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Police Ethnicity and Anomie: Exploring Organizational Adaptation Strategies among African

American Police Officers in Relation to a Socially Constructed Double Consciousness

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North Carolina A&T State University

A dissertation submitted to the graduate faculty

in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of

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Major Professor: Dr. Comfort Okpala

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2014

The Graduate School
North Carolina Agricultural and Technical State University
This is to certify that the Doctoral Dissertation of

Warren V. Dukes

has met the dissertation requirements of
North Carolina Agricultural and Technical State University

Greensboro, North Carolina
2014

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Biographical Sketch

Warren V. Dukes is a native of Raeford, North Carolina. He received his Bachelor of Science degree in Criminal Justice from North Carolina Central University in Durham, North Carolina. He earned his Master of Science degree in Criminal Justice from Michigan State University, located in East Lansing, Michigan. His research thesis, which originated at the North Carolina Justice Academy in Salemburg, North Carolina explored Factors that Influence Tactical Decision Making among North Carolina Police Officers. His first professional experience began as a Correction Officer at Central Prison – a male maximum-security prison located in Raleigh, North Carolina. He began his teaching career as a Criminal Justice Instructor at Durham Technical Community College. In January 2001, Warren V. Dukes accepted the position of Adjunct Professor and Curriculum Coordinator at Saint Augustine's University. Since 2003, he has been employed as Assistant Professor of Criminal Justice at Saint Augustine's University.

Warren V. Dukes enrolled in the Leadership Studies doctoral degree program during the 2011 fall semester. His research focus explores police ethnicity through examining organizational adaptation strategies among African American police officers in relation to double consciousness. He has presented his study at state and national conferences, which include the North Carolina Criminal Justice Association (NCCJA), Academy of Criminal Justice Sciences (ACJS), National Association of African American Studies an Affiliates (NAAAS), and the National Organization of Black Law Enforcement Executives (NOBLE).

Dedication

I would like to dedicate this study to the many state, local, and federal African American law enforcement officers who personify the exemplary professional character of being an African American officer. Your devotion to the policing profession is commendable.

To my family: Wendy, and our two beautiful children Camryn, and Jackson. Your sacrifices during this journey is recognized and appreciated.

This study is dedicated in special memory of Mr. Matthew Mangram (1994 – 2014) – a young man who was preparing his life for a long-term career in law enforcement. The law enforcement profession is deprived of your passion, and integrity.

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This research is made possible through the support of several NOBLE members and I would like to record my thanks to them. First and foremost, I am thankful to Mr. Joseph Ackers former Executive Director for NOBLE. Thank you for your kindness and generosity in making possible my opportunity to attend the NOBLE national conference. My thoughts and prayers are with you for a swift and successful recovery. Special thanks are given to Ms. Rosalynn Fenner and Ms. Yvette Strong for your individual support and assistance during the NOBLE conference. I am enormously grateful to each of the NOBLE members who took time to participate in this study.

Finally, I would like to express my deepest appreciation to my committee chairperson Dr. Comfort Okpala for your support, encouragements, and guidance. Special appreciation is given to Dr. Mengie Michaux Parker, an intellectual scholar and friend. This project would not hold much merit absent your attentiveness in assisting me from start to finish. Thank you to Chancellor Emeritus Dr. Edward Fort and Dr. Linda Hopson for your individual contributions.

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Abstract

The emergence of African American police officers derived from consequences of urban unrests during the 1960's as a probable resolution to frayed police-community relations in predominately African American communities. African American representativeness in policing was theorized to progress a racially charged police culture that was permeating the police profession. Yet, recent media reports of police involved homicides in Staten Island, New York, Ferguson, Missouri, and Glendale, Arizona have evidenced shortcomings of African American representativeness in shaping police cultures. Since African American police representativeness has come short of its objective of affecting police cultures, what has been the impact of police cultures in shaping the work experiences of African American officers? The current study correlates anomie and double consciousness to explain the organizational adaptation strategies specific to African American police officers that define police ethnicity. Police ethnicity was conceptualized to contain five categories of personality types to include conformist, innovationist, ritualist, retreatist, and rebellion police behaviors. Ordinary Least Squares Regression modeling was used with a sample of 84 African American law enforcement officers from across the United States. The results revealed that double consciousness is a statistically significant predictor of ritualist, retreatist, and rebellion officer behavior. The findings further suggest that race remains a significant factor in police organizations and cultures–although it is desirable for police executives to believe minority representation has resolved the issue of race in policing.

CHAPTER 1

Introduction

Recent media reports on police involved killings of African American citizens have renewed attention on the problems of police-community relations in predominately African American communities. An eminent viewpoint held by policy makers during the police professionalism era during the 1970's posited that police agencies with greater African American police representativeness would assist in improving police-community relationships while simultaneously dismantling the culture of violence permeating police organizations. Yet, with these most recent reports of police-citizens related homicides in Staten Island, New York and Ferguson, Missouri, it has become increasingly apparent that minority representativeness has come short of its intended purpose. Thus, the shortcomings of African American police representativeness have generated a renewed interest on the impact of police occupational cultures on African American officers' integration into police organizations. The objective of this current study is to explore the impact of police occupational cultures to measure the importance of police officer ethnicity in shaping police officer's occupational work behaviors.

American police departments are far more racially integrated today than they were in the 1960s (Sklansky, 2006). In his 2007 Bureau of Justice Statistics (BJS) publication on Local Police Departments, Reaves reported the total number of African American police officers that year was estimated at 55,267 making up 11.9% of the national police force – a reported 5% increase from 2003 where African American police officer representation was reported at approximately 52,867 officers. Britz (1997) posits that "traditionally, individuals entering the police organization were predominately young, uneducated, white males frequently from a

'police family'" (p. 130). This traditional homogeneity heritage perpetuated the police subculture (Britz, 1997).

Stokes (as cited in Smith, 2003) implies the "issue of minority representation in policing received increased attention following the urban unrest of the 1960s" (p. 150). Wietzer (2000) references the President's Commission on Law Enforcement and Criminal Justice (1967) and Kerner Commission on Civil Disorders (1968) as catalysts to the integration of African Americans into the policing profession in response to urban city riots during the 1960s. Smith (2003) observes, "commissions charged with studying the disturbances pointed to the long-standing tensions between police and citizens as part of the underlying cause of riots" (p. 150).

These combined reports described the precipitous actions of White police officers in perpetuating violent clashes with members of the African American communities. The Kerner Commission on Civil Disorders (1968) report (as cited in Weitzer, 2000) referred to these White police officers as an "army of occupation" that was despised in Black neighborhoods. Many police departments in large metropolitan areas throughout the nation began to recruit and hire African Americans as a partial response to the inner city riots of the 1960s (Sun, 2003). Smith (2003) finds that "minority representation on municipal police forces began to increase slowly in the 1970's" (p. 150). During the 1970s, African Americans were approximately six percent of sworn police officers in the nation's largest police departments, whereas the current figure is around eighteen percent (Sklanski, 2006). Reaves & Goldberg (as cited in Smith, 2003) state, "by 1987, racial and ethnic minorities made up 14.6% of local police agencies sworn personnel. This number increased to 17% by 1990 and up to 19.1% in 1993" (p. 150).

The increased presence of African American police officers nationally has influenced the emergence of diversity related literature that attempts to explain the work experiences of

African American police officers'. As asserted by Sun and Payne (2004), "although still under-researched, Black officers have been the subject of a line of inquiry that have studied the historical development of blacks in law enforcement industry, and the marginality and discrimination experienced by Black police officers" (p.516). Sun (2003) categorizes three distinct arenas for available literature on African American police officers as existing in (a) describing marginality and discrimination, (b) historical development of Blacks in law enforcement, and (c) attitudinal/behavioral differences or the interactions between Black and White officers. The third line of inquiry, attitudinal differences and racial identity in policing has surfaced as a new form of literature seeking to understand African American police officers' experiences within a historically White-male dominated organization. Sun (2003) further adds these literatures, although inconsistent in their findings, serve merely to examine differences among White and African American police officers in the area of job-related policing attitudes (Sun, 2003).

Upon an examination of these new ethnic-based studies focusing on the role of race and African American police officer's experiences, this present study concluded that little regard was given to understanding the African American police officer's organizational adaptation strategies as these officers are attempting to integrate into the predominantly White-male police organizational structure. Britz (1997), in his critique of prior studies on police subcultures, suggests, "the possibility that the individual member is merely playing a role or displaying individual adaptive techniques, uniquely to race or gender expectations, has not been explored" (p. 130). Accordingly, the African American police officers' strategies for organizational adaptation is an area of study that this researcher believes is important for understanding the true nature of the African American police officer's true work experiences. A research study

that focuses specifically on delineating particular strategies of organizational adaptation among police officers will provide greater enlightenment on the impact of organizational cultures in shaping ethnic identifications, which differentiate African American and White police officer work experiences– thus defining a *police-ethnicity*.

In addition, the particular integration experiences of African American police officers would lend support for understanding the specific role of race in explaining job-related experiences among White and African American police officers. Therefore, this study makes a necessary distinction on the meaning of integration when applying this term to African American police officers. Accordingly, this research defines integration to afford cultural representation of the African American police officer to have membership within the police organization for the purpose of symbolic representation. Cultural representation does not require police departments to perform any measure of adaptation. However, there is an inherent pre-requisite for African American police officers to adapt to both formal and informal police cultures. As acknowledged by Sklansky (2004) "blue is blue: the job shapes the officer, not the other way around". Police officers of all kinds are assumed to make peace with the "White", masculine, heterosexual ethos' of policing, or to have difficulty lasting" (p. 1210-1211). Therefore, African American police officers are expected to integrate, as well as assimilate, into the status quo policing system that is defined through expectations of the White-male value structure.

1.1 Statement of the Problem

Though much has been written on the work experiences of African American police officers little attention has been given to understanding the impacts of these officers' cultural integration experiences, thus creating a vacuum of relevant literature explaining the holistic

experiences of African American police officers. Existing literature on the working behaviors of

police officers are deprived of a fundamental understanding of the role and purpose of police

officers' ethnicity in shaping these organizational behaviors. As asserted by Britz (2003), "few

studies have considered the effect of socialization on these newcomers who have entered a

culture often characterized as overtly chauvinistic and racist" (p. 130). Most importantly, there

is a real lack of understanding relative to the role of double-consciousness in applying to the

work behaviors of black police officers. Absent the existence of an ethnic-identification

framework, we cannot begin to truly understand the African American police officer's

experiences.

Ethnic identification and the work experience of African American police officers is an

area of study that can enrich the understanding of the workplace as inseparable to the ethnic and

cultural experiences of its employees. It is important to understand the role of ethnic

identification as significant factors that motivate police officers to act in the context of police-

related work situations.

1.2 Purpose of the Study

This study explored organizational adaptation strategies specific to African American

police officers in the context of a socially defined double-consciousness to explain the specific

integration experiences of these officers, thus defining a police-ethnicity. Police-ethnicity was

explained to describe the ethnic-work experiences specific to African American police officers

while these officers are found to function in the context of police work. More specifically, this

study posited that African American police officers adopt various adaptation strategies while

integrating into the role of policing as a consequence of structural impediments existing in police

organizational cultures which value White-male policing ethos. Hence, this research considered

both formal and informal police cultures to be relevant contributors in the development of a police-ethnicity in which both are instrumental factors in the formation of African American police officers' double-consciousness awareness.

Police ethnicity factors were shown to exist within the context of African American police officers' double-consciousness that is rooted in the historical traditions of the American policing system. Identifying police-ethnicity factors assists in understanding the structural impediments that negatively impact African American police officers' professional mobility, retention strategies, and the effects of organizational cultures contributing to ethnic-based work behaviors – thus ethnic-boundaries.

1.3 Justification for the Study

This study identified police-ethnicity as a multidimensional set of contextual frames that can be used to understand African American police officers' professional experiences. Understanding these factors will provide predictors in determining areas of concern for police organization managers to aide in awareness and professional needs of individual officers. Second, this study explained African American police officer's occupational strain (anomie) in association with a W. E. B. Du Bois defined double-consciousness, which is instrumental in the development of police ethnicity. Finally, this study is proposed to assist in bridging the gap in literature on ethnic-identification as a central theme on understanding the contextual structure of the police organization in shaping workplace behaviors. The potential threat of police officer alienation could negatively affect the professional mobility of some of these officers leading to community abuses and separation from the police force.

1.4 Theoretical Framework

Robert K. Merton's (1938) Instrumental Anomie and Differential Opportunity Structures theory guides the development of this research in determining which factors affect the double-consciousness of black police officers attributing to a police ethnicity. Instrumental anomie is traditionally a *criminogenic* strain theory that assumes crime is a normal reaction to abnormal social conditions (as cited in Lanier and Henry, 2004). Taken as a whole, strain theory describes the interplay between social structures, cultural context, and individual actions (Lanier and Henry, 2004; 234). Merton's (1938) theory of anomie deviates from traditional views by stating the importance of "differential access to opportunity structures" to explain that antisocial behaviors are products of blocked access to socially accepted goals and means defining success (as cited in Lanier and Henry, 2004, p. 238). The model of the instrumental anomie theory encompasses the correlation between the police organizational cultures (formal and informal), societal structure, and black police officer behavior.

1.4.1 Underlying Assumptions of Instrumental Anomie.

The underlying assumption of Robert Merton's (1938) instrumental anomie theory is that "humans act rationally and have self-serving motivations for their behavior, not in the utilitarian sense of having free-will, but as actors who's choice of behaviors is influenced by social structures, cultural definitions and interactive processes" (as cited in Lanier and Henry, 2004; p. 235). Merton (1938) uses the concept of *relative deprivation* to explain how a "class structure involving differential access to the approved opportunities for legitimate pursuit of cultural goals produces antisocial behavior" (as cited in Lanier and Henry, p. 240). Thus, "when individuals are socialized to accept the goals of material wealth and upward social mobility but, due to their disadvantaged economic position, are unable to obtain the resources (means) to achieve these

goals, they may cope in several ways, some of which involve crime" (as cited in Lanier and Henry, 2008, p. 240). In his articulation of instrumental anomie, Merton (1938) uses monetary success as a mere illustration of the development of strain in a capitalist driven society but, as Lanier and Henry (2004) states, Merton also "asserted that 'cultural success goal' could be substituted for money with the same result" (p. 239).

This research study explores the concept of police ethnicity by examining the significance of race, which is instrumental in the construction of African American police officers' double-consciousness. Thus, the importance of race will be established to explain how police ethnicity is the result of African American police officers' differential work experiences while integrating into the formal and informal police organization cultures. Merton's theory of anomie presents the desired framework to explain strain producing 'anomie' specific to African American police officers as these officers are attempting to negotiate the intersections of both organizational and community cultures. Specifically, Merton's five adaptation responses to strain (anomie) will prove significant in the classification of African American police officer's responses in identifying with a specific type police ethnicity.

1.4.2 Structure of the Theory.

The structure of Merton's (1938) instrumental anomie theory is based on five adaptations - conformity, innovation, ritualism, retreatism and rebellion to define how individuals respond to differential opportunity structures (as cited in Lanier and Henry, 2004). This theory is originally devised to explain strain in macro-systems, and is thought to be sufficient in studying the existence of strain experienced by individuals in micro-level organizations. This current research study postulates that all five adaptation variables are relevant for defining the African American police officer's double-consciousness, and identifiable police-ethnicity. Therefore,

this study identifies five unique police adaptation behaviors, and specifies those adaptation strategies that define African American police officer's double consciousness, thus police ethnicity.

Merton (1938) defines conformist as those individuals who accept the goals of society and the legitimate means of acquiring these goals (Lanier and Henry, 2004). According to the theory, "actual success is not necessary, so long as the conformists continues to make the effort and plays by the rules" (as cited in Lanier and Henry, 2004, p. 240). Hence, conformist police officer behavior will be identified as African American police officer's who desire to fit the mold of existing police cultures.

Innovation adaptation strategy is defined as those persons who accept the goal of achieving success, but significantly reject or alter the means of acquiring the goals (Lanier and Henry, 2004). According to Lanier and Henry (2004), people with innovation behaviors will "seek innovative ways to success, which are often illegitimate" (p. 240). Thus, police officer innovation behavior will be defined as African American police officer's who embrace the mission and purpose of policing that is defined through the expectations of the police organization structure, but have adopted separate methodologies for achieving those policing goals. Police officers exhibiting innovative behaviors are adapting to a changing environment and sees traditional means of his/her white counterpart is incompatible with their experiences. These officers will give greater consideration to a policing methodology that is governed by diplomacy, community engagement, and a greater police responsiveness behavior that is less tactical.

The ritualist rejects societal goals but accepts the means, as these persons realize they will never achieve the goals due to personal inability, or other factors (Lanier, 2004). Merton

would argue that these actions are deviant because the cultural demands for persons to strive to get ahead, not accepting failure or doing enough just to get by (Lanier, 2004). Ritualist police officers are described in this current study as those officers who are withdrawn from the prescribed organization cultures (formal and informal), yet desire to continue in their current police role. These officers believe that the culture of the police organization is defined through differential opportunities for promotion and advancement, and is resolved to completing tasks while remaining under the radar. The ritualist African American police officer is viewed as a "token cop" within the agency, and black community, whereas these dual token perceptions create a *double-consciousness convergence*.

Retreatist adaptation strategy is defined as individuals who "reject both the goals of society and the legitimate means to attain them" (Lanier and Henry, 2004, p. 241). Lanier and Henry (2004) finds this adaptation mode is most likely chosen "when the socially approved means are perceived as being unlikely to result in success and the conventional goals are seen as unattainable" (p. 241). On the micro-scale, these individuals experience strain from a realization that prescribed organizational goals and defined means for achieving successful goals are incompatible with their available resources. Consequently, the emotions of denied gratification from failed attempts at following prescribed rules have caused these persons to become disheartened, and dissatisfied. Hence, this current study defines retreatist African American police officers are those officers who experience structural impediments within the police organization that are preventive of his/her successful performance of their work as police. These officers are found to succumb to pressures of rejection and alienation. These officers are alienated from both the formal and informal organization cultures, and the black community. Retreatist African American police officers are also viewed as a "token cop" within the agency,

and "lazy token" within black community. These dual token perceptions create a *double consciousness convergence*.

Rebellion adaptation strategy is defined as persons who not only "reject conventional goals and means, but also replace them with new ones" (Lanier and Henry, 2004, p. 241). Rebellious police officer behavior could be either positive or negative. Positive rebellion police behaviors are defined those that are contradictory to an existing negative police subculture. Negative rebellion police officer behaviors are defined as those that correspond with expectations of the existing negative police cultures. Negative police cultures are defined by a code of silence, which function as a bond that protects the police brotherhood. Rebellion African American police officers will exhibit either a positive or negative rebellion behavior given their particular experiences in their respective departments. Negative rebellious officers will exhibit behaviors that embrace the "us versus them" police personality whereas positive rebellious African American police officers will exhibit behaviors that rebel against a negative informal organization culture. When African American police officers embrace a negative police subculture they are seen as "smart cops" in the eyes of his white counterparts, while seen as "dirty cops" in the African American community.

Table 1 provides a graphic presentation of the theoretical framework for this research and describes the relationship between police ethnicity, anomie, and double consciousness. A conceptual application for each anomie construct is defined and operationalized to explain the linkage that bounds anomie, police ethnicity, and double-consciousness. As described in the table, African American police officers' double-consciousness is defined through the various strains (anomie) experienced during organizational adaptation. Both ritualist and retreatist modes of adaptation are attributed to differential race experiences and require these police officers to

adapt to a revised set of policing expectations. Comparatively, the rebellious African American police officers' is functioning in opposition to traditional methods and have adopted new methodologies for policing. It is the simultaneous presence of strain and double consciousness that require adaptation strategies among these officers.

Table 1

Anomie and Police Ethnicity framework

Adaptation Strategy	Theoretical Framework	Double Consciousness	Police Ethnicity
Conformist	Accept the goals of policing defined by the formal police organization and the legitimate means of acquiring these goals.	African American police officers functioning in the role of conformists will perform their work within the expectations of the formal police organization.	Police Officer has successfully integrated within the formal police organization culture.
Innovation	Accept the formal goal of policing defined through the police organization but significantly reject or alter the means of acquiring the goals.	African American police officers adapting to a changing environment and sees traditional means of his/her white counterpart is incompatible with their experiences.	The recognized differential policing experiences to their White counterparts require African American officers to alternate the means of policing to achieve the desired organizational policing goals.
Ritualist	Rejects policing goals but accepts the means of policing, as these persons realize they will never achieve the goals due to personal inability, or other factors.	African American police officers' differential policing experiences are attributed to their race/ethnicity. These officers' are complacent in current police role.	Police Officer has experiences of being a "token cop" within the agency. These officers self-alienate from the majority White-male police culture and co-mingle with other African American officers.
Retreatism	Rejects both the goals of policing established through the police organization and the legitimate means to attain them.	African American police officers experiencing role conflict and/or relative deprivation to their White police counterpart with regard to policing authority.	"I Had Enough!" Unfavorable work conditions and experiences force officers to withdraw from previously defined professional aspirations.
Rebellion	Reject conventional goals of policing and means of achieving the goals, but also replace them with new ones (positive or negative replacement)	African American police officers have rejected traditional policing philosophies and methods and have replaced traditional policing with ones consistent with their experiences.	"Do It My Way". Officers redefine a new policing purpose and method of policing separate from White officers that best suite their experiences.

There is one notable weakness associated with instrumental anomie theory that is identified by Adler and Laufer (1995). They assert that the theory "fails to differentiate between aspirations (desired goals) and expectations (probable accomplishments)" (as cited in Lanier and Henry, 2004, p. 242). Yet, Merton's (1938) instrumental anomie theory provides the best in-depth framework in researching the factors of a socially constructed African American police officer double-consciousness and police-ethnicity.

1.5 Conceptual Framework

This study operates within the framework of four research questions. These research questions are centered on identifying the influence of double consciousness in shaping the work experiences among African American police officers. Five dependent variables have been identified using Merton's (1938) adaptation strategies: conformist, retreatist, innovation, ritualist, and rebellion. These variables are considered relevant in locating the influence of double consciousness, thus defining police ethnicity. The following research questions guides this research:

1. What is the relationship between anomie (adaptations to organizational structure/culture) and double consciousness (ethnicity-based work experience)?
   a. What is the relationship between African American police officers' conformist adaptation and double consciousness?

   b. What is the relationship between African American police officer's innovation adaptation and double consciousness?

   c. What is the relationship between African American police officer's ritualist adaptation and double consciousness?

   d. What is the relationship between African American police officer's retreatist adaptation and double consciousness?

   e. What is the relationship between African American police officer's rebellion work behavior and double consciousness?

2. How do these relationships in Question 1vary by demographic variables (rank, age, gender, geographic region, time in years as police, time in years at current agency)?

Figure 1 presents a conceptual model for visualizing the importance of double consciousness in framing police ethnicity as resulting from police officer's interactions with both organization cultures, and the general community.
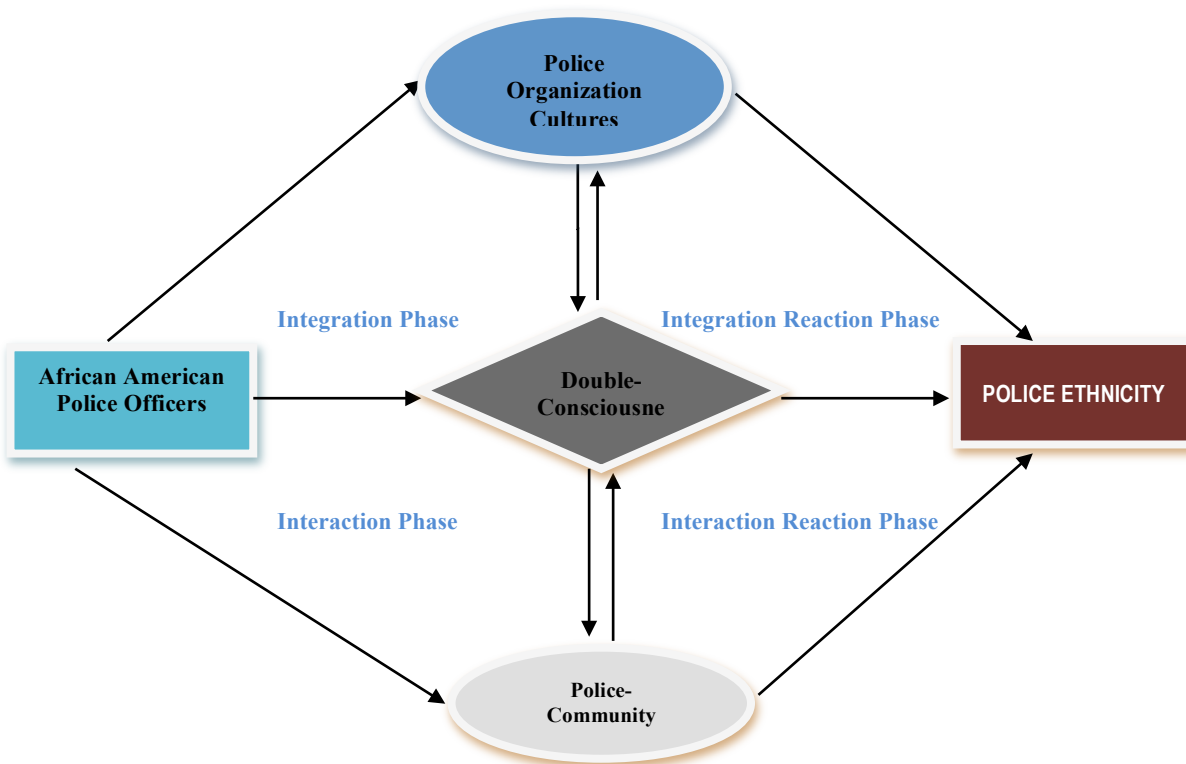
Figure 1. Police Ethnicity Conceptual Model

This conceptual model suggests that race and ethnic-identification are relevant factors in defining African American police officers' work experiences. A point of awareness occurs among African American officers as these officers realize there are systemic and structural impediments within the organization that are attributed to their race. These impediments, coupled with their community experiences, negatively affect these officers' job performance, as well their professional mobility. Consequently, these officers experience strain (anomie) in the reaction phase and must adopt a strategy for success specific to their organizational experiences.

Therefore, double consciousness arises in the form of strain when African American officers are made aware that structural impediments within the organization affecting their professional development are attributed to race. Conclusively, the model explains the linkage that bound anomie, police ethnicity, and double-consciousness.

1.6 Goals and Objectives

The stated goals and objectives for this study are provided below to better assist in understanding the organizational adaptation strategies among African American police officers. First, the stated objectives will articulate the specific purpose for converting the macro-level anomie theory constructs into a micro-level scale for measuring strain in police officers. Lastly, the stated goals will define the process for defining African American police officers' double consciousness through the various stages of strain (anomie). The goals and objectives of this research study are:

1.6.1 Objectives of the Study

1. To explain African American police officers' *conformist* behavior as an adaptation strategy to both formal and informal police cultures.

2. To explain African American police officers' *innovation* behavior as an adaptation strategy to both formal and informal police cultures.

3. To explain African American police officers' *ritualist* behavior as an adaptation strategy to both formal and informal police cultures.

4. To explain African American police officers' *retreatist* behavior as an adaptation strategy to both formal and informal police cultures.

5. To explain African American police officers' *rebellion* behavior as an adaptation strategy to both formal and informal police cultures.

1.6.2 Goals of the Study

The goals of this study are stated in the form of testable hypotheses. The research

hypotheses are derived from previously stated objectives of the study, which are:

H_1.   There is a statistical significant relationship between conformist police behavior

         and double consciousness.

H_2.   There is a statistical significant relationship between retreatist police behavior and

         double consciousness.

H_3.   There is a statistical significant relationship between innovation police behavior

         and double consciousness.

H_4.   There is a statistical significant relationship between ritualist police behavior and

         double consciousness.

H_5.   There is a statistical significant relationship between rebellion behavior and

         double consciousness.

1.7 Significance of the Study

This research contributes significantly to the field of policing. First, this research will be

important in discovering areas of research not previously considered that best assists in

understanding the police personality, and the significant role of race in police organizational

cultures. Also, this research has importance in relating to the professional developmental needs

of African American and other minority police officers within the police organization where the

politics of race and cultures become counterproductive to growth. A final area of importance for

this research is the potential amounts of data that can be obtained for further research on the

experiences of black police officers with respect to ethnic identification and employment.

1.8 Limitations of the Study

One identified limitation of this study is the composite sample of African American police officers. This study is reliant upon officers at various ranks and tenure for measuring the relationship between the dependent and independent variables. A simple random sampling of National Organization of Black Law Enforcement Executives (NOBLE) conference attendees produced a significant number of line officers and police executive members for study relevance. Second, although the obtained sample was significant enough for the results of this study to be generalized to the targeted population, a equal portion of officers sampled from each of the six regions would have allowed for greater comparisons of behaviors across the United States. A final limitation is the use of a self-administered survey questionnaire. Although respondents were informed on the basis of confidentiality, they may have responded in a way that is desirable for their professional comforts. Some respondents may not be completely honest on certain areas of the questionnaire that require them to assess personal and witnessed police misconduct.

1.9 Definition of Terms

The following terms are used throughout the study:

1. ***Anomie*** is defined as inadequate and inappropriate social control resulting from a person being unable to adjust to a rapid change within their environment (Currin & Renzetti, 2001).

2. ***Double consciousness*** is defined in the works of W. E. B. Dubois (1932) in describing the African American as "born with a veil, and gifted with second sight in this American world, -a world which yields him no true self-consciousness, but only lets him see himself through the revelation of the other world" (p. 45). Double consciousness is used in the context of this research to explain the resulting African American police officer's

ethnic work experiences (police ethnicity) are derived from differential work experiences between African American and White police officers.

3. ***Police ethnicity*** is a way of seeing the employment experiences of Black police officers, that may well be based on processes spanning a multitude of contexts within which claims of ethnic and racialized identities are made (Holdaway & O'Neil, 2006).

4. ***Stress*** is divided into organizational stressors and inherent police stressors. Inherent stressors refer to events normally happening within police work that have the potential to be psychologically and physically harmful to the officer, and organizational stressors refer to policies and practices of the police department (Dowler, 2005).

The following chapter discusses relevant literature relating to African American police officers' work experiences. Next, the research methodology chapter is provided to explain the research design, sample, instrumentation, data collection, and data analyses procedures that were used to measure the existence of police ethnicity and double consciousness. Chapter 4 includes discussions on relevant findings discovered through hypotheses testing. Finally, Chapter 5 provides a discussion on future research implications. The problem statement and research hypotheses are revisited to provide a basis linking the research objectives and findings. Next, a presentation on police ethnicity is discussed to implicate the empirical findings of this study to the research of Holdaway and O'Neill's (2006). Finally, in the conclusion section, an overview on the importance of this study in provided to explain its empirical contribution to further advancing police executive decision-making, and police professionalism.

CHAPTER 2

Literature Review

This study examines the relationship between anomie and police ethnicity among African American police officers in an effort to define ethnic-based work behaviors specific to these officers as they adapt to a pre-dominantly white male police organization. This chapter explores relevant literature from research studies that relate to the major themes of this research, which include police ethnicity, organizational culture, and anomie. Additionally, this section provides a comprehensive explanation to the role of double consciousness as a significant contributor to the formation of a police ethnicity.

The rationale for pursuing this specific research study is grounded in findings of Sun & Payne (2004) as they emphasize that earlier studies primarily focused on African American police officer's work experiences in regards to marginality and discrimination experiences, behavioral and attitudinal differences, or the interactions between Black and White police officers (Sun & Payne, 2004, 516). Consequently, specific stories describing the full experiences of the African American police officers' integration into police organizations have not been completely explained. In an effort to bridge this gap in understanding, this research postulates a need for examining adaptation strategies employed by African American police officers that completely explains their integration process into police organizational cultures. Each of the five tenets of this anomie theory will be explored throughout this literature review.

2.1 Historical Overview of the African American Police Officer

The integration of African American police officers in police organizations was observed during the World War I era (Walker & Katz, 2005). During this period, African American police officers were hired in some northern and western cities with limited authority to police only

Black communities; whereas in the segregated south police departments refused to hire any African American police officers (Walker & Katz, 2005). Accordingly, this initial hiring of African American police officers was an effort to curtail some of the police-community tensions existing between the police department and minority communities.

A second integration phase of African Americans into policing evolved during the 1960's Civil Rights Movement era. The unresolved police-Black community tensions from the World War I era exploded in a nationwide wave of riots between 1964 and 1968 (Walker &Katz, 2005). The White police officer in the Black ghetto became the symbol of White power and authority, and it was also reported that police officers were eight times more likely to shoot and kill African American citizens than Whites (Katz and Walker, 2005). These violent conflicts between police and African American communities also brought attention to the underrepresentation of African American police officers throughout national policing systems. The National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders, also known as the Kerner's Commission was established to study the aftermath of the 1960's race riots in which they concluded "deep-hostilities between the police and ghetto communities" were the cause of disorders, and more African American police officers needed to be hired in policing (Walker & Katz, 2005, 44). According to Brown (2012), this "Commission on Law Enforcement and Administration of Justice was the first major national review of police practices since the Wickersham Commission in the 1930's" (p. 37). Brown and Frank, (as cited by Gustafson, 2013) states that the commission's members "ultimately recommended the hiring of more minority officers and their placement in minority communities as the natural solution" (p. 720).

The period between the 1960s and 1990s experienced the greatest growth in African American and other minority officers in American policing. Gustafson (2013) asserts

"American police have experienced crises of legitimacy, primarily in non-white urban communities, that have culminated in major expressions of civil disobedience like the Watts and Rodney King Riots in Los Angeles" (p. 719). Findings from the 1967 Kerner's Commission report "noted that in 1967 African Americans represented 34 percent of the population in Cleveland but only 7 percent of the police officers; in Oakland, they were 31 percent of the population and 4 percent of the officers" (Walker & Katz, 2005, 47). Consequently, departments began to think about ways to develop recruitment strategies to attract minority and female officers (Raganella & White, 2004, p. 510). Holdaway (as cited in Smith, 2004) "reported that race relations within the police department were a significant factor affecting the recruitment of minority officers" (p. 503).

Earlier studies on African American police officers' integration experiences are deficient in explaining the adaptation strategies particular to the African American police officer. The present study suggests that a new generation of research is required and necessitates a shift that focuses on unveiling the acculturation principles undergirding African American police officers' adaptation strategies into a predominantly White-male oriented policing system.

2.2 Police Culture on Recruitment and Retention of African American Officers

Racial and ethnic diversity in policing serves to help "close broad gaps in social distance between what has traditionally been a white middle-class police structure (Gustafson, 2013, p. 720). Weitzer and Tuch (as cited in Gustafson, 2013) asserted, "the public tends to associate racially mixed policing with impartiality, fairness, trustworthiness in the delivery of police services" (p. 270). Although demographic changes in the American landscape are becoming more culturally integrated, minority officers, particularly African American, are still underrepresented in police agencies. Raganella and White (2004) suggests that "much of the

underrepresentation is linked to a long history of conflict between the police and the African

American community and the negative attitudes of police held by young African Americans" (p.

501).

Minority underrepresentation in policing, coupled with frayed police-community

relations poses a realistic threat of police violence in disadvantaged minority communities.

Skolnick and Fyfe (as cited in Raganella and White, 2004) suggests "the lack of minority

representation among police departments in Los Angeles and Milwaukee, in combination with

populations that became heterogeneous quickly, might have contributed to the brutality and

discrimination scandals that plagued those departments during the 1980's and 1990's" (p. 503).

Harring, Platt, Speiglman, & Takagi (as citing in Smith, 2003) applies the conflict theory

perspective to suggests that "police violence is used to control racial and ethnic classes deemed

threatening to the existing social order" (p. 147). The Bureau of Justice Statistics (BJS) reported

a total 4,813 arrest related deaths during the period 2003 – 2009, in which 2,913 deaths (6 out of

10) were classified as homicide by law enforcement personnel (BJS, 2011).

The pervasive police violence inflicted on African American communities are described

by Brown (2012) as having its origin within the language of the *"three fifths of all other*

persons" clause in United States Constitution (p. 412). Williams and Murphy (as cited in

Brown, 2012) states,

> The fact that the legal order not only countenanced slavery, segregation and
> discrimination for most of the nation's history – and the fact that the police were
> bound to uphold that order – set a pattern of police behavior and attitudes
> towards minorities that has persisted until the present day. That pattern includes
> the idea that minorities have fewer civil rights, that the task of the police is to
> keep them under control and that the police have little responsibility for
> protecting them from crime within their own communities (p. 413)

Further evaluation on police violence in African American communities is found in Blauner's (as cited in Chamlin & Sanders, 2010) discussion on racial residential segregation in which it is suggested "the restriction of African-Americans into urban ghettos functions as a subtle mechanism of social control that can lessen the demand by whites for protection from the police" (p. 612). Blauner further contends "racial residential segregation reduces interracial threat to whites because it makes it easier for the police to monitor the behavior of blacks" (as cited in Chamlin & Sanders, 2010, p. 612). Combined, the pervasive legally subjugated identification of African Americans and development of racial residential segregated urban communities that are policed by white officers have increased the relative likelihood of police killings in African American communities.

Most recently, the two separate accounts of reported police shootings in predominately African American residential communities of Staten Island, New York and Ferguson, Missouri involving one or more White police officers and African American male have brought a renewed focus on arrest-related deaths, and sustained tensions between African American communities and local police agencies. The New York Daily News was the first media source to report the death of Eric Garner, a 43-year old African American male at the hands of four White New York City police officers. According to the report, police officers, in violation of police policy, attempted to arrest Garner via a "chokehold" which subsequently caused Garner's death. This recent incident further highlights the tumultuous history of police-citizens violence, and intimidation by New York City police officers.

According to a October 13 National Public Radio (NPR) report, on August 12, 2014, teenager Michael Brown, an African American youth, was shot and killed by a Ferguson, Missouri police officer (Inskeep, 2014). The police killing of Brown sparked many days of

protests that included police-community confrontations. Four days after the shooting, another African American male citizen was shot during one of the ensuing protests (Inskeep, 2014). According to Inskeep (2014), two-thirds of the approximately 21,000 residents of Ferguson, Missouri are African American. The Ferguson, Missouri police department has a police force of 54 officers and only three are African American (Inskeep, 2014). It was also reported that Ferguson police has consistently maintained aggressive policing method in the African American community, as many of the African American protesters have expressed an unwillingness to "take it anymore" (Inskeep, 2014). Though investigations continue, the police shooting in Ferguson, Missouri is quickly becoming a case study for understanding the role of race in police-community relations, racialized-organizational cultures, and the potential for fatal consequences when agencies fail to adequately pursue minority representativeness in their police workforce.

Smith (2003) examined police-caused homicides and "links police homicides to personnel composition of police agencies as a factor influencing levels of police violence" (p. 148). Liska and Yu (as cited by Smith, 2003), finds "a percent of non-White racial segregation and police agency size positively related to police killings" (p. 149). Jacobs and O'Brien (as cited by Smith, 2003) found that racial inequality related positively to police homicides, whereas "the percentage of Black residents related positively to police homicides of Black residents" (p. 149). These findings give importance to Lima (2010), as he contends "the advantage of police agencies to recruit, train and promote personnel who have the ability to communicate with, work among, and form partnerships with members of diverse groups and communities" (p. 13)

Racial diversity is hypothesized to influence policing through two processes; (1) increasing the legitimacy of the police in the eyes of the public, and (2) increases the contact between Caucasian officers and minority officers to potentially change the police agency's

culture towards a more positive view of minority communities (Smith, 2003, p. 150). Walker, Spohn, and DeLone (as cited in Smith, 2003) suggest the employment of minorities may reduce the solidarity of the police subculture (p. 150). A counter argument to representativeness in policing suggests that regardless of their characteristics, the police will be representing the larger establishment and will never be popular, particularly in certain sections of the racial minorities (Smith, 2003).

Smith (2003) explored the significance of police agency composition of minorities and women in reducing police-citizen violence. Although population size and region were important factors in predicting levels of police-caused homicides, his study found that "measures of minority representation had no significant influence on levels of police violence" (Smith, 2003, p. 157-158). Finally, it was determined that large urban cities with large concentrations of Blacks, as opposed to smaller cities and large suburbs, are viewed as "threatening" populations and may potentially produce higher levels of antagonism between these disadvantaged groups and police – thus resulting in police perceiving citizens as a general threat (Smith, 2003).

Smith (2003) offers several reasons as possible justifications for finding no significant relationship between personnel diversity and police killings. First, it is estimated that racial diversity in large municipal departments "may have no relationship to police-citizen relations and thus police killings" (Smith, 2003, p. 159). Also, it is reasonable to believe that minority residents may not accept other minority members as police because they may see them as "selling out" to the larger establishment (Smith, 2003).

The persistent nature of police violence in African American communities cements the imagery of police as the oppressive overseer and protector of White mainstream society. Paradoxically, White police officers are theoretically ill equipped to bridge this cultural divide

between minority communities and police. Most important, why have police agencies recruitment and retention efforts targeting African American representativeness in policing come short of their goals of positive social engagement in minority communities? Associated problems of African American representativeness are illuminated in previous studies (Smith, 2003; Gustafson, 2013; Raganella and White, 2014), whereas it is assumed that simply placing African American officers in Black communities presents the image of a community-centered organization. Jacobs and Cohen (as cited in Smith, 2003) profoundly suggests a worthy hypothesis that "much of the tension between police and community is simply a consequence of the police role" (p. 151). Therefore, if African American police officers are assuming the exact police role as their White counterparts, then a representativeness philosophy becomes counterintuitive to resolving problems.

A relating concern is police agencies recruitment and retention practices. Reaves (as cited in Gustafson, 2013) finds "four out of every five police agencies (with at least 100 officers) target minorities with special recruitment efforts" (p. 720). Thus, the selection criteria for minority representativeness are vital components to bridging the cultural divide in structurally disadvantaged minority communities. Ho (as cited in Lima, 2010) contends minorities recruited in mainstream all-white communities are often considered "safe bets" by police recruiters (p. 14).

Additionally, promotion and advancement of underrepresented minorities within police agencies is reflective of the agency's commitment to diversity and equal opportunity (Lima, 2010). Promotion and advancement procedures that are preventive of African American and other underrepresented minorities from police leadership roles reduce the agency's credibility of being inclusive and diverse. Therefore, insufficient recruitment and retention practices are

profoundly linked to police organization cultures that are derivatives of a mainstream society, whereas minority officers are recruited into proscribed police roles defined through White middle-class ideologies. Consequently, American police representativeness amounts to a tokenism status whereby these officers are viewed as solely fulfilling agency quota. This negative status has both internal and external origins and serves to diminish African American officer's legitimate authority among their White police counterparts, and the general community. African American representativeness, then, is futile when police executives fail to connect retention and promotion initiatives with organization cultures, which inherently personify White mainstream value systems.

Categorically, African American representativeness in policing gives rise to the importance in understanding the relevance of ethnic identification in the work experiences of these officers. Unfortunately, findings from prior studies have not considered the significant reality of an African American double consciousness as a psychological orientation of being Black in White mainstream police organizations. If police agencies are truly desirable of recruiting and retaining talented African American officers, it is then imperative for police executives to begin to understand these officers relative work experiences so as to develop a climate that is conducive to diversity, and inclusiveness.

2.3 Police Ethnicity

Police ethnicity is explained through the emergence and subsequent development of Black Police Associations (BPAs) in the England and Whales Constabularies as a result of an "identification arising within specific historical and organizational circumstances" (Holdaway & O'Neil, 2006, p. 483). Police ethnicity is defined through the police occupational culture, rather than cultural forms, whereas the historic alienation and discrimination experienced by Black

police officers from their White counterparts establishes an "ethnic boundary" defining the separate experiences of each group (Holdaway & O'Neil, 2006). It is these ethnic-boundaries which Holdaway and O'Neill (2006) analyzes to explain police ethnicity as a consequence of officer's self-alienation.

In their two-year qualitative study consisting of interviews with Chairs and Deputy Chairs from the known Black Police Associations (BPA's), Holdaway and O'Neil (2006) assessed police ethnicity as a byproduct of the police occupational culture. Their standpoint was that (BPAs) established a demarcation between the police organization and the Black police officers, forming an "ethnic-boundary" centered on ethnic identification (p. 484). In particularly, Holdaway & O"Neil (2006) contended that "boundaries charting a notion of police ethnicity have been constructed and sustained through BPAs strategic use of their members' marginalized position within the police workforce" (p. 484). Holdaway and O'Neil (2006) contended that, "occupational culture and associated notions of ethnicity are social constructions founded upon interpretations and presentations of the world" (p. 497). They summarized that, "clearly defined boundaries around the notion of police ethnicity, like those that routinely secure any stereotypes, facilitate agency and the adoption of an essentialism that contrasts sharply different ways in which an ethnic minority and ethnic majority experience and act…" (p. 498). Most importantly, Holdaway and O'Neil (2006) contend, "police ethnicity is a social construction that creates a united view of Black officers to constabularies, to government and to other institutions" (p. 499).

Unfortunately, it appears Holdaway and O'Neil failed to consider the historic significance of the racist police organizational structural as an established and well-maintained occupational culture as the initial factor for Black constabularies seeking shelter in BPA organizations. The structural context within a racially discordant police organizational culture

must be understood for significance in the formation of Black Police Associations, as well as police ethnicity.

Demo and Hughs (1990) provide insight on the social context of being Black in stating, "being black in American society means occupying a racially defined status…" (p. 364). Accordingly, being Black in a predominantly White occupational culture circumscribes the Black employee into a racially defined status that is separate from the privileges of their White counterparts. Demo and Hughs (1990) suggest, "One consequence of being black is black group identity, the intensity of which should vary with the nature of role experiences" (p. 364). Using data from the National Survey of Black Americans (NSBA) with a represented sample of 2,107 Black American 18 years of age and older, they conclude that "it is reasonable to conceptualize black identity as a multi-dimensional phenomenon, and that being Black means different things to different segments of the population" (Demo & Hughes, 1990, p. 364). Rosenberg and Simmons (as cited in Demo and Hughes, 1999) state that, "when blacks move out of isolated environments and interact more frequently with whites and members of other ethnic groups, they are detached to some degree from traditional black culture, and group identification is weakened" (Demo & Hughes, 1999, p. 366).

Closely related to this purpose, Johnson's (2011) research on police officer attitudes and discretionary decision making was grounded on the belief that "when surrounded by an environment that supports their attitudes, individuals appear to act in accordance with those attitudes", but in "environments that conflict with their attitudes individuals are more likely to display behaviors that conforms to the dominant norms of the environment" (Johnson, 2011, 294). This quantitative study consisted of data with a sample range from 10 to 119 sworn police officers in 21 municipal police agencies. Analyses from a hierarchical linear model suggest that

organizational environment influences police officers' work behavior and officers' attitudes do have a statistically and substantively significant influence on officer behaviors (Johnson, 2011, 302).

Comparatively, Sun and Payne (2004) analyzed secondary data derived from the Project of Policing Neighborhoods (POPN) 1996 - 1997observational and survey data sets, in addition to 1990 census data which was compiled to conduct their study to examine behavioral difference among Black and White police officers on coercive and non-coercive actions in resolving interpersonal conflict. A sample of 1,833 citizens was used to assess difference within these groups. Findings from their regression analyses suggest, "Black officers are more active than their White counterparts in resolving conflicts; Black officers are more likely to conduct coercive actions; Black officers are more likely to engage in supportive actions in predominantly Black neighborhoods; and Black police officers identities are contingent on the type of police activity performed and the location of the activity" (Sun & Payne, 2004, p. 534-535).

In a comparative study on Black police officer deviance, Johnson (2006) asks whether "Black officers, despite the organizational biases they confronted within the profession, nonetheless are subject to the same pressures and expectations to act beyond the law as their white counterparts?" (p. 2). Johnson (2006) applies the principle of *authoritarianism* as the central element to examine whether black police officers would act as unethically as the white-majority officers. Police authoritarianism affords police officers to come to "identify themselves separate from society and view themselves as the only ones who can understand their unique experiences, thus establishing a police subculture of a unified police brotherhood" (Johnson, 2006, p. 5). Furthermore, "to co-exist in either the police culture or police subculture, the black officers must "buy-in" to the culture of the criminals being the underclass and exhibit many of

the same authoritarian traits their white counterparts do to survive" (Johnson, 2006, p.7). As

stated by Johnson (2006), "Black police officers must exhibit a go along to get along attitude;

and therefore their personalities must match that of the White officers" (p. 8). Therefore,

according to Johnson (2006), "Black police officers are free to express the latent authoritarianism

that is desired by the profession by abusing Blacks and Hispanics in much the same way as white

officers…" (p. 5).

Closely related to discussions on attitudinal differences among Black and White police

officers, Boyd (2010) examined attitudinal differences among black and white police officers

and quality of life issues with respect to their roles, and functions as police in communities.

Boyd (2010) asserts, "after seeing the police operate as an occupying army in many communities

of color, many Black officers may view the institution of policing from a different perspective

than their White counterparts" (p. 39). Using POPN data, this quantitative study extracted a

sample size consisting of 609 patrol officers (498 white and 111 black) to test the hypothesis that

"Black offices, in comparison to Whites, would be more receptive to quality of life policing

issues" (Boyd, 2010, p. 40). Statistical findings from the data analysis procedures indicate

"discernible differences in the attitudes among Black and White police officers regarding

quality-of-life issues in their patrol beats" (Boyd, 2010, p. 44). These findings also suggest that

although Black officers often take on policing traits and attitudes as their White counterparts,

they are often not totally in agreement with White officers regarding quality of life issue (Boyd,

2010).

2.4 Organizational Culture

The structural context of the police organization is an essential construct in the

development of a police ethnicity for defining differential experiences, and occupational

behaviors among police officers. As like many bureaucratic organizational types, police organizations have internal, as well as external political cultures effective the performances of its employees. Baum (as cited in Hirschhorn & Barnett, 1993) in his discussion on organizational politics against organizational cultures, states "workers' frequent complaints about organizational 'politics' indicate that many prevailing organizational cultures do not 'feel right'" (p. 33). Yet, while managers "promulgate mission statements and implement training programs to create integrated organizations, actual company cultures often demand social relations that conflict with workers' wishes for competence and attachment to the organization" (Hirschhorn & Barnett, 1993, p. 33).

Gould (as cited in Hirschhorn & Barnett, 1993) explains the "nature of personal authority in organizations in which organizational authority and personal authority are defined" (p. 51). Organizational authority is defined by as "authority that is delegated to a role which gives the role occupant the right-to-work whereas personal authority is a central aspect of one's enduring sense of self no matter the role they occupy" (Hirschhorn & Barnett, 1993; p. 51). Gould (as cited in Hirschhorn & Barnett, 1993) contends that "personal authority exist on a continuum where at one end there are those who have a well-developed and robust sense of personal authority, and are those found to exhibit serious difficulties around their sense of authority" (p. 52). The latter, as explained by Gould, "refer to those within the organization who seem to have a weak, anxious sense of their own authority-those who feel they are permitted nothing" (as cited in Hirschhorn & Barnett, 1993, p. 52). Consequently, "a person can have organization authority by position or role, but personal experiences developed when a person feels fully vested in the organization, or to be authentic in their role" (as cited in Hirschhorn & Barnett, 1993, p. 53).

This current study contends that African American police officers encounter delineating personal authority as a result of racist and prejudicial experiences within the police organizational culture, as compared to his White counterpart. The demarcating authority is assumed to disallow African American police officers full authenticity in their role and functions as police officers. This study postulates that both the internal and external police occupational cultures are ingrained with racist ideologies and myths that disallows African American police officers acceptance into the White-male brotherhood of policing.

Thomas (1993) defines the organization as the "seat of irrational life" (p. 191). In his discussion on the role of racial taboos in the organization, Thomas (1993) explores the notion of the organization as "the place where people's fears and myths are found to co-exist, whereas people's unconscious hopes and fears, the dreams and myths they live by, and the history embedded in them-all influence their actions as well" (p.191). Irrational and unconscious myths that exist in organizations can affect the upward mobility of individuals within the organization as these myths remain taboo and avoided. According to Thomas (1993), "while racial dynamics are enacted in many ways, the social psychology of slavery and its later non-slave manifestations typically pit the White man against the Black man" (p. 194). According to Thomas (1993), "this dynamic is evident in white-black supervisor and mentor relations where whites and blacks can enact the history of race relations with all its difficulty, in their everyday interaction" (p.192). Thomas (1993) also suggests the "racial differences and sex and race taboos rooted in periods of slavery can block blacks and whites from identifying with each other, thus stifling opportunities for career development and mobility through mentoring relationships that are grounded in the psychodynamics of identification" (p.197).

Irrational and unconscious myths of racism remain relevant today in shaping the organizational cultures of police organizations. Van Maanen (as cited in Britz, 1997) posits, "police officers are actually representatives of a group marginalized by society" (p. 129). As stated by Britz (1997), "some scholars argue that racism may be the unfortunate byproduct of occupational solidarity, while others suggest that the level of racism inherent in the law enforcement community is actually a reflection of the racism prevalent in the …society and social groups from which the police are drawn" (p. 130). Therefore, since racism has such extreme prevalence in mainstream American society, police organizations inherit racism taboos and value systems through its recruitment of officers.

These studies substantiate perpetual differences with regards to race in police organizational cultures. Alex (as cited in Britz, 1997) reported that "African American police officers did not differ significantly from their White peers on working personality, behavior manifestations, or general attitudes…which may be attributed to the double marginality experienced by minority officers" (p. 131). Accordingly, Britz (1997) contends this double marginality results in a reaffirmation of the traditional White police subculture and a solidification of occupational norms and behaviors (p. 131).

A recent study by Cochran and Warren (2012) on racial, ethnic, gender differences on perceptions of police explains the impacts of African American police officers' double marginality. Using traffic stop data gathered from the 2005 Bureau of Justice Statistics (BJS) Police-Public Survey, this study examined race as a mediating factor on citizens' perceptions of police. Descriptive and multivariate analyses present findings that "citizens who were stopped by minority police officers' expressed higher beliefs that they were stopped for illegitimate reasons and minority officers stopped Black males and females at a rate that is 1.5 to 3 times that of White

officers" (Cochran & Warren, p. 215). Their analyses are supportive of other studies on racial profiling that have consistently produced findings indicating that racial minorities are more likely to perceive police as racially biased and unfair (Cochran & Warren, 2012).

Cochran and Warren's (2012) study lends itself to understand the impacts of police officers' discretionary authority that is acted upon the greater society. The organizational culture of police is unique in the enactments of its powers and is found in the performance of police actions on citizens. Thus, police organizational culture extends beyond the police stationhouse and is the manifested through actions of police within the internal, and external occupational cultures.

In a comparative study, Ronald Weitzer (2000) examined "citizens' assessments of Black and White police officers through the collection data in structured interviews from 169 residents in three neighborhoods in Washington" (p. 314). Findings from this study suggest black police officers were reported to treat Black citizens more harshly than White police officers (Weitzer, 2000). A reason offered by Weitzer (2000) to explain this apparent hardline behavior is that black police officers "need to demonstrate to White citizens and White colleagues that they are blue and racially unbiased in their dealings with the public" (Weitzer, 2000, p. 318). The findings in this study further validate the aforementioned findings of Cochran and Warren (2012) of an aggressive African American policing style among African American citizenry.

Barlow and Barlow (2000) explain African American police officers' storied history in overcoming political barriers within police organizations, and the minority communities they patrolled. The isolation of African American police officers both within and outside the police organization is used to define an alienated African American (Brown, 2012)officer's experiences that are different from the work experiences of his/her white counterpart. Barlow and Barlow

(2000) suggest the "black police officers racist white colleagues rejected black police officers and African Americans criticized them for assisting in racial oppression" (Barlow and Barlow, 2000; p. 235). Additionally, Barlow and Barlow (2000) explains "the rise of ethnic-based minority police organizations and associations such as NOBLE (National Black Law Enforcement Executives) were formed as a result of rejections for promotion and training of black police officers in predominately white police organizations" (p. 241). They state, "white police officers and their organizations were not interested in promoting the same causes and issues that would ensure promotion and training, nor building community relationships" (Barlow and Barlow, 2000, p. 241).

Dowler (2005) explored secondary data extracted from Project Shields to determine job satisfaction, burnout, and perceptions of unfair treatment. A convenience sampling procedure achieved 1,104 police officers in the Baltimore City Police Department with a 69% response rate of respondents. Results from this study indicate "Black officers are more likely to perceive criticisms from peers and consider themselves militants, but less likely to feel negative or depressed about police work" (Dowler, 2005, p. 481). As stated by Dowler (2005), the finding is contradictory to the research theoretical assumption that African American police officers would experience higher levels of job dissatisfaction, and job burnout than Whites (p. 478). Thus, it can be assumed these officers are adapting to the stressful nature of the police organizational culture. Further assessment on the level of adaptation, which is proposed in this current study on police ethnicity, would enrich empirical understanding on adaptation strategies among African American police officers.

2.5 Double-Consciousness

Undergirding the development of an African American police officer's police ethnicity is the Duboisian principle of double-consciousness. Double consciousness and its relation to racial identity was first devised by sociologist and civil rights activist W. E. B. Du Bois in 1932 (Davis, 2005). Since Du'Bois' initial discussion on double consciousness, debate has surfaced on its true meaning. According to Davis (2005), "the common interpretation of double-consciousness as a psychological condition affecting the development of black identity and consciousness directs one's attention towards strategies aimed at self-identity" (p. 149). Double consciousness is also interpreted as a "metaphysical condition involving the reconciliation of a dual-nature in the unification of a Black and American identity" (Davis, 2005, p. 149). Addressing the problems in misinterpretation of double-consciousness, Davis (2005) says these interpretations "place the onus for action on African Americans and do not challenge the structures, institutions, and most importantly, the attitudes, beliefs, and practices of white supremacy, the focus of DuBois' scholarship and practices" (p. 149).

W. E. B. Du Bois (1932) defines the African American double-consciousness in his candid description of the experiences of African Americans living in the White American society that is denying of their right to self-identity. Du Bois (1932) describes double-consciousness when he writes,

> After the Egyptian and Indian, the Greek and Roman, the Teuton and Mongolian, the Negro is the sort of seventh son, born with a veil, and gifted with second sight in this American world, -a world which yields him no true self-consciousness, but only lets him see himself through the revelation of the other world. It is a peculiar sensation, this double-consciousness, this sense of always looking at one's self through the eyes of others, of measuring one's soul by the tape of a world that looks on in amused contempt and pity. One ever feels his twoness, -an American, a Negro; two souls, two thoughts, two unreconciled strivings; two warring

ideas in the black body, whose dogged strength keeps it from being torn asunder (p. 45).

Drawing from Dubois' "two souls", contemporary scholars have concentrated on defining double-consciousness on black identity and what it means to be black in America (Davis, 2005). As Davis (2005) assert, "Two-ness can be considered psychological, however the Negro and American are social constructs infused with conflicting political and social meaning that situate in America's social, economic, and political hierarchy" (p. 148). Asante (as cited in Davis, 2005) states "perhaps in a great number of African American society and the two 'warring souls' converge to create a caldron of psychological problems" (Davis, 2005). Black (2007) adds, "Having two antagonistic identities means that a lot of time and energy is spent negotiating and enduring the conflicts between who one is as a person and how one struggles to live with the misrepresentations of the outside world" (p. 394). Thus, Black (2007) interprets a more enlightened awareness of twoness when he adds "instead of antagonism between one's own sense of self and imposed contempt, DuBois is suggesting a merging of positive meanings of Blackness and awareness" (Black, 2007, p. 394). But, instead of a merging of being both Black and American, each in a positive way, twoness and double consciousness remains (Davis, 2007, p. 394). According to Davis (2005), "DuBois' interpretation of double-consciousness is his recognition of how racial difference separated Blacks and Whites and served as the basis of Black exclusion from full and equal participation in American society" (p. 150).

Similarly, the African American police officers' double-consciousness is relative to their experiences in the police occupational culture. Alex (1969) (as cited in Sun & Payne, 2004) suggests that "Black officers' behavioral and attitudinal propensities are influenced by their own primary identifications as a police officer or a Black in the police" (p. 518). According to Alex, (as cited in Sun & Payne, 2004), "for those Black officers who see themselves as police officers

first, they have to vigorously enforce the law against Blacks to show their White counterparts they are good cops" (p. 518). Holdaway and O'Neill (2006) assert that "other Black officers who feel as though they were forced to join the department because of the lack of job opportunities and discrimination in the market consider themselves as Black first and a police officer second" (p. 518). Alex (as cited in Sun & Payne, 2004) concludes, "Black officers' face a 'double marginality' of not being accepted by White officers or by Black citizens" (p. 518). This double marginality is referenced in the readings of Barlow and Barlow (2000) as they explain the isolation of black police officers both within, and outside the police organization is resulting of racist white colleagues rejecting black police officers and African Americans criticized them for assisting in racial oppression (p. 235).

The dual-isolation experiences of African American police are significant for a comprehensive explanation of police ethnicity, and the ethnic-work behavior of African American police officers. According to Davis (2005), there exists the knowledge that being Black and Blackness itself is associated with a multiplicity of negative interpretations. These negative images have been predetermined to conform to White attitudes, beliefs, and prejudices (p.151). Thus, for African American police officers, as inferred in Holdaway and O'Neill (2006), "the police occupational culture categorizes sharply differences between Black and White officers; articulates overt racial prejudice and discrimination; and affords Black officers less than full membership of the workforce" (p. 486). According to Holdaway and O'Neill (2006), "the police occupational culture "tends to be the White experience, the White beliefs, the White values", thus "a view challenged as the Black experience of police employment" (p.486-487).

For the purpose of this study, the contextual usage of double-consciousness for explaining police ethnicity is defined by inequalities within the police occupational cultures that are prevent African American police officers' from equal authoritarianism as their White counterparts. This definitive usage of double consciousness is consistent with DuBois' conceptual framing of the term, which is separate from the exploits of Black psychology that focuses on a Black identity (Davis, 2005). Thus, the experiences of double consciousness among African American police officers require these officers to alternate between the duality of being a Black police officer, and a police officer who is defined by her/his being Black.

2.6 Anomie

Anomie is a social or societal condition. According to Cohen (1972), "it may be seen as a 'sickness' of society in which norms are rapidly changing or where there are conflicting norms of what is right, good, proper, and so on" (p.329). Merton (as cited in Cohen, 1972) refers to anomie as a "breakdown in of social standards governing behavior and thus also signifies little social cohesion" (p.329). In referencing anomie as a lonely state of mind, Cohen (1973) says of the anomic person "suffers a condition where he loses a sense of belonging to the group and rejects the norms or values of society (p.329-330). Thornlindsson and Bernburg (as cited in Tsahuridu, 2006) assert "anomie results in loss of meaning and a sense of injustice" (p.163).

Merton (as cited in Tsahuridu, 2006) distinguishes between "social anomie and individual anomie whereas individual anomie refers to a state of mind expressed by individuals who live under anomic conditions" (p.166). This current research study contends African American police officers' double consciousness, and subsequent police ethnicity is consequential to the outcomes of individual anomie.

Tsahuridu's (2006) quantitative survey research study tested levels anomie in the business and non-business context to determine "whether people in organizations with different ethical climates have significantly different levels of anomie" (p.167). From a business context, this study was designed to with acknowledgement that anomie leads moral regression and amorality, thus affecting people's ethical work behavior at work (Tsahuridu's, 2006). The research study sample consisted of 93 managers from three organization types that were distinguished as a bureaucracy, clan, or market (Tsahuridu's, 2006). According to the findings of this study, it is suggested that suggest "people at work are more likely to feel hopeless and helpless, and also more likely to behave with deviance, as anomie at work context is higher than in the non-work context in the three organizations" (Tsahuridu's, 2006, p.171).

A quantitative study by Morash, Harr, and Kwak (2006) explored police officer stress by examining the police workplace and associated problems that are hypothesized to produce stress in police officers (Morash, Harr, & Kwak, 2006). Police officer stress is an area of study consistently supporting prior findings on the importance of understanding the role negative police occupational stress levels on both the police officer, and police organization. Morash et al. (2006) research study explored the empirical question of "whether token status within an organization and community conditions, and lack of support from co-workers and family add to the workplace problem explanation of stress" (p. 27).

This study used secondary data gathered from 947 minority police officers from 11 police agencies derived from an initial 24 police department members of a prior 1990 study conducted by the Police Executive Research Forum (Morash et al., 2006). The identified research variables for analysis were operationalized to be *workplace problems, support network, token status, community conditions, and stress* with resulting regression analysis revealing workplace problems

explained for 34% of the variance in stress (Morash et al., 2006). Also, it was reported that police "officers reporting high stress said they felt stress from racial and ethnic bias and they spent considerable time and energy dealing with and helping other officer's deal with prejudice and bias" (Morash et al., 2006, p.36). Additionally, the findings in their research study are consistent with Tsahuridu's (2006) findings that "bureaucratic organizations, which are more rule and law based organizations, have the highest work anomie and significantly higher levels of non-work anomie than other organization types" (p. 171).

In their study on institutional and organizational antecedents to role stress, Crank, Regoli, Hewitt, and Culberton (1995) examined the "effects of stress within organizational and institutional environments of police executives to measure detrimental effect of the working environment on police leaders" (p.153). The dependent variables for this quantitative study were *role stress, work alienation,* and *occupational anomie* (Crank et al., 1995). According to Crank et al. (1995), "role stress refers to stress that derives from characteristics of occupational roles; work alienation is defined as minimization of personal investment in the importance of the work process or product, promoted by blocked goals and lack of control over the work product; and anomie is the perception that there is no clear normative guides to direct individual behavior" (p.158). Crank et al. (1995) suggests, "at the occupational level, anomie occurs when individuals confront differing expectations associated with statuses they are expected to hold" (p.158). Data for this study was produced from two random sample surveys of municipal police chiefs and county sheriffs consisted of 1,427 participants who responded to the mailed survey questionnaire, which represented a 75% response rate (Crank et al., 1995). Some significant findings from this study indicates that "individual-level characteristics of chiefs salient to contemporary reform – minority status, education, length of service, and a public service

perspective – had positive relationships with all three stress constructs" (Crank et al., 1995, p.167). Hence, the findings in this study highlight the importance of institutional-level stressors on organizational behavior and well being of the officer.

These bodies of literatures are supportive of Anomie as a central tenet for explaining the development of a police ethnicity and African American police officers double-consciousness. The premise of this current research study posits the belief that African American police officers experience anomie (strain) within the police occupational cultures, which requires them to incorporate adaptation strategies for acculturating into their role as police officer. Thus, it is the evolution of anomie within the police occupational environment that formulates African American police officers' double-consciousness.

CHAPTER 3

Methodology

This section outlines the research methodological approach that was utilized in order to test the theoretical assumptions that a latent African American officers' double-consciousness undergird occupational strain to explain the conditions of police ethnicity. The abstract terms double-consciousness and police ethnicity are conceptualized and operationalized as they pertain to this research, as well as the independent variables of Merton's (1938) theory of instrumental anomie. The association between the variables of measurement and the dependent variable African American police officers is hypothesized. Police Ethnicity is described by Holdaway & O'Neill (2006) as an "identity arising within specific historical and organizational circumstances" in which "specific ethnic identifications are constructed" (p. 483-484). Furthermore, police ethnicity is understood within the context of the police organizational culture in which sharp differences abound between Black and White officers, "articulates overt racial prejudices and discrimination, and affords black officers less than full membership of the police force" (Holdaway & O'Neill, 2006, p. 486). The distinct work experience differences, coupled with Black officer's establishing membership in Black Police Associations (BPA's) are used by Holdaway and O'Neill (2006) to explain how create their own alienation from police organizations. A discussion on how the targeted population was sampled for this research is followed by a discussion on the scales used to measure all aspects of variables within the questionnaire.

This section also discusses the results of a pilot testing that was conducted to measure the effectiveness of the survey instrument. This pilot testing was performed at a local police department to test the reliability and validity of the research questionnaire to ensure the

instrument is testing the research variables as described. A discussion on data analysis is provided to explain the proposed statistical methodological procedures that will be used to make inference on relationships existing among the variables. Lastly, limitations of the research will be taken into consideration and discussed.

3.1 Research Design

The design type for this exploratory study is a correlation research. This study correlates the four (4) adaptation variables of instrumental anomie with factors defining an African American police officer's double-consciousness, which define a police ethnicity. In order to define a police ethnicity, this research study required access to a significant population of African American police officers. The target population for this study consisted of African American law enforcement officers living in the United States who held established membership with local and national African American police/law enforcement organizations. The primary data source consisted of law enforcement officers who attended the National Association of Black Law Executives (NOBLE) National Conference, which was held in Grand Rapids, Michigan, in July 2014. The NOBLE conference was identified as a targeted population of interest because of its recognition as the largest and oldest professional black police law enforcement organization. Having access to the NOBLE attendees afforded this study a national representation of African American police officers for comparing regional, and other demographical differences. A second data source includes law enforcement members of the Indiana Black Troopers Association.

The dependent variable for this study is anomie, which is conceptualized as a multidimensional set of personality types. These distinct police personality types are used to explain specific adaptation behaviors that define police ethnicity found among African American law enforcement officers. The independent variable, double-consciousness is drawn from the

five adaptations found in Merton's instrumental anomie theory. Specifically, this theory was used to identify the elements of isolation and alienation experienced by African American police officers resulting from organizational and occupational stresses. Each independent variable is identified below and conceptualized as,

Conformist. African American police officers accept the professional goals of policing and legitimate means of performing the job of policing. These officers are further described as being completely integrated in the police organization while sharing similar experiences as their white counterparts. White officers describe conformist officers as "good" cops whereas members in the African American community label him/her as a "sellout".

Innovation. African American police officers' accept the professional goals of policing but significantly reject or alter the means of achieving the work policing. This officer exemplifies innovation in adapting to the police role and sees traditional policing methods used by his/her White counterpart is incompatible to their role given their unique experiences. These officers would more likely employ greater police-community interactive strategies while rejecting the law enforcement police role. Other officers as well as members of the general community view the innovation officer as a "smart" cop.

Ritualist. African American officers reject policing goals but accept the legitimate means of policing. These officers have become aware of differential work experiences to his/her White counterpart and have attributed these differences to relate to their individual race. Ritualist officers have become complacent in their current police role and lacks desire to pursue professional advancement within the agency. Ritualist officers

are depicted as "token" officers by other officers and members of the general community.

Retreatist. African American police officers reject both the goals of policing and the legitimate means by which are prescribed by the police organization. The unfavorable work conditions and experiences have forced these officers to withdraw from their previously defined professional aspirations. These officers have experienced role conflict due to consistent negative work experiences that are systemic impediments to their professional mobility and growth. The retreatist officer is viewed as a "token" officer by other officer, and by members of the general community.

Rebellion. African American police officers' reject both the professional goals of policing and the legitimate means of policing, and replaces them with new ones. These officers have redefined the policing role and methods that best suit their experiences. Respectfully, there are two rebellion police types. First, these officers have persistent negative police-community interactions, which cause them to rebel against the community while embracing the "police brotherhood" displayed by the "us" versus "them" philosophy. These officers are therefore accepted among White officers as a "good" cop, however, community members sees them as a "dirty cop". A second rebellion type is are those officers who have rebelled against police organizational cultures due to the systemic nature race in delineating the occupational experiences of White and African American officers. White officers would view this second rebellion type as a "bad cop" or outsider.

It is hypothesized that African American police officers who identify as either the retreatist, ritualist, and rebellion officers will exhibit emotions consistent with a socially

constructed double-consciousness, thus providing credence to a police ethnicity. Linear regression models were performed to test the initial assumptions of a significant relationship between the anomie constructs and double consciousness as following;

H₁: There is a relationship between police retreatist and police double consciousness. Officers who experience police retreatist may tend to experience double consciousness more regularly due to systemic impediments to professional development and growth. This hypothesis was tested by computing an Ordinary Least Squares Regression (OLS Regression). The test was utilized because regression is a controlled measure of association.

H₂: There is a relationship between police ritualist and police double consciousness. Officers who exhibit police ritualist characteristics may be experiencing double consciousness because of their recognition of a "good old-boy" police culture. These officers have arrived at a career glass ceiling and have become complacent in their current police role. The hypothesis was tested by computing an Ordinary Least Squares Regression (OLS Regression). The test was utilized because regression is a controlled measure of association.

H₃: There is a relationship between police rebellion and police double consciousness. Police officers who exhibit characteristics of police rebellion may be experiencing double consciousness because they feel alienated from either police cultures, or the general community. The hypothesis was tested by computing an Ordinary Least Squares Regression (OLS Regression). The test was utilized because regression is a controlled measure of association.

3.2 Data Collection

This study utilized multiple stages of data collection to secure a national representation of African American law enforcement personnel. African American law enforcement organizations were targeted to include the National Organization of Black Law Enforcement Executives (NOBLE), National Black Police Association (NBPA), and Indiana Black Troopers Association for soliciting officer's participation. The 2014 NOBLE National Conference was targeted as the primary data source due to appropriate timing and accessibility of the conference site while all others were used to supplement data received from the primary source. The researcher was provided vendor space within the NOBLE conference Exhibit Hall for disseminating surveys to conference participants. The high volume of conference attendees visiting the Exhibit Hall made this location the ideal site for connecting surveys with attending law enforcement officials.

Next, surveys were distributed to attending members at the Indiana Black Troopers Association quarterly meeting. Each attending members was handed a survey instrument contained within a large legal envelop and was given time for survey completion during opening proceedings of the formal meeting. Upon their completion, each member secured their respective survey inside the large envelop for collection. Combined, these two separate sampling procedures at the two distinct locations ensured a national representation of African American law enforcement officers ranging from lower rank to executive level officers.

3.3 Sample

The sampling method for this research study is a simple random sampling technique. The National Organization of Black Law Enforcement Executives (NOBLE) 2014 National Conference, which was held in Grand Rapids, Michigan, provided the sampling frame for conducting this random sample study. The robust population of an estimated 2,000 African

American law enforcement members was considered ideal for a study on police ethnicity. Moreover, a study on police ethnicity within the police rank and file will enrich knowledge on the African American police officer's experiences throughout police organizations.

It is estimated that approximately 480 law enforcement officials attended the conference representing the six national regional offices. Therefore, the conference participants list of all registered attendees served as the sampling frame for this simple random sample of African American officers. Having a represented sample of participants from all six regions allows the researcher to measure double consciousness for cultural/regional comparisons. Most important, any relevant findings from a nationally represented sample will allow for generalized inferences about the population of African American police officers throughout the United States. A sum total 115 research surveys were distributed to conference attendees from various law enforcement agencies throughout the continental United States. Of this total, 74 completed surveys were collected. Hence, these 74 research participants represent 15% of the estimated NOBLE conference attendees, and comprise a 61% return rate. A total of ten (10) surveys were collected from the Indiana Black Troopers Association providing a research sample of 84 African American law enforcement personnel from various regions of the United States.

3.4 Instrumentation

The research survey utilized for date collection is described as a primary source research instrument given the title African American Police Officer Survey. This instrument was designed by the researcher to specifically capture emotions measuring instrumental anomie and double consciousness. This primary research questionnaire contains 54 research statements on a four-point Likert-style format that measures the extent of police officers' emotions on each respective research statement. Biographical questions are also asked of each respondent to

access gender, age, geographic location, police rank, and other demographic profiles for controlled measurement on any relationships found to exist among independent and dependent variables in the study.

Prior to distributing this research instrument in this current formal study, a pre-test was conducted to test its internal-consistency reliability for measuring accuracy of each independent and dependent variable.

3.4.1 Instrumentation Pre-testing

The associated pre-test for this formal study is resulting from a formal research internship placement at small-sized North Carolina police department during fall 2013 semester. Appropriate approval for carrying out this study was provided through the Office of Chief of Police and the agency's Human Resource office. This study was designed to examine the occupational culture of the Police Department to determine whether perceptions on organizational practices of promotion and advancement differed among White and minority officers. Consequently, this study was twofold; first, this study was conducted as a pilot test of the research survey that would be used in future studies to examine police organization adaptation strategies among African American police officers. Second, the findings in this report would afford the chief of police understanding on the police officer culture existing in the police department.

3.4.2 Methodology for Pre-test Empirical Study

Data collection procedures used in this pilot study was a simple random sampling technique. Initiated information on the study was broadcasted to all department officers encouraging their participation in the research study. Specific details on the nature of the study was not articulated in the broadcasted email message and was only provided to officers if they by

the researcher if they inquired. Of the total police staff (N = 34) in the pre-test, 17 police officers

(50%) participated in this study. Demographic compositions for the research17 participants are

described as: White (n=8), African American (n=6), Hispanic (n=1), other (n=1), and Missing

(n=1). Additionally, the gender identification of respondents includes 5-males and 11-females.

Each officer was given a 65-item survey instrument in a sealed envelope and was asked

to provide responses to respective sections. The survey instrument is described as a primary data

collection survey. Upon receipt of all completed surveys, a Cronbach's alpha reliability test was

performed to test the reliability of the instrument. Cronbach's Alpha provides indication on the

internal consistency of a multiple item scale… and is typically used in social sciences because it

provides a measure of reliability that can be obtained during the study or one administration of a

questionnaire (Morgan, et. al, 2013, p. 110). Formal reliability testing produced a Cronbach

score of .67, which falls within the acceptable scale for reliable instruments. Evaluation of the

Item-Total Statistics results the suggested potential non-qualifying items that would improve the

resulting alpha score if removed from scale. For the purpose of this pre-test, Item 1 "*Police*

officers treat offenders the same regardless of their race" was removed from the scale for and

the concluding alpha score was improved to .719. These findings also suggest a continued study

of anomie and police ethnicity among African American police officers, and the use of the

validated research instrument.

3.5 Reliability and Validity

The current study, which explores correlates of anomie and double consciousness,

demands the development of specific constructs that accurately measures each independently.

When two or more items or assessments are viewed as measuring the same underlying variable

(construct), reliability can be assessed (Morgan, et. al, 2013, p. 112). Reliability is used to

indicate the extent to which scores are consistent with one another and the extent to which the data are free from measurement error (Morgan, et.al, 2013, p.112).

As a result, six (6) scale variables measuring each of the five anomie construct's and double consciousness was created from the respective research items on the research questionnaire to include *Conformist Scale, Retreatist Scale, Innovation Scale, Ritualist Scale, Rebellion Scale,* and *Double Consciousness Scale*. The concept double consciousness is controlled in these analyses to capture the extent of Africa American police officers double consciousness among; (1) police officer age, (2) current rank, (3) time in years in law enforcement, (4) time at current police department, (5) officer gender, and (6) geographic location.

Table 2 provides a listing of the scaled variables with its corresponding alpha score. The conformists consists of a 3-research item scale with a Cronbach's alpha score reported at .719, which provides reliability this scale is measuring this construct free of measurement error. Retreatist consists of a 6-research item scale with a reported Cronbach's Alpha score .68, which provides reasonable comfort the construct is measured accurately. Next, the innovation scale is observed to consist of 7-research items with a reported .757 Cronbach's Alpha score, which indicates reliability for reporting this construct free of measurement error. The ritualist consists of a 5-research item scale with a Cronbach's Alpha score reported at .797, which provides high reliability that this construct is measured free of measurement error. The final anomie variable is the rebellion scale and consists of 7-constructs with a reported .718 Cronbach's Alpha score. The .718 alpha score indicate reliability that this construct is measuring officer's rebellion free of measurement error. Finally, the double consciousness scale consist of 6-research items with a

reported .737 Cronbach's Alpha score, which provides reliability that this construct is measuring

African American police officer's double consciousness free of error.

Table 2

Scaled items and corresponding alpha score

Scale	Cronbach's Alpha	Number of Items
CONFORMISTSC	.719	3
RETREATISTSCALE	.681	6
INNOVATIONSCALE	.757	7
RITUALISMSCALE	.797	5
REBELLNEWSCALE	.718	7
DBLECONNEWSCALE	.737	6

Matrix scatterplots analysis was conducted to check linearity and to get a visual idea about whether there is a likely to be a problem with multicollinearity. As interpreted by Leech, Barrett, and Morgan (2011), if the observed X (or O) are not in any order or if they appear to be spread out in a cloud, "we can assume there is little or no relationship between the variables" (p. 48). Hence, if the scatterplot shows little relationship between the two predictors, this means there is little chance of collinearity involving these variables (Leech, et. al, 2011). Figure 2 illustrates the bivariate scatterplots for each of the anomie and double consciousness constructs.
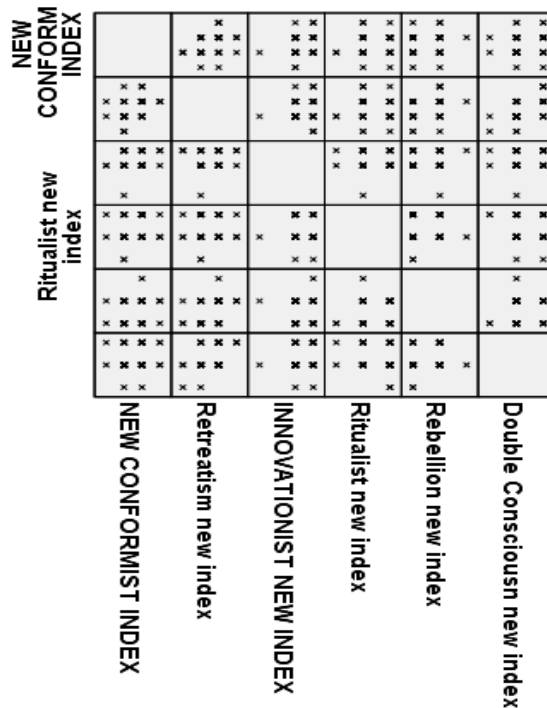
Figure 2. Matrix Scatterplot for Anomie and Double Conscious Scales

3.5.1 Statistical Assumptions for Scale Variables

To understand if the scale variables are normally distributed, boxplots were computed to examine the skewness index for each variable respectively. Boxplots are methods for graphically representing ordinal and scale data, which are useful in the identification of variables with extreme scores (Leech et. al, 2011). As explained by Leech et al. (2011), " if there are few outliers, if the whiskers are approximately the same length, and if the line in the box is approximately in the middle of the box, then you can assume that the variable is normally distributed" (p. 36). Figure 3 illustrates that conformist, retreatist, innovation, ritualist, and rebellion scales are approximately normal, whereas double conscious is near normal.
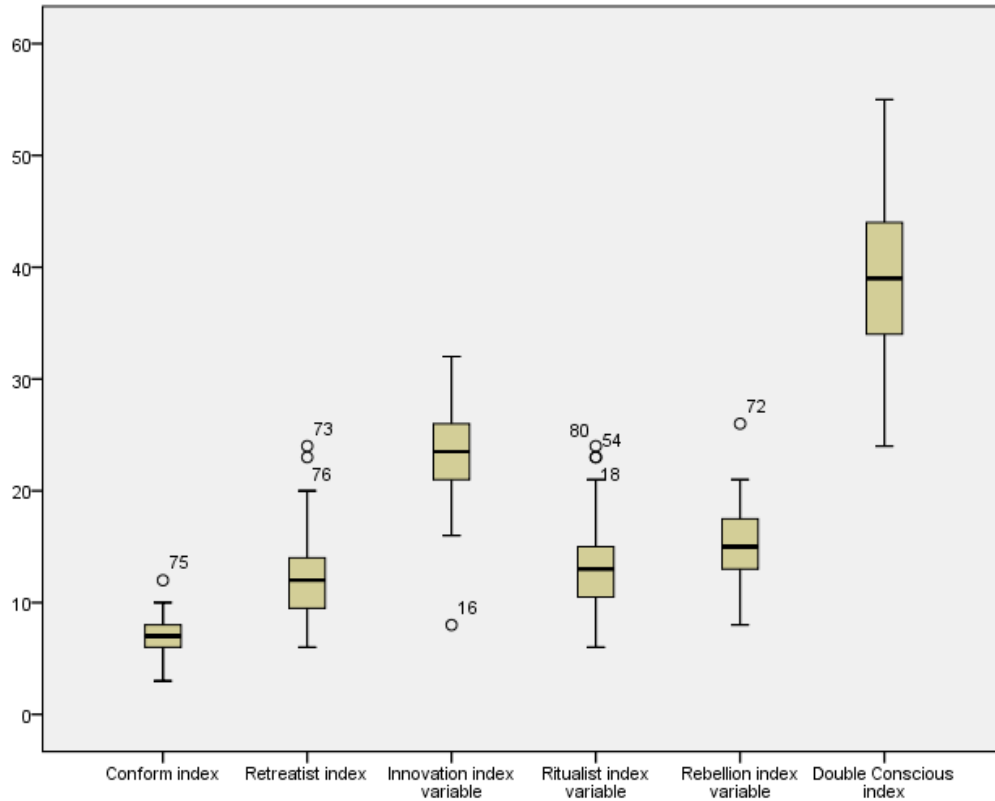
Figure 3. Boxplots for Anomie and Double Consciousness Scales

3.6 Data Analysis

Descriptive statistics were calculated for each of the demographic measures to compare

for respondent's age; for time in service in law enforcement; for time in service with current

agency; for gender; for current rank, and for geographic location. Correlation coefficients were

conducted to examine baseline relationships among the anomie constructs and double

consciousness, as well as among anomie, double consciousness and demographic variables.

One-way ANOVAs was computed to compare the means of the sample group to make inferences

about the population means. One-way ANOVA is the appropriate procedure for comparing two

or more independent groups on the dependent variable (Morgan, et. al, 2103). Tukey HSD post

hoc test and Games-Howell test for identifying specific significant differences in mean scores.

Ordinary Least Squares Regression (OLS Regression) procedures were conducted to allow for

entering variables in a series of blocks the prediction produced by the previous blocks of variables (Morgan, et. al, 2013). This approach is the appropriate measure to use when the researcher has a priori ideas about how the predictors go together to predict the dependent variable (Morgan, et. al, 2013). The influence of double consciousness was controlled in these procedures on each of the demographic variables (i.e., age, time in years as police, time in years in current agency, gender, rank, geographic location) used for predicting conformist, retreatist, innovation, ritualist, and rebellion behaviors.

CHAPTER 4

Results

This chapter presents the results from data analyses for testing the previously stated

hypotheses of this current study. First, findings from descriptive analyses are discussed to

provide a description of the variables tested in the study. Demographic characteristics relating to

the police officer sample are also presented and discussed. Second, findings from one-way

analysis of variance test (ANOVA) are presented to explain procedures for testing

multicollinearity among the five-anomie scales. ANOVA tests are used to determine whether or

not variation occurs across the different categories. Third, correlation matrixes are discussed to

explain any significant relationship existing among each of the anomie constructs and

demographic variables. Correlation matrix test computes a Pearson's R score that measures

uncontrolled associations between variables, which can only provide information on changes in

the dependent variable when the independent variable does something. Therefore, Bivariate

Regression models, which are controlled measures of association to check for collinearity in the

scale variables, were performed as a method for stopping all other variables from impacting

relationships between dependent and independent variables. Finally, ordinary least squares

regression (OLS Regression) models are presented to explain statistical significant relationships

between the five anomie constructs and double consciousness. OLS Regression is a multivariate

statistical procedure that is a controlled measure of association.

4.1 Descriptive results

Descriptive results from Table 3 indicate there are proportionately more men officers (n =

55) than women officers (n = 26).

Table 3

Coding of variables, means, and standard deviations for all variables

Variable	Coding of Variable	Mean/ Proportion	SD	N	Min	Max
Dependent						
CONFORMISTSC	New Conformist Scale	2.6	.67	79	2	4
RETREATSCALE	New Retreatist Scale	2.5	.69	82	1	4
INNOVATIONSCALE	New Innovationist Scale	3.4	.60	75	1	4
RITUALISMSCALE	New Ritualist Scale	2.6	.71	81	1	4
REBELLNEWSCALE	New Rebellion Scale	2.6	.52	75	2	4
DBLCONNEWSCALE	New Double Conscious Scale	3.4	.54	79	2	4
Independent						
SENORITY	Time in years in law enforcement					
	*16 – 20 years	.13	1.2	83	1	5
CURRENT	Time service w/current agency					
	*11 – 15 years	.14	1.0	76	1	5
SEX	Officer Gender					
	Women	.32				
	Men	.67				
	N = 81					
RANK	Current Rank					
	Police Officer	.24				
	District Commander	.08				
	Administrator	.23				
REGION	Geographic Region	2.7				
	Northeast	.13				
	Southeast	.29				
	Midwest	.35				
	Southwest	.13				
	West	.06				
	N = 84					

Dependent variables code; 1=Strongly Disagree, 2=Disagree, 3=Agree, 4=Strongly Agree; Sex Women=1, Men=2
*Table does not include missing data

The findings also suggest a proportionate representation of respondents between 41 and 50 years of age (mean = 45.5). The sample comprise of a proportionately experienced set of officers whose time in years in law enforcement is between 16 and 20 years (mean = 18), whereas these officers have served between 11 and 15 years at their current law enforcement agency (mean = 13). Lastly, descriptive data suggests a greater proportion of the sample is comprised of officers from law enforcement agencies found in the Southeast and Midwest regions.

4.2 Statistical Relationships between Anomie Scales and Double Consciousness

One-way analysis of variance tests (ANOVA) were performed to test the hypotheses that double consciousness is significantly different across the five-anomie scales. One-Way Factorial ANOVA tests the assumptions that the "observations are independent, the variances of the groups are equal (homogeneity of variances), and the dependent variable is normally distributed" (Leech et. al, 2011, p. 150). Examination of the Test of Homogeneity of Variances, which tests the assumption of ANOVA, reveals the Levene's test is significant for rebellion ($p < .001$). The statistical significance indicates the variances for the five groups of scales are significantly different, thus indicating the assumption is violated.

According to Leech et al. (2011), if the F-test suggests it is statistically significant, "it provides important information and means that the results of the main effects may be misleading" (p. 156). As stated by Morgan et al. (2013), after examining to see "if the overall F (ANOVA) for each variable was statistically significant, you will do appropriate post hoc multiple comparisons for these variables" (p. 190). According to Morgan et al. (2013), "Tukey HSD test is used if variances can be assumed to be equal (i.e. the Levene's test is not statistically significant) and the Gaines-Howell if the assumptions of variances cannot be justified (i.e., the

Levene's test is significant)" (p. 190). Therefore, it was determined Tukey HSD and Games-Howell post hoc tests were the best-fit analyses for comparing group means among the scale variables. For purpose of clarity in reporting findings, the double consciousness scale was transformed from its 4-point Likert scale (strongly disagree, disagree, agree, strongly agree) into 4-point scale (low, moderate, high), whereas strongly disagree = no double consciousness, disagree = low, agree = moderate, and strongly agree = high).

The ANOVA test reveals a statistically significant difference was found among double consciousness on retreatist ($F = 8.68$), $p = .000$. Table 4 shows that the mean score for retreatist is 1.50 for officers who had low double consciousness, 2.28 for those officers who had moderate double consciousness, and 2.81 for those officers had high double consciousness.

Post hoc Turkey HSD tests for the retreatist scale indicate that the low double consciousness group and the high double consciousness group differed significantly in their scores with a very low effect size ($p < .05$, $d = -1.8$). Likewise, there was also a statistically significant mean difference on retreatist between moderate double consciousness group and high double consciousness group ($p < .05$, $d = -.8$). These findings are further evidenced in the Homogeneous Subset post hoc analyses, a procedure for displaying post hoc tests when group sizes are quite different (Morgan et al., 192). Separate subsets were computed for the double consciousness scale, whereas groups listed in the same subset are not significantly different. Thus, the scores for officers with low double consciousness are not different from those with moderate double consciousness (p = .11). Likewise, those retreatist officers with moderate double consciousness are not different from those with high double consciousness (p = .37). But, retreatist officers with low double consciousness scores are different from those retreatist officers with high double consciousness scores.

Table 4

Means and Standard Deviations Comparing Three Double Consciousness Groups

Double Conscious	Conformist			Retreatist			Innovation			Ritualist			Rebellion		
	n	*M*	*SD*	*n*	*M*	*SD*	*n*	*M*	*SD*	*n*	*M*	*SD*	*n*	*M*	*SD*
Low	2	2.5	.71	2	1.5	.71	2	3.5	.71	2	3.0	.00	2	2.0	.00
Moderate	45	2.4	.62	46	2.3	.58	43	3.3	.62	45	2.6	.68	42	2.5	.51
High	31	2.7	.72	31	2.8	.70	28	3.6	.50	29	2.3	.72	30	2.7	.55
Total	78	2.6	.67	79	2.5	.69	73	3.4	.59	76	2.5	.70	74	2.6	.53

Table 5

One-Way Analysis of Variance Summary Table Comparing Double Consciousness on Conformist, Retreatist, Innovation, Ritualist, and Rebellion Test

Source	*df*	*SS*	*MS*	*F*	*p*
Conformist Scale					
Between Group	2	2.01	1.00	1.28	.109
Within Group	75	33.03	.44		
Total	77	35.04			
Retreatist					
Between Group	2	7.01	3.5	8.68	.000
Within Group	76	30.67	.40		
Total	78	37.67			
Innovation					
Between Group	2	1.72	.86	2.55	.085
Within Group	70	23.54	.34		
Total	72	25.26			
Ritualist					
Between Group	2	2.02	1.01	2.11	.128
Within Group	73	34.86	.48		
Total	75	36.88			
Rebellion					
Between Group	2	1.02	.51	1.89	.159
Within Group	71	19.14	.27		
Total	73	20.16			

Additionally, there were also statistically significant mean differences on rebellion between the low double consciousness and both moderate double consciousness group (p = .000) and the high double consciousness group (p = .000) using the Games-Howell post hoc test. The mean difference between rebellion officers who scored low on double consciousness and those who scored high was -.52 (p = .000), indicating that this is a statistically significant difference. Similarly, the mean difference between rebellion officers who scored high and those officers who scored low on double consciousness was -.67 (p = .000), also indicating a statistically significant difference. Results from Table(s) 4 and 5 provide evidence of a singular double consciousness influence on retreatist police behavior absent other significant factors.

Results from the correlation matrix in Table 6 provide findings on bivariate correlations of the scale variables to measure the significant relationships among the anomie scale variables and the double consciousness scale. Because each the five anomie variables were normally distributed and the assumptions of linearity was not marked violated, Pearson's correlations were computed to examine the inter-correlations of the variables.

The measures show that five of the six pairs of variables were significantly correlated. The strongest correlation is found between the double consciousness scale and retreatism scale, (r = .469), p < .000. The significant correlation is interpreted to mean that African American police officers who had a high degree of double consciousness were also very retreatist. Conformist was also positively correlated with double consciousness (r = .225), p = .048. The findings suggest that African American officers who had a high degree of double consciousness were also very conformist. However, the measures suggest an inverse relationship between double consciousness and ritualist (r = -.234), p = .042. These correlations are explored further

is multivariate analyses to measure the extent of double consciousness influence on the scale variables.

Table 6

Correlation Matrix – Anomie and Double Consciousness Variables

Variables	1	2	3	4	5	6
1. CONFORMISTSC	1					
2. RETREATSCALE	.413**	1				
3. INNOVATIONSCALE	.088	.035	1			
4. RITUALISMSCALE	.159	.014	-.089	1		
5. REBELLNEWSCALE	.214	.452**	-.045	-.018	1	
6. DBLCONNEWSCALE	.225*	.428**	.220	-.234*	.198	1

*p < .05, **p < .01
Listwise N= 84

Table 7 provides bivariate relationship results on the scale measures and independent variables for determination on whether an association is found among anomie and police officer's age, years in law enforcement, number of years at current agency, gender, rank, and geographic location.

The measures show that three of the five of anomie variables were significantly correlated with two independent variables. Both age and rank, respectfully, are observed to have an inverse correlation with retreatism. It should be noted the association between police officer age and retreatist is a polyserial correlation, which may create an attenuated coefficient resulting in the coefficient being deflated. The stronger negative correlation is found between age and retreatism scale, ($r = -.22$), $p < .023$, whereas rank ($r = -.318$), $p = .007$. The significant correlation age and retreatist is interpreted to mean that younger African American police officers experienced more retreatist behavior than older officers.

Table 7

Correlation Matrix – All Variables

Variables	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11
1. CONFORMISTSC	1										
2. RETREATSCALE	.41**	1									
3. INNOVATIONSCALE	.09	.04	1								
4. RITUALISMSCALE	.16	.01	-.09	1							
5. REBELLNEWSCALE	.21	.45**	-.05	-.02	1						
6. Age	-.11	-.25*	.03	-.21	-.18	1					
7. Years in Law Enforcement	.09	.02	.04	.06	-.17	.70	1				
8. Years at Current Agency	-.02	.22	-.06	-.09	.02	.44	.62**	1			
9. Gender	.03	.05	-.04	.08	-.03	-.11	-.03	.07	1		
10. Rank	-.21	-.32*	.11	.02	-.45**	.50	.47**	.27*	.03	1	
11. Geographic Location	-.06	.06	.11	-.16	-.15	-.14	-.14	.13	.09	-.21	1

*p < .05, **p < .01
Listwise N= 84

The negative correlation between police officer rank and retreatism (r = -.32), p = .007 would indicate lower-rank officers score higher on retreatist behavior than officers with higher rank. Further evidence of this declaration is supported in the inverse correlation findings between police officer rank and rebellion, r(= -.45), p = .000. This suggests that lower-rank officers are more likely to exhibit rebellious behaviors than officers with senior-rank. This position is explored further in the discussion section.

4.3 Ordinary Least Squares Regression Models Predicting Anomie

To investigate how well gender, time in years in law enforcement, time in years service to current agency, rank, and geographic location predict anomie, after controlling for double consciousness, a ordinary least squares linear regression models were computed. Means and

standard deviations are presented in Table 4 – 5. Table 8 – 12 includes the results for each of the

five measures of anomie as dependent variables to test the stated hypotheses.

4.3.1 Conformist Police and Predictors

Model 1 in Table 8 present the results of regression analysis predicting conformist police

behavior and gender, time in years in law enforcement, time in years service to current agency,

rank, and geographic location, after controlling for double consciousness. When double

consciousness was entered alone, it was not a significant predictor of conformist behavior, $F =$

2.348, $p = .131$, adjusted $R^2 = .021$. It is revealed that when the other variables were added in

Model 2, they were not statistically significant predictors of conformist police behavior.

The beta weights and significance values, presented in Table 8, indicate which variable(s)

contributes most to predicting conformist behavior, when age, time in years in law enforcement,

time in years at current agency, gender, and geographic location are entered together as

predictors. With this combination of predictors, time in years in law enforcement has the highest

beta (.41) and police officer current rank (-.31) is the only variables that contribute significantly

($p < .05$) to predicting conformist behavior. Unstandardized coefficient values are examined to

provide a good indication on how these significant variables are weighted to best predict

outcomes. Most telling, officer rank (-.13), suggests that a one-unit increase in officer rank is

associated with a -.13 decrease in conformist police behavior. The findings would suggest

conformist behavior is associated with lower rank officers. A couple explanations are offered to

explain this association. First, new officers coming into law enforcement organizations may be

seeking acceptance from veteran officers and are conforming to the dominant police culture until

while attempting to figure things out for themselves. Also, these low-ranking officers would

include officers who have seniority based on time in service, yet have remained in lower ranked

positions due to not seeking advancement in the department. Therefore, these officer's

exemplify conformist behavior in his/her current law enforcement role.

Table 8

Stepwise Regression Analysis Summary Predicting Officer Conformist Behavior from Demographic Variables

Variable	*B*	*SEB*	*β*	R^2	ΔR^2
Step 1				.04	.04
Double Consciousness	.241	.16	.19		
Constant	1.78	.54			
Step 2				.18	.14
Double Consciousness	.27	.16	.21		
Age	-.09	.08	-.22		
Years in Law Enforcement	.22	.11	.41*		
Years in Agency	-.06	.11	-.09		
Gender	.014	.19	.010		
Rank	-.13	.06	-.31*		
Region	-.02	.09	-.03		
Constant	2.04	.71			

*$p < .05$; **$p < .01$

4.3.2 Retreatist Police and Predictors

Table 9 illustrates results from ordinary least squares regression models predicting police

officer retreatist behavior and gender, time in years in law enforcement, time in years in service

at current agency, rank, and geographic location, after controlling for double consciousness.

When double consciousness was entered alone, it significantly predicted retreatist behavior, *F* =

17.327, p = .001, adjusted R^2 = .208. As indicated by the R^2, approximately 22% of the variance

in retreatist behavior could be predicted by knowing officer's double consciousness. When the

other variables were added, they significantly improved the prediction, R^2 change = .326, F =

6.587, p = .000. The entire group of variables significantly predicted retreatist officer behavior,

F= 9.48, p = .000, adjusted R^2 = .49, as double consciousness remained a statistically significant

predictor.

Table 9

Stepwise Regression Analysis Summary Predicting Officer Retreatist Behavior from Demographic Variables

Variable	B	SEB	β	R^2	Δ R^2
Step 1				.22	.22
Double Consciousness	.613	.147	.47**		
Constant	.396	.502			
Step 2				.55	.33
Double Consciousness	.614	.12	.47**		
Age	-.17	.06	-.39*		
Years in Law Enforcement	.08	.08	.14		
Years in Agency	.28	.08	.41**		
Gender	.16	.15	.11		
Rank	-.16	.05	-.37**		
Region	-.06	.07	-.08		
Constant	.62	.55			

*p ‹ .05; **p ‹ .01*

The beta weights and significance values, presented in Table 9, indicate which variable(s) contributes most to predicting retreatist behavior, when age, time in years in law enforcement, time in years at current agency, gender, and geographic location are entered together as predictors. With this combination of predictors, double consciousness has the highest beta (.47). Police Officer age (-.39), time in service at current agency (.41), and current rank (-.37) also contributes significantly to predicting officer retreatist behavior.

The unstandardized coefficient values are examined for predicting the best outcome among the variables. Double consciousness (.61) implies that as retreatist behavior increases, there is a .61increase in double consciousness. This is interpreted to mean that double consciousness accounts for a .61 increase in police officer retreatist behavior, controlling for all other variables in the model. Age (-.17) suggests a one-unit increase in officer's age is associated with a .17 decrease in retreatist police behavior. Additionally, time in years in current agency (.28) would suggest for each one unit increase in years at the current police agency is associated with a .28 increase in retreatist behavior. Finally, police officer's current rank (-.16) suggests a one-unit increase in officer's rank is associated with a .16 decrease in retreatist officer behavior. Hence, lower rank officers were who had a high degree of double consciousness were also very retreatist. These findings are particularly important in confirming Hypothesis 2, that the relationship between retreatist police behavior and double consciousness.

4.3.3 Innovation Police and Predictors

Table 10 presents the results ordinary least squares regression models for predicting police officer innovation behavior and gender, time in years in law enforcement, time in years in service at current agency, rank, and geographic location, after controlling for double

consciousness. When double consciousness was entered in the model alone it was found to be a
significant predictor of innovation behavior, $p = .031$.

When the other variables were added in Model 2, they were not shown to be statistically
significant predictors of innovation behavior. The beta weights and significance values
presented in Table 10 indicates that only double consciousness contributes to predicting
innovation police behavior, when age, time in years in law enforcement, time in years at current
agency, gender, and geographic location are entered together as predictors.

Table 10

*Stepwise Regression Analysis Summary Predicting Officer Innovation Behavior from Demographic
Variables*

Variable	B	SEB	β	R^2	ΔR^2
Step 1				.08	.08
Double Consciousness	1.89	.85	.28		
Constant	14.38	2.89			
Step 2				.15	.07
Double Consciousness	1.79	.88	.27*		
Age	.02	.43	.01		
Years in Law Enforcement	.09	.60	.03		
Years in Agency	-.17	.60	-.05		
Gender	1.09	1.07	.14		
Rank	.39	.34	.18		
Region	-.32	.50	-.10		
Constant	12.27	4.0			

*$p < .05$; **$p < .01$

4.3.4 Ritualist Police and Predictors

Table 11 illustrates ordinary least squares regression models for predicting police officer ritualist behavior and gender, time in years in law enforcement, time in years in service at current agency, rank, and geographic location, after controlling for double consciousness. When double consciousness is entered alone, it significantly predicted ritualist behavior, $F = 4.25$, $p = .044$, adjusted $R^2 = .051$. However, as indicated by the adjusted R^2, only 5% of variance in ritualist police behavior could be predicted by double consciousness. Model 2 indicates when the other variables were entered into the table, the model prove not to be statistically significant $F = 1.41$, $p = .23$. The beta weights and significance values, presented in Table 11, indicate which variable(s) contributes most to predicting ritualist behavior, when age, time in years in law enforcement, time in years at current agency, gender, and geographic location are entered together as predictors. With this combination of predictors, double consciousness has the highest beta (-.089) followed by geographic region (-.286), which suggests these two variables contributes significantly to predicting ritualist behavior.

The unstandardized coefficient values are presented for predicting the best outcome among the variables. Double consciousness (-.34) implies that a one-unit increase in double consciousness is associated with a .34 decrease in ritualist behavior, controlling for all other variables in the model. Geographic region (-.20) indicate a one-unit increase in geographic region is associated with a .20 decrease in ritualist police behavior. This is interpreted to suggest that a geographic shift in ritualist behavior occur across law enforcement agencies in Northeastern, Southeastern, Midwest, Southwestern, and Western regions of the United States. Furthermore, the findings would imply some African American officers in certain geographic regions have become complacent in their career and do not desire to pursue further career

advancement in their particular agency. The findings are particularly important in confirming

Hypothesis 4, stating a statistically significant relationship between ritualist police behavior and

double consciousness.

Table 11

Stepwise Regression Analysis Summary Predicting Officer Ritualist Behavior from Demographic Variables

Variable	B	SEB	β	R^2	ΔR^2
Step 1				.07	.07
Double Consciousness	-.34	.17	-.26*		
Constant	3.7	.57			
Step 2				.19	.13
Double Consciousness	-.34	.17	-.25*		
Age	-.15	.08	-.36		
Years in Law Enforcement	-.01	.12	.02		
Years in Agency	.05	.16	.07		
Gender	.13	.20	.08		
Rank	.04	.07	.09		
Region	-.20	.10	-.29*		
Constant	4.51	.76			

*$p < .05$; **$p < .01$

4.3.5 Rebellion Police and Predictors

Finally, Table 12 illustrates the results of rebellion adaptation behavior regressed on

gender, time in years in law enforcement, time in years in service at current agency, rank, and

geographic location, after controlling for double consciousness. Model 1 reveals when double

consciousness was entered alone, it was a significant predictor of rebellion police behavior, $F = 8.73$, $p = .004$, adjusted $R^2 = .13$. As indicated by the R^2, approximately 13% of the variance in rebellion behavior could be predicted by knowing double consciousness. When the other variables were added, they significantly improved the prediction, R^2 change $= .44$, $F = 5.02$, $p = .000$. The entire group of variables significantly predicted retreatist officer behavior, $F = 6.06$, $p = .000$, adjusted $R^2 = .37$, as double consciousness remained a statistically significant predictor.

The beta weights and significance values, presented in Table 12, indicates which variables most contribute to predicting rebellion police behavior when age, time in years in law enforcement, time in years at current agency, gender, and geographic location are entered together as predictors. With this combination of predictors, double consciousness has the highest beta (.39), time in service at current agency (.36), and police officer current rank (-.48) also contributes significantly to predicting police rebellion behavior.

The unstandardized coefficient values are examined for predicting the best outcome among the variables. Double consciousness (2.48) implies that for each one-unit increase in double consciousness, there is a 2.48 increase in police rebellion behavior, controlling for all other variables in the model. Time in years in current agency (1.20) indicates that for each one-unit increase in years at the current police agency, there is a 1.20 unit increase in rebellion behavior. Finally, police officer's current rank (-1.00) implies that a one-unit increase in officer's rank is associated with a 1.0 decrease in officer rebellion behavior. This is interpreted to suggest that officers with lower rank officers were also very rebellion. The findings are particularly important in confirming Hypothesis 5, stating a statistically significant relationship between rebellion police behavior and double consciousness.

Table 12

Stepwise Regression Analysis Summary Predicting Officer Rebellion Behavior from Demographic Variables

Variable	B	SEB	β	R^2	ΔR^2
Step 1				.13	.13
Double Consciousness	2.27	.77	.36		
Constant	7.37	2.62			
Step 2				.44	.32
Double Consciousness	2.5	.66	.39**		
Age	.05	.32	.03		
Years in Law Enforcement	-.88	.46	-.32		
Years in Agency	1.20	.46	.36*		
Gender	.72	.78	.10		
Rank	-1.00	.26	-.48**		
Region	.44	.38	-.13		
Constant	9.85	3.00			

*p ‹ .05; **p ‹ .01*

4.4 Summary of Findings

The current study was conducted to explore correlates of structural strain theory with double consciousness to examine ethnic-based work experiences among African American police officers. This study aligns with prior research, which posits ethnic-identification is shaped in the context of organizational cultures where ethnic-boundaries are formed, and maintained. Seeking to advance literature on ethnic-identification and organization behavior, this study was designed to measure the influence of double conscious in shaping the organizational adaptation

strategies among African American police officers in discovery of police ethnicity. Police ethnicity was conceptualized to contain four categories of personality types to include conformist, innovation, ritualist, retreatist, and rebellion police behaviors.

Findings demonstrated that double consciousness correlates with three of the police personalities (retreatist, ritualist, rebellion). This discovery of a double consciousness influence in these personality types provides support for further investigation into the significant impacts of race and ethnic identification in shaping police officer's work behaviors. The findings also reveal police officer age and rank correlates with retreatist officer behavior, whereas police officer rank also correlates with rebellion behavior. Particularly, the findings suggest younger officers are more likely to experience retreatist police behavior, as opposed to senior officers and administrators. Affirmation to these findings are supported in the discovery that lower-rank police officer's, as opposed to high-ranking officers/administrators are found to report retreatistist, and rebellion police behaviors. The results of these findings are discussed further in the discussion section.

An examination on the relative influence of double consciousness regressed independently on each of the five police personality types found that double consciousness is a statistically significant predictor of ritualist, retreatist, rebellion officer behavior respectively. The findings provide additional support to the influence of race in shaping the organization adaptation strategies among African American officers, thus alluding to discovery of police ethnicity. Additionally, it can be determined that African American officers may perceive the issue of race to be a relevant factor in defining their individual work experiences. Consequently, African American officers who have become aware of systemic racialized differences and ethnic

boundaries existing in organizational cultures must devise strategies for achieving the job of policing–therefore police ethnicity.

The influence of double consciousness was also evidenced in findings from ordinary least squares regression models (OLS) in which the five police personalities were regressed on several demographic predictors. Time in years in law enforcement and police officer rank were revealed to be statistically significant positive predictors for conformist police behavior. The findings would suggest that police officers with greater seniority have more likely conformed to their role as a law enforcement officer, as opposed to younger officers.

Double consciousness was found to be a statistically significant predictor for retreatist officer behavior. Furthermore, police officer age and officer rank were also significant factors in predicting retreatist behavior. The findings suggest lower ranked younger officers are more likely to have retreatist behaviors, as opposed to more senior-level officials. A potential explanation to this finding is understood through the socialization process of minority officers into a majority White male occupational culture. Comparatively, African American officers in lower police rank are likely to become retreatist from the predominately White male organizational cultures where identifiable ethnic boundaries systemically impede these officers professional growth potential.

The findings also reveal double consciousness was a significant positive predictor for ritualist behavior. More notably, geographic region was found to be a significant inverse predictor of ritualist officer behavior. The findings suggest ritualist behaviors are significantly different across the various regions of the United States. Further elucidation of this premise would suggest that African American officers in particular regions of the country are more likely to experience ritualist police behavior than officers in other geographic regions. This would

further purport that law enforcement agencies in certain regions of the country are more exposed to having organizational cultures systemic of ethnic boundaries wherein African American officers become complacent in their current police role and lacks desire to pursue professional advancement within the agency.

The final analyses reveal double consciousness, time in years in law enforcement, and police officer rank were statistically significant predictors for rebellion police behavior. The findings suggest lower-rank officers, as opposed to senior-rank officers and administrators are more likely to experience a rebellion work personality. Theoretically, police rebellion behaviors define police officer's reactionary behaviors to self-alienate from negative work cultures where race and ethnic identification are central to differential work experiences between African American and White officers. Therefore, rebellion behaviors are suggested to appear in many forms in which an officer desires to disassociate from members in the organization, or the organization as a whole. Further elaboration on the importance of these findings is presented in the discussion section.

Conclusively, findings from each of the ordinary least squares regression models suggest the role of race remains an underlying factor in the working personalities of African American officers, but only becomes relevant under certain individual profiles during periods requiring these officers to adapt to changes in the organization environment.

CHAPTER 5

Discussion and Future Research

This section provides an overview on the empirical findings of this current study on police ethnicity and double consciousness. First, a review of the problem statement is reviewed to explain the relevance for pursuing the current study. Second, each of the research hypotheses that were constructed and tested for measuring strain (anomie) among African American police officers is summarized to determine validity or lack thereof. Next, a presentation on empirical relevance is provided to align the findings and implications of this study with practical application of law enforcement in American societies. Finally, police ethnicity is revisited to explain how the findings of this current study contribute to empirical understanding on this phenomenon.

5.1 The Problem Statement Revisited.

Existing literature on the working behaviors of police officers are deprived of a fundamental understanding on the role and purpose of police officers' ethnicity in shaping the organizational behaviors of police officers. Britz (2003) suggests "few studies have considered the effect of socialization on these newcomers who have entered a culture often characterized as overtly chauvinistic and racist" (p. 130). Most importantly, there is a real lack of understanding relative to the role of double-consciousness in applying to the work behaviors of black police officers. Absent the existence of an ethnic-identification framework, we cannot begin to truly understand the African American police officer's experiences.

The literature review section provided basic concepts that were determined to be important in assessing the role of race and African American police officer's integration into police organization cultures. These literatures suggest the patterns of African American officers'

integration into policing have provided considerable attention to racial and ethnic diversity in law enforcement. Unfortunately, these lines of inquiries have not considered police officer's integration strategies that would lend greater understanding on officer's transformation into the role of police. Von Maanen (as cited in Britz, 1997) posit that "upon entry into the police organization, incumbents are the most persuasive in shaping the recruit's occupational behavior patterns" (p. 129). Von Maanen describes the socialization process as a "psychological contract", whereas it is achieved only after a four-step initiation phase involving pre-entry, admittance, change, and continuance (as cited in Britz, 1997). Both the change and continuance phase represent relevant positions in this socialization process in which a transformational change will determine the police officer's working personality in relation to her/his police counterparts. Von Maanen (as cited in Britz, 1997), suggests that "assumption is made that the transformation from organizational outsider to accepted colleague ensures ideological solidification" (p. 130). Britz (1997) surmises, "the possibility that the individual member is merely playing a role or displaying individual adaptive techniques, unique to race or gender expectations, has not been explored" (p. 130).

The study examined the convergence of organization strain and double consciousness to explain the role of race in shaping African American police officer's work experiences. Using data that was collected from the National Organization of Black Law Enforcement Executives (NOBLE) and Indiana Black Troopers Association, this current study analyzed data from over 80 African American law enforcement officers representing local, state, and federal agencies across the six region of the continental United States.

5.2 The Hypotheses Revisited

Hypotheses 1 – 5 were initially tested using correlation matrixes to determine the significant relationship between each of the anomie scales and double consciousness. Results from these correlation analyses conclude a significant relationship between retreatist police and double consciousness ($p = .000$). Significant relationships were also revealed between double consciousness and ritiualist police ($p = .05$), and rebellion police ($p = .04$). Consequently, subsequent tests using ordinary least squares regression analyses were analyzed to understand the influence of other demographic variables on predicting the five-anomie adaptation strategies, while controlling for double consciousness.

Hypothesis 1 (conformist police and double consciousness) was formed with the rationale that double consciousness was a significant factor in shaping police officers conformist police behavior. The results indicate double consciousness is not a significant predictor of conformist behavior among African American officers. However, police officer time in years as a law enforcement officer ($p = .046$), and police officer current rank ($p = .40$) are found to significantly predict police officer's conformist behavior. These findings suggest that conformist African American police officers accept the proscribed goals and means of policing and do not view race as a significant factor in their conforming to the policing ideology. This is interpreted to mean that conformist behavior is more prevalent among lower rank officers, as compared to executive-level administrators. Further explanation suggests officers may progress in time in service but are not progressing in rank. Also, younger officers who possess a college degree education status may have a separate orientation on the police role than officer with less education status. These highly educated officers may recognize organizational culture problems on their initial start and would potentially begin innovation strategies, or practices sooner than other officers.

Hence, these highly educated officers would potentially advance rank quicker than less educated

officers, which would indicate rank not age is a factor in conformist police behavior. These

findings suggests a convergence of Von Maanen's "ideological solidification" on the

transformation from organizational outsider to accepted colleague and Sklansky's (2004) concept

of "blue is blue", in which the job shapes the officer, not the other way around. Therefore,

conformists are those officers who have successful integrated into police organization cultures

and have accepted both the goals and means of policing as proscribed by the police brotherhood.

Hypothesis 2 (retreatist behavior and double consciousness) was developed on the

rationale that as African American police officers experience role conflict and/or an awareness of

role deprivation as compared to their White police counterpart, these officers will reject the

formal goals and proscribed means of policing. Double consciousness was found to be a

significant predictor of retreatist police behavior ($p = .001$). The results also conclude police

officer age ($p = .008$), time in service at current agency ($p = .003$), and current rank ($p = .000$)

contributes significantly to predicting police officer retreatist behavior. Therefore, it is

determined that aspects of race maybe interwoven within police organization cultures that

function to distinguish occupational differences among officers. African American officers who

are experiencing retreatism maybe reacting to unfavorable work conditions and experiences that

force these officers to withdraw from previously defined professional aspirations.

Hypothesis 3 (innovation and double consciousness) was developed through the rationale

that African American police officers are adapting to a changing environment and sees

traditional means of his/her white counterpart is incompatible with their experiences. The results

indicate double consciousness is a significant predictor of innovation behavior ($p = .03$).

Therefore, the role of race is determined a significant factor in explaining differences in policing

experiences among African American and White officer. These recognized differences require African American officers to alter their police practices in order to achieve the desired policing objectives.

Hypothesis 4 (ritualist and double consciousness) was conceived through a rationale that African American police officers' differential policing experiences are attributed to their race/ethnicity. These officers' are complacent in current police role. Separate from innovation behavior, ritualist behavior results from African American officers experiencing institutional or systemic barriers that are attributed race. The results indicate double consciousness is a significant predictor of ritualist police behavior (p = .04). It is also revealed that geographic region significantly predicts ritualist behavior (p = .04). The findings suggest African American officers come to recognize their status in the police agency is that of a token cop, which serves the primary purpose of minority representation. These officers self-alienate from the majority White-male police culture and co-mingle with other African American officers. As stated by Sklansky (2004) "blue is blue: the job shapes the officer, not the other way around". Police officers of all kinds are assumed to make peace with the "White", masculine, heterosexual ethos' of policing, or to have difficulty lasting (Sklanski, 2004).

Hypothesis 5 (rebellion and double consciousness) was developed through a rationale that African American police officers have rejected traditional policing philosophies and methods and have replaced traditional policing practices with ones consistent with their experiences. This assertion rests on a demarcation in police organization cultures that is defined through race. The results find double consciousness is a statistically significant predictor of rebellion police behavior (p = .004). In addition, time in service at current agency (p = .01) and current rank (p = .000) are also significant in predicting rebellion police behavior.

Double consciousness ($\beta = .39$) suggests that for each one-unit increase in double consciousness, there is a .39 unit increase in rebellion behavior. Time in years at current agency ($\beta = .36$) indicates for each one-unit increase in years in service at current agency, there is a .36 unit increase in rebellion police behavior. Lastly, police officer current rank ($\beta = -.48$) suggests a one-unit increase in police officer current rank is associated with a .48 unit decrease in rebellion behavior. Combined, these predictors suggest a bourgeoning double consciousness develops as officers remain in a department where the pervasive demarcation in officers work experiences is attributed specifically to police officer race. These extreme organization cultures function to impede professional mobility while negatively impacting these officers ability to adequately function in the role of police.

5.3 Empirical Relevance of Present Study

The extreme nature of police rebellion was displayed in the actions of Officer Christopher Donner of the Los Angeles Police Department. According to a CNN report from February 14, 2013, Christopher Dorner began a killing rampage on February 3, 2013 due to his claims of being "railroaded out of the department after filing a brutality report against another officer" (McLaughlin et al., 2013). According to the report, Dorner is stated in his manifesto to accuse the LAPD of "a longstanding culture of racism and misconduct" that he claimed had only worsened since the 1991 beating of motorist Rodney King (McLaughlin et al., 2013).

Johnson (2006) frames the rebellion behavior of Officer Christopher Dorner when he suggests that "for Black officers to co-exist in police cultures, the officers must "buy-in" to the culture of the criminals being the underclass and exhibit many of the same authoritarian traits their white counterparts do to survive" (p.7). Johnson (2006) also suggests "Black police officers must exhibit a go along to get along attitude; and therefore their personalities must

match that of the White officers" (p. 8). Thus, "black police officers are free to express the latent authoritarianism that is desired by the profession by abusing blacks and Hispanics in much the same way as white officers…"(Johnson, 2006, p. 5). Officer Dorner first rebelled against a "racist" police culture by reporting the unlawful actions of a fellow officer. Unfortunately, Officer Dorner became the subject of inquiry and became labeled "a bad cop" by his White police counterparts, as well as administrators. Ultimately, a burgeoning double consciousness from being a victim of failed trust in a racist organization culture, coupled with the emotions of rage from being ostracized from a police brotherhood that Officer Dorner previously enjoyed, created the context for extremist rebellion behaviors. As Officer Christopher Dorner stated (as cited in CNN Report, 2013), "I am a man who has lost complete faith in the system, when the system betrayed, slandered, and libeled me".

The intended objective of this research study was to discover the influence of double consciousness in the formation of organizational behaviors among African American police officer to explain how the work experiences of these officers is useful in defining police ethnicity. Double consciousness was predicted to exist as an underlying factor in African American officer's reaction to strain experienced in a predominately White-male occupational environment. The results reveal double consciousness is evidenced in retreatist, ritualist, innovation, and rebellion police personality types, and thus perpetuates police ethnicity.

5.4 Police Ethnicity Re-visited

Chan (as cited in Holdaway &O'Neill, 2006) suggests "there is a complex relationship between internal and external factors that account for change, it is important to understand how officers, in our case black officers', construct and present *their* interpretations of it, and act on that foundation" (p. 497). Furthermore, "occupational culture and associated notions of ethnicity

are social constructions founded upon interpretations and presentations of the world" (Holdaway & O'Neill, 2006, p. 497). In their summation, Holdaway & O'Neill (2006) argues "police ethnicity is a social construction that presents a united view of black officers to constabularies, to government and other institutions…BPA's created 'police ethnicity' to claim an essential ethnic and racialized position within constabularies" (p. 499).

The findings in this present study illustrate a contradictory perspective on the formation of police ethnicity. The correlates of African American officers' occupational strain and double consciousness provides empirical evidence to suggest these officers' are adapting to pervasive ethnic boundaries found in the occupational cultures, which require these officers to act on that foundation. The empirical findings further suggest African American officers, as opposed to White officers, must negotiate their ethnic identification throughout the context of the formal and informal work environment. One potential explanation may reside in the actuality that police occupational cultures are defined explicitly through "racialized-identity", whereas African American and other minority officers must adapt to the White-male heterosexual ethos of policing or have trouble lasting (Sklanski, 2004). In conclusion, this present study provides overwhelming empirical evidence to support the assertion that police ethnicity has its origins in police occupational cultures in which sustained and systemic ethnic boundaries shape the different work experiences of police officers.

5.5 Limitations of the Current Study

One identified limitation of this current study is the scaled anomie dependent variables developed for measuring police officer's adaptation strategies. Each variable was formed through literature specific to Robert Merton's (1949) structural strain (anomie) theory. Yet,

these formed variables are conceptualized and operationalized through the researcher's interpretation of their respective application to police officer's behaviors.

A second limitation of the study is the conceptual and operational application of double consciousness as an intervening variable used to explain the various anomie (strain) adaptation behaviors. The conceptual frame for double consciousness was derived from W. E. B. Du Bois' (1995) articulation of the African American "two-ness" in which African Americans "live in a world which yields him no true self-consciousness, but only lets him see himself through the revelation of the other world" (p. 45). Though consistent with literature interpretations of double consciousness, this variable is formed through the researcher's literary interpretations of double consciousness that is applicable to African American police officers.

A third limitation to the study is the honesty of African American officers' responses while completing the research instrument. Although honesty in survey responses are assumed, possibilities do exist that some responses were not the true sentiments of the officers, or the responses were true to their emotional state at the time of responding. Though the researcher tried to be clear in the presentation of questions in the questionnaire, it is extremely possible many police officers could have interpreted the same question differently.

A final limitation of the study is the sample size from which results were analyzed and findings were reported. The sample size consists of 84 African American law enforcement officers from across the United States. Nevertheless, having a sample of respondents that are representative of all six geographic regions of the United States provides the researcher comfort that findings can be generalize to the population of African American police officers.

5.6 Recommendations and Conclusion

The following sections presents discussions on relevant findings from this current study as these findings relate to the law enforcement profession. Recommendations are made to align research findings with future studies to further advance understanding on the role of race in police organization cultures. In the conclusion section, a final overview of the stated goals and relevant findings are discussed to align these findings with police ethnicity.

5.6.1 Recommendations for Future Research

This research initiative was pursued to advance understanding on the importance of race in shaping police organization cultures. To achieve this research objective, this research analyzed components of race and adaptation to organization cultures as determinants for explaining the work experiences of African American police officers. This current study is separate from previous studies that solely measured African American officer's work-relations with their White counterparts. Hence, this study sought to close the void that exists in truly understanding the impacts of race in explaining the professional experiences of African American officers. As Britz (1997) surmises, "the possibility that the individual member is merely playing a role or displaying individual adaptive techniques, unique to race or gender expectations, has not been explored" (p. 130).

This research produced an extensive amount of data from African American officers as they described the role of race in shaping their individual work experiences. The findings support the need for future studies that explores the role of race in development of ethnic-based work experiences in organizations.

A separate study examining White officer's perceptions of race would add to the significant findings in this current study. A comparative analysis between the two different

groups of officers would render valuable information on the significant role of race as perceived through both a majority and minority group. This information would be vital for identification of training programs specific to the needs of individual police agencies.

Another advantage for future research on race in police organizations will be to ensure that all police officers regardless of their race or ethnicity receive equitable opportunities for professional mobility within their respective agency. Future studies should implicate the importance of race as a systemic function in the professional mobility track of officers. Particularly, future studies relating police officer's race and professional mobility to the race of the police executive would enhance understanding on the significance of race at the executive decision-making levels of the organization.

Finally, further investigation into the role of double consciousness as an influential factor in shaping the perceptions of race among African American officers is vital for understanding the psychological implication of alienation and isolation. This current study was the first to quantitatively explore the role of race through the prism of African American double consciousness within a micro-level system. Significant correlations were discovered between double consciousness and adaptation strategies to suggest a need for advanced understanding of the phenomenon and future implications. Hence, this study offers a new direction for further explorations into double consciousness as an intervening factor that explains African American officer's perceptions of race-relations in both micro and macro-level systems.

5.6.2 Implications and Conclusion

The following sections present discussion relating to the practical implications of the present study in the professional field of law enforcement. The findings of the study are relating to organizational cultures and directed to law enforcement executive leadership role for assisting

these executives in improving the professional mobility of all officers within their respective

agency. Following, the conclusion section revisits the significant findings of the present study to

explain the study's contribution to the advancement in police professionalism.

5.6.2.1 Implications for Organization Leadership

Leadership is defined as a "process whereby an individual influences a group of

individuals to achieve a common goal" (Northhouse, 2010, p. 3). Thus, an influential

organizational leader is best described as one who uses his/her leadership influence to motivate

all members of the organization towards the achievement of specific goals. Hence, the focus of

organizational leadership is achievement-oriented whereas these leaders must connect all

members in the organization with prescribed organizational goals with the aim of achieving its

stated mission. Gau, Terrill, and Paoline III (2013) assert, "motivated employees are crucial to

the success of any organization" (p. 247). Furthermore, it can be stated that motivated

employees are those who embrace the vision of its leadership and is committed to achieving

organizational goals. Accordingly, organization success is measured through the organizational

commitment of its employees, which is fostered through its organizational leadership.

The findings in this present study have greater implication on the role of leadership in

police organizations. Johnson (2011) suggests "officers behave in ways that were congruent

with their attitudes, but they did so to an even greater extent if their attitudes were consistent

with the norms and structure of their environment" (p. 302). Furthermore, it was concluded that

employee attitude and workplace environment influences, simultaneously influence police

officer work behavior (Johnson, 2011). The findings in this study suggests the sustained ethnic

boundaries found in police organizational environments are systemically alienating African

American officers from total inclusive and full participation in the professional objectives of the

organization. As stated by Gau et al. (2013), "if police executives wish to instill achievement-oriented, as opposed to avoidance oriented motivation in their line personnel, they must first convince these employees that the agency values its employees and is a legitimate employer worthy of their respect" (p. 263).

The findings from this present study recommend that police executives perform an extensive review of the intended nature of their agency's recruitment and hiring of African Americans officers. The pursuit of minority applicants for fulfillment of minority representativeness, absent an inclusive work environment has been proven to be counterproductive to the professional work experiences of these officers. A key finding in this study revealed that systemic ethnic boundaries in police occupational cultures correlate with African American working personality.

The primary policy implication of this study for police executive's center on understanding the role of race in shaping police occupational cultures while shaping the work behaviors of its officers. The external role of race in police occupations has received considerable attention through recent national media reports of police-citizen killings. Yet, little attention is given to internal police cultures where the demarcation of race is evidenced in the promotion and advancement of officers within the department. Morris, Shinn and DuMont (1999) finds "women and minority officers differ from White male officers in their perception of police command whereas actions perceived as fair by one group might be seen as discriminatory by another" (p. 76). Worden, (as cited in Sun, 2003) adds Black officers "are more likely than White officers to question and even reject the White dominated views of police roles that appear to serve and protect predominately White interests and not always suitable or appropriate in Black neighborhoods" (p. 93). Hence, the literature support the findings of this current study

that predominately White-male police occupational culture is at center to the formation of police ethnicity, and the development of the five police personality types. Therefore, it is important for police executives to remain vigilant in creating an organizational culture that is inclusive, fair, and provides opportunity for professional growth and mobility for all its officers.

5.6.2.2 Conclusion

This research has presented an exploratory study on African American police officers organizational adaptation strategies in relation to double consciousness with the aim of explaining the significant role of race in shaping these officers professional work experience. The work attitudes of African American officers have been the subject of a line of inquiry attempting to explain the impacts of racial integration on police organizations. One question that has not been explored is: What have been the organizational adaptation experiences of African American officers while integrating into a predominantly White police cultures? Guided by Merton's structural strain theory and Du Bois' concept of double consciousness, this current study builds on prior research inquires that have considered the structural environment of organizations where ethnic boundaries are formed by examining the influence of double consciousness in shaping work experiences among police officers. Based upon the findings of this study, there is unequivocal evidence to support the presence of double consciousness to explain the differential work experiences of African American police officers.

Overall, the data indicated several statistically significant relationships are evidenced from the study findings. First, the findings indicate double consciousness is a significant predictor to several strain behaviors including retreastist, innovation, ritualist, and rebellion. The two measures of time in years in law enforcement and police officer current rank were found to significantly predict conformist behavior. The findings suggest African American officers are

experiencing overwhelming psychological strain as evidenced in individual and collective accounts of their work experiences. The evidence further suggests race remains a pervasive and significant factor in police organizations and cultures–although it is desirable for police executives to believe minority representation has resolved the issue of race in policing.

This study presents undeniable evidence to suggest many jurisdictions, as well as police executives has failed in their attempts to successfully implement a strategic goal for minority representation. Since the 1970's police organizations throughout the United States have aggressively pursued minority recruits, particularly African American under the guise of developing a police force that is representative of the communities they serve. Unquestionably, the findings in this current study illustrate how the expediency for minority representativeness was not met with understanding on the particular integration requirements impacting these officers as they began to infiltrate a historically racist police organization culture. Most important, the failures of representativeness are continuously evidenced through media reports of police-community violence, as seen in recent acts of police in Staten Island, New York and Ferguson, Missouri, as well as the unfortunate rebellion behavior of Officer Christopher Dorner of the Los Angeles Police Department.

Finally, having explored the significant findings relating to double consciousness, organization strain, and minority representativeness in policing cultures, the present study uses these evidence-based findings to redress the assumptions of Hardaway & O'Neill (2004) that Black Police Associations "create police ethnicity to claim an essential ethnic and racialized position within constabularies" (p. 499). Holdaway and O'Neill (2004) describes police ethnicity as "a social construction that presents a united view of black officers to constabularies, to government, and to other institutions… essential elements are not concerned with phenomena

usually associated with membership of and ethnic group" (p.499). Applying the concept of ethnic boundary, Holdaway & O'Neill (2004) asserts "boundaries charting a notion of 'police ethnicity' have been constructed and sustained through BPA's strategic use of their member' marginalized position within the police workforce" (p. 484).

Evidence from the current study indicates double consciousness is a dormant psychosocial realism among African American officers, which is manifested when strain is produced within the context of the work environment that is attributed to police officer race. A double consciousness similarity is found in Holdaway & O'Neill' (2004) reference to a "racialized identity" which they describe as "being Black within the police workforce" (p. 484). Both racialized identity and double consciousness are psychological reactionaries to the existence of racial marginality, which in the context of the work environment brings forward the awareness of differential experiences, and opportunities.

The evidence suggests African American police officers must adapt to organizational strain existing in ethnic boundaries whereas racialized organizational cultures systemically limit opportunities for professional mobility for these officers–thus defining ethnic-based work experiences. Hence, it becomes compulsory for these marginalized officers to attain membership in BPA's to seek professional development training that is denied them in their respective agency. Conclusively, the marginalized retreatist, innovationist, ritualist, and rebellious African American officer are not thought to join BPA's to self-marginalize himself or herself from the police organization. But, it is the pervasive racialized police organizational cultures which recruits African American officers under the auspices of representativeness, yet sustains an organization environment that marginalize officers into a "token-cop" role that forces these officers to align with other members of shared experiences. Thus, this study provide evidence

that police ethnicity is defined through specific adaptation strategies occurring within the context of organization cultures where the delineation of race systemically marginalizes minority officers.

Although speculative, the results from this current study recommend police organizations should begin to examine the nature of their organization cultures to better understand their need for a achieving a more inclusive and representative police workforce. Alignment of the findings in this study with current media coverage displaying aggressive police tactical actions in minority communities highlight the need for future research to explore the association between organizational structural impediment and the role of race both internal, and external to the agency. The evidence suggests police executives must now develop managerial strategies that are progressive in their representativeness philosophies for managing multicultural societies. Therefore, the findings from this study suggest police executives undertake procedures to evaluate their agency's organizational cultures in order to directly target diversity training needs specific to their organization requirements.

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