THE BLACK INSIDE THE BLUE: BLACK LAW ENFORCEMENT OFFICERS'
PERCEPTIONS OF RACIAL PROFILING IN MISSOURI

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OFFICERS' PERCEPTIONS OF RACIAL PROFILING

presented by Clarence Green Jr.

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and herby certify that, in their opinion it is worthy of acceptance.

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DEDICATION

To all law enforcement officers, thank you for your service and your willingness to work toward justice. I have nothing but admiration for the work you do and the choice you have made to don the badge. Standing as the thin line that separates good and evil while operating with insurmountable ambiguity, I salute you! To the citizens who allow law enforcement to serve them, bravo! You are the best of what Sir Robert Peel summarized when saying the public is the police. Together, we will stand to rid our communities of evil.

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ABSTRACT

Nationally, law enforcement agencies are under tremendous scrutiny in reference to racial profiling. A gap exists in knowledge of Black law enforcement officers' in Missouri perceptions of racial profiling. Missouri has experienced a disproportionate number of traffic stops of Black motorists for the last 11 years. A review of the literature revealed that police officers have an identity formed through practices of the organization. This notion was further explained by examining social-identity theory and the key concepts of Black law enforcement officers, racial profiling, and occupational socialization. This qualitative bounded case study used semistructured interviews with rural Black law enforcement officers from three counties in Missouri, conducted three focus groups with community members, and performed an artifact review of law enforcement agencies' policies. The following themes emerged: racial profiling is not tolerated, law enforcement officers are held accountable for their behavior, Black law enforcement officers joined agencies because they wanted the ability to help others, Blacks are racially profiled more than others, racial profiling had been experienced, confidence existed in law enforcement agencies to not racially profile, and Blacks were perceived as bad people. These results allow law enforcement agencies and law enforcement training academies to address selection and training needs of officers. The results also aid policymakers to expand the collection of data around profiling as well as aid community leaders in understanding the dynamics of racial profiling.

SECTION ONE:

INTRODUCTION TO THE DISSERTATION-IN-PRACTICE

Racial profiling has been a staple of U.S. law enforcement practice since its inception (Alex, 1969; Brown & Benedict, 2002; Wadman & Allison, 2004). The state of contemporary U.S. law enforcement is marked with perceptions of racial-profiling allegations, improper-use-of-force perceptions, distrust in how discretion is practiced, and a lack of diversity in law enforcement departments (Brown & Benedict, 2002; MacDonald, 2016; Weitzer, 1999; Wilson, Wilson, & Thou, 2015). Law enforcement officers treat Black people differently during encounters (D’Onofrio, 2017; Weitzer, 1999; Wilson et al., 2015). Law enforcement officers in the United States are under public scrutiny, due to racial-profiling events involving Black people (MacDonald, 2016; Schafer, Huebner, & Bynum, 2003; Weitzer, 2010; Wilson et al., 2015). These national perceptions of law enforcement have led to diminishing public trust and support (Seo, 2016). Perception surveys have supported this view, specifically the perception of the widespread practice of racial profiling.

Studies have shown that Blacks tend to have less confidence in police and are less likely to believe they use appropriate amounts of force. Three quarters of Whites believe police treat people of all racial and ethnic groups equally, compared to just 35 percent of Blacks, a 2016 Pew Research Center analysis found.

(D’Onofrio, 2017, p. 3)

Many communities of color are asking for systematic reviews of policing agencies to understand the scope of perceived problems (Harcourt, 2003; Jasper, 2015; Ross, 2015;

Wilson et al., 2015). Why does a portion of the public's perception of racial profiling and inequalities sully law enforcement?

Structural inequities exist in policing and impact the manner in which law enforcement officers perceive racial and ethnic minority groups (Wilson et al., 2015). The U.S. Department of Justice reported that 27% of the more than 477,000 U.S. sworn law enforcement officers are members of a racial or ethnic minority group, yet more than 70% are from the dominant racial group (Reaves, 2015b). Most Black law enforcement officers are clustered in the lower ranks (Dulaney, 1996). Of White law enforcement officers, 92% believed the United States has made the changes needed to give Black people equal rights with White people, whereas 29% of Black law enforcement officers supported the statement (Stepler, 2017). A similar gap in the perception of inequality exists among the public (Stepler, 2017). When surveyed, 89% of Black law enforcement officers in small agencies and 69% of those in large agencies believed racial profiling occurred in their agency (Barlow & Barlow, 2002; Wilson et al., 2015). Of Black people surveyed by Gallop, 77% indicated they believed law enforcement officers practiced racial profiling (Rojek, Rosenfeld, & Decker, 2004).

In Missouri, Black motorists are stopped at a rate 75% higher than White motorists (Hawley, 2017). Despite a formal requirement of law enforcement officers to record citizens' information in all traffic stops, including the race and ethnicity of the person they have stopped, the race and ethnicity of the law enforcement officer is unknown. Laws and regulations do not specify the requirement that the race and ethnicity of officers must be documented. Limited quantitative and qualitative research has been conducted regarding Black law enforcement officers' perceptions of racial

profiling in rural areas (Barlow & Barlow, 2002; Wilson et al., 2015). This research study examined racial profiling through the lens of Black law enforcement officers.

Statement of the Problem

In 2016, Black people comprised 10.9% of drivers in Missouri but accounted for more than 18% of all traffic stops (Hawley, 2017). Black people in Missouri were also stopped at a rate 75% higher than White motorists in 2016 (Hawley, 2017). Pressures on law enforcement personnel to rebuild public trust and improve perceptions with communities of color regarding racial profiling have never been more apparent (Stepler, 2017; Police Executive Research Forum, 2014; President's Task Force on 21st Century Policing, 2015; Wilson et al., 2015).

Limited quantitative or qualitative studies focused on Black police officers' perceptions of racial profiling (Barlow & Barlow, 2002). Researchers may gain key insights by deeply understanding perceptions that gleaned through qualitative inquiry (Bloomberg & Volpe, 2016). Systemic research-based inquiry in this area is needed to ascertain if law enforcement encounters are racially motivated (Barlow & Barlow, 2002). The gathering of these data from Black law enforcement officers is valuable to law enforcement agencies and the communities they serve.

Problem of Practice

Evidence of Black law enforcement officers' perceptions of racial profiling occurring in the agencies in which they serve has been investigated in limited quantitative studies (Barlow & Barlow, 2002; Wilson et al., 2015). No published evidence shows this phenomenon has been investigated from a qualitative perspective in rural law enforcement agencies in Missouri. Qualitative research is needed to further investigate

Black law enforcement officers perceptions of racial profiling (Wilson et al., 2015).

Black law enforcement officers have lived experiences as well as a law enforcement practitioners' experience, which should aid in providing a rich understanding of racial profiling (Alex, 1969; Dulaney, 1996; Wilson et al., 2015).

Existing Gap

A lack of information exists on Black law enforcement officers' perceptions of racial profiling. Investigating the viewpoint of Black law enforcement officers will enhance the literature. This research could assist law enforcement agencies, law enforcement officers, and communities as they grapple to understand the impacts of racial profiling. Of the 15,388 police agencies in the United States, 71% of them serve rural communities (Police Executive Research Forum, 2016; Reaves, 2015b). This study will impact the majority of law enforcement agencies.

Purpose of the Study

The purpose of this qualitative study is to fill the existing gap in research regarding perceptions of rural northwest Missouri Black police officers concerning racial profiling. Rojek et al. (2004) defined racial profiling as "any police action that relies upon the race, ethnicity, or national origin of an individual rather than the behavior of that individual" (p. 128). This study's objective is to understand what Black law enforcement officers in rural environments perceive regarding racial profiling, as well as the frequency with which racial profiling occurs in the agencies they serve. Little research examined Black law enforcement officers in rural settings (Wilson et al., 2015). This qualitative study will provide context to the racial profiling phenomenon by providing the lived experience of Black law enforcement officers.

Research Questions

The overarching research question of this qualitative study allowed the researcher to understand the perceptions of Black law enforcement officers about racial profiling in rural communities in Missouri. Specifically, the researcher examined law enforcement agencies located in the state, local, and county in Counties A, B, and C. A lack of information pertains to rural Black law enforcement officers and their perceptions (Wilson et al., 2015). The overarching research question was, What are Black law enforcement officers' perceptions of racial profiling in Missouri? Two subquestions supported the research question in understanding the perceptions of racial profiling in rural communities:

1. To your knowledge, to what extent has racial profiling and law enforcement misconduct been practiced in your agency?
2. What perceptions do the Black and White communities you serve have about racial profiling?

Theoretical Framework

The theoretical framework guiding this case study evolved from social-group theory and social-identity theory (Turner, 1982). Merton (1957) called for additional research concerning social-group theory and its impact on stakeholders. Social-identity theory is expressed in social-group theory (Turner, 1982). A person's belief of who they are rests in the organizations or the factions of which they are members (Turner & Tajfel, 1986). Social-identity theory proposes that a portion of a person's concept of self is established from the group or groups to which the person belongs (Turner & Tajfel, 1986). This theory focuses on evaluation, commitment, and role transition into a groups'

shared views (Levine & Moreland, 1994). Social identification is a perception of oneness with a group of people (Ashforth & Mael, 1989). Social-identity theory captures the essence of law enforcement organizations.

Social-identity theory uses three processes that connect in-groups and out-groups approach. A person would identify with an in-group, whereas the same person will reject an out-group (Deschamps, 1982). The first process of social-identity theory centers on social categorization. Social categorization allows people to place others in distinct roles to understand and identify them (Islam, 2014; Jaspars & Warnae, 1982; Turner & Tajfel, 1986). These types of categorizations allow people to reject those who are not assimilated into their own category (Hamamura, 2017; Islam, 2014). Positioning people in a role allows differences and prestige to be highlighted (Ashforth & Mael, 1989). Categorization allows individuals to define their boundaries and the manner in which they will respond to others (Gundlach, Zivnuska, & Stoner, 2006). Bias against members of the out-group is a natural practice in the categorization process.

Social identification is the second process in social-identity theory. A person behaves and assumes the behavior of the group they classify as their in-group (Deschamps, 1982; Hornsey, 2008; Stryker & Burke, 2000; Turner & Tajfel, 1986). The identification process allows individuals to determine who they would like to become. Part of the social-identification process entails forming an emotional connection to the in-group and allowing it to define one's personhood (Hornsey, 2008). This internalization of the in-group allows a strong divide to emerge with all who do not assimilate with the group's roles (Hamamura, 2017; Islam, 2014). Organizational identification is part of

social identification. The individual emotionally participates in the achievements and failures of the organization (Turner & Tajfel, 1986).

The third process of social-identity theory is social comparison. The process of social comparison allows people to compare the in-group against the out-group (Jaspars & Warnaen, 1982). The comparative nature of individuals is problematic. This type of comparison allows biases to develop and be confirmed (Hamamura, 2017; Islam, 2014; Turner & Tajfel, 1986). Practicing comparison increases the in groups' self-image by assigning negative attributes to out groups (Hamamura, 2017). Comparison allows one group to position itself in a positive role while placing others in negative roles. People or organizations that are influential to an individual influence comparisons made with others (Festinger, 1954). When differences in ideas and abilities exist, people adjust their position to that of the organizations or group (Festinger, 1954). Comparison permits people to distinguish themselves from out-groups while adjusting toward in-groups.

Figure 1. Identity theory model.

Source: Adapted from *Social Theory and Social Structure*, by R. K. Merton, 1957, Glencoe, IL: The Free Press; "Towards a cognitive redefinition of the social group," by J.

C. Turner, 1982, in H. Tajfel (Ed.), *Social Identity and Intergroup Relations* (pp. 15–40), New York, NY: Cambridge University Press; “The social identity of intergroup behavior,” by J. C. Turner & H. Tajfel, 1986, in S. Worchel & W. Austin (Eds.), *Psychology of Intergroup Relations* (pp. 7–24), Chicago, IL: Nelson-Hall.

Key Concepts

Three key concepts assist in further exploring the theoretical framework: Black law enforcement officers, racial profiling, and occupational socialization. Citizens are challenging the negative impacts of racial profiling, the lack of diversity of law enforcement officers, and the socialization process that occurs through hiring in law enforcement agencies (Wilkins & Williams, 2008).

Black Law Enforcement Officers

The lineage of Black people in policing traces back to 1814 in New Orleans (Alex, 1969; Dulaney, 1996; Wadman & Allison, 2004). The recruitment and selection of Black law enforcement officers for more than 200 years has allowed assimilation to occur. Black law enforcement officers receive the same training as their White counterparts, although their experiences in serving the same communities can be vastly different (Walker & Katz, 2011). Research shows that Black people who chose to serve as law enforcement officers do so for one of three reasons (Alex, 1969; Dulaney, 1996): they desire to enforce rules and see their role as one that allows them to change the structure from within; they lack other work opportunities, so they identify as a Black person first and a law enforcement officer second; and they view the role to be a bridge between Black and White people (Alex, 1969; Dulaney, 1996). By 1896, Black law enforcement officers in Missouri are only allowed to enforce laws on members of the Black community (Dulaney, 1996). Sun and Payne (2004) opined, “the socialization process experienced by a black officer is so intensive that any identity he had left is lost”

(p. 519). Black law enforcement officers are trained to think and act as their White counterparts.

Racial Profiling

Racial profiling has been part of policing since the inception of slave patrols (Alex, 1969; Wilson et al., 2015). Slave patrols were commissioned law enforcement officers who predominantly existed in the southern United States (Wadman & Allison, 2004). Slave patrols were used to capture and return escaped slaves at all locations in the United States. Racial profiling intertwines with implicit bias (Sun & Payne, 2004; Wilson, Hugenberg, & Rule, 2017). More than 70% of Black respondents to a survey believed racial profiling was being condoned by the agencies they served (Wilson et al., 2015). The Gallop Poll reported that the majority of White and Black Americans believed law enforcement practiced racial profiling (Rojek et al., 2004). Missouri's racial-profiling data recorded a disparity in the number of Black people who are pulled over for a traffic stop compared to their proportion in the population. In Missouri, Black motorists are stopped at a rate 75% higher than White motorists (Hawley, 2017). Racial profiling is rampant across law enforcement organizations (Wilson, Dunham, & Alpert, 2004). Additional research supports this view:

The degree of cohesion and solidarity among police officers has long been noted as one of the most noticeable yet unusual aspects of the police profession and has been described metaphorically as a blue-walled mosaic. As such, this profession reflects and projects a sense of fraternal support and fidelity that, in turn, encourages and reinforces and overarching police culture. However this police culture is not necessarily monolithic in nature. It is fractured and helps cultivate

and reinforce certain subcultural norms that reflect the functional areas of police work. (Wilkins & Williams, 2008, p. 656)

Organizations establish their culture at the occupational-socialization stage for law enforcement officers (Paoline, 2003; Terrill, Paoline, & Manning, 2003).

Occupational Socialization

Occupational socialization “focuses on learning the norms of one’s profession” (Bauer & Erdogan, 2011, p. 51). Law enforcement entities have their own occupationally located police personality that is exclusive to them and distinguishes them from others in society (Bennett, 1984). Conti (2009) found that law enforcement socialization begins while attending the basic police training academy for all new hires. The academy is perceived as a rite of passage, built on traditions and ceremonies that elevate a trainee from a civilian to a law enforcement officer (White & Escobar, 2008). While attending the academy, officers are ridiculed and demeaned in an effort to rebuild them in a unified manner. Often, those in the academy participate in ceremonies that elevate one person for their physical achievements. Six to eight physical-achievement ceremonies are conducted during an academy period. Conti (2009) supported this view:

The police, as a result of combined features of their social situation, tend to develop ways of looking at the world distinctive to themselves, cognitive lenses through which to see situations and events. The strength of those lenses may be weaker or stronger depending upon certain conditions but they are grounded upon the same axis. (p. 409)

Law enforcement socialization is an identity imbedded across law enforcement academies (Kappeler, Sluder, & Alpert, 1998). Officers who do not accept this implicit

identity or fail to conform to law enforcement practices may not be the law enforcement officers responsible for racial profiling (Conti, 2009; Haarr, 2001; White & Escobar, 2008; Terrill et al., 2003). Recruitment and training are essential to occupational socialization and culture (White & Escobar, 2008) with both assisting in preparing law enforcement officers to serve communities.

Design of Study

The goal of this qualitative bounded case study is to determine the perceptions of Black law enforcement officers in three rural northwest counties in Missouri on the phenomenon of racial profiling (Bloomberg & Volpe, 2016; Creswell, 2014; Merriam & Tisdell, 2016). Specifically, this study investigated how Black law enforcement officers perceived racial profiling from within the communities they serve. To conduct this research, the researcher gathered information from Black law enforcement officers who serve in three rural counties. The researcher triangulated data based on interviews, focus groups, and artifact collection (Bloomberg & Volpe, 2016; Krueger & Casey, 2015; Seidman, 2013; Stake, 2010).

Setting

Black law enforcement officers believe that racial profiling is occurring in the agencies in which they serve in lieu of policies eliminating the practice (Barlow & Barlow, 2002; Wilson et al., 2015). White authorities often reject evidence that profiling is occurring and often state the public lacks the ability to articulate how and when it is occurring (Clarke, 2017; MacDonald, 2003; Starks, 2016). Black people account for the highest incidence of crime; therefore some believe it is not profiling because they account for more police encounters (Clarke, 2017): “The major problem with arrest statistics,

then, is that they do not reflect the reality of crime as much as they reflect patterns in policing” (Barlow & Barlow, 2002, p. 339). Others support the claim with evidence that Black people are stopped significantly more than White people, but White people are arrested more for drugs (Barlow & Barlow, 2002; Petrocelli, Piquero, & Smith, 2003; Sun & Payne, 2004; Weitzer, 2000). However, according to Harcourt (2003), racial profiling is a bad practice.

This study took place in three rural counties in Northwest Missouri. County A is the largest by land size and is mostly rural. County A has a population that is 94% White (U.S. Census Bureau, 2016). County B is predominantly rural but the largest portion of its population lives in one major city. County B has a large manufacturing and retail-driven economy, although it is rural. The population of County B is 89% White. County C comprises several small cities and has a population that is 86% White. County C has a professional working-class-based economy, largely driven by more than 40% of the population holding a college degree. County C has the largest population of all counties studied (U.S. Census Bureau, 2016).

The organizations and law enforcement officers participating in this study were commissioned law enforcement officers in an agency in a county studied. All organizations had a similar command structure and enforcement capabilities. The command structures all had a single executive who is accountable and responsible for the entire organization. The single executive had subordinates dispersed throughout the organization with daily command responsibilities. Organizations studied were accountable to the communities in which they serve and report traffic-stop data to the

Missouri Attorney General. The communities served by law enforcement were predominantly White as were the law enforcement agencies studied.

Participants

Interviews, focus groups, and the collection of artifacts are essential in gathering qualitative data (Bloomberg & Volpe, 2016; Merriam, 2009). The researcher used purposeful sampling to conduct interviews and focus groups of Black law enforcement officers (Bloomberg & Volpe, 2016; Merriam & Tisdell, 2016). The researcher included Black law enforcement officers from three counties in northwest Missouri. The identified participants were commissioned law enforcement officers serving as a state, county, or municipal law enforcement officer.

The researcher chose to conduct a bounded case study as a result of the established criteria (Bloomberg & Volpe, 2016; Creswell, 2014; Merriam & Tisdell, 2016; Stake, 2010). The researcher contacted Black law enforcement officers by e-mail, phone, and in person to schedule interviews or focus groups. The researcher conducted interviews until saturation was reached. Snowball sampling occurred as participants referred additional participants to the researcher (Merriam & Tisdell, 2016).

Data-Collection Tools

The researcher arranged and led semi structured interviews using a person-to-person format in a private setting (Merriam & Tisdell, 2016; Seidman, 2013) and maintained all data collected during the study. All data remained confidential and secure, kept in a locked fireproof safe in an office. The code to the safe and room key were in the researchers sole possession. The researcher maintained all data in compliance with University of Missouri Institutional Review Board (IRB) requirements and conditions

(Bloomberg & Volpe, 2016; Merriam & Tisdell, 2016). The researcher advised all study participants that the results were being presented in a doctoral thesis (Bloomberg & Volpe, 2016) and informed all participants that the researcher would make all efforts to protect their anonymity and ability to withdraw from the study at anytime (Bloomberg & Volpe, 2016; Merriam & Tisdell, 2016). The researcher issued all participants a participant cover letter and a consent form that further explained confidentiality. The researcher rerecorded all interviews and documented them with field notes (Krueger & Casey, 2015; Stake, 2010). The research took place at a law enforcement station or at a location chosen by the participant. The researcher crafted open-ended questions that allowed the participant to become comfortable (Seidman, 2013). Although the interviews included questions, participants guided the interviews. Interviews were expected to last 30 minutes. Following each interview, the researcher reviewed field notes and had all recordings transcribed (Bloomberg & Volpe, 2016; Krueger & Casey, 2015).

Focus groups took place in a law enforcement department's conference room or a local institution's conference room that was centrally located, to accommodate participants (Krueger & Casey, 2015). Multiple locations ensured all participants could attend. A proxy was used to conduct the focus groups in order to reduce bias and solicit richer responses. Merriam and Tisdell (2016) stated "interviewing requires interviewers to have enough distance to enable them to ask real questions and to explore, not share, assumptions" (p. 130). The researcher took field notes and audio recorded all discussions. The researcher developed questions prior to the focus-group meetings, but allowed the conversation to adapt to participants' discussion. Focus groups were expected to last 1 hour. The researcher reviewed field notes following each discussion

and had all recordings transcribed. The researcher also collected and examined artifacts from Missouri State Statutes and each participant's law enforcement agency (Merriam & Tisdell, 2016). Specifically, the researcher examined Missouri State Statute 590.650 RSMo (Board of Regents, 2013) and each law enforcement agency's policy concerning the practice of racial profiling. Participants' law enforcement agencies provided policies addressing racial profiling.

According to Merriam and Tisdell (2016) "Qualitative researchers are guests in the private spaces of the world" (p. 262). This type of research required an emphasis on ethics and maintaining IRB standards (Bloomberg & Volpe, 2016). According to Merriam and Tisdell (2016), greatness can be produced, but risks are substantial; yet, the work must be done to improve conditions.

Data Analysis

After the transcriptionist transcribed the recorded sessions with participants, the researcher reviewed the transcripts several times to gain a comprehensive understanding of what participants were trying to convey. The researcher then labeled and sorted the collected qualitative data from interviews, focus groups, and artifacts (Bloomberg & Volpe, 2016; Creswell, 2016). Member checks further validated interview and focus-group transcripts (Merriam & Tisdell, 2016). The process of coding allowed the data to condense through use of an interpretive-findings tool (Bloomberg & Volpe, 2016). The tool allowed for a deeper meaning to be established that assisted in formulating emerging themes from the codes (Bloomberg & Volpe, 2016). The researcher logged notable phrases (Creswell, 2016; Merriam & Tisdell, 2016) and organized the themes to identify

consistencies and applicability to the research questions (Bloomberg & Volpe, 2016; Creswell, 2016; Merriam & Tisdell, 2016).

Limitations and Delimitations

This research was qualitative and relied on responses from participants. Because responses indicated participants' perceptions, validity and reliability had to be considered. This qualitative research study lacks the ability to be widely generalizable, which limits the ability to replicate this study. This study also had limitations in participants' age, sex, and years of experience. An additional limitation was researcher bias, as the researcher worked in the jurisdictions of participants. Delimitations of the study comprised the small sample size, the scope of the study in a specified rural Midwest region, and being bounded by studying only Black law enforcement officers. The study did not explore if participants practiced racial profiling.

Assumptions

An assumption of this study was that participants in interviews and focus groups were accurate in their perceptions. Because this study examined perceptions of racial profiling in rural communities, information expressed by participants occurred during their service in a rural community.

Definitions of Key Terms

Commissioned law enforcement officer. Granted authority to act as a peace officer by the Missouri Peace Officer Standards and Training commissioning agency (Peace Officers, Selection, Training, & Discipline, 2016), a law enforcement officer is commissioned as a peace officer, allowing them to serve a state or any political

subdivision of the state with the power to arrest for violations of the criminal code (Peace Officers, Selection, Training, & Discipline, 2016).

Implicit bias. Having a preference for one race over another that allows for discriminatory behavior to occur (Banaji & Greenwald, 2013).

Jurisdiction. The political subdivision of the state that grants a law enforcement officer the ability to practice (Peace Officers, Selection, Training, & Discipline, 2016).

Large law enforcement agencies. Large agencies have more than 25 police officers and serve populations of more than 100,000 people (Reaves, 2015).

Police academies. Schools responsible for delivering basic law enforcement officer training (Haarr, 2001). A certification test is required at the completion of the training that establishes the graduate's level of competency and ability to receive a commission (Peace Officers, Selection, Training, & Discipline, 2016). The academies instill attitudes and beliefs that are consistent with the practice (Haarr, 2001).

Racial profiling. Racial profiling is defined as “any police action that relies upon the race, ethnicity, or national origin of an individual rather than the behavior of that individual” (Rojek et al., 2004, p. 128).

Slave patrols. Southern U.S. law enforcement was implemented to capture and return escaped slaves (Wadman & Allison, 2004). These patrols comprised commissioned law enforcement officers who served their communities.

Small law enforcement agencies. Law enforcement organizations that have less than 25 officers and make up 61% of all agencies serving populations of under 100,000 people (Reaves, 2015).

Significance of Study

This study contributes to the understanding and perceptions of Black law enforcement officers regarding racial profiling in the communities they serve. The problem of racial profiling in policing has undermined confidence and diminished officers' ability to enforce laws (Wilkins & William, 2008). This study also provides valuable insights into the socialization that takes place in law enforcement (Sun & Payne, 2004). "Police departments are notorious for their use of socialization to modify the behaviors and attitudes of their employees" (Wilkins & Williams, 2008, p. 654). This study further characterized the identity that law enforcement officers assume. Policymakers may gain key insights from those who have the lived experience of race and practice regarding racial profiling (Harcourt, 2003; Wilson et al., 2015). Additionally, policymakers may glean the scope of racial profiling. This study fills a gap in current research regarding perceptions of rural, northwest Missouri Black law enforcement officers regarding racial profiling.

The impact of this study on the researchers' agency may be monumental. The agency comprises 33% racial minorities. This study may assist in altering the occupational-socialization process of all law enforcement officers as well as create a work environment that supports all. Further research regarding Black law enforcement officers' perceptions of racial profiling would produce recommendations to assist agencies and the overall state of law enforcement. This study could be transferable to other communities as well as serving as impetus for conversations and actions on racial profiling.

Summary

With increasing public sentiment about the state of law enforcement in the United States, the need to understand all points of view is important (Wilson et al., 2015). Communities of color are asking for reviews of policing agencies to understand the scope of perceived problems (Jasper, 2015; Jennings, Fridell, Lynch, 2014; Ross; 2015). Missouri has experienced a problem with racial profiling. In 2016, Black people comprised 10.9% of drivers in Missouri but accounted for more than 18% of all traffic stops (Hawley, 2017). Limited research describes the perceptions of Black law enforcement officers in rural settings on racial profiling.

Encounters with law enforcement have long-term adversarial affects on citizens when encounters appear to have been determined by race (Weitzer & Tuch, 2002). The use of race as the sole factor, that is, racial profiling, should not occur (Holmes & Smith, 2017; Rojek et al., 2004; Wilson et al., 2004). Of White law enforcement officers, 92% believed the United States has made the changes needed to give Black people equal rights with White people, whereas 29% of Black law enforcement officers supported that perception (Stepler, 2017). All departments in Missouri are bound by state statute to have a departmental policy prohibiting racial profiling.

Through the exploration of social-identity theory and the key variables of Black law enforcement officers, racial profiling, and occupational socialization, in this study the researcher sought to examine Black law enforcement officers' perceptions of racial profiling. Using the findings of the study should assist in filling the void in leaders' understanding of the phenomenon. This study expands the literature by amplifying the voice of those who have the lived experience as well as the practitioner's experience.

SECTION TWO

PRACTITIONER SETTING FOR THE STUDY

Law enforcement in North America has a rich and storied past, traced back to colonization. Law enforcement in the United States migrated to the colonies through the influence of the British empires (National Sheriffs' Association [NSA], 2017). Economic changes, political culture, and social moments have all influenced law enforcement agencies. The economic impact of slavery brought about law enforcement in the South (Wadman & Allison, 2004). The political culture, as well as social movement, brought about the diversification of law enforcement in the United States (Wilson et al., 2015). These influences have affected the safety and security of all who live and visit North America. Law enforcement is largely reactive, yet has a strong focus on reform. Implemented reform priorities often rest in maintaining the existing culture and practices. Wadman and Allison (2004) stated that a successful and effective law enforcement agency is one that maintains societal traditions. In an ever-changing world, law enforcement is charged with maintaining stability (Rojek et al., 2004). The communities in which law enforcement agencies serve authorize the mandate for retaining order and customs.

Missouri's impact on law enforcement is monumental (Rojek et al., 2004). Rural law enforcement agencies have a strong political position in Missouri (Hogland, 2014). This analysis reviews the history of state, county, and municipal law enforcement agencies, the organizations, the leadership, and implications on research in the practitioner setting.

History of Organizations

The manner in which North American law enforcement operates today is a direct reflection of its past. Past law enforcement is marked by slave patrols, corruption, and heroism. Although law enforcement has evolved, many substantial issues of poor race relations have persisted (Jasper, 2015). Law enforcement has many tentacles created to instill a connected purpose among the many layers of enforcement agencies. In this section, the researcher analyzed the following tentacles of law enforcement: state law enforcement agencies, county law enforcement, and municipal law enforcement. The researchers view all of them through the lenses of the national perspective, the State of Missouri perspective, and the rural perspective.

State Law Enforcement

For this study, state law enforcement represents two entities that share limited jurisdiction, one that serves the entire state, divided into troops and zones and the other located on public higher education campuses. The first statewide policing agency was enacted in the State of Pennsylvania in 1905, although most historians attribute the Texas Rangers as established in 1823 as a statewide law enforcement agency (Corcoran, 1924; Jones, 2017). Statewide law enforcement agencies began to gain momentum in the 1920s. Statewide law enforcement agencies were created to provide protection for rural and suburban citizens as well as provide order on the highways (Corcoran, 1924). Higher education began the transition to law enforcement officers in the 1960s (Anderson, 2015).

Higher education institutions chose to establish law enforcement agencies to combat student unrest and the lack of effort by municipal and statewide law enforcement agencies (Anderson, 2015). Of public institutions in North America, 92% use

commissioned law enforcement officers (Reaves, 2015a). The federal Clery Act of 1990 provided the impetus for the mandate of higher education to establish law enforcement officers. Statewide law enforcement agencies share in limited jurisdiction, often limited to highways and to the campuses of the institutions served (Anderson, 2015; Corcoran, 1924).

Missouri. In 1931, the Missouri state legislature created the Midwest State Law Enforcement agency (MSLE) in an effort to maintain order on the highways (Missouri State Highway Patrol, 2017). The agency was authorized to hire and train law enforcement officers, which it initially did at the St. Louis Police Training Academy. Leadership of the MSLE required a governor's appointment and often, during its early formation, the appointee was not a member of law enforcement or the military. The state initially set up six troop zones across the state to provide services in all areas. For more than 25 years, the MSLE focused solely on traffic laws (Missouri State Highway Patrol [MSHP], 2017).

In 1959, the state charged the MSLE with providing training for rural and municipal county law enforcement officers. The agency provided continuing education courses for the first time for officers as well as for those serving in rural areas, and expanded from seven to nine troops across the state during this period. In 1946, the MSLE initiated the troop that serves all of northwest Missouri. MSLE hired its first Black officer in 1965 and two White women in 1975. In 1992, the MSLE expanded its roles and ability to help citizens and rural law enforcement agencies with legislation enacted that allowed them to apply for search warrants. The MSLE mission expanded to assist rural law enforcement in the eradication of drugs, criminal investigations, gaming,

water patrol, and laboratory-analysis services. In 2014, the MSLE (2017) began to assist large metropolitan areas with social unrest.

Missouri institutions of higher education began using watchmen to patrol facilities to prevent theft in the 1880s (University of Missouri Police Department, 2017). Pockets of higher education institutions in Missouri have used commissioned law enforcement officers since the 1960s (International Association of Campus Law Enforcement Administrators [IACLEA], 2017). This change was made to address unrest occurring on campuses. These higher education institutions made agreements with county sheriffs or municipal law enforcement agencies to provide commissioning, although officers reported to a member of the campus (IACLEA, 2017). In 1996, the Missouri legislature authorized public higher education institutions to hire their own law enforcement officers. Officers received the same training and authority as any law enforcement officers in the state.

The mission of higher education law enforcement officers is to maintain order on property or roadways, mitigate or respond to unrest, and support institutions' educational goals (Anderson, 2015; IACLEA, 2017). Currently, all public institutions in Missouri have commissioned law enforcement officers serving. These agencies are also charged with creating and maintaining relationships with the campus community by creating crime-prevention programs that directly involve all stakeholders. Law enforcement officers who serve higher education are more focused on student safety and harm reduction than their counterparts (Anderson, 2015). Campus law enforcement agencies in Missouri have transcended their roles and serve as training hubs for all law enforcement agencies throughout the state (IACLEA, 2017).

Rural. The Blue agency serves in all three counties and reports to the troop that is accountable to the MSLE (MSHP, 2017). The Blue agency has been part of all counties since the inception of their parent organization in 1931. Gold agencies reside in Counties A and B of this study. Their missions and focus are similar and they collaborate with the Blue agency. The demographics served by all agencies are equal. The Blue and Gold agencies receive specialized training to focus on eliminating racial profiling and practicing ethical policing (Baine and Cisco, personal communication, fall 2017). The centralized training model supports my inference regarding socialization of law enforcement officer's approach to racial profiling.

County Law Enforcement

The county sheriff's historical roots are distinguishable from all law enforcement agencies. The sheriff's position was founded during the ninth century in England and no older government position exists in England except the monarchy (Hogland, 2014; NSA, 2017). The sheriff's historical name is meant to represent a guardian, elected by those in their village to be the community and governmental leader (NSA, 2017). This position, although adapted to meet democratic philosophies, was exported to North America during colonization (Hogland, 2014). The first sheriff in North America took office in Accomack, Virginia, in the same year Northampton, Virginia, also elected its first sheriff (Hogland, 2014). The sheriff's responsibilities were numerous:

Colonial sheriffs were responsible for many things, such as collecting taxes, keeping the county treasury, arresting and housing criminals, conducting business for the courts, and carrying out punishment on convicted criminals. And the Sheriff was responsible for keeping devices like stocks, pillories, whipping posts,

dunking stools, and gallows to carrying out punishments imposed by the court such as branding, mutilation, whipping, imprisonment, and executions. In *The Value of Constitutions*, Thomas Jefferson wrote, “The office of sheriff is the most important of all the executive offices of the county.” (Hogland, 2014, p. 9)

As the United States expanded westward, the position of the sheriff continued to solidify as part of the fabric of every community. Sheriffs were given substantial power to carry out their duties.

The position of county sheriff is different from other law enforcement positions. Sheriffs are directly accountable to the communities that elected them (NSA, 2017). The position of sheriff is independent and only answers to the public and the constitution of their state. Current sheriffs have duties and missions honed in to resemble other law enforcement agencies in North America. Duties typically focus on serving warrants, civil service, jail administration, court security, and general law enforcement services in their communities (NSA, 2017).

Missouri. In 1812, Missouri was established and granted the first five counties the ability to elect sheriffs (Hogland, 2014). Their primary mission was to provide law enforcement and jail services, issue business licenses, conduct slave and property sales, and serve as county treasurer. Missouri sheriffs were able to charge a fee for their services of selling and accounting for slaves and property. Missouri statutes in 1822 scoped the sheriff’s responsibilities to focus on jails and general law enforcement as well as limiting the term of service for sheriffs. The laws executed in 1822 are largely the same for sheriffs today. Sheriffs in Missouri possess great power and authority to carry out their law enforcement duties (Hogland, 2014).

Rural. Brown law enforcement agencies serve each county in this study. Brown Two was formed in 1838 along with Brown Three (Hogland, 2014). Brown One was established in 1843 but did not have a jail constructed until 1858, suggesting that old-fashioned justice has always been part of Brown One's law enforcement practices. The Brown One Sheriff led hangings in Beal Park in the late 1800s and turned over a Black prisoner to be lynched and burned in 1931 (Hogland, 2014). The homicide of a Black Northwest Missouri State University student occurred in 1983 in the Brown One jail. Brown One has experienced several deaths in its jail.

Brown Two was established in 1838 with the approval of the state legislature (Hogland, 2014). A jail was constructed shortly after the sheriff was named. The sheriff's duties focused on crime and lawlessness and with conducting public hangings and ensuring slaves were returned to their owners. Brown Two's jurisdiction experienced a high degree of crime and murder as it was home to Jesse James. Brown Two experienced multiple fires in jail facilities along with prisoner unrest until the 1980s. Currently, Brown Two operates at a centralized law enforcement facility with the municipal police. The physical alignment of Brown Two and the municipal police infuse socialization among law enforcement officers (Hogland, 2014).

The Brown Three law enforcement agency was established in 1838 (Hogland, 2014). Brown Three, unlike its two other counterparts, faced several attacks by Native Americans during its early years. The county seat of Brown Three was constructed by slaves, as the sheriffs primary duties centered on fighting Native Americans and slave patrols. Following the Civil War, Brown Three's sheriff was removed for failure to sign a loyalty oath to the United States. Brown Three is known for its confrontation with

Bonnie and Clyde in the 1930s. Brown Three reaffirmed its mission in the 1990s and centralized its work of maintaining order (Hogland, 2014). Maintaining order allows law enforcement organizations to tie to the past (Wadman & Allison, 2004).

Municipal Law Enforcement

The introduction of municipal law enforcement in North America began in the early 1600s (Wadman & Allison, 2004). Boston established the first publicly funded municipal law enforcement department in 1838 (Waxman, 2017). The North and South of the United States adopted municipal law enforcement officers for different reasons. Law enforcement in the North was adopted to assist merchants and to patrol sprawling cities to mitigate theft and disorder (Wadman & Allison, 2004). The South implemented law enforcement to combat escaped slaves, establishing a publicly funded slave patrol in the Carolina colonies in 1704 (Alex, 1969; Dulaney, 1996; Wadman & Allison, 2004; Wilson et al., 2015). Both the North and South evolved in their law enforcement strategies, but maintained a focus on their root cause of implementing police agencies (Dulaney, 1996; Wadman & Allison, 2004).

Municipal law enforcement agencies acted on behalf of political interest during the late 19th century (Waxman, 2017). Labor unions and work disruptions were a focal point of municipal law enforcement agencies from the 1890s through the 1920s. Following the 1930s, municipal agencies began to evolve into professional organizations. Agencies began to implement standardized hiring and training practices. Municipal law enforcement agencies focused on suppressing social unrest during the 1960s and 1970s. Following this period, law enforcement expanded its technological efforts to focus on

emerging issues such as terrorism, cybercrime, and drugs. The war on drugs has infused distrust of law enforcement and minority communities (Alexander, 2012).

Missouri. Law enforcement in Missouri was first established in 1808 in St. Louis, Missouri (Wadman & Allison, 2004). Municipal law enforcement in Missouri was established for several reasons (Missouri Police Chief Association, 2017). Missouri municipal law enforcement officers initially formed to assist merchants with theft and provide slave patrols (Dulaney, 1996). Municipal law enforcement agencies in Missouri used informal methods of policing until the early 1900s. Missouri was an early adopter of technology use in influencing the practice of policing, and Missouri was one of the first states to use fingerprinting as an identification and crime-fighting tool (Wadman & Allison, 2004). Patrol jurisdiction in municipal agencies is limited to the political governance of the community served.

Rural. Black One was instituted in 1901 following a city council vote (Smail, personal communication, October 11, 2017). The unit's primary function was to ensure safety for the community following an influx of former slaves and military soldiers (Hogland, 2014). Officers were housed in city hall and later moved to a former grocery store (Pine, personal communication, October 5, 2017). The name and duties changed for Black One in the early 1970s (Pine, personal communication, October 5, 2017). The law enforcement agency created cross-functioning officers that performed police and fire duties. The current agency continues to operate with shared duties.

Black Two formed in 1887 when the Missouri legislature authorized the law enforcement agency (St. Joseph Police Department [SJPD], 2012). Law enforcement officers of Black Two had primary duties of maintaining order in the sprawling city.

During the early years, officers patrolled the community by car, motorcycle, and foot, noting their route by stopping at call boxes. Black Two faced fiscal shortages during the 1930s although it installed a one-way radio system as well as constructed a headquarters. The final headquarters was constructed in 1986 with the county law enforcement agency (SJPD, 2012). The current agency practices community-oriented policing and focuses on protecting rights.

Black Three was established in 1931 (Platte City Police Department [PCPD], 2017). The agency's primary function is to provide law enforcement services to the community it serves. During the early years, Black Three centered efforts on vehicle and foot patrols to prevent theft. The current agency has seen extraordinary fiscal growth. Law enforcement officers in Black Three receive training and tools to assist them in connecting with the community they serve (PCPD, 2017). Officers have embraced community-policing efforts and are working toward developing policies that foster legitimacy (Hanks, personal communication, September 27, 2017).

Organizational Analysis

All law enforcement agencies in Missouri have their own command structure. Although they each have their own structure, some similar traits are stable across all agencies. All organizations have elements that are consistent across all structures (Mintzberg, 1979/2005; Sharfritz, Ott, & Jang, 2005; Taylor, 1916). Following is an explanation of the chain of command, as well as the duties of the members of agencies.

State Law Enforcement

The same agency serves Blue One, Blue Two, and Blue Three in the troop (MSHP, 2017). The troop office serves as the regional command for all law enforcement

officers serving in the Blue. All troop office members are appointed by the MSLE located in the state capital (MSHP, 2017). The troop offices house one captain, four lieutenants, 14 sergeants, 16 corporals, and 39 officers, as seen in Figure 2 (Baine, personal communication, October 9, 2017). Law enforcement officers who work in agencies Blue One through Three report up through a corporal, sergeant, and lieutenant (MSHP, 2017). Blue organizations focus on a structural frame (Bolman & Deal, 2013). Organizations that focus solely on the structural frame are not as effective.

Figure 2. The Troop, Blue 1, Blue 2, Blue 3 organization chart.

Gold One and Two agencies have an identical leadership structure. Both agencies have a chief, two command staff members, and eight officers, as seen in Figure 3 (Bryant, personal communication, September 22, 2017). The chief reports to a senior administrator in the higher education institution (Bryant, personal communication, September 22, 2017). Gold organizations operate with a compressed structure. Organizations need multiple functions in their structures to operate effectively (Mintzberg, 1979/2005). A compressed structure creates shared accountability (Harvard Business Review, 2013).

Figure 3. Gold 1 and Gold 2 organization chart.

County Law Enforcement

The structure of a law enforcement agency is important. The Brown's have a structure that lends itself to enhancing performance and efficiencies (Bolman & Deal, 2013). The Brown's all have a similar organization structure. The Brown's are elected by the communities in which they serve (NSA, 2017). The Browns' senior leader is the highest-ranking law enforcement officer in the organization (NSA, 2017). The Browns have the following branches: administration, corrections, court security, drug strike force, investigations, patrol, and support services (see Figure 4 (Buchanan County Sheriff's Department [BCSD], 2017; Nodaway County Sheriff's Department [NCSD], 2017; Platte County Sheriff's Department [PCSD], 2017). Browns' offices contain those appointed by the senior leader. The Browns cover large land masses of over 400 square miles. Brown One has 12 law enforcement officers, Brown Two has 78, and Brown Three has 81 (BCSD, 2017; NCSD, 2017; PCSD, 2017). All three agencies have civilian employees reporting throughout the structure of the organizations. Bolman and Deal (2013) stated "the right structure forms a solid underpinning to combat risk" (p. 43). The

Browns' structure balances and they are the only agencies in the three rural areas to encompass all facets of law enforcement (BCSD, 2017; NCSD, 2017; PCSD, 2017).

Figure 4. Brown One, Brown Two, and Brown Three organization chart.

Municipal Law Enforcement

Organizational structures influence the work that occurs (Bolman & Deal, 2013).

Organizational structure is comparable across all three of the Blacks. The chief officer of each organization is appointed by the lead city administrator along with the elected council (PCPD, 2017; SJPD, 2012). The Blacks have the following branches: administration, patrol, and investigations (see Figure 5; PCPD, 2017; SJPD, 2012). The division of labor drives the efficiency of the work (Bolman & Deal, 2013; Mintzberg, 1979/2005). The offices comprise those hired by the chief executive officer and their command staff (SJPD, 2012). The Blacks' jurisdiction is often in densely populated areas. Black One has 22 law enforcement officers, Black Two has 134 officers, and Black Three has 12 officers (Smail, personal communication, October 5, 2017; PCPD,

2017; SJPD, 2012). All three agencies have civilian employees reporting throughout the organizations.

Figure 5. Blue 1, Blue 2, and Blue 3 organization chart.

Leadership Analysis

All law enforcement organizations operate independently, although they have many statutory, budgetary, and operational connections. Leadership provides a central connection for all organizations.

From the top of the organization to the line officer, the flow of power differs for Blue, Gold, Brown, and Black agencies. Statewide, county, and municipal law enforcement agencies have unique leadership structures; however, the missions and purpose are similar. The following analysis describes the Blue, Gold, Brown, and Black agencies from the line officer to the chief executive. Discussions also covered the duties and responsibilities of each function in the organization. Harvard Business Review (2013) reported that all highly effective leaders have a distinguishable characteristic.

Blue

Leadership is essential to the Blue organization. Formal authority is essential for task-related work (Northouse, 2016). All three Blues have a sergeant who leads their zones of control scope of work (MSHP, 2017). The scope centers on the duties outlined by the parent organization in the state capital (MSHP, 2017). The sergeant has one or two corporals who assist in maintaining leadership for line officers assigned to their specific area of responsibility (Baine, personal communication, October 1, 2017). Sergeants are tasked with reporting to the lieutenant, who is their direct supervisor. Lieutenants direct the procedural, human resources, and emergency support for each sergeant's command that they supervise (MSHP, 2017). The captain receives briefings and ensures alignment of all procedures, human-resource matters, and emergency response for the organization. The captain is the chief law enforcement officer for all under their command. The captain reports to a major stationed at the state capital (MSHP, 2017). Civilian employees also report through the command structure. Leadership is about facilitating change and connecting with strategic partners (Kotter, 2011). The captain of the troop must work within the parameters of the parent organization but must lead change that improves the individuality of the troop that they command (MSHP, 2017). The captain must develop strong relationships to achieve the change needed to lead.

Gold

The Golds have a tight structure, rendering effective leadership essential. Tightly structured organizations reduce creativity and increase accountability (Weick, 1978/1983). The leads serve as the direct supervisor for line officers in their command

(IACLEA, 2017), and provide procedural and emergency response for those in their command (Ray, personal communication, October 10, 2017). Leads also practice specialized work in the organization in training, scheduling, and managing programs and budgets (IACLEA, 2017). Situational leadership is effective for those who work with multiple types of followers (Northouse, 2016). The leads in Gold organizations are tasked with working with diverse people. Leads report directly to the chief. The chief is responsible for the overall budget, human-resource matters, procedures, and specific program management (Ray, personal communication, October 10, 2017). The chief reports to a senior administrator in a higher education institution (Ray, personal communication, October 10, 2017). The Golds also have students and other employees who are not law enforcement personnel who report through the organizational structure. Firmly aligned organizations with limited personnel are more managed than led (Kotter, 2011).

Brown

K. Daniel (personal communication, April 27, 2017) stated “if serving is beneath you, leadership is beyond you.” The Browns’ entire organization builds on a service philosophy. The three Browns use a lead to manage the daily work of line officers (Hogland, 2014). Leads serve as the procedural resource for line officers (Dewey, personal communication, September 21, 2017). The leadership structure of Browns aligns with the skills approach to leadership. Leaders grow from those who focus on improving themselves, based on their experiences in the work (Northouse, 2016).

Leads report to a captain, who is responsible for a division, such as corrections or patrols (Hogland, 2014). Captains serve as subject-matter experts in the division they

manage. All captains report directly to the sheriff. Sheriffs are responsible to the constitution and the community in which they serve (Hogland, 2014). The sheriff has oversight of all members in the organization (BCSD, 2017; NCSD, 2017; PCSD, 2017). The sheriff must have understanding of law enforcement and a strong political aptitude to be successful (NSA, 2017). A transformational leader may best serve in the position of sheriff. A transformational leader inspires followers to achieve immense things (Northouse, 2016).

Black

People achieve leadership through different styles (Northouse, 2016). Many styles of leaders serve municipal law enforcement, guided by efficiency (Wadman & Allison, 2004). Blacks One, Two, and Three have leads who manage line officers and assist with procedural interpretation (Wake, personal communication, October 14, 2017). Leads report to a commander who mediates between the chief and leads (SJPD, 2012). Commanders manage a division such as a patrol, investigation, records, or support services (SJPD, 2012). Management concerns surviving myriad complexities (Kotter, 2011). Commanders are often encumbered with the intricacies of daily operations. Commanders report to the chief executive officer.

The chief executive officer is responsible for the administrative duties of the organization (SJPD, 2012). The executive officer reports to the highest-ranking city administrator as well as the elected council (PCPD, 2017; SJPD, 2012). Leaders in this realm identify with the skills approach. Leaders are made through education and experiences (Northouse, 2016).

Implications for Research in the Practitioner Setting

The current negative climate for law enforcement is challenging and serves as an impetus for change (Lopez, 2016). This analysis produced findings that respond to the study's research questions. The objective of this study was to gather perceptions of Black law enforcement officers in reference to racial profiling. These findings have important implications for assessing and improving current policies, procedures, and practices and changing the law enforcement academy experience and curriculum. Qualitative research acknowledges and provides answers to complexities (Creswell, 2014).

Providing additional literature from Black law enforcement officers will assist in shaping policies and practices that will reduce or eliminate racial profiling. The insider perspective of the Black law enforcement officer is essential for understanding the impact of racial profiling. This study enhances understanding of racial profiling and an insider's point of view. This study's results may impact law enforcement academies in their instruction and practices. The answers to the research questions by Black law enforcement officers may directly affect the strategies and tactics needed to improve law enforcement. The results may help law enforcement maintain, increase, or improve its relationships with minority communities, along with recruiting more diverse law enforcement officers.

Summary

Many factors influence decisions in law enforcement's work, influencing the current negative climate surrounding racial profiling. Policy implications will help, but

the work must be done in each individual agency. This study occurred at an important moment and inspires hope into the law enforcement community for change.

The practitioner setting for this bounded case study yielded important results to address racial profiling. The use of interviews, focus groups, and a review of artifacts helped capture the perceptions of Black law enforcement officers regarding racial profiling. This information will be shared through conferences, journals, local, state, and national policymakers, and leaders of law enforcement. The answers gathered from this study will help law enforcement agencies and the communities they serve. Encounters with police have long-term adversarial effects on citizens when encounters appear to have been determined by race (Weitzer & Tuch, 2002). The topic of race is divisive in communities and is a primary contributor to the loss of public trust in policing (Seo, 2016).

SECTION THREE

SCHOLARLY REVIEW FOR THE STUDY

Many people talk loudly but say little (Brown & Byrd, 1970, *Soulwalking*). A national platform has emerged to discuss the perceptions of law enforcement officers in reference to racial profiling (Barlow & Barlow, 2002; Petrocelli et al., 2003; President's Task Force on 21st Century Policing, 2015; Wilson et al., 2015). The discussions that have emerged attack North American law enforcement officers regarding racial profiling. Racial profiling has become entrenched as a systemic part of the law enforcement culture (Stepler, 2017; President's Task Force on 21st Century Policing, 2015; Wilson et al., 2015). The culture of law enforcement agencies participating in racial profiling are displayed in public with the advent of hand-held video cameras (C-SPAN, 2016). A shortage of theories explain the behavior of police treatment of minority community members and that lack serves as a gap in the literature on racial profiling (Smith & Alpert, 2007). All police do not accept the notion of racial profiling as a problem (MacDonald, 2016; Stepler, 2017). Numerous law enforcement officers believe racial profiling is a valid method to reduce crime (Wilson et al., 2015). Law enforcement officers are more likely to disproportionately arrest Black people for a crime (Alexander, 2012; Barlow & Barlow, 2002; Clarke, 2017; Starkes, 2016). According to Clarke (2017), "war has been declared on the American police officer" (p. 232). The divisiveness between the police and the Black community on racial profiling has led to the need for more examination. A pivotal time has emerged that has made it essential for the practice of law enforcement to understand Black law enforcement officers' perceptions on racial profiling (Jones, 2017; Sun & Payne, 2004; Wilson et al., 2015).

The purpose of this study was to fill the gap in research that currently exists in the perceptions of rural, northwest Missouri Black law enforcement officers about racial profiling. Racial profiling is “any police action that relies upon the race, ethnicity, or national origin of an individual rather than the behavior of that individual” (Rojek et al., 2004, p. 128). Little research examined Black law enforcement officers in rural settings (Wilson et al., 2015). This qualitative study provides context to the racial-profiling phenomenon.

The scholarly review centered on the theoretical framework of social-identity theory, while examining in-group and out-group processes in the theory. This section explores the key concepts of Black law enforcement officers, racial profiling, and occupational socialization. In this section, I synthesize and critique quintessential concepts from past studies, peer-reviewed journals, books, and articles to provide context for the current study. All information targets the overarching research question: What are Black law enforcement officers’ perceptions of racial profiling?

Social-Identity Theory

Social-identity theory describes the process people use to determine the groups with which they identify (Gundlach et al., 2006). The relationship of social identity interweaves with structures and groups (Ashforth & Johnson, 2001; Luhtanen & Crocker, 1992; Stryker & Burke, 2000). Prior to individuals determining how they can behave, they place themselves in a group (Ashforth & Johnson, 2001; Turner & Tajfel, 1986). Individuals are drawn toward a particular group based on their own values. The convergence of internal and external factors shape the concept of identity (Luhtanen & Crocker, 1992). Choosing a group to identify highly relates to a person’s objectives,

ethics, and key tenets (Ashforth & Mael, 1989). An individual's satisfaction shapes around their group identity (Ashforth & Mael, 1989). Organizations or groups that have a rigid inoculation period focused on values and beliefs allow an effortless social-identity transformation (Ashforth & Johnson, 2001; Ashforth & Mael, 1989).

A person's belief of who they are rests in organizations or factions of which they are members (Turner & Tajfel, 1986). Social-identity theory proposes that the group or groups to which a person belongs establishes a portion of a person's concept of self (Turner & Tajfel, 1986). Groupings are part of a law enforcement officer's career from the start of employment to the conclusion. The socialization process begins when the new law enforcement officer is grouped with others in a law enforcement training academy (Wilkins & Williams, 2008). A law enforcement training academy allows officers to participate in psychological and physically demanding tasks. Demanding acts that push police cadets to the brink of decay works to enhance the groups' identity (Conti, 2009). Extreme acts lead to an increase in group identity that allows for false perceptions and biases to form against external groups (Islam, 2014; Tajfel, 1982; Turner & Tajfel, 1986).

Poor relationships exist between people who identify as part of the socially dominant group and those who do not (Hamamura, 2017). Law enforcement officers work in environments that are rich in diversity, due to mobility. Rural law enforcement departments often have less than 6% of its officers of nondominant racial or ethnic descent (Reaves, 2015b). Law enforcement officers serving in rural areas must provide many diverse and unique services to the communities they serve. Social-identity theory states that a person can attach to multiple roles while participating in a community

(Stryker & Burke, 2000). These dueling roles are often dominated by the one in which a person spends the most time (Ashforth & Johnson, 2001; Stryker & Burke, 2000; Turner & Tajfel, 1986). Others share this view:

Society is seen as a mosaic of relatively durable patterned interactions and relationships, differentiated yet organized, embedded in an array of groups, organizations, communities, and institutions, and intersected by crosscutting boundaries of class, ethnicity, age, gender, religion, and other variables. In addition, persons are seen as living their lives in relatively small and specialized networks of social relationships, through roles that support their participation in such networks. The embeddedness of patterned interactions and relationships implies a structural symbolic interactionist argument: the probability of entering into the concrete (and discrete) social networks in which persons live their lives is influenced by larger social structures in which those networks are embedded. That is, social structures outside given social networks act as boundaries affecting the probability that persons will enter those networks. (Stryker & Burke, 2000, p. 285)

Identity theory supports that a person adopts as many in-groups as that person has significant interaction with (Stryker & Burke, 2000; Tajfel, 1982). The identity that a person most uses is evoked across all others (Ashforth & Johnson, 2001; Stryker & Burke, 2000).

Social-identity theory connects the in-groups and out-groups approaches. According to Deschamps (1982) the in-group serves as a group with which a person would identify and the same person rejects the out group. Social-identity theory has

established three processes to explain in-groups and out-groups: social categorization, social identification, and social comparison.

Social Categorization

Social categorization allows people to cognitively place others in roles to understand and identify them (Islam, 2014; Jaspars & Warnaen, 1982; Turner & Tajfel, 1986). These types of categorizations allow people to reject those who are not assimilated in their own category (Hamamura, 2017; Islam, 2014). Positioning people in a role allows people to highlight differences and prestige (Ashforth & Mael, 1989). Black and White law enforcement officers are not completely the same in behavior and attitudes toward the communities in which they serve (Alex, 1969; Dulaney, 1996; Wadman & Allison, 2004). A perception of bias hovers over police departments.

Using a person's race to categorize is a prerequisite for treating people differently (Kurzban, Tooby, & Cosmides, 2001). People give preference to members of their in-group (Tajfel, Billig, Bundy, & Flament, 1971).

People come to believe that in-group members (*us*) are more similar to them in ways other than the criterion used for categorization. Perceivers also appear to view out-groups (*them*) as relatively less complex, less variable, and less

individual than are in-groups. (Perdue, Dovidio, Gurtman, & Tyler, 1990, p. 475)

The use of *us* and *them* allows for division. Law enforcement officers have intensified the service approach in White communities while using a zero-tolerance approach in other communities (Wilson et al., 2015). People of similar racial groups have more in common with each other in law enforcement encounters (Weitzer & Tuch, 2004).

Categorization allows individuals to define their boundaries and the manner in which they will respond to others (Gundlach et al., 2006). Those outside of one's boundaries are treated with less meaning than those within. As one group becomes more prominent, others diminish in social standing (Hornsey, 2008). The group that typically becomes the in-group for individuals is the one that is most accessible and provides fit (Gundlach et al., 2006; Hornsey, 2008). "Fit refers to the extent to which the social categories are perceived to reflect social reality" (Hornsey, 2008, p. 208). This process is fluid for individuals, based on context. Categorization allows for discrimination, due to its cognitive alignment (Turner & Tajfel, 1986). Bias against the out-group is a natural practice in the categorization process.

Social Identification

Individuals take on the identity of the group to which they are attempting to belong and their behavior aligns with the manner in which the individual perceives the group (Turner & Tajfel, 1986). The identification process allows individuals to determine who they would like to become. People behave and assume the behavior of the group that they classify as their in-group (Deschamps, 1982; Hornsey, 2008; Stryker & Burke, 2000; Turner & Tajfel, 1986). Part of the social-identification process is forming a behavioral alignment to the in-group and allowing it to define one's personhood (Hornsey, 2008). This internalization of the in-group allows for a strong division with all who do not assimilate to the group's roles (Hamamura, 2017; Islam, 2014). The social-identification process can be positive or negative, depending on the group with which a person chooses to identify. Individuals aspire to have a positive

social identity, although it might be perceived as negative by others who are not in the same group (Turner & Tajfel, 1986).

Organizational identification is part of social identification. According to Ashforth and Mael (1989) “to the extent the organization, as a social category, is seen to embody or even reify characteristics perceived to be prototypical of its members, it may well fulfill such motives for the individual” (p. 22). The individual emotionally participates in the achievements and failures of the organization (Ashforth & Mael, 1989; Gundlach et al., 2006; Turner & Tajfel, 1986). Through organizational identification, individuals take on a larger persona of themselves. In organizations that strongly subscribe to a common set of principles and philosophies, social identification is strong (Ashforth & Mael, 1989; Mintzberg, 1979/2005). Those who are new to organizations that have strong values and beliefs are the most vulnerable to indoctrination (Ashforth & Mael, 1989).

Social Comparison

Jaspars and Warnaen (1982) argued that the process of social comparison allows people to compare the in-group against the out-group. This type of comparison allows biases to develop and be confirmed (Gundlach et al., 2006; Hamamura, 2017; Islam, 2014; Turner & Tajfel, 1986). Practicing comparison increases the in-group’s self-image by assigning negative attributes to out-groups, which also allows for emotional alignment (Hamamura, 2017). Comparison allows one group to position themselves in a positive role while placing others in the negative. Social comparison is the derivative for prejudice and discrimination (Turner & Tajfel, 1986). In-groups focus on improving

cohesion among their members; therefore, they minimize any in-group differences (Hamamura, 2017; Islam, 2014; Turner & Tajfel, 1986).

The comparative nature of individuals is problematic. Positive delineations from other groups are not practical in that people often think of other groups as being less than the one to which they belong (Jaspars & Warnaeen, 1982). People or organizations that are influential to an individual influence comparisons made (Festinger, 1954). Social comparisons are complex and individuals in groups and organizations are responsible for comparing groups (Suls, Martin, & Wheeler, 2002). People conduct social comparisons between individuals, groups, and organizations with consistency. Comparisons are necessary to maintain a distinction between social identities of groups (Festinger, 1954; Jaspars & Warnaeen, 1982; Suls et al., 2002). Figure 1 showcases the process an individual moves through to determine their group identity (Merton, 1957; Turner, 1982; Turner & Tajfel, 1986).

Key Concepts

Three key concepts emerged in the literature that assist in further exploring the theoretical framework. Law enforcement is being challenged in the areas of racial profiling, lack of diversity of police officers, and the socialization process that occurs in the practice (Wilkins & Williams, 2008). The concepts emerged as themes from the literature concerning policing and racial profiling. The Black law enforcement officer, racial profiling, and occupational socialization are all key concepts that allowed me to further examine the research question: What are Black law enforcement officers perceptions of racial profiling? These concepts will be synthesized and critiqued to provide a relationship and context to social-identity theory.

Black Law Enforcement Officers

The advent of policing in North America began in the early 1600s (Wadman & Allison, 2004). The North and South portions of North America adopted police for different reasons. Law enforcement in the North was adopted to assist merchants and to patrol sprawling cities to deter theft and disorder (Wadman & Allison, 2004). The South implemented law enforcement to combat escaped slaves (Alex, 1969; Dulaney, 1996; Wadman & Allison, 2004; Wilson et al., 2015). Both the North and South evolved in policing strategies but maintained a focus on their root cause for implementing police agencies until the late 1960s (Dulaney, 1996; Wadman & Allison, 2004).

Law enforcement in Missouri was first established in the 1800s (Wadman & Allison, 2004). Law enforcement in Missouri was founded for varying reasons. Missouri law enforcement officers were initially formed to assist merchants with theft and provide slave patrols (Dulaney, 1996). Rural law enforcement agencies in Missouri formed to combat similar concerns as theft, disorder, and slave patrols, but also investigated specialized crimes around agriculture (Weisheit, Falcone, & Wells, 1994). Missouri was an early adopter of technology to influence the practice of policing (Wadman & Allison, 2004).

Although ignored by most researchers, Black people have been part of law enforcement for centuries (Wilson et al., 2015). The lineage of Black people in law enforcement traces back to 1814 in New Orleans (Alex, 1969; Dulaney, 1996; Wadman & Allison, 2004). Black law enforcement officers were members of departments in the North and South. Black law enforcement officers were limited in their authority and could only enforce crimes in Black only communities and toward Black citizens

(Dulaney, 1996). Black law enforcement officers received the same training, although not always the same experiences in serving their communities (Walker & Katz, 2011). Black law enforcement officers typically gained appointments due to political prowess in communities, brought on by urbanization (Alex, 1969; Dulaney, 1996; Wilkins & Williams, 2008). Missouri began to use Black law enforcement officers in the early 1900s (Alex, 1969; Dulaney, 1996). Black law enforcement officers were limited in their enforcement duties in Missouri, although reform was taking place (Dulaney, 1996). “Ira L. Cooper of St. Louis, appointed in 1906 as one of the departments ‘negro specials,’ Cooper was its first college graduate and its most famous detective and crime fighter” (Dulaney, 1996, p. 105). Black law enforcement officers represented a small percentage of those who served in all communities during the early 1900s (Alex, 1969; Dulaney, 1996; Wadman & Allison, 2004).

Policing profession. The shift to policing as a profession began in the 1920s (Wadman & Allison, 2004). This shift was taking place with the backdrop of the Great Depression. During this period of time, Black law enforcement officers experienced a decline in appointments across all areas of the United States (Dulaney, 1996). Black people, with the assistance of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, placed pressure on political officials to create equal opportunities for positions in law enforcement departments (Alex, 1969; Dulaney, 1996). This era of law enforcement turned toward civil service and testing for policing positions. Testing became a hindrance in the hiring of Black law enforcement officers (Dulaney, 1996).

Civil rights. Law enforcement in the 1960s brought about a focus on equality as North America grappled with the Civil Rights movement (Wadman & Allison, 2004).

Black law enforcement officers remained in Black-only neighborhoods during this era, although law enforcement administrators across North America commended Black officers for their impact on crime (Alex, 1969; Dulaney, 1996). Dulaney (1996) wrote, “their (sic) was some decrease in the number of petty crimes committed in black communities because black officers arrested suspects for crimes that white police had previously ignored” (p. 53). Black law enforcement officers began to organize and work to deconstruct separate-but-equal practices in policing (Dulaney, 1996). The period closed with the abolishment of Black law enforcement officers exclusively enforcing crime in Black neighborhoods and increased recruitment of Black law enforcement officers.

Reform. The next stage in North American policing began in the 1990s and was a period of reform (Wadman & Allison, 2004). Black law enforcement officers emerged as administrators in policing organizations (Dulaney, 1996). Black law enforcement administrators put into effect reforms that addressed police use of deadly force, established community-oriented policing, and developed affirmative-action programs aimed at hiring women and officers of color (Dulaney, 1996; Wadman & Allison, 2004). Black law enforcement officers grew from 11.2% in 1990 to 12.2% in 2013 nationally (Reaves, 2015b). The Black law enforcement officer during this period saw their perceptions of Black neighborhoods diminish, drawing them closer to perceptions of White officers (Clarke, 2017; Walker & Katz, 2011). This era led to Black law enforcement officers experiencing a new paradigm with the war on terrorism, racial profiling, diminishing discretion, and the loss of public trust (Walker & Katz, 2011).

However, increasing the numbers of Black law enforcement officers remained a priority in the practice of policing (Reaves, 2015b).

Employment. Black law enforcement officers do not join police departments for the same reasons as their White counterparts (Wilson et al., 2015). Black people who choose to serve as law enforcement officers do so for one of three reasons (Alex, 1969; Dulaney, 1996): Black people desire to enforce rules and change the structure from within; lack other work opportunities, so they identify as a Black person first and a law enforcement officer second; and believe the role to be a bridge between Black and White people (Alex, 1969; Dulaney, 1996).

Contemporary law enforcement agencies in all settings have evolved to serve their communities (Wadman & Allison, 2004). Of all law enforcement officers in the United States, 12.2% are Black (Reaves, 2015b). Black law enforcement officers account for 5.1% of rural law enforcement officers in the United States (Reaves, 2015b). Data is unavailable on the percentage of Black law enforcement officers in Missouri. Although law enforcement agencies have grown in diversity, racial profiling continues to persist. Black people in Missouri are more likely than White motorists to be pulled over and searched when driving (Wilson et al., 2015). Motor vehicle stops and searching of motorists in Missouri remains disproportionate, despite a higher rate of White motorists being found to possess illegal contraband (Rojek et al., 2004). Law enforcement comprises largely of White officers, which lends to practices and a culture reflecting dominant-group values (Reaves, 2015b). Having Black officers in law enforcement agencies increases positive contact for the community and better connects White officers with those of a different race (Legewie, 2016). Agencies that have Black law

enforcement officers have higher confidence rating from minority communities (Legewie, 2016).

Racial Profiling

Racial profiling has been part of North American policing since the inception of slave patrols (Alex, 1969; Wilson et al., 2015). The strategy of southern police was to excessively enforce laws on Black people to maintain control (Jones, 2017). Modern law enforcement was able to first label racial profiling in the 1990s, following the Rodney King incident (Jones, 2017; Scott, Gibson, Alomaja, Minter, & Davis, 2017). Racial profiling is intertwined with implicit bias (Sun & Payne, 2004; Wilson et al., 2017).

In a 2015 study, more than 70% of Black law enforcement officers believed racial profiling was condoned by the agencies they served (Wilson et al., 2015). Gallop reported that the majority of White and Black Americans believed police practiced racial profiling (Rojek et al., 2004). Missouri's racial-profiling data recorded a disparity in the number of Black people who are pulled over for a traffic stop, based on their proportion of the population (Hawley, 2016). In Missouri, Black motorists are stopped at a rate 75% higher than White motorists (Hawley, 2016). Racial profiling is rampant across law enforcement organizations (Wilson et al., 2004). Racial profiling is a national epidemic (Barlow & Barlow, 2002; Wilson et al., 2004; Legewie, 2016; Rojek et al., 2004). According to Stepler (2017), and when the topic turns more broadly to the state of race relations, virtually all white officers, (92%) but only 29% of their black colleagues say that the country has made the changes needed to assure equal rights for blacks. (p. 6)

Support for racial profiling. Numerous law enforcement officers believe racial profiling is a valid method to reduce crime (Wilson et al., 2015). Evidence exists that

some Black law enforcement officers practice harsh treatment toward Black community members (Sun & Payne, 2004). A growing trend of Black people supports race-based crime enforcement (Jones, 2017). Multiple research studies have discovered that better educated Black people were more inclined to favor profiling than their less well-educated counterparts, and did not believe that racial profiling even existed; rather, they viewed racial profiling as a universal policing practice (Gabbidon, Higgins, & Wilder-Bonner, 2012). Black women comprise a group of Black people that supports racial profiling (Jones, 2017). Black people who support racial profiling largely reside in rural areas in southern North America (Gabbidon et al., 2012).

Many law enforcement officials believe that using race as a primary factor in conducting traffic stops is legitimate and reduces crime (Rudovsky, 2001). Racial profiling is often supported on the basis that Black people commit more crimes than White people (Clarke, 2017; MacDonald, 2016). Rudovsky (2001) stated, “Black males between the ages of 14–24 make up 1.1 percent of the country’s population, yet commit more than 28 percent of its homicides ... reasons, not racism, cops say, directs their attention” (p. 308). MacDonald (2016) argued that racial profiling is a myth and that minorities engage in more drug trafficking than others. The views that Black people are more likely to commit a crime is widely held by law enforcement personnel, but not supported with empirical data when examining traffic stops (Rudovsky, 2001). White drivers in rural areas have the highest rate of drug abuse among adolescents (Rudovsky, 2001). The arrest rate of Black people from traffic stops is the result of law enforcement that targets the driver’s race (Rojek et al., 2004; Rudovsky, 2001). Based on all evidence, irrefutably, in policing, race matters (Rudovsky, 2001; West, 2001).

Unconscious bias. Implicit bias means people's hidden prejudices that are unknown and displayed unconsciously (Banaji & Greenwald, 2013; Staats, Capatosto, Wright, & Jackson, 2016). A major cause of racial profiling in policing is implicit bias (Spencer, Charbonneau, & Glaser, 2016). White people condone and rationalize racial profiling because of implicit bias (Jones, 2017).

Research repeatedly indicates that discrimination is pervasive across many domains, and specifically in policing (Glaser, 2014). The likely culprits are the implicit biases that operate outside of conscious awareness and control but nevertheless influence our behaviors (Greenwald, Poehlman, Uhlmann, & Banji, 2009). (Spencer et al., 2016, p. 51)

Racial incidents in policing have been amplified over the last several years. Researchers showed that negativity is associated with Black people (Goff, Jackson, Di Leone, Culotta, & DiTomasso, 2014; Wilson et al., 2017). Ambiguous situations that rely on a hasty decision are mostly influenced by implicit bias (Banaji & Greenwald, 2013; Spencer et al., 2016). Black men are often perceived as being physically larger and more aggressive than White men (Goff et al., 2014; Spencer et al., 2016; Wilson et al., 2017). Law enforcement officers possessing knowledge of stereotypes toward Black people have implicit bias displayed in their racial profiling of motorists (Goff et al., 2014; Spencer et al., 2016). Consciously and unconsciously, law enforcement officers defend those who look like them (Scoville, 2000).

Data are important in understanding the extent of racial profiling. Racial profiling is a complex phenomenon that is difficult to document (Horrace & Rohlin, 2016; Scott et al., 2017). Black people are 2.5 times more likely to be arrested than White people

(Starkes, 2016). Law enforcement officers regard people differently who are not of the same race as them (Jones, 2017; Scott et al., 2017; Starkes, 2016). Researchers stated, “there is a pervasive perception amongst many in law enforcement that the more deadly suspects are Black suspects and hence there is a law enforcement ‘trigger’ prone response with Blacks” (Scott et al., 2017, p. 1). Implicit bias is a root factor in those people trust and do not trust (Banaji & Greenwald, 2013).

Visibility. Traffic stops account for 52% of the contacts made by law enforcement officers (Walker & Katz, 2011). During low-visibility hours, law enforcement officers do not practice racial profiling against Black motorists when conducting traffic stops (Horrace & Rohlin, 2016). Although traffic stops are based on the law enforcement officers’ discretion, law enforcement attention is justifiably prompted by criminal behavior of Black motorists (Horrace & Rohlin, 2016). Law enforcement accounts for disparities in racial demographics, due to increased enforcement in neighborhoods where Black people reside (Walker & Katz, 2011). Black officers conducted incidents of racial profiling at the same rate or higher than their White counterparts (Salters, 2013). One view is that “people do not enter the police because they are racist; rather, they acquire racial prejudice through a process of professional socialization” (Zauberaman & Lévy, 2003, p. 1065).

Occupational Socialization

Organizational culture accrues at the occupational socialization stage for police officers (Paoline, 2003; Terrill et al., 2003). Occupational socialization indicates a focus “on learning the norms of one’s profession” (Bauer & Erdogan, 2011, p. 51). Law enforcement officers have an occupationally focused personality that is exclusive to them

and distinguishes them from others in society (Bennett, 1984). Law enforcement socialization begins at the law enforcement training academy for all new hires (Conti, 2009). The law enforcement training academy is considered to be a rite of passage built on traditions and ceremonies that elevate a cadet from a civilian to a police officer (White & Escobar, 2008). Others support this view:

The police, as a result of combined features of their social situation, tend to develop ways of looking at the world distinctive to themselves, cognitive lenses through which to see situations and events. The strength of those lenses may be weaker or stronger depending upon certain conditions but they are grounded upon the same axis. (Conti, 2009, p. 409)

Law enforcement socialization is an identity imbedded across police academies (Kappeler et al., 1998). Officers who do not accept this implicit identity or conform to the police practice may be those law enforcement officers who are not responsible for racial profiling (Conti, 2009; Haarr, 2001; Terrill et al., 2003; White & Escobar, 2008). Recruitment and training are essential to occupational socialization and culture (White & Escobar, 2008) with both assisting in preparing police officers to serve communities.

Recruitment. The recruitment of qualified candidates for law enforcement is a challenge faced across all agencies in North America (Jones, 2017; McCarty & Lawrence, 2016). Often, those recruited resemble the majority racial and ethnic population of the law enforcement agency (Reaves, 2015b). No clear path has been determined to attract and select qualified candidates for law enforcement positions (Jones, 2017). Those attracted to law enforcement departments are not monolithic (Conti & Doreian, 2014; Paoline & Gau, 2017). The law enforcement academy serves as the

breeding ground for acculturation of all law enforcement recruits (Blumberg, Giromini, & Jacobson, 2016; Doreian & Conti, 2017; Getty, Worrall, & Morris, 2016).

Law enforcement academy. State commissions mandate curriculum for law enforcement academies (Blumberg et al., 2016; Getty et al., 2016). Researchers have established the significance of law enforcement training to inculcate recruits with work-related skills as well as with occupational socialization (Bauer & Erdogan, 2011; Chappell & Lanza-Kaduce, 2010; Conti & Nolan, 2005). Police academies increase law enforcement recruits' inflexibility and arrogance (Teasley & Wright, 1973). Training in the academy reduces law enforcement personnels' deaths while in the field (Sadler, Correll, Park, & Judd, 2012). The academy aims to convert all recruits into the idealized image of a law enforcement officer (Conti & Doreian, 2014; Terrill & Paoline, 2016).

Empirical research has documented the transformation of private citizen to law enforcement officers. "The police organization is distinguished from other organizations by the intensity ... with which it restricts officers into their work role, which results from a combination of militaristic and bureaucratic control methods" (McCarty & Lawrence, 2016, p. 264). During an individual's life span, they will change their values and moral standards (Blumberg et al., 2016). Indoctrination into a new cultural milieu is a method used to socialize law enforcement officers (Conti & Doreian, 2014; McCarty & Lawrence, 2016). Law enforcement recruits are expected to follow a regimented schedule combined with physical and mental exercises aimed at creating stress that will lead to resocialization (Blumberg et al., 2016; McCarty & Lawrence, 2016). Law enforcement academies are structured to last from 4 to 9 months (McCarty & Lawrence, 2016).

Field-training officer. The field-training officer (FTO) position was developed to further expand on the law enforcement academy experience and was a mandate by the U.S. Supreme Court (President's Commission on Law Enforcement and Administration of Justice, 1967). The FTO works directly with the new recruit after graduation from the law enforcement academy. The FTO works to ensure all recruits' decisions align in an organizational context (Getty et al., 2016). For example, when an FTO was present at a scene, the recruit had a higher probability of making an arrest (Getty et al., 2016). FTOs are involved in recruits' work and private life and have the autonomy to teach officers how to be a law enforcement officer (Crank, Flaherty, & Giacomazzi, 2007; Robert Ingram, Weidner, Paoline, & Terrill, 2014). According to Getty et al. (2016) "it is even more likely that FTOs distinguish between outright corruption (unlawfulness) and 'bending the rules' to favor the recruit, the department, or the society" (p. 826). Police recruits are known to participate in aggressive practices that have been passed down from FTOs (Paoline & Gau, 2017). Field training is responsible for embedding law enforcement socialization (Chappell & Piquero, 2004).

Law enforcement culture and training is at the root of officers' socialization. Unethical practices by police result from their occupational experience (Bennett, 1984; Westley, 1953). Law enforcement work has a large range of discretionary practices that aid in exacerbating racial profiling (Waddington, 1999). Although law enforcement culture is not standardized across all agencies, all people have biases. Law enforcement culture exists to uphold the confidence of the officers. The culture of law enforcement intensifies "in societies characterized more by racial and ethnic divisions with the distinction between 'citizens' and others is ready-made for exploitation by the police"

(Waddington, 1999, p. 301). Law enforcement officers who are practicing exploitation of citizens through racial profiling see the community as their enemy (Westley, 1953).

Racial profiling becomes normalized and legitimized in agencies that see the public as their adversary.

Law enforcement culture. Law enforcement officers are skeptical people who are not trusting and do not share their positions outside of their in-group (Twersky-Glasner, 2005). Law enforcement officers' feelings are a byproduct of their work environment. Law enforcement culture helps reduce the stress of the work (Haarr, 2001; Paoline, 2003). Culture also assists in imparting core practices of law enforcement that are needed to be a successful officer (Paoline, 2003; Terrill, Paoline, & Manning, 2003). Danger and authority impact the occupational socialization of law enforcement. Law enforcement personnel have been granted legal authority to intimidate and lie to the communities in which they serve (Terrill et al., 2003). This type of behavior creates a division between the police and the communities they serve. The organizational culture of law enforcement uniformly endorses the warrior culture, which has magnified the division with portions of the public (President's Task Force on 21st Century Policing, 2015).

Law enforcement officers share in and broadcast a common set of norms that aid in how they accept their work (Paoline & Terrill, 2014). Law enforcement officers have isolated themselves from others and built a strong bond among themselves (Paoline & Gau, 2017; Westley, 1970). Shared traits and bonds are typically strongest depending on the working group to which the law enforcement officer is assigned (Robert Ingram et al., 2014). New law enforcement officers trust most the information they receive from the

group with which they have formed the strongest bonds (Johnson, 2015). Law enforcement officers have a distinct set of traits created while working, rather than agencies recruiting a certain personality type (Paoline & Gau, 2017). The occupational and organizational environment in which law enforcement officers practice collectively influences their behavior (Paoline & Gau, 2017; Terrill & Paoline, 2015).

Summary

Communities of color are asking for reviews of policing agencies to understand the scope of racial profiling (Jasper, 2015; Jennings et al., 2014; Ross, 2015; Wilson et al., 2015). Missouri has experienced a problem with racial profiling. In 2016, Black people comprised 10.9% of drivers in Missouri, but accounted for more than 18% of all traffic stops (Hawley, 2017). Laws and policies require law enforcement officers to abandon the practice of racial profiling; however a decrease has not occurred in the statistics.

The theoretical framework of social-identity theory and the key concepts of Black police officers, racial profiling, and occupational socialization support the need for research on Black law enforcement officers' perceptions of racial profiling. It is important to synthesize and critique the literature while reviewing it (Galvan, 2014). Researchers should identify gaps in the literature (Bloomberg & Volpe, 2016; Galvan, 2014). Researchers gain key insights by deeply understanding perceptions gleaned through qualitative inquiry (Bloomberg & Volpe, 2016). Inquiry in this area is needed to ascertain if law enforcement encounters are racially motivated (Barlow & Barlow, 2002). Limited quantitative studies have investigated Black law enforcement officers' perceptions of racial profiling occurring in the agencies where they serve. Qualitative

research is needed to further investigate Black law enforcement officers' perceptions of racial profiling (Wilson et al., 2015). Black law enforcement officers have the lived experience as well as a police practitioner's experience, which should aid in providing a rich understanding of racial profiling (Alex, 1969; Dulaney, 1996; Wilson et al., 2015).

The findings from this study should assist in filling the void in understanding perceptions of the racial-profiling phenomenon. This study expands the literature by amplifying the voice of those who have the lived experience as well as the practitioner's experience. Further research supports and informs law enforcement agencies and communities on training and hiring needs for police to serve all members of their communities. The time for talking loudly is over; agencies must now put research into action.

SECTION FOUR

CONTRIBUTION TO THE PRACTICE

Dissemination of Practitioner Contribution

- Who: Attendees of the International Association of Chief of Police (IACP) 2018 (chiefs of police, chief executives of law enforcement agencies, aspiring chiefs/chief executives, senior administrators of law enforcement agencies, and senior administrators in communities).
- When: 2018 IACP Conference, proposal submitted by March 2018.
- How: A slide show presentation was submitted.

Document Type

The document is a slide show presentation. The slide show presentation was presented at the 2018 IACP Conference. The slide show informed the audience of the purpose of the study, the results, challenges, and future opportunities for inquiry. Upon request, the full study will be made available.

Rationale for This Contribution Type

IACP is the premier international conference for chiefs of police and chief executive officers of law enforcement agencies. The IACP typically has more than 28,000 chiefs, chief executive officers, and aspiring leaders from around the world who work in law enforcement. The IACP conference is charged with supplying intelligence and sharpening skills that assist law enforcement agencies to better serve their communities. The material submitted will help law enforcement agencies end racial profiling.

Slide Show

The Black Inside the Blue: Black Law Enforcement Officers' Perceptions of Racial Profiling in Missouri

A Bounded Case Study Presented By:
Chief Clarence Green
University of Missouri ELPA Program

Statement of Problem

- Blacks are stopped 75% more than Whites
- Public trust is being challenged
 - NAACP Travel Advisory
- Lack of understanding an insiders view

In 2016, Black people made up 10.9% of drivers in Missouri, but accounted for more than 18% of all traffic stops (Hawley, 2017). Blacks in Missouri were stopped at a rate 75% higher than White motorists in 2016 (Hawley, 2017).

Pressures on law enforcement to rebuild public trust and improve perceptions with communities of color regarding racial profiling have never been more apparent (Pew

Research Center, 2017; Police Executive Research Forum, 2014; Presidents Task Force on 21st Century Policing, 2015; Wilson et al., 2015).

Systemic research-based inquiry in this area is needed to ascertain if law enforcement encounters are racially motivated (Barlow & Barlow, 2002). Having the perceptions of Black law enforcement officers provides a profound vantage point for understanding the problem. Black law enforcement officers have dual representation.

Qualitative Bounded Case Study

According to Bloomberg and Volpe (2016)
key insights are gained
through deeply understanding perceptions
that are gleaned through
qualitative inquiry.

A qualitative case study of the perceptions of racial profiling by Black law enforcement officers provides context. The context provided helps support existing quantitative studies and offers future researchers additional paths to explore.

Purpose of the Research

- Perceptions of Black law enforcement officers
 - Define Racial Profiling
- Scope of racial profiling in rural communities

The purpose of this qualitative study is to fill the gap in research that currently exists regarding perceptions of rural, northwest Missouri Black police officers concerning racial profiling. Racial profiling is defined as “any police action that relies upon the race, ethnicity, or national origin of an individual rather than the behavior of that individual” (Rojek, Rosenfeld, & Decker, 2004, p. 128). This study’s objective was to understand what Black law enforcement officers in rural environments perceive regarding racial profiling as well as the scope at which racial profiling occurs in the agencies they serve. Little research examined Black law enforcement officers’ perceptions in rural settings (Wilson et al., 2015). This qualitative study provides context to the racial-profiling phenomenon by providing the lived experiences of Black law enforcement officers.

Research Question

What are Black law enforcement officers' perceptions of racial profiling?

I shaped the research questions to understand the complex factors associated with the problem (Creswell, 2016).

Sub Questions

- To your knowledge to what extent has racial profiling and law enforcement misconduct been practiced in your agency?
- What perceptions do the Black and White communities you serve have about racial profiling?

Subquestions will allow the complexity of the problem to narrow further, allowing the research to be focused and provide clarity.

Theoretical Framework

- Social Identity Theory
 - Social Categorization
 - Social Identification
 - Social Comparison

Social-identity theory is expressed in social-group theory (Turner, 1982). A person's belief of who they are rests in the organizations or the factions of which they are members (Turner & Tajfel, 1986). Social-identity theory proposes that a portion of a person's self-concept accrues from the group or groups to which the person belongs (Turner & Tajfel, 1986). This theory focuses on evaluation, commitment, and role transition into a groups' shared views (Levine & Moreland, 1994). Social identification is a perception of oneness with a group of people (Ashforth & Mael, 1989). Social-identity theory captures the essence of law enforcement organizations.

Social categorization allows the placement of people in distinct roles to understand and identify them (Islam, 2014; Jaspars & Warnae, 1982; Turner & Tajfel, 1984). These types of categorizations allow people to reject those who are not assimilated in their own category (Hamamura, 2017; Islam, 2014). Positioning people in a role allows for differences and prestige to be highlighted (Ashforth & Mael, 1989). Categorization allows individuals to define their boundaries and the manner in which

they will respond to others (Gundlach, Zivnuska, & Stoner, 2006). Bias against the out-group is a natural practice in the categorization process.

A person behaves and assumes the behavior of the group they classify as their in-group (Deschamps, 1984; Hornsey, 2008; Stryker & Burke, 2000; Turner & Tajfel, 1986). The identification process allows individuals to determine who they would like to become. Part of the social-identification process is forming an emotional connection to the in-group and allowing it to define one's personhood (Hornsey, 2008). This internalization of the in-group allows for a strong divide with all who do not assimilate to group roles (Hamamura, 2017; Islam, 2014). Organizational identification is part of social identification. The individual emotionally participates in the achievements and failures of the organization (Turner & Tajfel, 1986).

The process of social comparison allows people to compare the in-group against the out-group (Jaspars & Waraen, 1982). The comparative nature of individuals is problematic. This type of comparison allows biases to develop and be confirmed (Hamamura, 2017; Islam, 2014; Turner & Tajfel, 1986). Practicing comparison increases the in-group's self-image by assigning negative attributes to out groups (Hamamura, 2017). Comparison allows one group to position itself in a positive role while placing others in the negative. People or organizations that are influential to an individual influence comparisons (Festinger, 1954). When differences in ideas and abilities exist, people adjust their position to that of the organization or group (Festinger, 1954). Comparison permits people to distinguish themselves from out-groups while adjusting toward in-groups.

Identity theory model

Source: Adapted from *Social Theory and Social Structure*, by R. K. Merton, 1957, Glencoe, IL: The Free Press; “Towards a cognitive redefinition of the social group,” by J. C. Turner, 1982, in H. Tajfel (Ed.), *Social Identity and Intergroup Relations* (pp. 15–40), New York, NY: Cambridge University Press; “The social identity of intergroup behavior,” by J. C. Turner & H. Tajfel, 1986, in S. Worchel & W. Austin (Eds.), *Psychology of Intergroup Relations* (pp. 7–24), Chicago, IL: Nelson-Hall.

This model demonstrates how one navigates their community to form their social identity.

Key Concepts

- Black Law Enforcement Officers
- Racial Profiling
- Occupational Socialization

The lineage of Black officers in policing traces back to 1814 in New Orleans (Alex, 1969; Dulaney, 1996; Wadman & Allison, 2004). The recruitment and selection of Black law enforcement officers for more than 200 years has allowed assimilation to occur. Black law enforcement officers receive the same training as their counterparts, although their experiences in serving the same communities can be vastly different (Walker & Katz, 2008). Black people who chose to serve as law enforcement officers do so for one of three reasons: they desire to enforce rules and see their role as one that allows them to change the structure from within; they lack other work opportunities, so they identify as a Black person first and a law enforcement officer second; and they believe the role to be a bridge between Black and White people (Alex, 1969; Dulaney, 1996). In 1996, Black law enforcement officers in Missouri were only allowed to enforce laws on members of the Black community (Dulaney, 1996). In fact, “the socialization process experienced by a black officer is so intensive that any identity he had left is lost” (Sun & Payne, 2004, p. 519). Black law enforcement officers are trained to think and act like their White counterparts.

Racial profiling has been part of policing since the inception of slave patrols (Alex, 1969; Wilson et. al., 2015). Slave patrols were commissioned law enforcement officers who predominantly existed in the southern United States (Wadman & Allison, 2004). Slave patrols captured and returned escaped slaves at all locations throughout the United States. Racial profiling intertwines with implicit bias (Sun & Payne, 2004; Wilson, Hugenberg, & Rule, 2017). More than 70% of Black respondents to a research study indicated they believed racial profiling was being condoned by the agencies the officers served (Wilson et al., 2015). The Gallop Poll reported that the majority of White

and Black Americans believed law enforcement officers practiced racial profiling (Rojek et al., 2004). Missouri's racial-profiling data records a disparity in the number of Black people who are pulled over for a traffic stop compared to their proportion in the population. In Missouri, Black motorists are stopped at a rate 75% higher than White motorists (Hawley, 2016). Racial profiling is rampant across law enforcement organizations (Wilson, Dunham, & Alpert, 2004).

Occupational socialization indicates a focus “on learning the norms of one’s profession” (Bauer & Erdogan, 2011, p. 51). Law enforcement entities have their own occupationally located police personality that is exclusive to them and distinguishes them from others in society (Bennett, 1984). Law enforcement socialization begins during the basic police training academy for all new hires (Conti, 2009). The academy is a rite of passage built on traditions and ceremonies that elevate cadets from a civilian to a law enforcement officer (White & Escobar, 2008). While attending the academy, officers are ridiculed and demeaned in an effort to rebuild them in a unified manner. Often those in the academy participate in ceremonies that elevate one person for their physical achievements. Six to eight physical-achievement ceremonies are conducted during an academy period.

The police, as a result of combined features of their social situation, tend to develop ways of looking at the world distinctive to themselves, cognitive lenses through which to see situations and events. The strength of those lenses may be weaker or stronger depending upon certain conditions but they are grounded upon the same axis. (Conti, 2009, p. 409)

Law enforcement socialization is an identity imbedded across law enforcement academies (Kappeler, Sluder, & Alpert, 1998). Officers who do not accept this implicit identity or fail to conform to law enforcement culture may not be those law enforcement officers who are responsible for racial profiling (Conti, 2009; Haarr, 2001; Terrill et al., 2003; White & Escobar, 2008). Recruitment and training are essential to occupational socialization and culture (White & Escobar, 2008) with both assisting in preparing law enforcement officers to serve communities.

Design of Study

- Setting
- Participants
- Data Collection Tools
- Data Analysis

To conduct this research, I gathered information from Black law enforcement officers who serve in the three rural counties. I triangulated data based on interviews, focus groups, and artifact collection (Bloomberg & Volpe, 2016; Krueger & Casey, 2015; Seidman, 2013; Stake, 2010).

This study took place in three rural counties in northwest Missouri. County A is the largest by land size and is mostly rural. County A has a population that is 94% White (U.S. Census Bureau, 2016). County B is predominantly rural but the largest portion of its population lives in one major city. County B has a large manufacturing- and retail-

driven economy, although it is rural. According to the U.S. Census Bureau (2016), the population for County B is 89% White. County C comprises several small cities and has a population that is 86% White (U.S. Census Bureau, 2016). County C has a professional working-class-based economy, largely driving by its more than 40% population with a college degree (U.S. Census Bureau, 2016). County C has the largest population base of all counties studied.

The organizations and law enforcement officers participating in this study were commissioned law enforcement officers in an agency in a county studied. All organizations had a similar command structure and enforcement capabilities. The command structures all had a single executive who is accountable and responsible for the entire organization. The single executive had subordinates dispersed throughout the organization that have daily command responsibilities. Organizations studied are accountable to the communities in which they serve and report traffic-stop data to the Missouri Attorney General. The communities served by law enforcement were predominantly White as were the law enforcement agencies studied.

The researcher arranged and led semistructured interviews using a person-to-person format in a private setting (Merriam & Tisdell, 2016; Seidman, 2013). Focus groups were conducted by a proxy in order to reduce bias and solicit worthier responses. "...interviewing requires interviewers to have enough distance to enable them to ask real questions and to explore, not to share, assumptions" (Merriam & Tisdell, 2016, p. 130). The researcher maintained all data collected during the study. All collected data remain confidential and secure. The researcher issued a participant cover letter and consent form that further explained confidentiality to all participants. The researcher recorded and

documented all interviews with field notes (Kruger & Casey, 2015; Stake, 2010). The research took place at a law enforcement station or at a location chosen by the participant.

After recorded sessions with participants were transcribed, the researcher reviewed the transcripts several times to gain a comprehensive understanding of what participants tried to convey. The researcher then labeled and sorted the collected qualitative data from interviews, focus groups, and artifacts (Bloomberg & Volpe, 2016; Creswell, 2016). Artifacts consisted of policies and procedures from Missouri law enforcement agencies within the three counties studied. Member checks further validated transcripts of interviews and focus groups (Merriam & Tisdell, 2016). The process of coding allowed the researcher to condense the data through the use of an interpretive-findings tool (Bloomberg & Volpe, 2016). The tool allowed the researcher to establish deeper meaning, which assisted in formulating themes that emerged from the codes (Bloomberg & Volpe, 2016). The researcher logged notable phrases (Creswell, 2016; Merriam & Tisdell, 2016) and organized themes to identify consistencies and applicability to the research questions (Bloomberg & Volpe, 2016; Creswell, 2016; Merriam & Tisdell, 2016).

The researcher interviewed 13 Black law enforcement officers and held three focus groups over a 3-week period. When analyzing the narratives, several themes emerged related to the research questions. Tertiary degree will used in this document to reference the 10 Black law enforcement officers having education beyond high school.

Limitations and Delimitations

- Validity
- Reliability
- Sample Size

This research was qualitative and relied on responses from participants. Because responses were participants' perceptions, validity and reliability had to be considered. Qualitative research lacks the ability to be widely generalized, which limits the ability to replicate the study. The study also had limitations with the age, sex, and years of experience of participants. An additional limitation is researcher bias, based on the researchers' experience of working in the jurisdictions of the participants.

Delimitations of the study comprise the small sample size, due to the scope of the study in a specified, rural, Midwest region, as well as being bounded by studying only Black law enforcement officers. The study did not explore if participants practiced racial profiling.

Results

“You hate to say it’s still the norm, but I don’t think we’ve grown past it. I think some of it’s abuse of power. I don’t believe everybody starts that way, but I believe that some people can actually adopt the idea of the profile. They believe that blacks may be a better stop, they believe blacks may have more warrants, or just in general.” - Participant E

This notion challenges our ways of thinking. It is through examination of the results, understanding the limitations of the study, and agreeing on how to proceed with the recommendations that will aid us in processing.

Research Participants

- 13 interviews (all male)
 - Law enforcement officers
 - Age range from 25 to over 55
 - 10 of the officers had a tertiary degree, 9 had a bachelors, 4 had a masters degree
- 15 focus group participants (5 females, 10 males)

To execute this study, the researcher interviewed 13 participants, held three focus groups, and collected documents for analysis from six law enforcement agencies. The researcher had the qualitative data transcribed and coded first using the open-coding

approach, followed by the axial-coding method. The coding allowed seven themes to emerge that directly related to the research questions: racial profiling is not tolerated, law enforcement officers are held accountable for their behavior, Black law enforcement officers joined agencies because they wanted the ability to help others, Black people are racially profiled more than others, racial profiling had been experienced, confidence existed in law enforcement agencies to not racially profile, and Black people were perceived as bad people.

The results of this study were considered through the lens of the theoretical framework guiding this case study: social-identity theory (Turner, 1982). The researcher used the three key concepts of Black law enforcement officers, racial profiling, and occupational socialization to examine themes as well. These narratives reflect each respondent's perception of racial profiling in law enforcement along with policy statements of law enforcement agencies.

Theme: Racial Profiling is Not Tolerated

"Officers will not engage in illegal racial/bias based profiling – the selection of an individual for a police initiated action based solely on a common trait of a group, rather than the behavior of the individual or articulated facts that lead to the specific individual coming under suspicion. Such groups include, but are not limited to race, ethnic background, national origin, gender, sexual orientation, religion, economic status, age, cultural group or any other identifiable groups." (Agency 2)

"They had a sit down conversation, but we all, white, black, purple, red, all go through implicit bias trainings on many different levels at least once a year. They've also sent several of us to an advanced class where we've had the Chief come down and talk about racial profiling, so our department takes it very seriously." (Participant K)

Social Identification

All policies collected spoke to not tolerating racial profiling.

Additional Considerations

“Racial- or bias-based profiling is strictly prohibited. However nothing in this policy is intended to prohibit an officer from considering factors such as race or ethnicity in combination with other legitimate factors to establish reasonable suspicion or probable cause (e.g., suspect description is limited to a specific race or group.” (Agency 3)

Although all policies collectively spoke to not tolerating racial profiling. A few had a caveat in the policy not prohibiting an officer from using race or ethnicity along with other factors to substantiate reasonable suspension or probable cause.

Theme: Officers are Held Accountable for Their Behavior

“We take it very seriously. Any show of hints of it, it’s definitely a conversation. If it continues, it’s one of those things where we can’t allow it just because of the nature of where we are in policing nowadays and the mistrust of it.” (Participant M)

Occupational Socialization

I asked participants to describe their agency administrator’s perceptions of racial profiling and how their agency addresses racial profiling. The majority of participants

believed their administrators had a stance against racial profiling and believed their agency would address issues that arose.

Additional Considerations

“Not sure what we do.” (Participant G)

Of participants, 39% did not know how their agency would respond.

Theme: Black Law Enforcement Officers Wanted to Help

“Honestly, it’s kind of the cliché’ answer, but I really love to support and help people and having such power that law enforcement does have, some people like to use it for negative aspect of it. I like to use it for the positive that change someone else’s life.” (Participant B)

“Well, I just think it wasn’t something that happened initially. I grew up not saying I want to be cop. I wanted to be a firefighter. It just gradually...my experiences, life experiences, pretty much shaped me to this point. Growing up in the city and seeing the crime and seeing all these things and just feeling I wanted to help, as generic as that may sound. Stereotypical. Just wanted to help the community I grew up in and do it every day, pretty much. Make a difference every day, no matter how small it may be. You’re not able to do that in a lot of professions.” (Participant D)

Black Law Enforcement Officers

The first reason Black people choose to be a law enforcement officer is they desire to enforce rules and see their role as allowing them to change the structure from

within (Alex, 1969; Dulaney, 1996). Of participants, 77% reported that the ability to help others was the primary factor that led them to being a law enforcement officer.

Additional Considerations

“Honestly, at the time it was a good thing for...I was married at the time with a kid...a good opportunity to provide for my family.” (Participant F)

Of participants, 23% reported that pay/stability influenced them to be a police officer. The 23% represents what Alex (1969) and Dulaney (1996) stated was the second reason Black people serve in law enforcement: financial stability. The 23% worked in law enforcement for financial reasons.

Theme: Blacks are Racially Profiled

“Blacks, I think it’s just a culture that has been built around individuals that are of color Black. I don’t really have a reason for it. I think it’s just a culture that has been built around from bad...the history, some history of bad White police.” (Participant C)

“You know, some of it’s culture. You hate to say it’s still the norm, but I don’t think we’ve grown past it. I think some of it’s abuse of power. I don’t believe that everybody starts that way, but I believe that some people can actually adopt the idea of the profile. They believe that Blacks may be a better stop, they believe Blacks may have more warrants, or just in general. Sometimes we just get the wrong perceptions and it just manifests and grows with that. I think it’s still just a lack of knowledge and understanding.” (Participant D)

Social Comparison

Of participants, 92% supported the theme of Black people being profiled more than others. The results support the Wilson et al. (2015) findings of 70% of Black law enforcement officers believing racial profiling was being condoned. Jaspars and Warnaen (1982) argued that the process of social comparison allows people to compare. Comparison allows biases to develop and be confirmed (Gundlach et. al., 2006; Hamamura, 2017; Islam, 2014; Turner & Tajfel, 1986). Bias also surfaces in people's unconscious (Banji & Greenwald, 2013). Jones (2017) argued that these hidden biases surface in racial profiling.

Theme: Blacks are Racially Profiled cont

Definitely Blacks, and really, why I think it is, and especially here in the Midwest, Blacks are the minority. Blacks operate under a stigma and even...I hate to say it this way. This world is based on the prey and the predator, and I think that's the kind of behavior that we see in police work, because there's such a limited amount of Black officers that we're outnumbered" (Participant H)

Additional Considerations

“There is no such thing as racial profiling. It is called good police work.” (Participant L)

Of participants, 8% reported that racial profiling does not occur. Wilkins and Williams (2008) found that law enforcement has a large degree of cohesion and solidarity. This solidarity is often referenced as a blue-walled mosaic (Wilkins & Williams, 2008). Multiple research studies discovered that more highly educated Black people were more inclined to favor profiling than their less well-educated counterparts and did not believe that racial profiling even existed; rather, they viewed it as a universal policing practice (Gabbidon, Higgins, & Wilder-Bonner, 2012).

Theme: Racial Profiling was Experienced

“We had a chief of police that it was well know that his language toward African American people was one of very, very, I would call pronounced racist. He would call you a nigga in a minute. You know, the type.” (Focused Group 2 Participant)

“Yeah, while I was an officer. I had set my car on cruise. And as I was driving by, my wife looked over at a Sheriff’s Deputy who went by her side of the car. He went on the right side and she said “You know what, they kind of looked at us, I bet he’s going to stop you and get you because you’re Black.” And I said “Aw, no, they won’t do that. We don’t have that type of stuff.” Sure enough, this guy came up and he stopped me. And I actually asked him and I think I surprised him because he didn’t know that I’m from the area because I know the guy. I have set in classes with him before and we’ve talked... He said When I asked him “What’s your PC?” And he looked at me and he said “Oh, oh Roy?” And he just stopped talking.” (Participant I)

Theme: Racial Profiling was Experienced cont

“Yes. I approached Buckner, the speed limit jumped from 60 to 45 and then down to 25. I’m conscious of that, but I drive an infinity. And it’s a nice car, so as I come into Buckner, I’m going to the light, Sibley to go down BB, and as soon as I make that right turn, I get pulled over. It was a summer day and you could see who I was, and immediately I got pulled over, soon as I turned south onto Sibley. The officer comes up and he recognized me immediately, and he’s like, “I’m Corporal Such and Such, and he looked at me and he was like “I know you”, “Yes”, “Oh, how you doing?”... “What’s the reason I got pulled over?” He totally skipped that question and started asking me when I was doing another class or made some small talk and just say “Hey, have a nice day.” (Participant H)

Of participants, 92% interviewed had experienced a racial-profiling incident and a substantial majority of focus-group participants had experienced an incident as well. Numerous law enforcement officers believe racial profiling is a valid method for reducing crime (Wilson et al., 2015).

Additional Considerations

“It's not racial profiling if you come home, and your home has been robbed by a White guy, you want them to go out and find any and every White guy that's in the neighborhood that could possibly be involved with your house having been burglarized. A lot of times the reason why you may have above average amount of one particular race being stopped versus another is due to the demographics of the area that you're operating in.” (Participant L)

Of law enforcement participants, 80% stated they had never been racially profiled.

Theme: Confidence in Law Enforcement

“When I talk about my department I have the utmost confidence in law enforcement personnel. That's always been the case from that perspective, and now a member of the department, it's only enhanced that perception. Because one, I feel like good people make good law enforcement personnel. So at the root and the base of everyone in the department I can honestly say I work with great people. So I believe in everybody I work with. When it comes to different agencies or agencies outside of mine, I can say that I've heard a lot from my peers about negative interactions.” (Participant C)

Social Identification

Of law enforcement participants, 100% reported confidence in their law enforcement agencies. Law enforcement officers did not express confidence and support

for agencies outside of theirs. The majority of focus-group participants had confidence in the law enforcement agencies in their communities.

Additional Considerations

“I would say other agencies still have a long way to go.” (Participant K)

All law enforcement officers had confidence in their agency, but that confidence did not extend to other agencies in their communities.

Theme: Blacks Perceived as Bad People

“I think in their subconscious White people see us as an underclass, but they obviously don’t go around mouthing it. But from time to time they let things slip. Like one of my friends told others of my White friends, Participant doesn’t know he’s Black. Now, that’s interesting. What is his perceptions of what Black people are supposed to be? Because I’m, very well aware.” (Focus Group 2 Participant)

“You know, there’s still Whites that still remind me that I’m Black. They always have those comments, they tell those stories “I have a friend who was Black and somebody said something and I stood up for them.” “Now remember, I’m not saying anything against you, or your people I’ve...” (Focus Group 2 Participant)

Social Comparison

According to Hamamura (2017), comparison allows one group to position itself in a positive role while placing others in the negative. The researcher asked participants to describe how Black people are perceived in the community. Of focus-group and interview participants, 100% supported the theme of Blacks being perceived as bad people.

Additional Considerations

“It was integration. Everything was about integration ever since 1954, then the integration thing became a push. So everything was about trying to knock down doors. Trying to knock doors, as we say, has a consequence. 1954, we seen the decline of the Black community. In our areas basically before then, the communities were basically self-sufficient. Were we, would you say, doing better then then we are now? But then again I can’t say that because we doing pretty good now. But it took away something. I think integration, it took away something from the collective, our industry. It took away our industry, our industrious spirit. That and urban renewal. Urban renewal destroyed Black economic centers.” (Focus Group 2)

Black people’s perceptions of how they were perceived was distressing.

Conclusion and Recommendations

Practice

- Own mistakes regarding racial profiling of the past and present with internal law enforcement officers and the communities being served. Develop guiding principles that will affirm the work of police.
- Use evidence-based practices and programs that foster communication, connection, and trust with communities. Ensure that the community is assisting with the selection and implementation of all practices and programs.
- Invest in department-wide trainings and development sessions that have members of the community as participants. Reconfigure basic law enforcement cadet training to involve community members as instructors and evaluators.
- Invest in the recruitment of diverse law enforcement officers, create a structured selection process, and develop an appropriate metric to monitor law enforcement officer's contacts.
- With communities help, develop a cycle of improvement for all law enforcement officers as well as a process for holding officers accountable for actions that are not acceptable in the standards.

All eyes are focused on law enforcement and how it is responding to racial-profiling practices and allegations. Naskar (2017) found “Thus, in the eye of a genuine human, there is only race that exist in human society, which is the human race” (p. 4). To meet the needs of those being served, law enforcement must make the following changes to its practice, policymakers must support legislation, and future research is needed on the tenets of practice, policy, and future research.

Conclusion and Recommendations

Policy

- Enhancement of statutes that require the collection and publication of racial-profiling data. Create the same collection and publication for law enforcement agency demographic information as well.
- Construct policy that holds law enforcement agencies accountable for racial profiling and mandates remedial third-party training.
- Develop policy that enacts antibias curriculum for K-12 and higher education.

Conclusion and Recommendations

Future Research

- A study on reducing policing contacts with the public.
- A quantitative study of Black law enforcement officers' perceptions of racial profiling across all agencies.
- A study of perceptions of Black people as well as Black law enforcement officers.
- Additional study of the persistence and promotion of Black and White police officers.

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Thank
YOU

SECTION FIVE
CONTRIBUTION TO SCHOLARSHIP

Target Journal

The target journal for publication is *Police Quarterly*. The *Police Quarterly* is the official journal of Sage publishing.

Rationale for this Target

I plan to submit plans submission of a paper to the *Police Quarterly*. The *Police Quarterly* is a peer-reviewed scholarly journal that showcases primarily empirical studies focused on policing. This research targets practitioners and academics. The *Police Quarterly* connects with the overarching research question, What are Black police officers' perceptions of racial profiling in Missouri?

Outline of Proposed Contents

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**The Black Inside the Blue: Black Law Enforcement Officers’
Perceptions of Racial Profiling**

ABSTRACT

Nationally, law enforcement agencies are under tremendous scrutiny in reference to racial profiling. A gap exists in knowledge of Black law enforcement officers' perceptions of racial profiling in Missouri. Missouri has experienced a disproportionate number of traffic stops of Black motorists for the last 11 years. A review of the literature revealed that police officers have an identity formed through practices of the organization. This notion was further explained by examining social-identity theory and the key concepts of Black law enforcement officers, racial profiling, and occupational socialization. This qualitative bounded case study used semistructured interviews with rural Black law enforcement officers from three counties in Missouri, conducted three focus groups with community members, and performed an artifact review of law enforcement agencies' policies. The following themes emerged: racial profiling is not tolerated, law enforcement officers are held accountable for their behavior, Black law enforcement officers joined agencies because they wanted the ability to help others, Blacks are racially profiled more than others, racial profiling had been experienced, confidence existed in law enforcement agencies to not racially profile, and Blacks were perceived as bad people. These results allow law enforcement agencies and law enforcement training academies to address selection and training needs of officers. The results also aid policymakers to expand the collection of data around profiling as well as aid community leaders in understanding the dynamics of racial profiling.

Key Words: racial profiling, law enforcement, Black

INTRODUCTION

In 2016, Black people comprised 10.9% of drivers in Missouri, but accounted for more than 18% of all traffic stops (Hawley, 2017). Black people in Missouri were stopped at a rate 75% higher than White motorists in 2016 (Hawley, 2017). Pressures on law enforcement to rebuild public trust and improve perceptions of communities of color regarding racial profiling have never been more apparent (Police Executive Research Forum, 2014; President's Task Force on 21st Century Policing, 2015; Stepler, 2017; C. P. Wilson, Wilson, & Thou, 2015). Limited quantitative or qualitative studies focused on Black police officers' perceptions of racial profiling (Barlow & Barlow, 2002). Key insights emerge through deeply understanding perceptions gleaned through qualitative inquiry (Bloomberg & Volpe, 2016). Systemic research-based inquiry in this area is needed to ascertain if law enforcement encounters are racially motivated (Barlow & Barlow, 2002). The gathering of data from Black law enforcement officers is valuable to law enforcement agencies and the communities they serve.

A lack of information exists on Black law enforcement officers' perceptions of racial profiling in Missouri. Investigating of the viewpoint of Black law enforcement officers enhances the literature. This study may assist law enforcement agencies, law enforcement officers, and communities as they grapple with understanding the impacts of racial profiling. Of the 15,388 police agencies in the United States, 71% of them serve rural communities (Police Executive Research Forum, 2016; Reaves, 2015b). This study will impact the majority of law enforcement agencies.

PURPOSE OF THE STUDY

The purpose of this qualitative study is to add to the extent of research that currently exists regarding perceptions of rural northwest Missouri Black police officers concerning racial profiling. Racial profiling means “any police action that relies upon the race, ethnicity, or national origin of an individual rather than the behavior of that individual” (Rojek, Rosenfeld, & Decker, 2004, p. 128). This study’s objective was to understand what Black law enforcement officers in rural environments perceive regarding racial profiling as well as the scope at which racial profiling occurs in the agencies they serve. Little research examines Black law enforcement officers in rural settings (Wilson et al., 2015). This qualitative study provides context to the racial-profiling phenomenon by providing the lived experiences of Black law enforcement officers.

Research Question

The overarching research question for this qualitative study allowed me to understand the perceptions of Black law enforcement officers’ perceptions of racial profiling in rural communities in Missouri. Specifically, the researcher examined law enforcement agencies that were state, local, and county. A lack of information persists pertaining to rural Black law enforcement officers and their perceptions (Wilson et al., 2015). The overarching research question was, What are Black law enforcement officers’ perceptions of racial profiling in Missouri? Two subquestions supported the research question in understanding perceptions of racial profiling in rural communities:

1. To your knowledge, to what extent has racial profiling and law enforcement misconduct been practiced in your agency?

2. What perceptions do the Black and White communities you serve have about racial profiling?

Theoretical Framework

The theoretical framework guiding this case study evolved from social-group theory, aligned with social-identity theory (Turner, 1982). Merton (1957) called for additional research concerning social-group theory and its impact on stakeholders and social-identity theory is expressed in social group theory (Turner, 1982). A person's belief of who they are rests in the organizations or factions of which they are members (Turner & Tajfel, 1986). Social-identity theory proposes that a portion of a person's self-concept is established from the group or groups to which the person belongs (Turner & Tajfel, 1986). This theory focuses on evaluation, commitment, and role transition into a groups' shared views (Levine & Moreland, 1994). Social identification is a perception of oneness with a group of people (Ashforth & Mael, 1989). Social-identity theory captures the essences of law enforcement organizations.

Social-identity theory describes three processes that connect the in-group and out-group approach. The in-group serves as a group with which a person would identify and the out-group serves as a group rejected by that same person (Deschamps, 1982). The first process of social-identity theory centers on social categorization. Social categorization allows people to place others in distinct roles to understand and identify them (Islam, 2014; Jaspars & Warnaen, 1982; Turner & Tajfel, 1986). These types of categorizations allow people to reject those who are not assimilated in their own category (Hamamura, 2017; Islam, 2014). Positioning people in a role allows for differences and prestige to be highlighted (Ashforth & Mael, 1989). Categorization allows individuals to

define their boundaries and the manner in which they will respond to others (Gundlach, Zivnuska, & Stoner, 2006). Bias against the out-group is a natural practice in the categorization process.

Social identification is the second process in social-identity theory. A person behaves and assumes the behavior of the group they classify as their in-group (Deschamps, 1982; Hornsey, 2008; Stryker & Burke, 2000; Turner & Tajfel, 1986). The identification process allows individuals to determine who they would like to become. A part of the social-identification process entails forming an emotional connection to the in-group and allowing it to define one's personhood (Hornsey, 2008). This internalization of the in-group allows for a strong division with all who do not assimilate to the group's roles (Hamamura, 2017; Islam, 2014). Organizational identification is part of social identification. People emotionally participate in the achievements and failures of the organization (Turner & Tajfel, 1986).

The third process of social-identity theory is social comparison. The process of social comparison allows people to compare the in-group against the out-group (Jaspars & Warnaen, 1982). The comparative nature of individuals is problematic. This type of comparison allows biases to develop and be confirmed (Hamamura, 2017; Islam, 2014; Turner & Tajfel, 1986). Practicing comparison increases the in groups' self-image by assigning negative attributes to out-groups (Hamamura, 2017). Comparison allows one group to position itself in a positive role while placing others in the negative. People or organizations that are influential to an individual influence the comparisons the individual makes (Festinger, 1954). When differences of ideas and abilities exist, people adjust their position to that of the organization or group (Festinger, 1954). Comparison

permits people to distinguish themselves from out-groups while adjusting toward in groups (see Figure 1).

Figure 1. Identity-theory model.

Source: Adapted from *Social Theory and Social Structure*, by R. K. Merton, 1957, Glencoe, IL: The Free Press; “Towards a cognitive redefinition of the social group,” by J. C. Turner, 1982, in H. Tajfel (Ed.), *Social Identity and Intergroup Relations* (pp. 15–40), New York, NY: Cambridge University Press; “The social identity of intergroup behavior,” by J. C. Turner & H. Tajfel, 1986, in S. Worchel & W. Austin (Eds.), *Psychology of Intergroup Relations* (pp. 7–24), Chicago, IL: Nelson-Hall.

Key Concepts

Three key concepts assist in further exploring the theoretical framework: Black law enforcement officers, racial profiling, and occupational socialization. Law enforcement is being challenged on the negative impacts of racial profiling, the lack of diversity of its law enforcement officers, and the socialization process that occurs through hiring (Wilkins & Williams, 2008).

Black Law Enforcement Officers

The lineage of Black people in policing traces to 1814 in New Orleans (Alex, 1969; Dulaney, 1996; Wadman & Allison, 2004). The recruitment and selection of Black law enforcement officers for more than 200 years has allowed assimilation to occur. Black law enforcement officers receive the same training as their White counterparts, although their experiences in serving the same communities can be vastly different (Walker & Katz, 2011). Black people who choose to serve as law enforcement officers do so for one of three reasons: they desire to enforce rules and see their role as one that allows them to change the structure from within; they lack other work opportunities, so they identify as a Black person first and a law enforcement officer second; and they believe the role to be a bridge between Black and White people (Alex, 1969; Dulaney, 1996). Black law enforcement officers in Missouri were initially only allowed to enforce laws with members of the Black community (Dulaney, 1996). In fact, “the socialization process experienced by a black officer is so intensive that any identity he had left is lost” (Sun & Payne, 2004, p. 519). Black law enforcement officers are trained to think and act like their White counterparts.

Racial Profiling

Racial profiling has been part of policing since the inception of slave patrols (Alex, 1969; Wilson et al., 2015). Slave patrols were commissioned law enforcement officers who predominantly existed in the southern United States (Wadman & Allison, 2004). Slave patrols captured and returned escaped slaves at all locations in the United States. Racial profiling intertwines with implicit bias (Sun & Payne, 2004; Wilson, Hugenberg, & Rule, 2017). In a study, more than 70% of Black respondents indicated

they believed racial profiling was condoned by the agencies they served (Wilson et al., 2015). Gallop Poll reported that the majority of White and Black Americans believed law enforcement practiced racial profiling (Rojek et al., 2004). Missouri's racial-profiling data recorded a disparity in the number of Black people who are pulled over for a traffic stop compared to their proportion in the population. In Missouri, Black motorists are stopped at a rate 75% higher than White motorists (Hawley, 2017). Racial profiling is rampant across law enforcement organizations (G. Wilson, Dunham, & Alpert, 2004). Additional research supports this view:

The degree of cohesion and solidarity among police officers has long been noted as one of the most noticeable yet unusual aspects of the police profession and has been described metaphorically as a blue-walled mosaic. As such, this profession reflects and projects a sense of fraternal support and fidelity that, in turn, encourages and reinforces and overarching police culture. However this police culture is not necessarily monolithic in nature. It is fractured and helps cultivate and reinforce certain subcultural norms that reflect the functional areas of police work. (Wilkins & Williams, 2008, p. 656)

Organizational culture is established at the occupational-socialization stage for law enforcement officers (Paoline, 2003; Terrill, Paoline, & Manning, 2003).

Occupational Socialization

Occupational socialization means “focuses on learning the norms of one's profession” (Bauer & Erdogan, 2011, p. 51). Law enforcement entities have their own occupationally located police personality that is exclusive to them and it distinguishes them from others in society (Bennett, 1984). Conti (2009) found that law enforcement

socialization begins during the basic police training academy for all new hires. The academy is a rite of passage built on traditions and ceremonies that elevate the cadet from a civilian to a law enforcement officer (White & Escobar, 2008). While attending the academy, officers are ridiculed and demeaned in an effort to rebuild them in a unified manner. Often, those in the academy participate in ceremonies that elevate one person for their physical achievements. Six to eight physical-achievement ceremonies are conducted during an academy period. Conti (2009) supported this view:

The police, as a result of combined features of their social situation, tend to develop ways of looking at the world distinctive to themselves, cognitive lenses through which to see situations and events. The strength of those lenses may be weaker or stronger depending upon certain conditions but they are grounded upon the same axis. (p. 409)

Law enforcement socialization is an identity imbedded across law enforcement academies (Kappeler, Sluder, & Alpert, 1998). Officers who do not accept this implicit identity or fail to conform to law enforcement practice may not be those law enforcement officers responsible for racial profiling (Conti, 2009; Haarr, 2001; Terrill et al., 2003; White & Escobar, 2008). Recruitment and training are essential to occupational socialization and culture (White & Escobar, 2008) with both assisting in preparing law enforcement officers to serve communities.

Design of the Study

The goal of this qualitative bounded case study was to determine the perceptions of Black law enforcement officers in three rural northwest counties in Missouri on the phenomenon of racial profiling (Bloomberg & Volpe, 2016; Creswell, 2014; Merriam &

Tisdell, 2016). Specifically, the researcher investigated how Black law enforcement officers perceive racial profiling in the communities they serve. To conduct this research, the researcher gathered information from Black law enforcement officers who serve in the three rural counties. The researcher triangulated data based on interviews, focus groups, and artifact collection (Bloomberg & Volpe, 2016; Krueger & Casey, 2015; Seidman, 2013; Stake, 2010).

Setting

Black law enforcement officers believe that racial profiling is occurring in the agencies in which they serve in lieu of policies eliminating the practice (Barlow & Barlow, 2002; Wilson et al., 2015). White authorities often reject the evidence that profiling is occurring and often state the public lacks the ability to articulate how and when it is occurring (Clarke, 2017; MacDonald, 2003; Starkes, 2016). Black people account for the most crime, therefore some believe it is not profiling because they account for more police encounters (Clarke, 2017): “The major problem with arrest statistics, then, is that they do not reflect the reality of crime as much as they reflect patterns in policing” (Barlow & Barlow, 2002, p. 339). Others support the claim with evidence that Black people are stopped significantly more than White people, but White people are arrested more for drugs (Barlow & Barlow, 2002; Petrocelli, Piquero, & Smith, 2003; Sun & Payne, 2004; Weitzer, 2000). Racial profiling is a bad practice (Harcourt, 2003).

This study took place in three rural counties in northwest Missouri. County A is the largest by land size and is mostly rural. County A has a population that is 94% White (U.S. Census Bureau, 2016). County B is predominantly rural but the largest portion of

its population lives in one major city. County B has a large manufacturing-and retail-driven economy although it is rural. According to the U.S. Census Bureau (2016), the population for County B is 89% White. County C comprises several small cities and has a population that is 86% White. County C has a professional working-class-based economy largely driven by its more than 40% of the population with a college degree (U.S. Census Bureau, 2016). County C has the largest population base of all counties studied.

The organizations and law enforcement officers participating in this study were commissioned law enforcement officers in an agency in a county studied. All organizations have a similar command structure and enforcement capability. The command structures all have a single executive who is accountable and responsible for the entire organization. The single executive has others dispersed throughout the organization with daily command responsibilities. The organizations studied have accountability to the communities in which they serve and report traffic-stop data to the Missouri Attorney General. The communities served by law enforcement are predominantly White as are the law enforcement agencies studied.

Participants

Interviews, focus groups, and the collection of artifacts are essential to gather qualitative data (Bloomberg & Volpe, 2016; Merriam, 2009). A proxy was used to conduct the focus groups in order to reduce bias and solicit a richer response. Merriam and Tisdell (2016) "...interviewing requires interviewers to have enough distance to enable them to ask real questions and to explore, not to share, assumptions" (p. 130). The researcher used purposeful sampling to conduct interviews and focus groups of Black law

enforcement officers (aligned with Bloomberg & Volpe, 2016; Merriam & Tisdell, 2016). The researcher included Black law enforcement officers from three counties in northwest Missouri. The participants were all commissioned law enforcement officers serving as a state, county, or municipal law enforcement officer in one of the three counties. The researcher chose to conduct a bounded case study as a result of the established criteria (Bloomberg & Volpe, 2016; Creswell, 2014; Merriam & Tisdell, 2016; Stake, 2010). The researcher contacted Black law enforcement officers by e-mail, phone, and in person to schedule interviews or focus groups. The researcher conducted interviews until saturation was reached. Snowball sampling occurred as participants referred additional participants to me (Merriam & Tisdell, 2016). Artifacts, policies and procedures were gathered from all agencies within the three counties in Missouri studied.

Data-Collection Tools

The researcher arranged and led semistructured interviews using a person-to-person format in a private setting (Merriam & Tisdell, 2016; Seidman, 2013). The researcher maintained all data collected during the study and all data remain confidential and secure. The researcher kept all data in a locked fire proof safe in my office. The code to the safe and room key were in my sole possession. The researcher maintained all data under IRB requirements and conditions (Bloomberg & Volpe, 2016; Merriam & Tisdell, 2016). The researcher advised all study participants that the results would be presented in a doctoral thesis (Bloomberg & Volpe, 2016). The researcher also informed all participants that they would make all effort to protect their anonymity and their ability to withdraw from the study at anytime (Bloomberg & Volpe, 2016; Merriam & Tisdell, 2016). The researcher sent all participants a cover letter and a consent form that further

explained confidentiality. The researcher recorded all interviews and documented them with field notes (Krueger & Casey, 2015; Stake, 2010). The research took place at a law enforcement station or at a location chosen by the participant. The researcher crafted open-ended questions that allowed the participant to become comfortable (Seidman, 2013). Although the researcher used questions, participants guided the interviews. The researcher scheduled interviews to last 30 minutes. Following each interview, the researcher reviewed my field notes and had all recordings transcribed (Bloomberg & Volpe, 2016; Krueger & Casey, 2015).

Focus groups took place in a law enforcement department's conference room or a local institution's conference room that was centrally located to accommodate participants (Krueger & Casey, 2015). Multiple locations ensured all participants could attend. The researcher took field notes and audio recorded all discussions. The researcher developed questions prior to focus group meetings, but allowed the conversation to adapt to participants. The researcher constructed focus groups to last 1 hour. The researcher reviewed field notes following each discussion and had all recordings transcribed. The researcher also collected and examined artifacts from Missouri State Statutes and each participant's law enforcement agency (Merriam & Tisdell, 2016). Specifically, the researcher examined Missouri state statute 590.650 RSMo (Board of Regents, 2013) and each law enforcement agency's policy concerning the practice of racial profiling. Participants' law enforcement agencies provided policies addressing racial profiling.

According to Merriam and Tisdell (2016), "qualitative researchers are guests in the private spaces of the world" (p. 262). This type of research requires an emphasis on

ethics and maintaining IRB standards (Bloomberg & Volpe, 2016). Greatness can be produced, but risks are substantial, yet the work must be done to improve conditions (Merriam & Tisdell, 2016).

Data Analysis

After recorded sessions with the participants were transcribed, the researcher reviewed the transcripts several times to gain a comprehensive understanding of what participants were trying to convey. The researcher then labeled and sorted the collected qualitative data from interviews, focus groups, and artifacts (Bloomberg & Volpe, 2016; Creswell, 2016). Member checks further validated interview and focus group transcripts (Merriam & Tisdell, 2016). The process of coding allowed the researcher to condense the data through use of an interpretive-findings tool (Bloomberg & Volpe, 2016). The tool allowed for a deeper meaning to be established that assisted in formulating themes that emerged from the codes (Bloomberg & Volpe, 2016). The researcher logged notable phrases (Creswell, 2016; Merriam & Tisdell, 2016) and organized themes to identify consistencies and applicability to the research question (Bloomberg & Volpe, 2016; Creswell, 2016; Merriam & Tisdell, 2016).

Results

To execute this study, the researcher interviewed 13 participants, conducted three focus groups, and collected documents for analysis from six law enforcement agencies. The qualitative data were transcribed and coded first using the open-coding approach, followed by the axial-coding method. Coding allowed seven themes to emerge that directly related to the research questions: racial profiling is not tolerated, law enforcement officers are held accountable for their behavior, Black law enforcement

officers joined agencies because they wanted the ability to help others, Black people are racially profiled more than others, racial profiling had been experienced, confidence existed in law enforcement agencies to not racially profile, and Black people were perceived as bad people.

Study results were considered through the lens of the theoretical framework guiding this case study: social-identity theory (Turner, 1982). I used the three key concepts of Black law enforcement officers, racial profiling, and occupational socialization to examine themes as well. These narratives reflected each respondent's perception of racial profiling in law enforcement along with policy statements of law enforcement agencies.

Racial Profiling is Not Tolerated

Social identification. All policies collected spoke to not tolerating racial profiling. As one policy stated,

members of this department are prohibited against bias based profiling which includes, but is not limited to effecting a stop, detention or search of any person when such action is motivated by race, color, ethnicity, age, gender or sexual orientation, and the action would constitute a violation of the civil rights of that person. (Agency 1)

Agency 2 also reported:

Officers will not engage in illegal racial/bias based profiling – the selection of an individual for a police initiated action based solely on a common trait of a group, rather than the behavior of the individual or articulated facts that lead to the specific individual coming under suspicion. Such groups include, but are not

limited to race, ethnic background, national origin, gender, sexual orientation, religion, economic status, age, cultural group or any other identifiable groups.

Participant K stated:

They had a sit-down conversation, but we all, white, black, purple, red, all go through implicit bias trainings on many different levels at least once a year.

They've also sent several of us to an advanced class where we've had the chief come down and talk about racial profiling, so our department takes it very seriously.

Additional considerations. Although all policies collectively spoke to not tolerating racial profiling, a few had a caveat not prohibiting an officer from using race or ethnicity along with other factors to substantiate reasonable suspicion or probable cause.

As Agency 3 stated:

Racial- or bias-based profiling is strictly prohibited. However nothing in this policy is intended to prohibit an officer from considering factors such as race or ethnicity in combination with other legitimate factors to establish reasonable suspicion or probable cause (e.g., suspect description is limited to a specific race or group).

Officers are Held Accountable for Their Behavior

Occupational socialization. Participants described their agencies' administrators' perceptions of racial profiling along with how their agencies addressed racial profiling. The majority of participants believed their administrators had a stance against racial profiling and believed their agency would address issues that arose. Noted by Participant B, "Don't do it!" Participant M stated:

We take it very seriously. Any show of hints of it, it's definitely a conversation. If it continues, it's one of those things where we can't allow it just because of the nature of where we are in policing nowadays and the mistrust of it.

Additional considerations. Of participants, 39% did not know how their agency would respond. For example, Participant G said, "Not sure what we do."

Black Law Enforcement Officers Wanted to Help

Black law enforcement officers. The first reason Black people choose to be a law enforcement officer is that they desire to enforce rules and change the structure within (Alex, 1969; Dulaney, 1996). In the present study, 77% of participants reported that the ability to help others was the primary factor that led them to become a law enforcement officer.

Honestly, it's kind of the cliché' answer, but I really love to support and help people and having such power that law enforcement does have, some people like to use it for negative aspect of it. I like to use it for the positive that change someone else's life. (Participant B)

Well, I just think it wasn't something that happened initially. I grew up not saying I want to be cop. I wanted to be a firefighter. It just gradually ... my experiences, life experiences, pretty much shaped me to this point. Growing up in the city and seeing the crime and seeing all these things and just feeling I wanted to help, as generic as that may sound. Stereotypical. Just wanted to help the community I grew up in and do it every day, pretty much. Make a difference every day, no matter how small it may be. You're not able to do that in a lot of professions. (Participant D)

Additional considerations. Of study participants, 23% reported that pay/stability influenced them to be a police officer. This 23% represents what Alex (1969) and Dulaney (1996) stated was the second reason Black people serve in law enforcement: financial stability. The 23% worked in law enforcement for financial reasons. Participant F stated, “Honestly, at the time it was a good thing for ... I was married at the time with a kid. ... A good opportunity to provide for my family.”

Blacks are Racially Profiled

Social comparison. Of participants, 92% supported the theme of Black people being profiled more than others. The results supported the Wilson et al. (2015) finding of 70% of Black law enforcement officers believing racial profiling was being condoned. The process of social comparison allows people to compare (Jaspars & Warnaeen, 1982) and comparison allows biases to be develop and be confirmed (Gundlach et al., 2006; Hamamura, 2017; Islam, 2014; Turner & Tajfel, 1986). Bias also surfaces in people’s unconscious (Banaji & Greenwald, 2013). These hidden biases surface in racial profiling (Jones, 2017). Participants stated the following:

Blacks, I think it’s just a culture that has been built around individuals that are of color Black. I don’t really have a reason for it. I think it’s just a culture that has been built around from bad. ... The history, some history of bad White police.
(Participant C)

You know, some of it’s culture. You hate to say it’s still the norm, but I don’t think we’ve grown past it. I think some of it’s abuse of power. I don’t believe that everybody starts that way, but I believe that some people can actually adopt the idea of the profile. They believe that Blacks may be a better stop, they believe

Blacks may have more warrants, or just in general. Sometimes we just get the wrong perceptions and it just manifests and grows with that. I think it's still just a lack of knowledge and understanding. (Participant D)

Definitely Blacks, and really, why I think it is, and especially here in the Midwest, Blacks are the minority. Blacks operate under a stigma and even ... I hate to say it this way. This world is based on the prey and the predator, and I think that's the kind of behavior that we see in police work, because there's such a limited amount of Black officers that we're outnumbered. (Participant H)

Additional considerations. Of participants, 8% reported that racial profiling does not occur. As Participant L stated, "There is no such thing as racial profiling. It is called good police work." Law enforcement has a large degree of cohesion and solidarity (Wilkins & Williams, 2008). The solidarity is often referenced as a blue-walled mosaic (Wilkins & Williams, 2008). Multiple researchers discovered that more highly educated Black people were more inclined to favor profiling than their less well-educated counterparts, and they did not believe that racial profiling even existed; rather, they viewed it as a universal policing practice (Gabbidon, Higgins, & Wilder-Bonner, 2012).

Racial Profiling was Experienced

Racial profiling. Of participants, 92% of Black law enforcement officers interviewed had been racially profiled. A substantial majority of focus-group participants had experienced one as well. Numerous law enforcement officers believe racial profiling is a valid method to reduce crime (Wilson et al., 2015). Participants stated:

We had a chief of police that it was well know that his language toward African American people was one of very, very, I would call pronounced racist. He

would call you a nigga in a minute. You know, the type. (Focus Group 2 Participant)

Yeah, while I was an officer. I had set my car on cruise. And as I was driving by, my wife looked over at a sheriff's deputy who went by her side of the car. He went on the right side and she said, "You know what, they kind of looked at us, I bet he's going to stop you and get you because you're Black." And I said "Aw, no, they won't do that. We don't have that type of stuff." Sure enough, this guy came up and he stopped me. And I actually asked him and I think I surprised him because he didn't know that I'm from the area because I know the guy. I have set in classes with him before and we've talked. ... He said when I asked him "What's your PC?" And he looked at me and he said "Oh, oh Roy?" And he just stopped talking. (Participant I)

Yes. I approached Buckner, the speed limit jumped from 60 to 45 and then down to 25. I'm conscious of that, but I drive an infinity. And it's a nice car, so as I come into Buckner, I'm going to the light, Sibley to go down BB, and as soon as I make that right turn, I get pulled over. It was a summer day and you could see who I was, and immediately I got pulled over, soon as I turned south onto Sibley. The officer comes up and he recognized me immediately, and he's like, "I'm Corporal Such and Such, and he looked at me and he was like "I know you," "Yes," "Oh, how you doing?"... "What's the reason I got pulled over?" He totally skipped that question and started asking me when I was doing another class or made some small talk and just say, "Hey, have a nice day. (Participant H)

Additional considerations. Of law enforcement participants, 8% stated they had never been racially profiled. Participant L believed:

It's not racial profiling if you come home, and your home has been robbed by a White guy, you want them to go out and find any and every White guy that's in the neighborhood that could possibly be involved with your house having been burglarized. A lot of times the reason why you may have above-average amount of one particular race being stopped versus another is due to the demographics of the area that you're operating in.

Confidence in Law Enforcement

Social identification. Of law enforcement participants, 100% reported confidence in their law enforcement agencies. Law enforcement officers did not express confidence and support for agencies outside of theirs. The majority of focus-group participants had confidence in the law enforcement agencies in their communities. As stated in a focus group, "I have more confidence in the current sheriff. Former sheriff wasn't that transparent, current one is much more transparent and I have more confidence in them" (Focus Group 2 Participant). A Focus Group 3 participant said, "They're not dumb, certainly. I can trust most of them. Well, not a lot are accused of, I don't know, bad things, I guess, like shooting a black person because they're racist, to put it." An additional participant stated:

When I talk about my department I have the utmost confidence in law enforcement personnel. That's always been the case from that perspective, and now a member of the department, it's only enhanced that perception. Because one, I feel like good people make good law enforcement personnel. So at the root

and the base of everyone in the department, I can honestly say I work with great people. So I believe in everybody I work with. When it comes to different agencies or agencies outside of mine, I can say that I've heard a lot from my peers about negative interactions. (Participant C)

Additional considerations. All law enforcement officers had confidence in their agency, but that confidence did not extend to other agencies in their communities.

Participant K stated "I would say other agencies still have a long way to go."

Community members had confidence but acknowledged additional training was need on racial profiling. As stated by a Focus Group 1 participant, "I have confidence, but I know there are biases in our local agency and training will help."

Blacks are Perceived as Bad People

Social comparison. Comparison allows one group to position themselves in a positive role while placing others in the negative (Hamamura, 2017). Participants described how Black people are perceived in the community. Focus group and interview participants unanimously supported the theme that Blacks are perceived as bad people. As Participant C stated, "Just knuckle heads out to cause mischief and give people a hard time." Other participants stated the following:

I think in their subconscious, White people see us as an underclass, but they obviously don't go around mouthing it. But from time to time they let things slip. Like one of my friends told others of my White friends, [Participant] doesn't know he's Black. Now, that's interesting. What is his perceptions of what Black people are supposed to be? Because I'm very well aware. (Focus Group 2 Participant)

You know, there's still Whites that still remind me that I'm Black. They always have those comments, they tell those stories "I have a friend who was Black and somebody said something and I stood up for them. ... Now remember, I'm not saying anything against you, or your people I've... (Focus Group 2 Participant)

Additional considerations. Black people's perceptions of how they are perceived was distressing. The rationale of how the perception had transcended was profound and expressed by a participant in Focus Group 2:

It was integration. Everything was about integration ever since 1954, then the integration thing became a push. So everything was about trying to knock down doors. Trying to knock doors, as we say, has a consequence. 1954, we seen the decline of the Black community. In our areas basically before then, the communities were basically self-sufficient. Were we, would you say, doing better then than we are now? But then again I can't say that because we doing pretty good now. But it took away something. I think integration, it took away something from the collective, our industry. It took away our industry, our industrious spirit. That and urban renewal. Urban renewal destroyed Black economic centers. (Focus Group 2)

Discussion and Implications for Practitioners

The problem of racial profiling in policing has undermined confidence and diminished officers' abilities to enforce laws (Wilkins & William, 2008). This study provides valuable insights for law enforcement agencies and policymakers on racial profiling. Although the results of this study are not generalizable, they should be considered when evaluating the perceptions and policies in place for rural law

enforcement agencies in which Black officers serve. This study provides policymakers with key perspectives of those who have the lived experience of racial profiling and are practitioners in policing (Harcourt, 2003; Wilson et al., 2015).

This case study had a small sample size of Black law enforcement officers; however, the results were rich. Based on the results of this study from artifacts, focus groups, and interviews, three recommendations would reduce racial profiling: the selection and training of law enforcement officers, expanding the collection of racial-profiling data, and implementing a curriculum focused on reducing bias.

Selection and Training

Study results have raised important questions pertaining to the selection of law enforcement officers. According to Arrigo and Clausen (2003), for law enforcement to reduce racial profiling, agencies must make changes in the selection of officers. These changes will bring about added cost to law enforcement agencies, but the cost of continuing down the same path is enormous. Changes should focus on removal of law enforcement officers who display antisocial traits. Acts of corruption by law enforcement officers is greatly diminished when those who possess antisocial traits are precluded from hiring (Arrigo & Clausen, 2003). Having a tool to assess and evaluate law enforcement officers prior to hiring would prove useful.

Law enforcement officers experience occupational socialization through training programs. The field-training officer is essential to new law enforcement officers forming their identity (Haarr, 2001). Results indicated that the selection of the field-training officer needs to be intentional. According to Haarr (2001), “selection standards for field-training officers should include a genuine commitment to the integration of women and

racial/ethnic minorities into the organization. Field-training officers should be rigorously selected and evaluated by all agencies to ensure they are working to reduce biased behavior.

Racial Profiling

Policymakers need to uphold the collection of racial-profiling data as well as increase the collection of law enforcement agency demographic data. Law enforcement agencies that have an increase in ethnic minorities in their department showed a decrease in the proportion of ethnic minorities who are stopped and searched (Hong, 2017). The continued collection of racial-profiling data along with departmental demographic data would allow agencies to further understand occupational socialization. Law enforcement agencies and policymakers need to ensure policies are in place to address racial profiling incidents and behaviors at the proper level. Remedial training needs to be part of all corrective actions, along with an increased review of those who display behavior consistent with racial profiling.

Reducing Bias Curriculum

Results indicated that communities outside of law enforcement have biases toward those who are Black. Policymakers need to work with educators to immerse bias-based concepts across curriculum in all local, state, and federally supported institutions. Design-thinking techniques need to be applied to improve innovative strategies to reduce biases (Liedtka, 2015). Biases favoring White people over Black people could be reduced through exposure to positive Black people (Gonzalez, Steele, & Baron, 2017). A systematic infusion of curriculum aimed at reducing bias would also assist law enforcement agencies with their selection process, enabling law enforcement officers to

gain a deeper understanding of profiling and biases that would aid them in serving their communities. To eradicate racial profiling and biases, strong leadership is required. Leaders need to put forth an explicit message from senior leadership that racial profiling and biased behavior is not tolerated, coupled with strictly enforced disciplinary action for violations.

Conclusion

All eyes are focused on law enforcement and how it is responding to racial-profiling practices and allegations. Naskar (2017) found, “Thus, in the eye of a genuine human, there is only race that exist in human society, which is the human race” (p. 4). To meet the needs of those being served, law enforcement must make the following changes to its practice, policymakers must support legislation, and future research is needed.

Practice

- Own mistakes publicly regarding racial profiling. Develop guiding principles that affirm the work of police with officers as well as community members ensuring diverse voices are heard.
- Utilize a systems thinking for social change approach that will involve all community stakeholders at addressing the root cause issue.
- Invest in department-wide trainings and development sessions that have members of the community as participants. Reconfigure basic law enforcement cadet training to involve community members as instructors and evaluators.

- Invest in the recruitment of diverse law enforcement officers, create a structured selection process, and develop an appropriate metric to monitor law enforcement officers' contacts.
- With the community's help, develop a cycle of improvement for all law enforcement officers and a process for holding officers accountable for actions that are not acceptable in standards.

Policy

- Enhance statutes to require the collection and publication of racial-profiling data. Create the same collection and publication for law enforcement agency demographic information as well.
- Construct policy that holds law enforcement agencies accountable for racial profiling and mandates remedial third-party training.
- Develop policy that enacts antibias curriculum for K–12 and higher education.

Future Research

- A study on is there a difference in officer perceptions of racial profiling for traffic stops when disaggregated by officer and detainee race and ethnicity?
- A quantitative study of what are the perceptions of White and Black law enforcement officers' of racial profiling while conducting traffic stops.
- A study of what are the perceptions of Black community members as it pertains to racial profiling during law enforcement traffic stops.
- A study of is there a difference in persistence and promotion of Black and White law enforcement officers.

Communities are observing the practices of law enforcement agencies; therefore, it is imperative that the above stated changes are occurring. According to Naskar (2017), “Arise O lion-heart! Awake, O great soldier! Misery has come upon the world. It is wailing for help. It is wailing for redemption. Won’t you do anything, my friend!” (p. 112).

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SECTION SIX

SCHOLARLY PRACTITIONER REFLECTION

The dissertation process influenced my practices as an educational leader and a scholar. Reflecting on my journey allows for deeper learning to occur. The dissertation process provided me with a significant amount of leadership skills, content knowledge, and scholarly influence. The process has been uncomfortable, but through the discomfort, confidence and a sense of certainty have emerged. The knowledge, skills, and abilities I have learned have been infused into my leadership and scholarship. I am a lifelong learner.

The Dissertation Influenced Practice as Educational Leader

Northouse (2016) stated, “leadership is not a linear, one-way event, but rather an interactive event” (p. 6). The dissertation influenced my leadership in two prominent qualities: as a learner and a change agent. Both qualities are central to my work and align with my strengths identified by StrengthQuest. The intersection of both qualities allows me to lead in a unique manner in my professional practice.

Learner

The question of how the dissertation process influenced me as a learner requires deep examination. The StrengthsQuest inventory indicated that I displayed the trait of a Learner as well as an Input. These traits share similar qualities. According to StrengthsQuest (2012), a Learner and an Input seek information and focus on the enhancement of skills and knowledge. I have a strong desire to know and learn information. I enjoy complex challenges that require timely yet thorough contemplation of the “ifs.” Learning is an excursion that will last a lifetime (Gill, 2010; Hutchens,

1998; StrengthsQuest, 2012). My learning is important to understand concepts at a deep level, allowing me to evaluate and analyze complexities. The dissertation process has taught me how to search, evaluate, and analyze evidence. My learning thrives when I am pushed or allowed to reflect and evaluate information objectively (Merriam & Bierema, 2014; Mezirow, 2009; Taylor, 2009). My commitment to learning is as natural as having a conversation.

The dissertation process has allowed me to have exchanges with others of varied backgrounds, races, and cultures. According to Bruffee (1999), conversations need to take place with groups that are diverse to expand our thinking. Conversational learning has allowed me to reflect and research information. Often, the information has challenged preexisting thoughts. Reflecting on information is essential to the learning process (Gill, 2010; Taylor, 2009). I am a learner committed to evolving. As a learner, I focus on challenging my thinking, having conversations with an assortment of people, and solving complex problems.

Change Agent

The dissertation process has taught me that change is a process. Northouse (2016) found that leadership is a process that leads to a transactional event between leaders and followers. According to Gill (2010), if one is not willing to change, they will be obsolete in their practices. I have had to lead change to adapt and thrive. I have led change while using a change model of awareness, desire, knowledge, ability, and reinforcement (ADKAR). The ADKAR model has provided structure for me to organize the work needed to ensure the change is sustainable. Practitioners who serve as leaders have an obligation to their organizations to be change agents (Ettling, 2012). As a change agent

for my practice, I have learned to develop a space that encourages growth. According to Ettling (2012), the practitioners of today allow people at all levels of an organization to critically examine the change process. The practices used have allowed the change to be shared by all members of the organization.

Leading change is challenging. The dissertation process has taught me that relationships are essential to leading change (Ettling, 2012). Having relationships that are built on breadth and depth will bind an organization or team together during difficult times. “Research indicates that establishing positive and productive relationships with others is one of the essential factors in a transformative experience” (Ettling, 2012, p. 540). Conflict will occur during times of change. Discomfort will produce learning (Bruffee, 1999; Ettling, 2012). The fortitude to delve into uncomfortable conversations and actions have proven successful in my work as a change agent.

Dissertation Process Influencing Scholarship

A scholar is a person who is a specialist in a specific field. The dissertation process has influenced my insatiable appetite to know more about policing and profiling. It has also allowed me to understand how to deploy information and evidence to influence change. The dissertation process has taught me to add to the literature and identify future research opportunities for other scholars to examine. Content and context of learning and being a learner as a scholar need to be explored to understand the influence of the dissertation process.

Content and Context of Learning

Today’s leaders are confronted with making critical decisions while using teams. Organizations must use collective knowledge to solve problems (Gill, 2010). Police

departments are under tremendous public scrutiny to respond to critical incidents in the correct manner on every occasion. Learning in organizations must be intentional. A culture that supports shared learning and growth at all levels of the organization is imperative (Caffaraella & Daffron, 2013; Gill, 2010; Mezirow, 2000). I have supported the implementation of learning sessions focused on evidence-based solutions that the collective unit desires to implement.

The dissertation process has allowed me seek out and evaluate effective practices in policing. Police leaders today need to focus on the content and context of learning to meet the needs of the communities being served. Organizations need to serve their communities (Gill, 2010). Connections must be made with adult learners' life experiences to be effective (Merriam & Bierema, 2014). The dissertation process allowed me to study deeply a phenomena that was important to me and connected with my life experiences. Organizations must research topics and shape learning through evidence. Those invested in the organization and collective learning will assist in the implementation of changes that will improve the organization (Mezirow, 2012).

Learner as Scholar

StrengthsQuest (2012) identified learning as a key strength of mine. "Learning requires taking risks, which means moving beyond our zone of comfort to stretch our capacity to engage in the world in new ways" (Cueva, 2010, p. 81). My leadership style has allowed me to challenge the strategies and tactics deployed to create an optimal learning environment. My style also encourages diversity of thought and the ability to share conversations and stories (Bruffee, 1999; Douglas & Peek, 2013). Creating learning spaces that have all of the desired pieces has been challenging. It has been

important to establish a shared vision for learning throughout my practice for it to be sustainable during times of stagnant growth. The dissertation process allowed me to feed my need to know while challenging how I am discovering truths.

Critical reflection for adult learners is essential. Making time for those in the organization to reflect on the work will lead to improvements. The dissertation process has taught me to make time to reflect on all aspects of my work, identifying strengths and opportunities for improvement. Adult learners learn and process information through multiple methods (Holmes, 2010; Hutchens, 1998). The dissertation process has allowed me to gain an understanding of the multiple methods of adult learning in the role I serve as a leader in the practice of policing. My knowledge level has been enhanced and the information I have learned through conversations, readings, activities, and reflection has shaped me as a scholarly practitioner.

Conclusion

The learning that has occurred through this program and the dissertation process has strengthened my life. The learning has allowed me to understand my strengths as well as challenges that will require me to continually seek evidenced approaches to improve. This experience has allowed me to grow as a learner while being reflective of my work. My leadership knowledge, skills, and abilities have increased significantly, aiding my practice. Baldwin (1993) stated “Ignorance aligned with power is the most furious enemy justice can have” (p. 241). As a scholar, I must work to eliminate ignorance from all aspects of my practice to provide justice for all. The cycle of improvement has to occur daily for me to be effective.

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APPENDIX A: RECRUITMENT SCRIPT

Hello, my name is Clarence Green. I am a doctoral student in the University of Missouri / Northwest Missouri State University Educational Leadership and Policy Analysis program. I am conducting research on Black law enforcement officers perceptions on racial profiling, and I am inviting you to participate.

Participation in this research includes a personal interview or focus group, which will take approximately 30 minutes.

If you have any questions or would like to participate in the research, I can be reached at 660.582.9643 or cgh59@mail.missouri.edu.

APPENDIX B: RECRUITMENT E-MAIL

Dear Participant:

My name is Clarence Green and I am conducting a study of Black law enforcement officers perceptions on racial profiling. This study, entitled, Black Law Enforcement Officers Perceptions of Racial Profiling is being conducted as a research project in the University of Missouri / Northwest Missouri State University Educational Leadership and Policy Analysis program as part of the dissertation process. The bounded case study will be used to provide explicit knowledge to others about perceptions of Black law enforcement officers as it pertains to racial profiling. The study will build upon social identity theory and the following key concepts: Black law enforcement officers, racial profiling, and occupational socialization. As a study participant, you will be asked to respond to questions related to racial profiling, occupational socialization, and black law enforcement officers. The time allowed for the focus group/individual interview is not expected to take longer than thirty minutes.

If you are interested in participating, please contact me at 660.582.9643 or cgh59@mail.missouri.edu for more information.

Clarence Green

APPENDIX C: INTERVIEW QUESTIONS

Overarching Research Question: What are Black law enforcement officers' perceptions of racial profiling?

1. Why did you want to be a law enforcement officer? (Intro for Interviews)
2. Define racial profiling?
3. Who do you think is profiled more –Blacks or Whites – and why?
4. If you believe you have been racially profiled before, describe what occurred?
5. Why does racial profiling occur?

Subresearch Question 1: To your knowledge to what extent has racial profiling and law enforcement misconduct been practiced in your agency?

1. If you have observed, describe how police officers practiced racial profiling?
2. Describe your agencies administrators perceptions of racial profiling?
3. How does your agency deal with racial profiling misconduct?
4. Explain your policy or procedure on racial profiling?

Subresearch Question 2: What perceptions do the Black and White communities you serve have about racial profiling?

1. Why do you live in the community? (Intro for focus group)
2. How much confidence do you have in law enforcement officers within your community? Please explain?
3. Have you personally ever seen/been a product of law enforcement or a law enforcement officer racially profiling someone? Describe the encounter?

4. How wide spread do you believe racial profiling by law enforcement officers is within the community?
5. Describe how Blacks are perceived within the community?

APPENDIX D: FOCUS GROUP QUESTIONS

FOCUS GROUP QUESTIONS

1. Why do you live in the community? (Intro for focus group)
2. How much confidence do you have in law enforcement officers within your community? Please explain?
3. Define racial profiling?
4. Have you personally ever seen/been a product of law enforcement or a law enforcement officer racially profiling someone? Describe the encounter?
5. How wide spread do you believe racial profiling by law enforcement officers is within the community?
6. Describe how Blacks are perceived within the community?

APPENDIX E: CHIEF OPERATING SUPPORT

Green Jr., Clarence

From: Randy Strong <rstrong@nodawaycountymo.us>
Sent: Tuesday, November 28, 2017 1:46 PM
To: Green Jr., Clarence
Subject: RE: Request

I am supportive of Clarence Green's study and will send the email to other agencies.

Sheriff Randy Strong
Nodaway County Sheriff's Office
404 North Vine Street
Maryville, MO 64468
Office: 660-582-7451
Fax: 660-582-8558

From: Green Jr., Clarence [mailto:CGreen@nwmissouri.edu]
Sent: Tuesday, November 28, 2017 12:40 PM
To: Randy Strong
Subject: Request

Dear Sheriff Randy Strong,

I am writing to ascertain your support in sending out the below reference recruitment email for a research study. The email will need to be sent to all of the chief operating officers of all law enforcement agencies within three counties in Missouri. If you support this study, I will provide you with all contact information for all agencies.

Thank you for your consideration.

Clarence Green

Recruitment Email

Dear Participant:

My name is Clarence Green and I am conducting a study of Black law enforcement officers perceptions on racial profiling. This study, entitled, Black Law Enforcement Officers Perceptions of Racial Profiling is being conducted as a research project in the University of Missouri / Northwest Missouri State University

Educational Leadership and Policy Analysis program as part of the dissertation process. The bounded case study will be used to provide explicit knowledge to others about perceptions of Black law enforcement officers as it pertains to racial profiling. The study will build upon social identity theory and the following key concepts: Black law enforcement officers, racial profiling, and occupational socialization. As a study participant, you will be asked to respond to questions related to racial profiling, occupational socialization, and black law enforcement officers. The time allowed for the focus group/individual interview is not expected to take longer than thirty minutes.

If you are interested in participating, please contact me at 660.582.9643 or cgh59@mail.missouri.edu for more information.

Clarence Green

**APPENDIX F: UNIVERSITY OF MISSOURI, COLUMBIA,
INSTITUTIONAL REVIEW BOARD APPROVAL**

**Institutional Review Board
University of Missouri-Columbia**

190 Galena Hall
Columbia, MO 65201
573-882-3181
irb@missouri.edu

December 21, 2017

Principal Investigator: Clarence Green
Department: Educational Leadership-EDD

Your IRB Application to project entitled Black Law Enforcement Officers Perceptions of Racial Profiling was reviewed and approved by the MU Institutional Review Board according to the terms and conditions described below:

IRB Project Number	2010071
IRB Review Number	232288
Initial Application Approval Date	December 20, 2017
IRB Expiration Date	December 20, 2018
Level of Review	Expedited
Project Status	Active - Open to Enrollment
Expedited Categories	45 CFR 46.110.a(f)(6) 45 CFR 46.110.a(f)(7)
Risk Level	Minimal Risk
Type of Consent	Consent with Waiver of Documentation
Internal Funding	Personal funds

The principal investigator (PI) is responsible for all aspects and conduct of this study. The PI must comply with the following conditions of the approval:

1. No subjects may be involved in any study procedure prior to the IRB approval date or after the expiration date.
2. All unanticipated problems and deviations must be reported to the IRB within 5 business days.
3. All changes must be IRB approved prior to implementation unless they are intended to reduce immediate risk.
4. All recruitment materials and methods must be approved by the IRB prior to being used.
5. The Continuing Review Report (CRR) must be submitted to the IRB for review and approval at least 30 days prior to the project expiration date. If the study is complete, the Completion/Withdrawal Form may be submitted in lieu of the CRR.
6. Maintain all research records for a period of seven years from the project completion date.
7. Utilize the IRB stamped consent documents and other approved research documents

located within the document storage section of eCompliance. These documents are highlighted green.

If you are offering subject payments and would like more information about research participant payments, please click here to view the MU Business Policy and Procedure: http://bppm.missouri.edu/chapter2/2_250.html

If you have any questions, please contact the IRB at 573-882-3181 or irb@missouri.edu.

Thank you,
MU Institutional Review Board

APPENDIX G: WAIVER OF DOCUMENTATION OF CONSENT

WAIVER OF DOCUMENTATION OF CONSENT

INVESTIGATOR'S NAME: CLARENCE GREEN JR.

PROJECT # 2010071

STUDY TITLE: BLACK LAW ENFORCEMENT OFFICERS PERCEPTIONS OF RACIAL PROFILING

1. I would like to ask you to participate in a study that involves research.
2. Participation is voluntary and your decision not to participate will not involve any penalty or loss of benefits.
3. For this study, interviews and/or focus groups will be conducted. All interviews and focus groups will last thirty minutes. Pseudonyms will be used on all transcripts of interviews and focus groups throughout the research.
4. A focus group is a group interview that will take place with four or eight people. During this group interview, participants will be asked a series of questions about their perceptions of racial profiling. Focus groups will last thirty minutes. If you choose to participate in a focus group, all information should be kept confidential. Please do not share any of the information that you hear while in the focus group, outside of the focus group.
5. The purpose of our study is to provide explicit knowledge to others about perceptions of Black law enforcement officers as it pertains to racial profiling. The study will build upon social identity theory and the following key concepts: Black law enforcement officers, racial profiling, and occupational socialization.
6. We are asking approximately twenty subjects to participate in interviews and sixteen or twenty-four in focus groups for this study. Some subjects will participate in both an interview and a focus group, thus requiring sixty minutes of time for those that participate in both.
7. While on the study, if you participate in a focus group you will have social and financial/career risk. A breach of confidentiality could occur while participating with a focus group and someone could associate your identity with your response. Those that participate could share the content of the discussions with non-participants. If someone expresses a controversial or distasteful viewpoint in the group, and that viewpoint is shared outside the group, then this could impact how that person is perceived. The investigator will make every effort to keep your information confidential. You should discuss these with the investigator. The law enforcement agency will be referred to with a pseudonym throughout the research process.
8. All published quotes used from interviews or focus groups will utilize pseudonyms throughout the document. All precautions will be taken to ensure confidentiality. If you agree to take part in this study, there are no personal benefits. Society will benefit from this study as it will contribute to the understanding of Black law enforcement officers' perceptions regarding racial profiling. Valuable insights of the socialization that takes place with law enforcement officers will also benefit society. Policy makers will also have key insights from those that have lived experience.

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9. If you choose to participate, all data will be kept confidential. All data will be stored within a safe within a secured room that only the investigator has keyed access. An audio recording of all interviews and focus groups will be taken. All interview transcripts will be provided to you for validation.
10. If you have any questions regarding your rights as a participant in this research and/or concerns about the study, or if you feel under any pressure to enroll or to continue to participate in this study, you may contact the University of Missouri Campus Institutional Review Board (which is a group of people who review the research studies to protect participants' rights) at (573) 882-3181.
11. If you have any problems or questions, you may contact Clarence Green Jr, Investigator at 660.582.9643
12. I would be happy to answer any questions that you may have.
13. A copy of this script will be given to you to keep.

IRB Approved Date 12/20/2017
Expiration Date 12/20/2018
Project #2010071

APPENDIX H: MISSOURI STATE UNIVERSITY, NORTHWEST, INSTITUTIONAL REVIEW BOARD APPROVAL

Institutional Review Board

Vice President for Finance
117 Administration Building
660.562.1440 office
660.562.1400 fax

Northwest
focuses on
student success –
every student,
every day.

800 University Drive
Maryville, MO 64468-6001
www.nwmissouri.edu

Date: 4 December 2018

IRB Project #: 1718-030

Primary Investigator: Clarence Green, Jr.

Project Title: Black Law Enforcement Officers Perceptions of Racial Profiling

The Institutional Review Board has **approved** your research proposal.

You are required to submit a status report to the IRB Chair on several occasions. The status report form is available on the IRB website.

- If your methodology changes, you must file a status report within 10 days.
- If negative incidents pertaining to human participants occur, you must file a status report within 10 days.
- Upon completion of your project, you must file a status report.
- At the end of your approved research period, you may file a status report to request additional time.

Please contact us at IRBNWMS@nwmissouri.edu if you have any questions or concerns, and please include your IRB Project number in all correspondence.

Thank you for your interest in research at Northwest Missouri State University. We wish you the best with your important research.

Regards,

Dr. James H. Campbell
Chair, Institutional Review Board AY2017-18

VITA

Clarence Green Jr. was the middle child and only son of three. Clarence was raised in E. St. Louis, Illinois where he was an eclectic learner that read Harlequin Romance novels. Clarence received an athletic scholarship to play football that allowed him to attend college. While in college, Clarence's hunger for knowledge was fed with the vast amount of educational opportunities. Clarence had always served as a leader whether it was athletics, academics, or the streets. His skill set allowed him to complete a master's of higher education leadership while working full-time as well as raising four children. Clarence serves as a police chief for a rural Midwestern higher education institution. His work as police chief and a senior leader has afforded him many experiences. His new knowledge learned through the doctorate program will lend itself well to improving his practice and organization.