood you are policing?	Comfort level Racial and gender Identification	"Being a black woman, I will kind of get this pass because I'm viewed as if I'm not as threatening as a white officer going into a black community."
[3] Law Enforcement Community Engagement How does your law enforcement agency develop relationships with community members (e.g., residents, organizations, and groups)?	Organizational leadership	"I think it starts from the top and the lead Sheriff has to promote community involvement." "If your leader lets you know it is important to him then it will trickle down to the troops. And if you have a leader who can care less about the community then that is how the organizations is going to run, it starts at the top."
	Community-oriented policing	"trying to educate people. You build a relationship with the community and you let the citizens know you're not there just to arrest people, but make sure that things are going okay."

Table 4.	continued
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Interview Question	Theme	Example Quote
[5] Police-Community Trust What do you think the residents of the area you police feels about your law enforcement agency? Do you feel trusted?	Divisive narrative	"that it will always be us against them, and I kind of see that, but being one person to change the view and narrative and their life, it might not always be that way."
	Uniform generalization	"they see a person in uniform; they can care less about what your face looks like and what your color is, they will just see you in uniform. I think it has become a negative connotation, the uniform. Just because everything that is going on with law enforcement."
	Narcissistic perception	"And people think, as long as my life is good I don't have anything taken from me, then I'm happyand to a certain extent I understand, but like I said here, and never tell people that what you're going through is not a big deal because to you that is a big deal in your life."
[6] Proactive Policing In what ways do you think your law enforcement agency is addressing the problems that really concern you in the area you are policing?	Presence/ exposure	"I'll bring in detectives and drug units so they can interact with the community, because I, the cop or individual officer, may not be able to answer properly some of the questions the community has and you get a resource that can."
In what ways do you think your	Responsiveness	"Some people will call for the police, and as a step in the right direction to help the community we will answer the call. You can create a positive response or negative response as an officer and follow up with the citizen."
law enforcement agency is addressing the problems that really concern you in the area you are policing?	Community service	"Officers volunteer their time to come out and help. Other department agencies come out and help as well; then maybe some help with the youth camp."

Table 4. continued

Interview Question	Theme	Example Quote
 [7] Community Contact and Satisfaction How do you think the residents perceive you as an officer? In what ways are you satisfied with the overall performance of your law enforcement agency? What are the challenges? 	Satisfaction/dissatisfaction	"I'm not totally satisfied because I always think there's more that we can do. I think that this year we're on the right steps with working with the community. Our last Sheriff had a different agenda - he wasn't really focused on the community."
[8] Accountability How do you view the police agencies' accountability both internally (agency) and externally (community)?	Accountability and technology	"You have to be accountable and you have to use the newest technology out there; for example, body cameras and things like that. You have to use everything at your disposal to make you more accountable and that'll be transparent to the public that you are accountable when you do."
	Employment/hiring practice	"We have to employ the best and most honest and integrity people you can find."
	Best Practices Cross-reference on agencies	"When you see a situation that happened in another state, where the police in it handled it right, bring that back to your agency and let them know this is not how you do it and how it can be handled better."

on the law." Social and cultural competency is a major factor in effective community policing. Officers M stated that "I also learned from other people and how to interact with others and open up my eyes to see how it really is and not how my little small town of Waterbury Connecticut has taught me." Being willing to understand other people's point of view ultimately helps the officers effectively police area. Law enforcement officers have an opportunity to encourage and receive community acceptance and support. Officer R felt that "more people support police and people's lives you may have affected." Officers pride themselves in establishing and maintaining genuine connection with community. What officers like most "is the intimate contact with the community...The intimate contact that's actually going out and talking to people every day is a big benefit." (Officer T)

Challenges of Policing

The onslaught of media coverage on police use of excessive force and deadly shootings has led to the stigmatization of police. Officers feel the pressure of trying to work with the community that doesn't trust police. Officer T has encountered times when "People see us coming and immediately their thought is (FTP) 'F**k The Police' especially when you go into lower-income communities and they have their kids there and they are impressionable." Stereotypes are developed in community cultures and passed down through generations. Officers expressed concern with generational stereotypes, Officer C stated, "I don't indulge were parents tell their kids when they're being bad that I'm going to get the officers on you, because that's one of the worst things you can impress upon your child because when they are in trouble they're going to see the police as bad and will come get me and won't reach out to police."

The uprising of Ferguson garnered nation-wide scrutiny of the police-community relations. Social media platforms were used to capture injustice and malpractice, which created stigma on law enforcement. Officer C stated: "The negative impact of social media showcasing that some officers have done quick decision to shoot people or use excessive force makes it hard for officers where a lot of times we are disliked because of the stigma." The divide and hostility was not only present externally with the community and police; it was internally within law

enforcement agencies. Organizational leadership plays a major role in the policing agenda and how officers patrol the community. Shifts in administrative Leadership cause adjustment periods, Officer T stated, "We change leadership due to people being re-elected; you have to work with different administrations that has sometimes been a negative or just change in the administration." The politics of policing can dictate the entire dynamics of police-community relationships.

Some officers mentioned the effects of cultural backgrounds and differences. Officers expressed concern stating that "some of the Hispanics in the area bring their phobias of the police here to United States which affects their relationship with the police because quite a few of them don't want to deal with the police and won't even report crimes because they fear that they will be sent back to their country and they don't trust us."(Officer C) The experience other ethnic group bring with them when they immigrate to America is a challenge that officers have to work with community to overcome to effectively police community.

Traumatic Experiences

Officer M expressed the trauma she experienced while policing: "I had to cut down the young lady that hung herself. I've seen people shoot themselves and there is brain matter is on the wall. So you learn a lot on this job, you learn a lot about life and you can understand that sometimes people are just in really desperate situations and don't know how to get out." The officer went on explaining that she had to cut off her emotions to cope with situation at hand and effectively do her job as a police officer. The emotional trauma experienced on the job has lead the Police Task Force of 21st Century Policing to focus on mental wellness of officers.

2. Police View of Community

According the officers interviewed, the community is now more cooperative and less hostile. Officer T mentioned that "When I go out it seems people are beginning to be a little more welcoming and it's not hostile as it was when I first started in 2006." The female officer found that racial identification and gender, the maternal figure, play a role in how comfortable a civilian is in interacting with police officers. She stated that "being a black woman, I will kind of get this pass because I'm viewed as if I'm not as threatening as a white officer going into a black community."

Insider vs Outsider Dynamic

The residency of the officers in spatial relations to the area they police is significant in how they relate and connect with the community culture and people. Officer C mentioned that "sometimes we hire officers that are too far out of our community area to come in and try to police our community. I do live in the community that I police and I have all my life. I think that is very important. I believe that since your working in something that you came from you want to see a change and be more involved in it." A key component in effective policing is understanding the community diversity. Officer T said, "Community with the diversity is the best part to see how other groups of people (young, old, ethnicities) do things and brings something vital to life." However personal prejudice and biases can influence officers just like every other human being. Officer M confessed that "I try not to, even though we all have biases and try not to prejudge a person because really you can look at me but you don't really know me and so I try to treat people like that. And you don't know why people do the things they do. You don't know what in that person's life cost them to act that way."

To overcome prejudice and biases officers had to transcend and analyze members in the community with empathy and sympathy, which required a sufficient amount of patience and understanding. Officer M says "to me personally and makes me have more sympathy and empathy. I'm a totally patient person for the most part but you can mess with patience. Patience is one of my better versions of me. My approach to people is that I don't have a whole lot of preconceived notions about how people are." This officer found that even greater amount of patience is required especially when working with the youth, "trying to teach the kids respect for authority because some of them have learned to question authority which is nothing wrong as long as it's in a respectful manner and that's the biggest difference."

3. Law Enforcement Community Engagement

Community Policing

Law enforcement agencies are implementing many of the strategies researched in the Presidential Task on 21st Century Policing. A veteran female officer mentioned "they (officers) need to go read President Obama's, presidential task force 21st century policing. Now 99 percent of what's in that book the Alexandria police is already doing." Some agencies were already implementing community policing, however, a majority of departments needed to improve community-police relationships.

A major pillar of community policing are youth programs. According to Officer W, "With the youth we are in the Middle School and mentoring youth we teach them about leadership and conflict resolution." Officer M explains "The Dare program with the kids and how stress had a negative impact and Destroy internal organs, especially with fight or flight mentality." Officer M further explains "G.R.E.A.T, which is Gang Resistance Education Awareness Training so we would teach them at that time that gangs where the all-time high.

Class Action we talk about law and in DARE we teach them about drugs and in GREAT we teach them about gangs so we're trying to go after kids young and teach them while they are young." Officer T expresses the importance of the "Youth Citizen Academy, the ideology was if we bring these citizens into the police department and we showed him what we do and why we do it and how we do it they get to understand it and then that fosters a better relationship between citizens and the police"

Another major pillar of community policing is "Officer Wellness and that means we're in this here in the mind, what we talked about PTSD and depression." (Officer M) In coping with traumatic situation one of the officers mentioned that "I talked about you some of the things that I experienced and that does cut your emotions off."

Organizational Leadership

Most of officers' wellness on the job is directly related to organizational leadership of the police agency. Where the focus of the department starts from the top and the lead Sheriff has to promote Community involvement. Officer T stated that "If your leader lets you know it is important to him then it will trickle down to the troops. And if you have a leader who I can care less about the community then that's how that organization is going to run, it starts at the top." Organizational justice and strong leadership influence involvement in the community.

Community Partnerships

The development of community partnerships is essential to effective community policing. For example, the Alexandria police department has a community liaison program, which consists of 102 civic associations in the city that all officers of rank are liaisons to. A program called Community Oriented Policing (COP) works a particular area they are real officers doing real work but they work one particular area and that's it and mostly and neighborhoods of low income or high crime. (Officer M) Theses officers enjoy "working with the people and they are like come on we are `going to have community clean-up or a community cookout, or let's see if we can fix the playground and make it safe for the kids, you are doing a beautification for territoriality." (Officer T) Another program discussed during the interviews was residential police officers (RPO) program, in which officers live in area they police. However, an interviewed officer (M) expressed concern about the elimination of the program "because we used to have more but because of gentrification we got rid of the projects."

Addressing Public Issues

The officers' daily job responsibilities consist of addressing public issues. Officers are involved a lot with the seniors; they do a lot of senior community meetings to find out what the issues are in the area. Officers make a conscious effort to educate people. They build a relationship with the community and they let the citizens know they're not there just to arrest people but to make sure that things are going okay. Officer C mentioned that the "Sarah project, is where you have a problem analyze it and then you come up with a remedy for it." Through addressing local issues officers establish long-term community relations and many officers "try to stay in one area their entire career, because you don't want to put them there then pull them out because they is entire group of people that is connected to them and they help them grow and get past a lot of hurdles in their lives." (Officer T)

Political Policing Agenda

American policing has been heavily influence and intertwined with politics. Officer T stated that "The Sherriff meets with the local community in town hall meetings. I have not personally been too involved in it because of my own political reasons." She further explains that "It's like town halls is giving you the truth but they omitted some information." The community wants to know about the crime in the area because they want to feel safe. However, Officer T goes on explaining that she just "feel that the agenda, based on my own bias, is skewed in what they are presenting versus what the community is actually not getting"

4. Safety and Strength in Community

The majority of the officers' interview found crime to be the biggest problem facing the community. Officer C found "the biggest problem facing right now is missing person cases...missing kids and those who are habitual Runaways, and one it does tie up a lot of resources and it just seems like there's no solution" and Officer R stated "addiction to drugs and/ or have mental illness is huge. I think somebody mental illness stems off of PCP use where their brain just gets fried and is gone." Mental illnesses and addictions are prevalent problems that officers find challenging to navigate and manage in the community.

The strength of the community is dependent upon the resources that are available to community residents. Crime and delinquent behavior occurs when there is a lack of adequate education and job opportunities. Officer W feels that "the lack of opportunities, I think when people feel that they don't have nothing to wake up to or go to they are more likely to do things they probably shouldn't do." Juveniles with a lot of idle time are likely to get into negative behaviors.

Informal Policing Methods

The dynamic relationship between police and community is influenced by informal policing methods. Officer T stated that "the police and community bought into the 'Beat and Release' program. So, it's like officer I rather take the whooping instead of going to jail." The officer goes on further to explain "they aren't doing that anymore, and a lot of officers both black and white bought into that program. It was for everyone in the community, but I don't think the non-black

and Hispanic experienced as much as blacks. The beaten had a color to it." There are a disproportionate number of minorities being targeted by police officers.

Internal Security

Being enforcers of the law and security of the community officers must find some source of security to effective police the community. A few of the interviewed officers found security within their beliefs of a higher being. Officer M explains that "there have been times where we were going into a particular house and I said a prayer like God please be over us because you go in the house and you don't know who's in there or what they have people hide all the time." Due to the hostility and intensity in policing officers experience fear and danger. The officers acknowledged the fear and decided to overcome it in order to help those that are in need. Officers mentioned that "even with that (anxiousness) I still go in with the confidence like God got me. And if officers don't have any kind of Faith beliefs that's fear overrides and because they don't have any beliefs they are just scared of everything." (Officer T) Although there is this belief that things will go okay, officers are still alert and proceed with caution. Officer W states that "you think everything is fine and that's why you got to stand on your toes because you don't know what's going to happen...and sometimes you can get this feeling that I really need to be focused here. I think every officer should have a little fear but not so fearful where they can't do their job and not so certain like they got this."

Cultural Exposure and Comfort

The majority of the officers mentioned how essential it is to be exposed to and understand other cultures. An officer stated that "those who don't venture out of the community those are the law enforcement that's still a little anxious and probably don't make the best decision. They fear the unknown." (Officer R) The lack of exposure perpetuates stereotypes, prejudice and

discriminatory actions. Identification in culture, race and ethnicity with members of a community helps officers to associate and police the area. Although officers may police a diverse community they want the residents to know "we are not scary people we are very unique and very different people but not different at the same time. We just got a lot more our shoulders." (Officer T)

Many of the officers' policing areas were culturally different than the area they grew up in. One of the officers stated that "it was a culture shock because I moved to Northern Virginia as a young adult but coming into Prince George's County Maryland." (Officer M) Another officer mentioned "it was a culture shock because I'm looking like where are the white people like Becky and Brad the people I knew. Now I wasn't one of those black kids that was trying to be white, but I was curious where was the white people. And I talked a little different so people would like where you from but I felt welcome even though at first I didn't understand a lot of the vernacular and slang." (Officer T)

Community Surveillance and Safety

Officers stated that there are certain areas you feel safer in than in others. "Some areas you go into knowing it is a high crime area so you on alert." (Officer R) An officer stated "crime is just an opportunity especially when it's dark. Again, with community policing I've also trained in commercial security survey and residential security surveys and with that light Places such a large part deter crime." (Officer C) Surveillance of an area by officers as well as community members is proven to help deter crime. "I was at COPS we started out with neighborhood watch programs and we had some committees that will get out and walk the beat. Those communities definitely had less crime." (Officer W)

Media and Technology

The influence of the media and technology is paramount in the evolution of policing. The national coverage of police use of deadly and/or excessive force has garnered a lot of attention towards community police as well as used as a platform to capture and expose the truth on police-community interactions. An officer mentioned that "I think with the media it can be a good tool that shares what is happening but I think where social media would just show negative clip instead of the whole clip leads to false news." (Officer R) further explains that "I think it's shed a lot of light on police brutality and issues but I still think that it divided the community between people who like the police and those who don't."

Officers were receptive and encouraged to the use of technology to enhance their jobs. Officer R found that "things like body cameras and vehicles they have helped and I think they have lend to law enforcement becoming a little less involved in the community."

Duality of Policing

Although there is stigma facing law enforcement, each officer has the opportunity to act in a manner that is respectful and appropriate. Officer T expressed that "it was really hard to release now and say this is my job but I don't have to subscribe the same beliefs and way of policing that those officers did." The divide between civilian and police is a common narrative in the community. Officer M expressed concern "that it will always be us against them, and I kind of see that but being one person to change the view and narrative and their life." Officers believed that the community perceives them as "a person in uniform; they can care less about your face look like and what your color is, they will just see you in uniform. I think it has become a negative connotation the uniform, just because everything that is going on with law enforcement." (Officer C)

Community Silos (Self-Focused)

Society has created a culture where "people think as long as my life is good I'm not having anything taking from me then I'm happy." The community silos have further divided the narrative of *us vs them* in society. Officer C stated that "to a certain extent I understand but like I said here I don't tell people that what you're going through is not a big deal because to you that is a big deal in your life." Empathy and understanding is what allows the opposing sides to see that they have more in common than differences.

Political Transparency

The politics of policing has created a view of reality that requires transparency "they are more transparent because they saw that when we held information that's when people were like they are lying." (Officer T) The effect of media coverage on "officers involved now they're on a platform and all lights on them. Where they may have been acting correctly in light of their job now they're spectacle of the decision and that is a terrible place to be." (Officer T)

Local politicians implement community initiatives like "TNI (Transforming Neighborhood Initiative) that Rashawn Baker put in place. Each one of our captains in our agency has a certain area and at least once or twice a month you go to these Community civic association meetings and you hear their views you hear what the issues are and we let them know how we can get involved." (Officer T) An officer mentioned the responsibility of law enforcement to address community issues and enhance community trust. Officer M stated that "…have a whole County area covered as far as he (Sherriff) meet with the community each month and ask what are the issues what's going on how do you see is what we can do better what don't you like about the police we try to get these hard questions answered and asked of us and get them answer. We're trying to build up trust back in a community."

5. Police- Community Trust

The divide between police and community thrives on trust or distrust in law enforcement. Based on experience, officers "think it is the violation of people's rights, the disrespect and not giving people the benefit of the doubt." (Officer R) The mistreatment and injustice bestowed upon community residents has become more vocal and publicized. Officer C mentioned "I think the distrust that is presented on the television and the news coverage of bad officers showing over and over again." (Officer W) The level of trust in police varies by generations. The "younger segment has distrust with the police because they are the ones who getting arrested the most, unfortunately and they don't want nothing to do with the police and won't give cooperation to the police because of their conversation and dealing with the police." Officer M further explains "that older Generations understand because they are more experienced and they realize that we're here to help. I think we have a section of the community that just distrust us and sometimes for good reason." The officers that were interviewed did acknowledge that officers' unjust practices have led to the distrust of the community, where Officer T explains "they're all some police and sheriff law enforcement that aren't doing the right thing and they violate people's civil rights, and once that happens to a person you're not going to want to do with the police and I think it is very important that we weed those people out of law enforcement."

6. Proactive Policing

To prevent crime law enforcements must actively work with civic agencies and community members to implement effective community policing. Officers acknowledged the benefit of collaboration with community organizations to address the community's needs. Officer M made sure to connect community organizations "I'll bring in detectives and drug units so they can

interact with the community, because I the cop or individual officer may not be able to answer properly some of the questions the committee has and you get a resource that can."

Some people will call for the police and as a step in the right direction to help the community officers will answer the call. They then have an opportunity to create a positive response or negative response as an officer and follow up with the citizen. The Sheriffs are typically "reactive something has to happen for us to come out, but a lot of times we try to do things that are proactive. We try to be more present in the community, we try to be in the neighborhood and walk the neighborhoods." (Officer R)

7. Community Contact and Satisfaction

The police officer's responses on community contact and satisfaction was categorized into three sub-themes: community outreach, satisfaction in law enforcement agency, and improvements for community-police relations.

Community Outreach

In attempt to prevent crime officers implement outreach program to youth to establish community relationships. Officer R expressed that "trying to reach to youth as early as possible. Right now, we're in the middle school and we'll even thinking about taking out the program to the elementary school and starting there." The officers volunteer their time to come out and help other department agencies come out and help as well, then maybe some of youth camp.

Satisfaction in Law Enforcement Agency

The interviewed officers vividly expressed their concern with the satisfaction in the current agency they work for. Officer T confessed that "I'm not totally satisfied because I always think there's more than we can do. I think that this year we're in the right steps working with the community. Our last Sheriff had a different agenda he wasn't really focus on the community."

All the officers interview mentioned that "the agency has a lot of work to do and definitely don't think there are reaching the potential they can reach." Officer W stated that "I think we can still do even more than community I think we could consider homeless problem and we can work with the state and local institute to get people off the street. I think we could do more as an agency in helping that."

Improvements for Community-Police Relations

Officers stressed the need to properly educate the community on the different aspects of law enforcement agencies. Officer R said that "Most people don't know the difference between the police agencies and functions. Based on perception, unless we are all in blue uniform we are all police...but when you talk to people and explain a difference they're like okay and what I see us we will rather deal with the sheriff then the police because the police have this stigma." Despite the officer's duties they all have a duty to uphold the law. "Sheriff standpoint our job is court-ordered. Now if we are out in the community let me see something going on we have all the law enforcement abilities and rights to take action and we are sworn to take action." (Officer C) One of the officers mentioned that "we can enforce traffic laws but that's not the only job. Because when you focus on stop-and-frisk why these people out here in this neighborhood away from your primary job which is enforcing the law." Although the various law enforcement agencies serve different primary roles some of them share employ similar policing styles. Officer M explained that "Chief employs strategies that are like DC which is called customer oriented policing and I'm not big on using the word customer I think there's a better wording but you had the mentality that they are customers and somehow where they are always right like they are doing retail. I don't think that always works with policing."

8. Accountability

Police accountability section was categorized into four sub-themes: agency loyalty, organizational accountability, technological accountability, and transparency.

Agency Loyalty

The Blue Code or Wall is known as the secrecy of police officers who lie or look the other way to protect other police officers. (Thesaurus, 2018) Officer C said "I think the biggest problem is the blue code. There is a blue code and just like the one on the streets snitches get stitches and you don't want to snitch on your coworker but I think especially now with social media the way it is people more likely to speak up." This dynamic presents challenges in bringing justice to the community. Officer M mentioned that "now I don't want to say that it's a myth but I'm not a part of that, and all officers should have integrity enough to say I'm not going to cover up for somebody else's stuff that happened. Have I actually seen that? No! If I did I was oblivious to it but let me tell you something if you're not doing something right I'm not covering for you." At the end of the day these officers had moral obligations to uphold the truth and be presentable to their families back home. They felt internal convicted if a colleague enforced unjust practices and they were there to witness it. The officers expressed to a need to inform their supervisor of the incident despite the repercussion themselves or the officer involved would experience.

Organizational Accountability

A receptive and active organizational leadership and internal affairs can determine the entire culture of the police force, whether or not they would uphold the law with integrity. A strong and accountable leader at the top of the police agency would set the tone (standards and values) of what is acceptable for officers to abide by. The officers expressed the importance of department

agencies holding each other accountable. Officer M stated "if you don't have a good internal investigation unit or something's going on in your department and you don't bring in another department to investigate that and there's a problem." Bringing in another department within that district for internal investigations provides an unbiased analyzes of the problem because the investigation committee members would not likely already have rapport with officers in a different police department.

Technological Accountability

The technological advance in body cameras, communications and vehicle surveillance has improved the level of accountable and presence of officers patrolling the streets. Officer R "you have to be accountable and you have to use the newest technology out there for example body cameras and things like that. You have to use everything at your disposal to make you more accountable and that'll be transparent to the public that are accountable when you do." Video coverage is good for capturing evidence however a clip of a full video may not show the whole picture. Investigation should collect all the date before making judgement and justice. For example, Officer M mentioned that "because video shows you so much but now what happened prior to that video being turned on you have to think about that what was going on prior to the video being turned on. Now the videos being turned on I'm glad because I know my people are out here getting shot sometimes for no reason. The video turns on and shows the officer being aggressive to the person but what's going on prior to the video. That's why you have to investigate everything in its totally." Merely relying on the video without doing a full investigation is not due process and representative of the entire scenario. The investigation and law enforcement affairs should be transparent in the police department and throughout the public community.

Transparency

The more open and honest the police are with community about policing tactics, procedures and community issues the better the relationship between Police-Community will be. Officer T "said being as honest as you can be without jeopardizing your operations and revealing how we move about. But just being honest with the community about the crime and things that is happening in that the community needs to know about and don't give them the fluff answer." The transparency of law enforcement will enhance the trust between police and the community, as well as lead to improvements in police tactics and interactions.

Discussion and Conclusion

This study examined the perceptions of minority police officers of the community they serve, as well as their views of how the community perceives them. The qualitative interviews were conducted within a context of continuing police violence against African American men as well as a history of racism and violence against the black community. The evolution of policing from English heritage policing to slave patrols to protect and serve, and police militarization was built on the oppression of racial and ethnic minorities. The intense relationship between police and communities in the US has a long and unique history, and with advancements in technology this volatile relationship now visible to anyone on social media. The need for social reform is an outcry not only from the community being policed, but from the public in general and the law enforcement officers policing those communities.

This study shows that for this particular sample "The Blue Perspective," is actually a "black and brown" perspective of minority officers' experience navigating a historically oppressive criminal justice institution and organizational space. These officers' viewpoints and values are not drastically different from the civilians in the communities they serve. This study highlights the experience of six police officers from the Baltimore-Washington area. The analysis of information from police officers' policing experiences helps to understand the dynamic relationship between police and community. The officers interviewed in this study supported the claims against corrupt officers and suggested a more strenuous process of hiring and vetting officers. They felt that police officers accused of misconduct should be held accountable and dealt with accordingly. They found the media coverage of police and community relations to be beneficial in bringing about social change and implementing effective

community policing. Advances in technology and surveillance were supported by the officers as

ways to improve their policing and their relationship with the community.

Conceptualizing the Blue Perspective

This research shows the emergence of the Blue Perspective, a conceptualization that supports the

Concepts	Example Quote
Looking- glass self Uniform generalization	"they see a person in uniform, they can care less about your face look like and what your color is, they will just see you in uniform. I think it has become a negative connotation, the uniform, just because everything that is going on with law enforcement."
Social and cultural competency Exposure and reflection	"I also learned from other people and how to interact with others and open up my eyes to see how it really is and not how my little small town of Waterbury Connecticut has taught me."
Police legitimacy and	"There is a book way, no matter what agency you work for, and then there is
lawfulness Constitutional, statutory rules	a street way which is more practical." "If they wrote the book more practical, it would make more sense, but they make it black and white to protect themselves and the agency."
Power holder	"benefits it has given me a solid foundation, that has helped mature me and because of the different sections I worked in I reached out to and been able to help people that if I were just an average person working for the government I would be able to help people this way."
Organizational justice Shift in police leadership.	"We change leadership due to people being reelected. You have to work with different administration and that has sometimes been a negative or just change in the administration."
	"I think it starts from the top and the lead Sheriff has to promote community involvement."
Culture of police department	"If your leader lets you know it is important to him then it will trickle down to the troops. And if you have a leader who can care less about the community then that organization is going to run it starts at the top."
Collective efficacy Empathy and sympathy Patience and understanding	"To me personally it makes me have more sympathy and empathy. I'm a totally patient person for the most part, but you can mess with patience. Patience is one of my better versions of me. My approach to people is that I don't have a whole lot of preconceived notions about how people are."
Narcissistic perception Self-survival	"And people think as long as my life is good I'm not having anything taking from me then I'm happy. And to a certain extent I understand, but like I said, never tell people that what you're going through is not a big deal because to you that is a big deal in your life."

Table 5. Relationship of Theoretical Concepts to Interview Quotes

concepts of looking glass self, police legitimacy and lawfulness, organizational justice, and collective efficacy (see Table 5.). The officers felt that citizens generalize all law enforcement as the same and fail to distinguish between the various roles that the department agencies play. The negative stigma surrounding law enforcement in the media makes it challenging for police officers to navigate building relationship with the community. The officers perceive their authority in the community based on how they believe community members and the police leadership perceives them. Officers learned their position in the community through interactions with the community, which broadened their perspective beyond their limited point of view. During the police academy officers are taught the role they will play as law enforcement agents. The police operational handbook is a list of instructions that officers are expected to abide by, however, the officers mentioned that theoretical knowledge is not that useful for street application (smarts). The police handbook is written to protect the police agency from lawsuits in the case of an investigation, but it does not provide police officers the necessary information and tools to effectively police the community. Many officers learn the rules of the road through patrolling the streets. However, on the other hand, officers mentioned that the academy had a positive effect on them, helping them to mature and awarding them legitimate power to help people in the community in a capacity that an average person would not be able to provide. Upon passing the police academy officers understand the organizational leadership and how to navigate the culture of the police department. This means that officers grasp and conform to the agenda and focus of the police department leadership. Based on the initiatives of the police department, the individual officers must align with the practices and procedures utilized to carry out the prescribed policing style. Although there are set standards and procedures, each officer has to do what is best for the community. For example, this means that although the job will say

police officers have to evict a person for missed payments, the officers have the discretion to determine whether or not to evict that person at the designated time, especially during the winter months. Officers make a conscious decision to use empathy to enforce the law and improve the community, acknowledging how people's lives are directly and indirectly impacted.

These findings of the Blue Perspective do not support the Ferguson Effect theory, which states that officers would be less willing to engage the community because of fears that actions would be recorded and misconceived (Wolfe, 2015). Spatial proximity of officer's residency to the area they police is essential for effective community policing, where cultural competency builds community acceptance and trust. As mentioned by interviewed officers, monumental reforms are needed to improve policing strategies and relationships with the community.

Policy Recommendations

Law enforcement agency best practices start with the hiring practices. Officer M mentioned that "We have to employ the best and most honest and integrity people you can find." Law enforcement agencies should hire from the community of local residents and help promote and guide them to higher echelons within the police ranks. The police academy should be extended and cover a greater range of topics and practices. For example, social and cultural competency should be a course taught during the academy that promotes understanding of other people culture in the community and requires police cadets to engage in relationship with community. It is very important for law enforcement agencies to cross reference best practices. In particular, training models offered in other countries can be helpful in guiding police officer training. European countries have a much lower rate of police shootings and also have much longer training for police officers. According to Officer M, "When you see a situation that happened in another state where the police in it handle it right, bring that back to your agency and let them

know this is not how you do it and how it can be handled better." Best practices should be implemented within all law enforcement agencies and required of officers to improve relationship with community.

The community outreach efforts of law enforcement agencies need improvement. Police departments and local politicians need to provide more resources for youth. Providing opportunities will deter youth from negative activities. "Even maybe doing more for the young adults in the community, like helping to find jobs, give them jobs. They can't provide for their families because they can't get a job, so they can't get hired because they got locked up. So help them instead of locking them up all the time. Give them a chance. Everyone out here isn't a criminal, they not bad, what you got to do - help them help themselves. Because if all they hear is no and of course they're going to turn into what they know. And there's just some people you're not going to be able to help."

Suggestions for Future Research

A limitation to this research is that it cannot be used to generalize to all police officers. The participants were not randomly selected and the sample included only six minority police officers. However, this study fills an important gap in the research of minority officers' experiences with policing. For future studies researcher must include larger and more diverse samples, and include more diversity. The double consciousness of policing must also be explored, focusing on the duality of being black and an officer in disadvantaged black neighborhoods. In addition, the role of black female officers and the impact of empathy and a maternal perspective on policing should be investigated. Conducting focus groups would enrich this type of research. Community- police discussions should incorporate constructive facilitated dialogues with a panel of community leaders and law enforcement representatives. At the

conclusion of the community-police discussions the facilitators should document the collective community solutions discussed during the session and present incremental steps to improve police-community relationships.

Appendices

Appendix A. Interview Protocol for Police Perception on Police-Community Relations

INTRODUCTION:

Thank you very much for agreeing to talk with me today. The purpose of this interview is to learn about the Police Perception on Police-Community Relations. The information I'm collecting is part of the research I'm carrying out to complete my Master's degree at the University of Maryland, Baltimore County, under the direction of my advisor, Dr. Marina Adler.

For today's interview, I will be asking you questions about your experience as a police officer and your perception of the community. I am really interested in hearing your opinions about these topics, and this interview is not intended to be an evaluation of your individual role within the program.

This interview should take about one hour and is voluntary. You may refuse to answer any question and choose to end the interview at any time. You may also find that some of the questions do not apply to you, so just let me know if you don't feel you can answer a particular question. While the things you share with me will be used in my final research paper, you will never be identified by name or title and I will take the necessary steps to protect your confidentiality.

Do you have any questions about the research or interview process?

With your permission, I would like to take notes and record this interview in order to accurately capture today's discussion. This recording will only be known to me and will be destroyed once my research paper is complete in April.

Do I have your permission to record the interview?

Do I have your permission to begin the interview?

RESPONDENT INFORMATION (example)

Date: February 10th, 2018 Time: 12pm- 2pm Respondent Name: John Doe Job Title: Captain

PROGRAM DESIGN & STRUCTURE

First I'd like to start by asking you some questions about the design and structure of the Police Department and your relationship with the community.

- (1) Police Experience
 - How long have you been a police officer? What is you rank/official title?
 - Please describe how and why you became an officer.
 - Describe your training experience (years, certification, special training, and police academy)?
 - What are the benefits of being a police officer? What are the challenges of being an officer?
 - What do you like best about policing in the area? What do you like least about policing in the area?
- (2) Police View of Community
 - Describe how you view the neighborhood you are policing?
 - Overall, do you feel the neighborhood has more positive or negative characteristics? Would you want to live there? Why/why not?
- (3) Law Enforcement Community Engagement
 - How does your law enforcement agency develop relationships with community members (e.g., residents, organizations, and groups)?
 - How does your law enforcement agency work together with community members to solve local problems?
- (4) Safety and Strength in the Community
 - What issues do you think are the greatest problems within the area you are policing?
 - How safe do you feel when you are in the neighborhood patrolling the streets during the day and night?

- Do you feel like an outsider or comfortable in the neighborhood you are patrolling?
- Since the media coverage of high-profile cases of police use of deadly force, how have your feelings of safety in your community changed? What are some concerns you have about community perceptions of you?
- (5) Police-Community Trust
 - What do you think the residents of the area you police feels about your law enforcement agency? Do you feel trusted?
 - In what ways is your law enforcement agency responsive to the concerns of the residents?
- (6) Proactive Policing
 - In what ways do you think your law enforcement agency is effective at preventing crime?
 - In what ways do you think your law enforcement agency is addressing the problems that really concern you in the area you are policing?
 - In what ways are you satisfied with the overall performance of your law enforcement agency? What are the challenges?
 - Which types of policing does your agency employ (ex. Stop and Frisk, Zero Tolerance, Broken Windows, Community policing, etc.)? Which do you feel is most effective?

(7) Community Contact and Satisfaction

- How many violent encounters have you had with members of the area you police? Please describe these encounters.
- How do you think the residents perceive you as an officer?
- (8) Accountability
 - How do you view the police agencies' accountability both internally (agency) and externally (community)?

Appendix B. IRB Consent Form

Whom to Contact about this study:

Principal Investigator: Deveraux Smith Department: Sociology, Anthropology, and Health Administration and Policy Telephone number: (202)704-7840, (410)455-3979

The Blue Perspective: Police Perception of Police-Community Relations

I. <u>INTRODUCTION/PURPOSE:</u>

I am being asked to participate in a research study. The purpose of this study is to interview about the police officers in the Baltimore-Washington area about their perspectives on the community they serve. I am being asked to volunteer because my experience as an officer and my engagement in police-community relations. My involvement in this study will begin when I agree to participate and will continue until May 2018. About six police officers will be invited to participate.

II. **PROCEDURES:**

As a participant in this study, I will be asked to participate in answering a set of interview questions regarding my experiences with policing styles and community relations. I will be asked to come to the Public Event Center in Forestville MD. My participation in this study will last for approximately one hour, and will be audio recorded with detailed note taking. No personal identifying information will be written with responses to the questions.

III. <u>RISKS AND BENEFITS:</u>

My participation in this study does not involve any significant risks and I have been informed that my participation in this research will not benefit me personally, but my participation will help to provide information regarding police-community relations from the viewpoint of officers.

IV. <u>CONFIDENTIALITY:</u>

Any information learned and collected from this study in which I might be identified will remain confidential and will be disclosed ONLY if I give permission. The investigator (s) will attempt to keep my personal information confidential. To help protect my confidentiality, the principle investigator will lock all data and audio files in a protected filing cabinet, and identification codes will only be used only on data forms, and using password-protected computer files]. All audio files will be destroyed upon transcription.

Only the investigator and members of the research team will have access to these records. If information learned from this study is published, I will not be identified by name. By signing this form, however, I allow the research study investigator to make my records available to the University of Maryland Baltimore County (UMBC) Institutional Review Board (IRB) and regulatory agencies as required to do so by law.

Consenting to participate in this research also indicates my agreement that all information collected from me individually may be used by current and future researchers in such a fashion that my personal identity will be protected. Such use will include presentations at scientific or professional meetings, publishing in scientific journals, sharing anonymous information with other researchers for checking the accuracy of study findings and for future approved research that has the potential for improving human knowledge.

<u>Specific types of research may require the following statements for consent</u> <u>documents:</u>

Confidential interviews:

The interviews are confidential and will not contain information that may personally identify me".

Coded identifiable information:

(1) My name will not be included on interview transcription and other collected data; (2) a code will be placed on the interview transcription and other collected data; (3) through the use of an identification key, the researcher will be able to link my interview to my identity; and (4) only the researcher will have access to the identification key."

Recording instruments:

I give permission to record my voice_and use in scientific publications or presentations.

I do not give permission to record use my voice and use in scientific publications or presentations.

V. <u>COMPENSATION/COSTS:</u>

My participation in this study will involve no cost to me.

VI. <u>CONTACTS AND QUESTIONS:</u>

The principal investigator(s), Deveraux Smith_has offered to and has answered any and all questions regarding my participation in this research

study. If I have any further questions, I can contact Deveraux Smith at (202)704-7840, desmith1@umbc.edu).

If I have any questions about my rights as a participant in this research study, contact the Office of Research Protections and Compliance at (410) 455-2737 or

compliance@umbc.edu.

VII. **VOLUNTARY PARTICIPATION**

I have been informed that my participation in this research study is voluntary and that I am free to withdraw or discontinue participation at any time. If I withdraw from this research study, I will not be penalized in any way for deciding to stop participating or lose any benefits to which I am otherwise entitled. I have been informed that data collected for this study will be retained by the investigator and analyzed even if I choose to withdraw from the research. If I do choose to withdraw, the investigator and I have discussed my withdrawal and the investigator may use my information up to the time I decide to withdraw.

I will be given a copy of this consent form to keep.

VIII. SIGNATURE FOR CONSENT

The above-named investigator has answered my questions and I agree to be a research participant in this study.

Participant's Name: _____ Date:

Participant's Signature: _____Date:

Investigator's Signature: _____Date:

(consent form template) $- \frac{10}{12}/2017$ compliance@umbc.edu

Study Question	Themes	Exemplars
[1] Police Experience	Tenure of officer	"30 years later here I am so this
	Position/ rank	time right now I'm a sergeant
How long have you been a		now."
police officer? What is you		"20 years"
rank/official title?		"19 years and I'm a corporal"
		"It's going on 13 years, a
		sergeant"
		"sheriff for 14 years and my
		social rank is acting captain, 23
		years"
Please describe how and why	Lineage Career	"family members in law
you became an officer.	Identification with community	enforcement"
you became an officer.	Identification with community	emoreement
		"I always had it sense of wanting
	Impact & Support Community	to really help people that look
	Culture Shock	like me and that I grew up with
	Culture Shock	in my neighborhood"
		In my neighborhood
		"I know it sometimes sound
		cliché but I wanted to help
		people. I want us to be able to
		make a difference.
Describe your training	Military Experience	"I took a different path and
experience (years, certification,	Public Safety Experience	started out as a fireman and went
special training, and police	Discipline & Structure	to the fire academy and from
academy)?	1	there became a fireman and EMT
		and then I got into what they
		called fire investigation or arson
		investigation and from there you
		actually had to go through a
		police academy to carry a gun
		and do investigation and things
		like that."
		"That was only 3 months now
		today they go through almost 6
		months Academy"
		"Academy changed my eating
		habits I was probably in some of
	Habitual Changes	the best shape of my life at that
		point. And it really opened my
		mind to learning more things and
		seeing from a different view."
	Extensive Training	"The training was intense. We
		went through 6 and half months
		of training Similar to the
	Acadomy Training is different	militarily"
	Academy Training is different	

Appendix C. Thematic Code from the Police Interviews

	from Real-Life police	"After graduation from the
	application	academy you are technically still learning your job, because you have the book version of what you are supposed to do but once you get on the streets its completely different."
What are the benefits of being a police officer? What are the challenges of being an officer?	Benefits of Police: Impact Community life/ perception	"The look on people faces is just like wow and when now when they might have had a bias towards the police they are like the police all right and I'll go back and tell their family and friends are community"
	Education of the Law	"I looked at it as helping people a lot of it transpires from enforcing the law where you can educate people on the law."
	Social and Cultural Competency	"I also learned from other people and how to interact with others and open up my eyes to see how it really is and not how my little small town of Waterbury Connecticut has taught me"
	<u>Challenges of Police:</u> Stigmatization of Police	"People see us coming and immediately their thought is (FTP) 'F**k The Police' especially when you go into lower-income communities and they have their kids there and they are impressionable"
	Generational Stereotypes	"I don't indulge were parents tell the kids or you being bad I'm going to get the officers on you because that's the one of the worst things you can impress upon your child because when they are in trouble they're going to see the police is bad and we'll come get me and won't reach out to him."
	Social Media Stigma	"The negative impact of social media and was some officers have done quick decision to shoot people or excessive force makes it hard for officers where a lot of times we are dislike because of the stigma."
	Shift in Administrative	"We change leadership due to

	T 1 1'	
	Leadership	people being reelected you have to work with different administration that has sometimes been a negative or just change in the administration."
	Traumatic Experiences	"I had to cut down the young lady that hung herself. I've seen people shoot themselves and there is brain matter is on the wall. so you learn a lot on this job, you learn a lot about life and you can understand that sometimes people are just in really desperate situations and don't know how to get out."
What do you like best about policing in the area? What do you like least about policing in the area?	Best of Policing Area: Community Acceptance & Support	"I feel more people support police and people's lives you may have affected."
	Genuine Connection with Community	"I like the most is the intimate contact with the communityThe intimate contact that's actually going out and talking to people every day is a big benefits."
	<u>Least of Policing Area:</u> Phobias of Cultural Background and Differences (Experiences)	"like some of the Hispanics in the area bring their phobias of the police here to United States which affects their relationship with the police cause quite a few of them don't want to deal with the police and won't even report crimes because they fear that they will be sent back to their country and they don't trust us."
[2] Police View of Community Describe how you view the neighborhood you are policing?	More Cooperative Less Hostile	"I go out seems people all beginning to be a little more welcoming it's not hostile as it was when I first started in 2006"
	Comfortability Racial Identification	"Being a black woman I will kind of get this past because I'm doing it as if I'm not as threatening as a white officer going into a black community."
	Community Trust and Distrust	"I think it is the violation of people's rights, the disrespect and not giving people the benefit of the doubt."

	Ι	
		"I think the distrust that is presented on the television and the news coverage of bad officers showing over and over again."
Overall, do you feel the neighborhood has more positive or negative characteristics? Would you want to live there? Why/why not?	Generational Viewpoints Younger Age	"Younger segment that has distrust with the police because they are the ones who getting arrested the most unfortunately, and they don't want nothing to do with the police and won't giver cooperation to the police because of their conversation and dealing with the police."
	Older Age Civil Rights	"I think that older Generations understand because they are more experienced and they realize that we're here to help. I think we have a section of the community that just distrust us and sometimes for good
	Insider vs Outsider Residential vs Commuter	reason." "They're all some police and sheriff law enforcement that aren't doing the right thing and they violate people's civil rights, and once that happens to a person you're not going to want to do with the police and I think it is very important that we weed those people out of law enforcement."
	Community Diversity	"Sometimes we hire officers that are too far out of our community area to come in and try to police our community. I do live in the community that I can police and I have all my life. I think that is very important. I believe that since you in something that you came from you want to see a change and be more involved in it."
	Prejudice and Biases	"Community with the diversity is the best part to see how other groups of people (young, old, ethnicities) do things and brings something vital to life."
		"I try not to even though we all have biases and try not to

	Empathy and Sympathy Patience and Understanding	prejudge a person because really you can look at me but you don't really know me and so I try to treat people like that. And you don't know why people do the things they do you don't know what in that person's life cost them to act that way."
	Respect for Authority	"To me personally and makes me have more sympathy and empathy. I'm a totally patient person for the most part but you can mess with patience. Patience is one of my better versions of me. My approach to people is that I don't have a whole lot of preconceived notions about how people are."
		"Trying to teach the kids respect for authority because some of them have learned to question authority which is nothing wrong in a respectful manner and that's the biggest difference."
[3] Law Enforcement Community Engagement How does your law enforcement agency develop relationships with community members (e.g., residents,	Community Policing Youth Programs	"They (officers) need to go read President Obama's, presidential task force 21st century policing. Now 99 percent of what's in that book the Alexandria police is already doing"
organizations, and groups)?		"With the youth we are in the Middle School and mentoring youth we teach them about leadership and conflict resolution."
		"the Dare program with the kids and how stress had a negative impact and Destroy internal organs, especially with fight or flight mentality"
		"G.R.E.A.T, which is Gang Resistance Education Awareness Training so we would teach them at that time that gangs where the all-time high"
		"Class Action but we talk about law and in DARE we teach them about drugs and in GREAT we teach them about gangs so we're trying to go after kids young and

		teach them while they are young." "Youth Citizen Academy, the ideology was if we bring these citizen into the police department and we showed him what we do and why we do it and how we do it they get to understand it and then The Fosters a better
	Cognitive Impact	relationship between citizens and the police
	Organizational Leadership	"One pillar is officer Wellness and that means we're in this here in the mind, what we talked about PTSD and depression." "I talked about you some of the things that I experienced and that does cut your emotions off."
		"I think it starts from the top and the lead Sheriff has to promote Community involvement." "If your leader lets you know it is important to him then it will trickle down to the troops. And if you have a leader who I can care less about the community then that organizations is going to run it starts at the top."
How does your law enforcement agency work together with community members to solve local problems?	Community Oriented Policing Community Partnership	"I'm the coordinator of this community liaison program. We have 102 civic associations in the city that all of our people of rank are Liaisons to."
		"Community Oriented Policing. They work a particular area they are real officers doing real work but they work one particular area and that's it and mostly and neighborhoods of low income or high crime."
		"Working with the people and they are like come on we are `going to have community clean- up or a community cookout, or let's see if we can fix the playground and make it safe for the kids, you are doing a beautification for territoriality."

	"Residential police officers, so
	that is RPO and we also have
	SPO but I will talk about that after RPO. So RPO (residential
	police officers) actually living at
	area."
	"because we used to have
	more but because of
Public Issues	gentrification we got rid of the projects."
	"involved a lot with the seniors.
	They do a lot of senior
	community meetings to find out what the issues are in the area."
	"trying to educate people. You
	build a relationship with the community and you let
	the citizens know you're not
	there just to arrest people but she
	did and make sure that things are going okay."
	going okay.
	"Sarah project is where you
Longevity Community Relations	have a problem analyze it and
Relations	then you come up with a remedy for it."
	"And that's where they try to stay their entire career, because
	you don't put them there then
	pull them out because they are
	entire group of people that is
Political Policing Agenda	connected to them and they help them grow and get past a lot of
	hurdles in their lives."
	"The Chemiff meets - it's the
	"The Sherriff meets with the local community in town hall
	meetings. I have not personally
	been too involved in it because
	of my own political reasons."
	"It's like town halls is giving you
	the truth but they omitted some
	information."
	"They want to know about the
	crime in the area because they
	want to feel safe, which I
	understand. I just feel that the agenda, based on my own bias, is
	skewed in what they are
	presenting versus what the
	community is actually not

		getting"
[4] Safety and Strength in the Community What issues do you think are the greatest problems within the area you are policing?	Crime Missing Person Reports	"the biggest problem facing right now miss Will missing person casesmissing kids and those who are habitual Runaways and one it does tie up a lot of resources and it just seems like there's no solution"
	Mental Illnesses Addictions	"addicted to drugs and/ or have mental illness is huge. I think somebody mental illness stem off of PCP use where their brain
	The sector site 114	just gets fried and is gone."
	Territoriality Spatial Respect	"People aren't respectful of other people's property. We find a lot of time that people are not just as respect and responsible as they used to be."
	Education/ Opportunity	
		"The lack of opportunities. I think when people feel that they don't have nothing to wake up to or go to they are more likely to do things they probably shouldn't do."
		"lack of education. Just knowing not from what they see."
	Informal Policing Methods	"The police and community bought into the "Beat and Release" program. So it's like officer I rather take the whooping instead of going to jail."
		"They not doing that anymore and a lot of officers both black and white brought into that program. It was for everyone in the community, but I don't think the non-black and Hispanic experienced as much as blacks. The beaten had a color to it."
How safe do you feel when you are in the neighborhood patrolling the streets during the day and night?	Religious Security	"there have been times where we were going into a particular houses and I said a prayer like God please be over us because you go in the house and you don't know who's in there or what they have people hide all the time."

	Fear and Alert	
		"Even with that I still go in with the confidence like God got me. And if officers don't have any kind of Faith beliefs that's fear overrides and because they don't have any beliefs they are just scared of everything."
		"You think everything is fine and that's why you got to stand on your toes because you don't know what's going to happenand sometimes you can get this feeling that I really need to be focused here. I think every officer should have a little fear but not so fearful where they can't do their job and not so certain like they got this."
	Cultural Exposure	"I think those who don't venture out of the community those are the law enforcement that's still a little anxious and probably don't make the best decision. They fear the unknown."
	Crime in Community	"Certain areas you feel safer than others. some areas you going to as a high crime area so you on alert"
	Community Surveillance	"Crime is just an opportunity especially when it's dark. Again with community policing I've also trained in commercial security survey and residential security surveys and with that light Places such a large part deter crime."
		"I was at COPS we started out with neighborhood watch programs and we had some committees that will get out and walk the beat. Those communities definitely had less crime"
Do you feel like an outsider or comfortable in the neighborhood you are patrolling?	Cultural Differences	"We are not scary people we are very unique and very different people but not different at the same time. We just got a lot more our shoulders."

	Culture Shock	"It was a culture shock because I moved to Northern Virginia as a young adult but coming into Prince George's County Maryland."
		"It was a culture shock because I'm looking like where are the white people like Becky and Brad the people I knew. Now I wasn't one of those black kids that was trying to be white, but I was curious where was the white people. And I talked a little different so people would like where you from but I felt welcome even though at first I didn't understand a lot of the vernacular and slang."
Since the media coverage of high-profile cases of police use of deadly force, how have your feelings of safety in your community changed? What are some concerns you have about community perceptions of you?	Media Coverage	"I think with the media it can be a good tool that shares was is happening but I think we're social media he was just show negative clip instead of the whole clip leads to false news."
	Partial Viewpoint	"I think it's shed a lot of light on police brutality and issues but I still think that it divided the community between people who like the police and those who don't."
	Police Technology	"Things like body cameras and vehicles they have help and I think they have lend to law enforcement becoming a little less involved in the community"
	Community Engagement Personal Impact	"It was really hard to release now and say this is my job but I don't have to subscribe the same beliefs and way of policing that those officers did."
[5] Police-Community Trust What do you think the residents of the area you police feels about your law enforcement	Divisive Narrative	"That it will always be us against them. And I kind of see that but being one person to change the view and narrative and their life okay maybe not."
agency? Do you feel trusted?	Uniformity Generalization	"see a person in uniform they can care less about your face look like what's your color is, they will just see you in

	Narcissistic Perception	uniform. I think it has become a negative connotation the uniform, just because everything that is going on with law enforcement." "And people think as long as my life is good I'm not having anything taking from me then I'm happy. And to a certain extent I understand but like I said here and tell people that what you're going through if not a big deal because to you that is a big deal in your life."
In what ways is your law enforcement agency responsive to the concerns of the residents?	Transparency Political Initiatives	"They are more transparent because they saw that when we held information that's when people where like they are lying." "Officers involved now they're on a platform and all lights on them. Where they may have been acting correctly in light of their job now they're spectacle of the decision and that is a terrible place to be." "TNI (Transforming Neighborhood Initiative) that Rashawn Baker put in place. Each one of our captain in our agency has a certain area and at least once or twice a month you go to these Community civic association meetings and you
[6] Proactive Policing	Rebuilding Community Trust Presence/ Exposure	hear their views you hear what the issues are and we let them know how we can get involved." "have a whole County area covered as far as he (Sherriff) meet with the community each month and ask what are the issues what's going on how do you see is what we can do better what don't you like about the police we try to get these hard questions answered and asked of us and get them answer. We're trying to build up trust back in a community."

In what ways do you think your law enforcement agency is effective at preventing crime?		drug units so they can interact with the community. Because I the cop officer or individual officer may not be able to answer properly some of the questions the committee has and you get a resource that can."
	Responsiveness Reactive/ Proactive	"Some people will call for the police and as a step in the right direction to help the community we will answer the call. You can you can create a positive response or negative response as an officer and follow up with the citizen."
		"We are reactive something has to happen for us to come out. But a lot of times we try to do things that are proactive. We try to be more present in the community we try to be in the neighborhood and walk the neighborhoods."
In what ways do you think your law enforcement agency is addressing the problems that really concern you in the area you are policing?	Outreach to Youth	"Trying to reach to youth as early as possible. Right now, we're in the middle school and we'll even thinking about taking out program to the elementary school and starting there."
	Community Service	"Officers volunteer their time to come out and help. Other department agencies come out and help as well. Then maybe some of youth camp."
In what ways are you satisfied with the overall performance of your law enforcement agency? What are the challenges?	Satisfaction/ Unsatisfaction Organizational Leadership	"I'm not totally satisfied because I always think there's more than we can do. I think that this year we're in the right steps I was working with the community. Our last Sheriff had a different agenda he wasn't really focus on the community."
	Improve Community Partnerships	"the agency has a lot of work to do and definitely don't think there are reaching the potential they can reach"
		"I think we can still do even more than community I think we could look into homeless problem. And we can work with the state and local Institute to get people off the street I think we

		could do more of the agency of hoping that."
Which types of policing does your agency employ (ex. Stop and Frisk, Zero Tolerance, Broken Windows, Community policing, etc.)? Which do you feel is most effective?	Differential Roles of Law Enforcement Agencies	"Most people don't know the difference between the police agencies and functions. based on perception, unless we are all in blue uniform we are all policebut when you talk to people and explain a difference they're like okay and what I see us we will rather deal with the sheriff then the police because the police have this stigma."
	Sheriff Duties	"Sheriff standpoint our job is court-ordered. Now if we are out in the community let me see something going on we have all the law enforcement abilities and rights to take action and we are sworn to take action."
		"To keep the community safe. We do have that responsibility also."
	Focus of Policing Duties	"We can enforce traffic laws but that's not the only job. Because when you focus on stop-and- frisk why these people out here in this neighborhood away from your primary job which is enforcing the law."
	Policing Types	"Chief employs is similar to DC which is called customer oriented policing. And I'm not big on using the word customer I think there's a better wording but you had the mentality that they are customers and somehow where they are always right like they doing retail. I don't think that always works with policing."
[7] Community Contact and Satisfaction	Aggressive Encounters	
How many violent encounters have you had with members of the area you police? Please describe these encounters.		

How do you think the residents	Not Satisfied	"I'm not totally satisfied because
perceive you as an officer?	Not Satisfied	I always think there is more that
perceive you as an officer?		we can do."
		we can do.
		"Our last Sherriff had a different
		agenda he wasn't really focus on
		the community."
[8] Accountability	Accountability and Technology	"You have to be accountable and
[8] Accountability	Accountability and Technology	you have to use the newest
How do you view the police		technology out there for example
agencies' accountability both		body cameras and things like
internally (agency) and		that. You have to use everything
externally (community)?		at your disposal to make you
externary (community).		more accountable and that'll be
		transparent to the public that are
		accountable when you do."
		accountable when you do.
		"You need to have that check
		and balance because if you don't
		you're going to have that
		corruption and you want to have
		that crime and you can see that
		with the Baltimore experience."
		·····
		"We have to employ the best and
	Employment Practice	most honest and integrity people
	Hiring Practice	you can find." Great leadership
	-	
		With an even and a situation that
	Dest Destations	"When you see a situation that
	Best Practices	happened in another state where
	Cross-Reference on	the police in it handle it right
	Agencies	bring that back to your agency
		and let them know this is not
		how you do it and how it can be
		handled better."

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