THE THICK BLACK LINE:

AN ANALYSIS OF POLICE OFFICER VIEWS

ON RACIAL PROFILING AND THE POLICE-MINORITY RELATIONSHIP

A Thesis

by

KAREN SUZANNE GLOVER

Submitted to the Office of Graduate Studies of
Texas A&M University
in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of

MASTER OF SCIENCE

December 2003

Major Subject: Sociology

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Approved as to style and content by:

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ABSTRACT

The Thick Black Line:

An Analysis of Police Officer Views on Racial Profiling

and the Police-Minority Relationship. (December 2003)

Karen Suzanne Glover, B.S., Texas A&M University-Corpus Christi

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Much research has been conducted on the police-minority relationship, primarily from the view of the civilian. As central actors, the police view is noticeably absent from the research. I employed in-depth interviews and open-ended survey questions of patrol officers and sergeants in the Novad Texas Police Department about their views on the police-minority relationship and racial profiling.

Through content analysis of the data, I examined two common themes that emerged from the discourse. The first was how "the past" was used to frame contemporary police-minority relations. The dominant narrative was that the historical police-minority relationship was something minorities should "get over" as those practices no longer applied to the current relationship. Counter views to this narrative acknowledged both past and present practices as influential.

The second theme that emerged during the discussion of racial profiling was the primacy of socio-spatial control, encapsulated in one officer's comment about a "white boy in a no white boy zone." For many of the officers, control of predominantly

minority and predominantly white neighborhoods meant that individuals who "did not fit" those respective spaces were subject to increased law enforcement attention. The frequency of the "white boy in a no white boy zone" scenario specifically, and not the reverse scenario that currently charges the debate surrounding racial profiling, suggests that the officers were more comfortable discussing the sensitive issue of racial profiling in this manner.

Three additional areas were examined. The "out of place" doctrine evident in the officers' discussions of racial profiling creates a dilemma for the police officer because the doctrine may be considered both an effective police practice given current community policing initiatives and one that enforces the racial order in the United States. Secondly, statistical discrimination theory was employed by some of the officers to rationalize the targeting of minorities and minority space. Finally, some of the officers discussed the conflux of race/ethnicity with class, and viewed "profiling" of particular groups as based in socioeconomic status.

DEDICATION

This thesis is dedicated to Officer Linda Wilson, who helped me to understand.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

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INTRODUCTION

In the United States, contemporary high profile incidents of police abuse against

minorities, such as the Rodney King beating, the Abner Louima torture case, or the

Amadou Diallo killing, are often followed by public outrage about the state of affairs

between the police and minorities.[1] Each case involved police abuse of power ranging

from the use of excessive force to lack of official accountability for the incidents. The

social processes that may have preceded these high profile incidents by facilitating the

initial "point of contact" between minority civilians and police deserve attention amid

the public protest. The notion of racial profiling has eclipsed most other criticisms and

emerged as perhaps the salient social issue, especially post-September 11[2], affecting the

current police-minority relationship. While the association of physical attributes with

criminality has a long history, notably Lombroso's "criminal man" theory (Fattah 1997),

the concept of racial profiling has been articulated as a particularly pressing social

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This thesis follows the style of the *American Sociological Review*.

[1] In March 1991, Rodney King, a black man, was severely beaten with batons by members of the Los Angeles Police Department, all of whom were white males. The beating was caught on videotape. Jurors in a subsequent trial acquitted all officers involved in the beating, sparking widespread rioting in the LA area in 1992. Civil litigation that followed involved imprisonment for some of the officers involved.
In August 1997, Abner Louima, a black male, was beaten and sexually tortured in a police precinct bathroom by members of the New York City Police Department, all of whom were white males. While one officer has been sentenced to prison, legal proceedings continue.
In February 1999, Amadou Diallo, an unarmed black male, was fired upon 41 times in the vestibule of his apartment building by members of the New York City Police Department, all of whom were white males. Nineteen of the bullets struck him and he died. Jurors in a subsequent trial acquitted all officers involved in the killing.
[2]The attacks on the Twin Towers in New York City and on the Pentagon in the Washington D.C. area on September 11, 2001, were carried out by men of Middle Eastern ancestry. Since then, some have argued that the use of racial profiling is appropriate given national security concerns.

problem for our times and thus may be viewed as somewhat distinct and more narrow an issue than the conventional concept of stereotyping (Gross and Livingston 2002; Volpp 2002; Johnson 2001).

Race and ethnicity, in an increasingly covertly racially ordered society such as the United States (Brooks 1990; Frankenberg 1993; Bonilla-Silva 2001, 2003) complicates social controls formally and informally enforced by the police. Sociological examination of the police-minority relationship offers insight into social control issues that are inextricably linked to inequality issues. Particularly in an era when race-based action is ideologically moderated by notions of "color-blindness" and "reasonable racism," the social mechanisms that operate in subtle ways to maintain the racial order bare examination (Armour 1997; Frankenberg 1993; Bonilla-Silva 2003).

In my study, I examine the views of police officers from a racially diverse, small Texas town on the issue of racial profiling in the larger context of the police-minority relationship. I am interested in examining the police-minority relationship because of the racial ordering found in the United States (Brooks 1990; Massey and Denton 1993; Bonilla-Silva 2001; Feagin and McKinney 2003). Specifically, I analyze the salience of race/ethnicity, space, and socioeconomic status in this relationship. My sociological concerns are the following: are policing practices in what some have described as a racially ordered society race-based as well? If so, what social processes guide the police experience with these practices? These issues are important because they may help explain the longstanding divergence in attitudes toward the police between minorities

and whites (Hagan and Albonetti 1982; Pate and Fridell 1993; Parker, Onyekwuluje and Murty 1995; Tuch and Weitzer 1997; Russell 1998).

I begin by briefly discussing the literature on the minority experience in the criminal justice system, then specifically address the sociological state of affairs regarding the concept of racial profiling. I discuss the social construction of crime and the fear of what has become racialized crime in order to provide context for the police officers' experience in the police-minority relationship. Next I introduce police officer views on the police-minority relationship in general, and analyze a common theme ("the past is the past") that emerged from these responses. From there I present officers' explanations of how they perceive the concept and practice of racial profiling. These responses generated another common theme ("white boy in a no white boy zone") and what I refer to as a "policing dilemma" in the police officers' experience with minority communities, which I examine in the context of residential segregation and, more generally, socio-spatial control. Finally, I examine how statistical discrimination was viewed by some as a rationalization for profiling processes and how socioeconomic status was viewed by a few of the officers as "trumping" race/ethnicity concerns in the police-minority relationship.

LITERATURE REVIEW

Research accounts of the function of the police in the United States are complex. Some emphasize the police position as protective agents of the state who enforce the "fine line" between chaos and order (see Vila and Morris 1999; Websdale 2001). This welcomed role includes keeping the peace and maintaining order for all law-abiding citizens. Others view the historical police mandate as one that protected the interests of predominantly wealthy and white segments of society at the expense of minority groups (Bordua and Reiss 1966; Hawkins and Thomas 1991; Lersch and Feagin 1996; Neocleous 2000). This produced discriminatory law enforcement patterns between race/ethnic groups that are extensively documented in the literature on race/ethnicity and the criminal justice system. Much of this literature focuses on rates of incarceration among groups, types and rates of documented crime committed by groups, sentencing disparities among groups, and similar factors related to a group's criminal justice system experience (Markowitz and Jones-Brown 2000; Russell, Pfeifer, and Jones 2000). Studies suggesting there is "no clear proof" of racial bias in the criminal justice system have been generally criticized for being incomplete, particularly because they neglect to examine the more informal, yet critical aspects of the criminal justice system such as the traffic stop (Russell 1998:27). Other research on the criminal justice system indicates that "blackness" itself has become criminalized (Russell 1998; Presdee 2000). Though there is "academic debate" about the "race effect" in the criminal justice system, there is a widespread perception among minorities that they are differentially treated by the police who are often their point of entry to the criminal justice system (Hagan and

Albonetti 1982; Pate and Fridell 1993; Parker, Onyekwuluje and Murty 1995; Tuch and

Weitzer 1997; Russell 1998). This perception is not limited to minorities. Survey

research on racial attitudes indicates that a majority of whites discern discriminatory

policing patterns against minorities (Schuman, Steeh, Bobo, and Krysan 1997).

Given historical and present day racial dynamics in the United States where

minorities experience lower status than whites, it may be the case that the police feel less

inhibited in their actions with minorities. For example, though the research literature is

somewhat divided as to the effect of a suspect's race/ethnicity on an officer's decision to

use force[3] (Holmes 2000; Sidanius and Pratto 1999; Jacobs and O'Brien 1998; Walker,

Spohn, and DeLone 1996; Worden 1996;), a recent study from the U.S. Department of

Justice (1999) points to a pattern in the use of force. Self-report data on police use of

force nationwide indicates that minorities are about two times more likely to experience

force during contact with the police than are whites that have contact with the police

(U.S. Department of Justice 1999). Yet, The Police Foundation's recent anonymous

survey of over 900 sworn police officers in the United States showed that while well

over half of the black officers agreed that the police are more likely to use force against

minorities than against whites, only 5% of the white officers saw this as the case

(Weisburd et al 2001). These two reports suggest that the police-minority relationship

encompasses social processes that negatively affect minority populations and that

specifically are not recognized and/or acknowledged by some white officers today.

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[3] Particularly when race/ethnicity is considered apart from other 'situational' factors like
socioeconomic status.

Recent history is replete with social movements concerned with the police-minority relationship, such as the Black Panther Party for Self-Defense, a group specifically borne out of frustration with police abuse of power in the black community (Cashmore 1991; Umoja 2001). "Race riots" in the United States in the 1960s to the present day are sparked in large part by conflict between the police and minority communities (Sears 1994; Olzak and Shanahan 1996; Useem 1997). The racial profiling concept of DWB – driving while black – emerged in the 1980s and marked a new beginning for public discourse on the association between race/ethnicity and criminality. More recently, the events of September 11, indeed overnight, altered the discourse of racial profiling in the United States.[4]

The state of racial profiling research in sociology is limited (Russell 2001). Because of recent interest in the issue, however, research on the subject is increasing. The emerging research is frequently quantitative in nature and focuses on "disproportional" issues, as is the case with recent studies in Maryland and New Jersey that provide statistical data on racial patterns of traffic stops by law enforcement (Lamberth 1998; Meeks 2000; Russell 2001; Harris 2002). These studies suggest that certain groups experience contact with the police, through traffic stops and the like, disproportionate to their representation in the general population. Recent quantitative data collection of possible racial profiling of minorities at the point of initial contact with the criminal justice system, that is, with the patrol-level officer, indicates that

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[4] This notion is neatly captured, in light of post-9/11 initiatives that have dramatically widened law enforcement powers, in U.S. Attorney General John Ashcroft's pre-9/11 comment that racial profiling is wrong and "…as big a problem as you can get." (http://archive.aclu.org/news/2001/w030201a.html)

criminologists see a need to examine these more informal aspects of the criminal justice system (Lamberth 1998; Russell 2001; Harris 2002).

Prior to the recent emergence of quantitative analyses of police stops, claims by minorities of being targeted by the police were often viewed as anecdotal accounts from overly sensitive, angry, and disgruntled minorities (Covington 2001). However, even with statistics that point to patterns of disproportionality with minority traffic stops by the police, proponents of racial profiling offer statistical discrimination theory (Phelps 1972; Becker 1993; Armour 1997; Kennelly 1999) to suggest that minorities are disproportionately stopped compared to whites because minorities are disproportionately involved in criminal activity, and/or that "broken window" types of violations like mundane traffic stops offer the first line of defense in guarding against more serious crime (Kelling and Coles 1996; Harris 2002; McDonald 2003).

Other attempts to address racial profiling are found in popular press accounts and in legal journals. The legal journals in particular provide a great deal of scholarship on racial profiling, offering legal arguments and analyses of particular incidents and in the process, shed sociological light on the issue (for examples, see Johnson 1983; Davis 1997; Banks 2001; Gross and Livingston 2002). They also emphasize important distinctions between legal and moral arguments that surround the issue of racial profiling.

The study of the police-minority relationship must consider this relationship in the context of the larger society. Policing does not happen "in a vacuum" but is influenced by social forces that shape the larger society. How a society defines crime

becomes a practical issue in the study of police-minority relations. The amount of documented crime in a given area is a reflection of the amount of formal and informal control that is being exercised in that area (Lowman 1989). Herbert (1996) points out that the police are responsible for enforcing sanctions against legislatively defined activities. Thus law, socially constructed, reflects what is defined as criminal by those with the power to implement laws. Police statistics in particular work to define the "geography of crime," that is, what space and ultimately who becomes marked as criminal, with the validity of these measures a concern in a racially ordered society (Mawby 1989).

In practice, race/ethnicity is a marker of criminality. It works to determine what actions constitute a crime and which of these actions are most severely punished in our society (Lynch 1996). This is evident in our distinguishing between two distinct modes of criminality: white-collar crime and blue collar, or street crime. While the "war on corporate crime" campaign receives much less attention, even post- Enron,[5] Qwest, Tyco International, Worldcom, Aldelphia Communications, Global Crossing, Halliburton, Dynegy, ImClone, and Arthur Anderson, the decades old "war on drugs" campaign continues to be waged in many of our communities.

The "Enrons" of the world are not the kind of crime that we fear when people speak of the fear of crime. The crimes people are fearful of are the street-level crimes like burglary, robbery, and illicit drug sales associated with low-income, predominantly minority neighborhoods. These are the types of crimes generally portrayed by the media

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[5] The years 2001-2003 were marked by several highly publicized corporate malfeasance cases in the U.S., the most visible of which was the Enron Corporation scandal.

in lead stories that work to generate fear in the hearts and minds of white America in particular (Russell 1998). As suggested by Russell (1998: xiii), "blacks are the repository for the American fear of crime." Consequently, some crimes have been racialized, and thus, this connection between race/ethnicity and criminality impacts police practices.

In sum, much research has been conducted on the association of minority status with street crime. The bulk of the literature specifically on the police-minority relationship pertains to attitudinal studies of the civilian view of law enforcement and indicates that minorities are less approving of the police than are whites. There is limited sociological scholarship on the issue of racial profiling, especially from the view of the police officer. Some analysts view the statistical patterns in law enforcement as an indicator of minority criminal tendencies, a concept that received support by some of the officers in my study. Others view the same patterns as evidence of targeted police practices against minorities.

These main points covered in the literature -- the association of minority status with crime, the views of minorities toward the police, and the notion that minority predominance in the criminal justice system may occur because of minority criminal tendencies – provide much needed context for this analysis of police views on the police-minority relationship and racial profiling specifically.

METHODS

The majority of research on the police-minority relationship is studied from the view of the minority civilian, in part because of the guarded nature of the police organization (Punch 1989; Adams 1996). My study is unique in that it allows for a "top down" approach in examining the police-minority relationship. The Novad Texas Police Department was chosen for its convenient location and because the town is racially/ethnically diverse. I employed various qualitative methods, specifically in-depth, semi-structured interviews (see Appendix A) and primarily open-ended survey questions (see Appendix B) of patrol officers and sergeants in the Novad Police Department, to explore the police experience in their interactions with minorities.[6] As central actors, their voices are noticeably absent from the research on the police-minority relationship.

Data collection was handled in the following way. I contacted the Chief of Police in Novad and received approval from him to conduct research in his department. It is noteworthy that the chief allowed me open access to the department, and even joked to me during our initial phone call that the police are known to be a "suspicious bunch." I had little contact with the chief once the logistics of my research were handled, but his

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[6] Both 'pro' and 'con' statements were used as lead-ins with sensitive questions that could bring up controversy (Merriam 2001). For example, the events of September 11 dramatically altered the discourse surrounding racial profiling in the U.S. During the interviews, I briefly mentioned this fact in my transition to the discussion about racial profiling, as well as the idea that some considered racial profiling to be inefficient as it "throws too big a net." All interview questions were pre-tested on three law enforcement officers not associated with the Novad Police Department.

efforts to be transparent facilitated my introduction to the officers with whom I would

spend time with over the next six months. [7]

My research plan was to meet individual officers on ride-alongs,[8] and then ask

each if he or she would volunteer to be formally interviewed by me at a later date. Over

a six month period, I rode with various officers during patrol shifts and gave each of

them general information about my research soon after entering the patrol car. These

ride-alongs ranged from as little as two hours, to the most common span of four to five

hours, on up to eight hours, and provided both the officer involved and myself a chance

to get to know each other a little. Because the police are a 'closed' group who are

generally distrustful of people outside of the organization (Adams 1996; Skolnick and

Fyfe 1993; Waegel 1984), I believe that in order for some of the officers to agree to be

interviewed by me on sensitive issues such as racial profiling, I needed to develop a

rapport with them before asking for their decision regarding a formal interview.

Qualitative research on the criminal justice system, as with other organizations,

relies on the establishment of trust between the researcher and study participants. Lee

(1995) describes how the inherently dangerous nature of police work places the police

researcher in situations where trust in and from the officer is crucial. Rafaeli and Sutton

(1991) describe how research participants are reluctant to cooperate unless trust with the

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[7] While it is not the focus of the present research, in this case the chief was indeed an agent of change for the Novad Police Department and the Novad community as evidenced in many interview references to departmental changes occurring during his relatively brief tenure as chief.
[8] Ride-along programs provided by many police departments in the U.S. offer civilians the opportunity to accompany an officer in his or her patrol car during a shift, the goal being to provide the civilian with a better sense of policing.

researcher is established. Punch (1989: 178) observes that research on the police is successful only when the researcher is able to overcome the "defenses that protect the concealed reality" of the police organization. Skolnick and Fyfe (1993) maintain that the police operate under intense internal solidarity and thus do not trust others outside of the department.

Because of this well-documented aspect of the police organization, in an effort to establish trust with the officers, I decided not to formally document the ride-alongs.[9] This proved to be an effective approach and facilitated communication between me and the individual officers I rode with, as many of them discussed the issues under study with me informally but did not agree to a formal interview later.[10]

The time spent participating in the ride-alongs was considerable. Yet, it benefited my research in two main ways. First, it showed the officers that I was making an attempt to understand what it is that they go through on a regular basis.[11] Secondly, it gave both me and the officer involved a brief opportunity to assess one another.[12]

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[9] Initially, I did not document the ride-alongs. Approximately halfway through the study however, I was convinced to modify my approach to incorporate field note documentation of the ride-alongs, as I was, in some cases, having conversations with officers that were very relevant to my research. After three "trials" of documenting the ride-alongs (and after receiving the consent of the officer involved), however, I realized that this affected my interactions with the officers and dramatically reduced the amount of discussion about the issues under study. I discontinued this modification of the research.

[10] I cannot use this data 'on the record,' but it does work to increase my understanding of the police-minority relationship, and helped me articulate matters with officers who did agree to formal interviews.

[11] On more than one occasion, the officer with whom I was riding commented that the police experience could not be gained from "reading a book."

[12] This was important because I did not have an informant to facilitate my research, though one officer and one sergeant acted in this capacity to a limited degree.

Even so, officers who agreed to be formally interviewed were few. At the time of the research, the Novad Police Department consisted of approximately 105 law enforcement agents. I limited my research to the patrol division because these officers and sergeants, a total of 51, are most often involved in the "street" experiences of interest to my study. Nine of the approximately 25 patrol officers with whom I rode agreed to a formal interview. There were an additional two interviews with patrol sergeants.[13] The interviewed officers/sergeants represent about 22% (11/51) of the officers/sergeants in the patrol division. One thorny issue that may have affected the number of research participants was that the institutional review board approving this research required that I notify the officers who expressed interest in the interview that any information obtained through my study was subject to subpoena.[14]

In addition to the in-depth interviews, a survey with questions based on the interview protocol was passed out to approximately 75% of the patrol officers/sergeants. It consisted of both open-ended and close-ended questions, and was anonymous and voluntary. Sixteen of the 51 officers/sergeants returned a completed survey.

The town of Novad is 64% white, with substantial Latino and black populations, at 28% and 17% respectively. Asians comprise approximately two percent of the Novad population. The overall white and non-white demographics of my sample is close to the

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[13] There were numerous other opportunities, besides the ride-alongs, for officers to contact me about an interview, as I was a frequent visitor in the department and attended several shift meetings over a course of several weeks.

[14] Many officers responded that they would not say anything in the interview that they would not say to the "authorities," and thus were unconcerned with the subpoena issue.

white/non-white make-up of the department (at 78% and 22% respectively), analysis of

gender and race/ethnic specifics points to over- and under-representation in the sample.

White males comprise 35 of the 51 patrol officers, followed by equal numbers of

Latino males, black males, and white females at five each.[15] Additionally, there is one

Asian male officer in the patrol division. My sample of interviewees consists of five

white male patrol officers/sergeants, and given the predominance of white males in

policing, is the most problematic element of the sample. Participation in the survey

research, however, increases white male participation considerably, as 15 of the 35 white

male patrol officers/sergeants returned a survey.[16] Because of the relatively small

number of minorities and women working as patrol, they were considerably over-

represented.

I will point out a few likely reasons as to why the sample was not fully

representative. First, though I had open access to the department, participation in the

study was voluntary. Time and financial constraints precluded a random sampling

process. Convenience sampling (Babbie 1973) was chosen because my visits to the

police department to join an officer on his or her patrol shift were unscheduled and

random.[17] I was frequently assigned to female and minority officers, given their

representation in the department. There is the possibility that the sergeants were

"steering" me to particular officers whom they felt were "appropriate" subjects for the

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[15] The small number of female officers, minority or white, is particularly reflective of the fact that policing is still largely a white male-dominated profession.

[16] Fifteen of the 16 returned surveys were from white males, one was from a white female.

[17] The patrol sergeant on duty when I arrived at the department would assign me to an officer who was not active on a call, and thus availability of officers affected the selection process

research, which would have the effect of limiting my contacts with white male officers.

Because I am a white female, it makes sense that white females could be somewhat

inclined to be interviewed.[18] The small number of white females on the force and this

"matching" effect helps to explain why white female participation in the sample is

high.[19] I note here the possibility that the views of the officers who agreed to be

interviewed may reflect a "self selection" process. One notable feature of the officers

who did participate was that all of them had at least some college, with two having

advanced degrees.

Comparison of responses in the larger survey sample (n=16) to the responses of

the in-depth interview sample (n=11) suggest that there is congruence in responses

between the two samples.[20] For example, substantial percentages of both interview

participants and survey respondents agreed that racial profiling had a legitimate use in

some circumstances. The great majority of both interview participants and survey

respondents also agreed that minority populations are less approving of the police than

are whites.

The officers who expressed interest in being interviewed were informed of a

variety of consent issues, including that all efforts would be made to ensure

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[18] This may be viewed as similar to "matching" effects during the interview process (Schuman, Steeh, Bobo, and Krysan 1997; Hurtado 1994; Kane and Macaulay 1993).

[19] Minority males, who were also over-represented in the sample, may be amenable to be interviewed because of the nature of the research. This assumption should not be taken for granted, however, as the white male officers who did discuss the issues with me were sometimes more engaging than were the minority officers I encountered

[20] This congruence is particularly important because of the relatively large number of white male survey respondents compared to interview participants.

confidentiality. Formal interviews, the majority lasting approximately one hour and 15 minutes, were conducted in various locations and audiotaped.[21]

Once the interviews were conducted, I conducted a content analysis of the data. Content analysis is one tool employed by social scientists to make sense of interview and open-ended survey data. Historically a somewhat dry quantitative descriptor of communications, a more flexible content analysis has emerged that allows for more descriptive and interpretive analyses of communications than has historically been the case (Marshall and Rossman 1999). One basic component of the methodology is to identify common themes and even common patterns of language in order to discern social experiences detailed by research participants.[22] In analyzing the interviews and surveys, my strategy was to look for patterns that emerged that may or may not be linked to officer demographics.

As suggested by van Dijk, discourse research focusing on sociopolitical issues such as the police-minority relationship can make evident the ways power dynamics work, and how social inequalities within these relationships are "acted, expressed, legitimated, or challenged" (1993:96).[23] As put forth by Bonilla-Silva, discourse analysis of racial matters is not an attempt to identify racists, but an effort to "uncover

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[21] Each officer was informed that the tape would be destroyed once transcribed.

[22] Qualitative research employing in-depth interviews has complicated other methodological approaches that suggest few whites hold negative ideas about minorities, in part because in-depth interviews enable the researcher to make more informed distinctions about respondents' positions (Bonilla-Silva 2001).

[23] While the analysis is not a direct attempt at discourse analysis, I did attempt to capture and examine nuances, a technique rooted in traditional discourse analysis methodology (Riffe, Lacey, and Fico 1998; Krippendorff 1980).

the frames, racetalk, and storylines that help lubricate a racial order at a particular historical juncture" (2001:138). It is in this sense that the present research is intended.

Coincidently, during the time of my research, the Novad Police Department was conducting a quantitative study on racial profiling by the department.[24] They concluded that there was evidence of racial profiling practices by some officers in the department. In light of this, my examination of officers' views takes on greater relevance in understanding the social problem of racial profiling by offering descriptive insight into the social processes that may have resulted in racial profiling practices in the Novad Police Department.

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[24] I note here that this situation may have influenced the researcher-research participant relationship.

FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION

In the remainder of this thesis, I present my findings and discussion of police officers' views on the police-minority relationship and racial profiling. To begin with, I provide officers' views on the state of the police-minority relationship in order to have a context for the focus issue of racial profiling. This part of the analysis is marked by how historical policing practices shape the contemporary police-minority relationship. This notion is encapsulated in "the past is the past" storyline (Bonilla-Silva 2001, 2003).

An overriding theme that emerged from the more specific issue of racial profiling was that of socio-spatial control. The discussion of socio-spatial control and its relation to racial profiling will include four key points. First, a "white boy in a no white boy zone" storyline emerged from the majority of officers who offered a scenario when discussing racial profiling. This storyline, with its reference to race/ethnicity and restricted space, calls attention to the regularity of racialized and demarcated space, i.e., residential segregation, in the United States.

Second, the "white boy in a no white boy zone" brings to light what I refer to as a policing "dilemma." The dilemma exists because the very processes encouraged by "community policing"[25] practices also work to enforce the boundary maintenance inherent to residential segregation. That is, the "out of place" doctrine inherent to police

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[25] For my purposes here, community policing is a generalized term representing law enforcement initiatives, dating back to the late 1970s, that emphasize more informal and cooperative contact and less punitive contact between the police and the communities they serve. Generally, patrol officers are given long-term assignment to specific areas in order to become familiar with the areas' residents and rhythm of life.

work both alerts an officer to irregularities in his or her patrol area and makes suspect individuals who "do not belong" in a given racially-delineated area.

The third salient point that emerges during the officers' discussions of racial profiling is the notion of statistical discrimination (Phelps 1972; Becker 1993; Armour 1997; Kennelly 1999). With its roots in economic theory, statistical discrimination posits the rationality of targeting minority populations, given minority involvement in the criminal justice system. Any thorough examination of the racial profiling controversy must consider this theory. In the examination that follows, it is not an uncommon explanation for some officers when discussing the racial profiling process.

Finally I examine the link between socioeconomic status, race, and space, as four of the 11 interviewed officers discussed this association. Rather than race/ethnicity, these officers emphasized socioeconomic status as the predominant organizing feature of residential segregation patterns in the Novad community. Profiling patterns, manifested spatially, were seen as rooted in the economic arena.

THE PAST IS THE PAST

Crucial to any analysis of contemporary police-minority relations in the United States is a discussion of the history of the relationship. Historically, the police-minority relationship has been fraught with conflict (Bordua and Reiss 1966; Hawkins and Thomas 1991; Lersch and Feagin 1996; Neocleous 2000). In this subsection, I analyze officers' views on the influence of "the past" on the current police-minority relationship. Specifically, I examine a common theme that emerged – the past is the past – in the officers' accounts of the police-minority relationship. I examine how historical transgressions against minority communities are viewed as both legitimizing conditions for current relations and as tactics employed to dismiss current antagonisms.

A number of race scholars have pointed to how discussion of racial issues, particularly with whites, often refers to "the past" as a way to deny the continuing importance of race/ethnicity in the United States (Bonilla-Silva 2001, 2003; Feagin 2001). Yet, police actions from the past also continue to shape the way minorities, perhaps particularly blacks, view these agents of social control. In a society that has historically employed social control practices to protect white interests, it is understandable that many minorities are weary of the police establishment, as evident in the comment from Officer Duster,[26] a black male in his thirties with some college education, who states that "…it's kinda hard to forget, ah, some of the atrocities that were done to black people back then." Officer Ortega, a Latino male in his thirties with

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[26] Each officer was assigned a fictitious name.

some college education, describes how minority populations view the police as "basically 'big brother'…looking and watching them all the time."

The long, troubled history combined with contemporary policing practices provides context for minorities in their encounters with the police (Bordua and Reiss 1966; Hawkins and Thomas 1991; Lersch and Feagin 1996; Neocleous 2000). Yet the majority of officers participating in the present study described a positive relationship with Novad's minority communities. Of the surveyed officers and sergeants, 14 of 16 described the current police-minority relationship in Novad as either "very good" or "good," with two officers indicating the relationship was "bad." Of the interviewed officers and sergeants, seven of 11 indicated that the police-minority relationship in Novad was "very good" or "good." The remaining four interviewees stated that the relationship was "improving."

When asked if minority communities are less approving of the police than are whites, the views of these Novad Police Department officers support research showing a disparity between minority and white attitudes toward the police (Hagan and Albonetti 1982; Pate and Fridell 1993; Parker, Onyekwuluje and Murty 1995; Tuch and Weitzer 1997; Russell 1998). The majority of the officers agreed that minority communities are less approving of the police than are whites: nine of 11 interviewees, and 14 of the 16 survey respondents indicated that this is the case.

Officer Adams, a white female sergeant in her forties with a bachelor's degree, directly addressed the issue when asked if she found minority populations to be less approving of the police than are whites:

I can see that that has been the case on some occasions. I can, I can understand why sometimes that is the case. Um. Minority groups do have to deal with discrimination and prejudice on the part of many people, whether it be police or non-police…[27]

Officer Adams goes on to say that minorities are more likely to be in communities where there is a large police presence, and how "…that will tend to develop an attitude when constantly that's the type of activity that you see."

When asked to account for why minorities are less approving of the police than are whites, six of the 11 interviewees suggested that the current state of the relationship is due to "the past." This is supportive of Bonilla-Silva's racial discourse research (2001, 2003) showing how "the past is the past" is a common theme employed by whites (and some minorities) to moderate discussions of racial matters. Specifically, discussions of racial matters are characterized by the use of specific terms and phrases, what he refers to as "storylines" (see also Van dijk 1987; Wetherell and Potter 1992). Particularly in an era in which the notion of "colorblindness" has become an effective way to downplay the impact of race/ethnicity in American society, these "rhetorical strategies" facilitate discussion of racial matters.

While two of the interviewed officers, both minorities, referred to how historical police practices shape current relations, they did so without denying or ignoring the impact of present-day policing practices on the relationship. A female survey respondent in her thirties with a college degree, when asked why she thought minority populations are less approving of the police than are whites, wrote: "Their ancestors

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[27] In transcribing the interviews, I attempted to capture all utterances, pauses, etc. Occasionally, I lightly edited a quote for clarification and/or readability.

were persecuted so they feel they are too (could be true but not always)." As with the

two minority male officers, this female officer acknowledges how actions in the past

influence minority views of contemporary policing but doesn't dismiss the possibility of

current mistreatment.

With others, however, "the past" was seen as a primary influence on the police-

minority relationship whose time had passed. This history was viewed as something that

does not have a place in contemporary police-minority relations and that it is in a sense

"used" by minority communities to generate modern day conflict in the police-minority

relationship. The storyline "the past is the past" frames these officers' views of the

contemporary relationship thus limiting accountability for the current state of the

relationship and any practices that it may contain. The following are a few examples of

how "the past" takes center stage in the officers' views of the relationship.

Officer Henderson, a white male sergeant in his thirties with a bachelor's degree,

when asked why he believed minorities are less approving of the police than are whites:

> Um, most of the time, it is because of ah things that have happened in the
> past. As far as 10, 15, 20 years ago, and ah, their parents have passed on to,
> to the newer, to the next generation, those things that have happened in the
> 50s and 60s.

The sergeant's definition of "the past" includes a considerable range of time,

from as few as ten years ago to as many as 40-50 years ago. To put this comment into

temporal context, while some 40 years ago the police in Birmingham, Alabama engaged

minority demonstrators with water cannons and police dogs, Rodney King's beating by

members of the Los Angeles Police Department occurred only 12 years ago. Later,

when asked what can be done to improve relations between the police and minority

communities, Officer Henderson explains:

> We're doing, especially in my area, we're doing a lot. Ah. I think a lot of
> times, the ah community is not giving us a break. They're just not. They're
> saying, they're saying, "Well 30 years ago this happened. Twenty years ago
> this happened. This happened to me in Dallas. This happened to me in
> Houston." And on that side of it, that does us a disadvantage. Because you
> know, 30 years ago I wasn't even alive…I mean, you know, 30, 40 years
> ago, I wasn't even around. And they're basing stuff based on 30 years ago,
> 20 years ago…

   Officer Henderson's comments point to a society that has undergone a transition

from one of primarily overt racial practices to one of primarily covert structural

processes that maintain the racial hierarchy (Bonilla-Silva 2001). Discussion of overt

discriminatory practices, or at least solid recognition that the police treated minorities

unfairly in the past, was readily acknowledged by the officers. Most were reticent,

however, to characterize contemporary relations with minorities as negative, even after

acknowledging that minorities are less approving of the police than are whites. Officer

Weaver, a white female patrol officer in her twenties with a graduate degree, when asked

why minorities are less approving of the police than are whites, offered:

> …possibly one reason is minorities haven't been treated as fairly in the past
> by police or you know, official people. And therefore, rightly so, they're
> maybe afraid until, you know, you get out there and show them. You know,
> we treat you fairly too, or at least demonstrate that. And I guess that's why I
> feel maybe they disapprove. I guess that's why they perceive the police as
> negative, because they've had negative experiences in the past. And until
> that changes, the perceptions aren't gonna change. But then there are some
> people who no matter how many times you treat them fairly still perceive
> that, so. That's just a small group, I think.

Officer Weaver clearly identifies the historical police-minority relationship as shaping contemporary associations and attributes minority "perceptions" of being treated unfairly as rooted in the past.

Officer Pate, a white female in her thirties with a graduate degree, when asked why she thought minorities were less approving of the police than were whites, explained:

> …it seems that minorities often end up in far greater numbers incarcerated. And whatever the reason for that is…maybe it's, maybe it's been racial profiling in the past or whatever, I'd, I would agree with you. You know typically that has been the case. And, my guess is really, that ah, it may be racial profiling or something in the past. I, I don't think that's the trend of things today.

Officer Pate acknowledges police practices in the past may have led to disparities in incarceration rates but discounts racial profiling as influencing contemporary police-minority relations. In analyzing discourse involving racial matters, storylines like "the past is the past" are recognizable in that they contain themes that come up time and time again. Storylines enter the racial conversations of whites in order to rationalize racial realities that can not otherwise be "politely" explained away or that allow contemporary whites to appear "innocent" of race-based behavior (Bonilla-Silva 2001; Feagin 2001). The "past is the past" storyline works to discount the longstanding effects of historical discrimination and denies the salience of current discriminatory practices (Bonilla-Silva 2003).

Officer Brooks, a white male in his forties with some college education, when asked why he thought minorities were less approving of the police than were whites,

employs "the past is the past" storyline and suggests that the notion of civil rights is an

issue from the sixties that has little bearing in contemporary society:

> I think that some people are living in the stone ages still, that, ah, living in
> the past and, like ah. You can still hear things about, ah, civil rights, ah, the
> things from the sixties and stuff. Some people just can't get over that. They
> keep living in the past. But ah, there's a lot of people out there that do
> actually have a level head and do see things the way they really are. They
> even things out.

Officer Duster, cited earlier, was one of the few interviewees to directly

acknowledge how both past and present events can lead to conflict between the police

and minority communities:

> I think it goes back to the 60s with ah, strained relationships. And
> people…it's kinda hard to forget ah, some of the atrocities that were done to
> black people back then. And there's that certain amount of mistrust…
> …so they see a white officer arresting a black person. And they, a lot of
> time, ya, kinda like flashback. Like, 'I better watch this white officer
> because he's gonna do something to this black guy…or to that person.' And
> ah, I think it was brought back on mainly by the Rodney King event and then
> right after that, a few years later, you have the thing in ah, where the guy
> was shot 41 times reaching for his wallet.

Officer Duster's comment provides an alternative voice to the dominant

narrative that other officers expressed. While the officer links minority attitudes

toward the police to overt race-based practices of the past, he also clearly points to

recent incidents, i.e. the King beating and the Diallo killing, as justification for

minority communities to remain suspect of the police.

For many of the officers, the influence of the past on the police-minority

relationship is salient to their view of the present relationship.[28] Yet distinctions may be

found in how "the past" is used as a framework for current associations. The dominant

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[28] The same may be argued for minority views on the police-minority relationship.

narrative comes primarily from white officers who view the past as something the minority community should "get over." Alternative accounts from mainly minority and female officers point to the past as an influential factor in contemporary police-minority relations while also acknowledging that current policing practices continue to undermine the relationship.

In the dominant narrative, officers admit to historical "realities," i.e., race-based police practices, but maintain that those practices no longer exist and "the past is the past." Historically, the ascribed status of race/ethnicity worked openly as a marker for socio-spatial control, as with the slave laws that permitted any white to detain any black (Lersch and Feagin 1996), and the later Jim Crow laws (Vann Woodward 1966), in effect criminalized minority status by codifying, among other things, the "out of place" doctrine. As suggested by Bonilla-Silva (2001, 2003), while outwardly race-based practices no longer organize the contemporary United States and thus allow society to disavow race-based behaviors, more covert structural processes have emerged to maintain, rationalize, and help justify the racial order.

I suggest here that racial profiling, the subject of the next subsection, has emerged as one of the covert mechanisms that maintains the racial order in the United States today. Racial profiling was borne from clearly overt forms of race-based policing but, as I hope to show, operates in a sometimes subtle manner, rooted in structural processes such as residential segregation, and is frequently rationalized and justified with reference to statistical discrimination and socioeconomic status. I first provide a brief discussion of how racial profiling is defined by the officers, before moving into

what emerged as a common theme in the officers' accounts of the profiling process, that is, the continued importance of socio-spatial control.

RACIAL PROFILING

When asked to define 'racial profiling,' the majority of officers (both the interviewees and the survey respondents) described it as the targeting of an individual or individuals from certain racial/ethnic groups for law enforcement action based solely on skin color. Two themes run through the discussion: the association of a particular race/ethnic group with particular crimes, and, more commonly, the "out of place" doctrine that points to geographic areas that at times are considered off-limits to certain racial/ethnic groups. As suggested by Bonilla-Silva (2001), collective inquiries of 'who belongs where' are part of the racial contestation that occurs in a racially ordered society.

The majority of officers and sergeants acknowledged that racial profiling in the form of the "out of place" doctrine does occur in the Novad community. Of the 11 interviewees, six stated that it did occur and the others either downplayed its practice in Novad or suggested that "reverse" racial profiling occurs. Of the 16 survey respondents, ten indicated that racial profiling occurs "sometimes" and two indicated that it occurs "frequently." Two survey respondents indicated it happened "rarely."

As an example of the first theme found in the officers' definitions of racial profiling, I offer Officer Gonzalez, a Latino male in his twenties with a bachelor's degree:

My definition of racial profiling is also my stopping point for law enforcement. If I used to see you standing on the corner, doesn't matter what part of town, and I say, because she is white and she is blonde-haired, then she is doing something wrong. She must be involved in some sort of criminal activity. Then I feel that I kind of stepped over that line. And I will hang up my belt and I will find something else to do. More specifically, if, in my neighborhood, if I…if there's a black male standing on that corner. There's two black males standing on that corner. They've got to be doing something wrong. Because they're black and because they're standing on that corner. That's where, that's how I would define my racial profiling. And that's also when I go home. When that happens I'm going to get out of police work 'cause I've done messed up.

Officer Gonzalez's definition points to the notion that a particular phenotype is associated with "some sort" of criminal activity. A survey respondent, a white male officer in his twenties with some college education, acknowledges that mere appearance alerts him to potential criminality:

If it looks like a duck, walks like a duck, and talks like a duck, it's probably a duck. This is not only looking at the race of a person, but rather the actual appearance of a person.

However, this survey respondent and Officer Gonzalez's comment that it "doesn't matter what part of town" sets them apart from the majority of officers who detailed a scenario when discussing racial profiling. What emerged from the comments of most of the officers was how salient space was to the profiling process. The individual was "racially profiled" because of the context of (generally) his surroundings. In the dominant narratives, spatial boundaries emerged as a key element in the profiling process. The next subsection maintains the general theme of racial profiling but specifically addresses the importance of socio-spatial controls – *who belongs where --*

within the profiling process. The notion is precisely captured in one officer's quote

about the "white boy in a no white boy zone" radio call.

"WHITE BOY IN A NO WHITE BOY ZONE"

Mastering the terrain of an area, its shortcuts, landmarks, street, and business

addresses is a crucial part of patrol work. Responding to calls in a timely manner

increases the chances of apprehending a suspect and is unpredictably a matter of life and

death. In his study of the Los Angeles Police Department, Herbert (1996) observed that

officers who were unfamiliar with an area they patrolled expressed "a high degree of

frustration, even shame," when resorting to a map for guidance. Consequently, the

notion of space is important to the officer, with territorial competence the sign of good

policing.

Thus, geographic location takes on importance for tactical reasons while

simultaneously serving as what Herbert (1996) describes as extensions of "moral

distinctions." This normative space includes the "respectability" of the group inhabiting

the space. According to Black (1993), this respectability is dependent on the amount of

social control being exerted on that group.

Park and Burgess (1992 [1925]), in an early sociological study on the

importance of space, observed that although essentially racialized neighborhoods

may rest within close proximity to each other, the residents of each primarily

operate in distinct social contexts. These socio-spatial boundaries in practice

operate as racially delineated boundaries. As put forth by Lobao and Saenz

(2002), territory itself becomes a "marker of stratification" in society because race/class/gender inequalities manifest spatially.

Next, I provide examples of how socio-spatial control is central to officers' views of the racial profiling process. I begin with Officer Adams, a white female sergeant in her forties with a college degree, who was one of the few interviewed officers to openly say that racial profiling does exist in law enforcement and thus emerges as an alternative voice in this discussion. She stated: "I believe that law enforcement does have racial profiling. I believe it does go on. I'm adamantly opposed to racial profiling." Like many of the officers, she made a point to disavow any racial profiling practices with the Novad Police Department, and counters what emerged as the dominant narrative of the "out of place" doctrine described by others:

> So, ah, you know, I definitely see that yes, it can happen, it does go on. Ah, I don't know of any stops that have been made in Novad based solely on just a person's race but I can see, and I've seen attitudes, where, ah, we're in a certain area of town and the population is high minority group, and just because there's someone that's not in that minority group driving through that area, ah, it raises an eyebrow.

I found that concerns with socio-spatial control and "who belongs where" were central to officer accounts of racial profiling. Bonilla-Silva, in his discussion of racial ideology in a racially ordered society, comments that "…it is impossible for individuals to be nonracial and, as such, not to be shaped by racial ideology" (2001:76). Thus the officer who experiences the "out of place" doctrine in racial terms does so because of social pressures that have relegated certain spaces as racially contestable areas.

A storyline emerged from these accounts -- the case of a white male in a predominantly black neighborhood -- what Officer Duster, cited above, described as a now-defunct radio call known as "white boy in a no white boy zone."

As one of several examples that I offer, a white male survey respondent in his twenties with a college degree suggested that targeting a white college student "driving around the back streets of a predominantly black neighborhood" was a circumstance in which racial profiling would have a legitimate use. Officer Thomas, a white male in his thirties with some college education, offered a similar example:

> You have the ah, the particular drug areas we have in this area, mainly in the black neighborhoods. And you see a white person going through that area, driving around the blocks. You pretty much know, the person's not over there to visit, he's going to buy drugs.

Officer Brooks, cited above, when asked about the extent of racial profiling in law enforcement said:

> Ah. I think more than anything you might see a reverse racial profiling. The reverse would be, a minority area that's known for selling drugs where you'll see a ah, a non-minority drive into that area and talk to some ah, people standing out on the street corner. It would raise your suspicions that that non-minority more than likely doesn't live in that area due to the type of vehicle he was driving. Ah. So they stand out more than anything. I think that, that's probably been used quite a bit 'cause a lot of the drug addicts will go to the minority areas to buy the drugs. So that would cause that type of profiling but I think that would be more of a Caucasian in a minority area than versus anything else. I really don't see the minority profiling as they, they portray it in the newspaper.

Officer Evans, a white male in his thirties with some college education, after stating that he believed racial profiling had a legitimate place in law enforcement, explained:

OK. My neighborhood, right here, where I work in is probably 85 to 90% African American. Ah, high narcotics area. If I see a white male in my neighborhood at 2 o'clock in the morning, he's probably here for no good reason. Um. Either prostitution or drug use. I feel like that would be a fair, ah, something you'd want to take a look at.

Officer Evans and others' comments suggest certain spaces are off limits to one racial/ethnic group or another. This and other types of race-based distinctions should not come as a surprise, according to Weitzer (1996), as American police officers must operate in a society with a long history of race-based actions, making the especially difficult position of social control agent one of great complexity.

The frequency of the "white boy in a no white boy zone" storyline suggests that the officers were less inhibited in explaining the case of a white person in a predominantly minority neighborhood than the reverse situation that is the more commonly invoked image in the racial profiling discourse currently circulating in the United States. Why might this be the case?

One reason may be that the officers were explaining that profiling goes on in a variety of instances and is not limited to the common perception that it only occurs in the case of a young black male in a predominantly white neighborhood. Yet the frequency of the "white boy in a no white boy zone" scenario – ten of the 27 participating officers referenced the general scenario with only one offering the reverse scenario – may speak to a more complex explanation.

I suggest that another explanation for this rests on the value and categorization assigned to the spatial landscapes of the city of Novad (and elsewhere) and to the racial

imagery of what Skolnick (1966) classically referred to as the "symbolic assailant."[29]
The "white boy in a no white boy zone" becomes the less-threatening scenario in part
because the "no white boy zone" itself is criminalized. The spatial context partially
deflects the onus of the "white boy." Indeed socio-spatial protection of the "minority
space," whether directly due to material considerations or due to the racial order, is less
pressing than protection of "white space." The white male "intruding" into the
criminalized minority space is likely viewed as less threatening to socio-spatial controls
because white males, as a group, are less criminalized than minority, and particularly,
black males in our society (Armour 1997; Russell 1998).

Had the officers' scenarios primarily situated a minority individual, i.e., the
"symbolic assailant," in a predominantly white neighborhood, the white space would not
convey the criminal status that is attached to minority space. In the "white boy in a no
white boy zone" scenario, the white boy becomes an extension of the criminalized space
and so is not singled-out to the extent experienced by the minority male in the other
scenario. Consequently, the minority male "intruder" is wholly criminalized in the
relatively guiltless and socio-spatially protected context of white space. The contrast of
the criminalized minority male in this protected whiteness means that the only perceived
criminal pursuits involve the minority male who must then be identified as such.
Because this exact scenario charges the sensitive discourse surrounding racial profiling,
the officers may be less willing to discuss it. Thus the "white boy in a no white boy

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[29] Specifically, Skolnick (1966) assigns the "symbolic assailant" label to the young black male.

zone" storyline facilitates a public discussion of the racial profiling controversy that has challenged contemporary policing practices.

Another aspect of the "out of place" doctrine behind the racial profiling process needs to be addressed. Control of space is a primary source of conflict between groups in every society. Socio-spatial control occurs when informal and formal strategies, such as those employed by law enforcement, establish and maintain the social order by "creating boundaries and restricting access" (Herbert 1996). Indeed, society does charge the police with protecting both private and public space, property, and the individuals that inhabit each. Part of this protection involves the "out of place" doctrine, a key element in community policing initiatives that have shaped many departments over the past three decades. Consequently the "out of place" doctrine poses what I call a dilemma for the modern police force.

Community policing was introduced to better the relationship between the police and the communities they serve, particular in the case of minority communities (Rosenbaum 1994). These initiatives encourage the patrol officer to become familiar with his or her patrol area, its residents, and the schedule of daily life that occurs. For example, Officer Gonzalez, cited earlier, when asked his views about community policing, explained:

> …I refer to that as my neighborhood. I don't live there. I don't live anywhere near my beat where I work but that's my neighborhood. That's where I got obligations. I've got some ladies there who know my wife by her first name. They call me by my first name...

Something or someone who is not familiar, not part of the "normal routine,"
disrupts the pattern and attracts the attention of the alert patrol officer. In many
instances this is a positive practice, in contrast to more traditional policing practices
where, as Officer Gonzalez commented, policing a community meant "just driving by at
75 miles an hour." The dilemma occurs when the "out of place" doctrine is misused by
law enforcement and race/ethnicity becomes a proxy for criminal potential.

Officer Duster, cited earlier, when asked to define racial profiling, points to how
important an officer's personal knowledge of a neighborhood's residents (encouraged by
community policing efforts) is to countering the racial profiling process:

> It's when you're targeting someone, a specific race. Uh, if they fit in a
> certain profile. Like a black male driving a nice car, saying that he has to be
> selling drugs to be able to afford that car. But you have to dig a little bit
> deeper to find out, does he have a job to support him and his way of life?
> Ah, if he's just out of high school, doesn't have a job and the parents don't
> have money, then the chances are, he's doing drugs or selling drugs. Ah,
> the…problem with racial profiling is that some people take it a little too far.
> And they allow their prejudices to come out. They…and when the
> prejudices come out, it makes it ineffective. Racial profiling won't be
> effective then, because he's bias then. He's not looking at what the person's
> doing, he's looking at the person. Like this is a black guy, he's got to be
> doing something wrong.
> …And ah, you know, racial profiling is used just to identify somebody to try
> to uncover something going on when they don't have any uh, probable cause
> to believe that there is something wrong going on. Uh. It can be, like I said,
> it can be an effective tool as long as it's not…misused. And it's hard
> to…it's hard to watch it, to know when it's being misused.

Officer Duster was one of only two officers to state that racial profiling can
be an "effective tool" in law enforcement. Officer Morris, a white male in his
forties with some college education, was the other officer who stated outright that

racial profiling was effectual. When asked how he defines racial profiling, Officer

Morris stated:

> I see racial profiling, again, I'm on the fence with this issue also. I see it as
> very beneficial in law enforcement. I find that it's essential for law
> enforcement. But unfortunately it is prohibited so as a prohibited practice,
> you know, we will not jeopardize it. I do not believe, uh, I don't think any
> officer on the street right now would jeopardize his or her career, you know,
> doing it. There are, in the past, my experience has been if it's not abused, it
> can be an effective tool.

Both Officer Duster and Officer Morris acknowledge the "usefulness" of the

profiling process but also comment on its potential for misuse. The next example of the

"white boy in a no white boy zone" comes from Officer Thomas, a white male in his

thirties with some college education. After agreeing that racial profiling has a legitimate

use in some circumstances, he offered the following:

> You have the ah, the particular drug areas we have in this area, mainly in the
> black neighborhoods. And you see a white person going through that area,
> driving around the blocks. You pretty much know, the person's not over
> there to visit, he's going to buy drugs. Now, if you stop him, that's not
> going to be his story but you know, you just automatically know.
> …And if you're in a prominent white neighborhood and you've had a lot of
> burglaries and stuff, and you see someone walking through the
> neighborhood that you may not think fit that type of area, you know, really
> regardless of race or anything like that.

The two scenarios presented, that of a white person driving around the block in a

black neighborhood, and that of a "prominent white" neighborhood inhabited by a 'race-

less' individual who does not "fit," both fall into the "out of place" doctrine in a racially

ordered society. The geographical spaces comprising the neighborhoods are also

labeled, i.e., "prominent white neighborhood" provides context for the racial profiling of

the intruder.

Is the "out of place" doctrine a mechanism that works to maintain the racial order in the United States through socio-spatial controls or a basic principal of good police work facilitated by community policing initiatives? Again, the dilemma presents itself in the comments from Officer Henderson, cited earlier, when asked to what extent he thought racial profiling occurred in law enforcement:

> …if want to talk about the public's view of racial profiling, which is, you see ah, you're in a predominantly minority neighborhood and somebody white driving through there at two o'clock in the morning looking for dope…or looking for a prostitute. You get behind them and stop them for a busted taillight. Well, you looked at them because it's the only car that's not, eh, that's not supposed to be in your area. You know that area, you know it well. You know everybody that lives around there. You see this car that's not supposed to be there at two o'clock in the morning. It catches your eye. You turn around on it. It's got a taillight. You knock it down. The public sees that as racial profiling. And I don't see that. Now does that happen? All the time. But does an officer stop just based on what they look like? I, I haven't seen it and I haven't done it.

Officer Henderson incorporates the dominant narrative of the "white boy in a no white boy zone" in his reference to community policing practices that encourage officer "ownership" of patrol sectors. He also points out that the "out of place" doctrine regularly occurs because of the officer's prior knowledge of a particular area.

Officer Thomas, cited earlier, was the only officer to offer a racial profiling scenario that involved a minority in a predominantly white neighborhood. When asked if racial profiling had a legitimate use in some circumstances, he first offered the "white boy in a no white boy zone" storyline, then expanded:

> Like if you're in a white neighborhood…like the majority of crimes that, you know, that we're experiencing like burglaries are actually committed by the black folks. I mean that's not saying it's being racist or anything, it's

just the facts. Cause if you see a black person at three o'clock in the morning, walking in between cars and stuff, maybe going through, you know, a mainly white neighborhood like over there in the Morning Farm[30] area, you know, it's worth checking out on to find out what he's actually doing.

Officer Thomas provides context for viewing the black male as suspicious, i.e. "walking in between cars and stuff" in the early hours of the morning. Because of the racial association with street crime in the United States (Russell 1998), the white space is not criminalized, i.e., there is no discussion of drug dealing or prostitution, as is the minority space of the "no white boy zone." Indeed, the white space in the scenario given is a middle- to upper middle class area of Novad, and thus points to the association between whiteness and "valued" space.

In addition to the dominant narrative of the "white boy in a no white boy zone," Officer Thomas also comments that "the majority of crimes…that we're experiencing like burglaries are actually committed by the black folks." In the following section, I examine officers' views on this link between minority status and crime. My analysis, still rooted in the general theme of how these officers view the racial profiling process, will focus now on the rationales given to explain racial profiling.

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[30] The Morning Farm subdivision is a relatively upscale, predominantly white neighborhood in Novad.

STATISTICAL DISCRIMINATION

The link with minority status and crime in the public discourse surrounding racial profiling is guided by the notion of statistical discrimination (Phelps 1972; Becker 1993; Armour 1997; Kennelly 1999). Statistical discrimination arguments point to the preponderance of minorities in the criminal justice system (Markowitz and Jones-Brown 2000; Russell, Pfeifer, and Jones 2000) as a logical basis for targeted law enforcement action of minorities. Studies such as Hindelang's (1981) analysis of the National Crime Survey seem to support Skolnick's "symbolic assailant" thesis: young black males, more than any other demographic group, were found to have much higher offending rates of both personal and property crimes.

These studies then provide what some analysts consider a rational and justifiable reason for the police to target minorities and specifically, young black males (MacDonald 2003). Of the 11 interviewed officers, two Latino males and two white males commented or made some reference to the statistical discrimination concept. Five of the 16 survey respondents, all white males, incorporated the concept into their discussion of racial profiling.

For example, Officer Evans, cited earlier, commented that "most of the people on our warrant list are black, black males to be exact." A white male survey respondent in his twenties with a college degree offered the following: "I think that more minorities feel the police are after them. Maybe they are being caught at breaking the law more often than whites." Perhaps incidentally, the officer suggests differential enforcement of the law, *being caught more often*, may be an issue with measurements of crime. Another

survey respondent, a white male in his thirties with some college education, while

suggesting that minorities have greater contact with the police than do whites because

they report and are more often victims of crime, also reported he felt that "it sometimes

seems that there is a majority of minorities that are criminals."

Another white male survey respondent, in his twenties with a college degree,

employed the statistical discrimination theory in an articulate defense of minority

attitudes toward the police:

> All you have to do is look at the records concerning suspects or people
> arrested for crime and you'll see the majority are minorities. Because of
> this, the police have more contact with minorities and lots of times in
> negative ways – arresting them. This will lead to resentment and dislike and
> feelings of harassment so they will be less approving of the police.

Evident in the respondent's comments, statistical discrimination is

considered a rational response to behavioral characteristics of certain groups.

Officer Morris, cited earlier, when asked if racial profiling has a legitimate use in

some circumstances, explained:

> Ah, the recent terrorist attacks is a good example. Ah, I mean not all Middle
> Eastern people are terrorists. We understand that, but if there's possibility of
> loss of life, a particular terrorist act, and we can narrow it down to one single
> group then I think efforts should be concentrated in that direction, or
> community or that race of people should understand the purpose of why
> we're looking at is this. And you're going to be placed under little more
> scrutiny than somebody Caucasian, or Black or Hispanic, and who isn't, uh,
> falling under that group of terrorists.

Officer Morris suggests that groups in society should understand the social

dynamics that create the need for targeted law enforcement, that is, concentrated

law enforcement of a particular group is due to behavioral characteristics of that

group. Yet, behavioral "traits" need not be the only signal for targeted law

enforcement. One white male survey respondent in his twenties with some college education explained that he thought racial profiling had a legitimate use in some circumstances because "the psyche of a certain race" might be useful in identifying suspects.

The notion that minorities have criminal tendencies is not only the province of white officers in the department. This may be the result of occupational socialization processes within the police organization. Trice and Beyer (1993) refer to "rites of incorporation" during these socialization processes that demonstrate to recruits "this is how it really is." Van Maanen (1975: 222), in his classic longitudinal study of officer attitudes toward work, noted that the "flow of influence" in the department "accounts for the remarkable stability of the pattern of police behavior."

This "flow of influence" may affect both white and minority officers. For example, Officer Gonzalez, cited earlier, when asked why he thought minorities were less approving of the police than were whites, responded: "The young Hispanics, you know, a lot of them are gang members, they'll become gang members." Officer Gonzalez's comment encapsulates the statistical discrimination idea: his view is that "a lot" of young Hispanics are criminal and other young Hispanics have potential for criminality. Thus profiling young Hispanics makes sense.

Officer Ortega, cited earlier, when asked why he thought minorities were less approving of the police than were whites, commented:

> …minorities still see the police as you know, you know, basically big brother…looking and watching them all the time. Ah, hum…basically most of the problems that we do have come, do come from the minority

population. And ah, I'm pretty sure a white people, or whites are more, you know, respectful of the police than the minority, minority groups.

Later, when asked if using race was an efficient part of identifying a suspect, Officer Ortega almost laments the power of statistical discrimination in practice:

> …if we don't know anything, you know, most people are going to assume, you know, this is probably a terrible thing to say but, you got a couple of white guys walking away and a couple of black guys walking away, most people are gonna assume that it will probably be the black guys. And ah, and ah, that's a terrible thing to say but that's, that's probably the reaction that somebody would get…

All of these comments and the statistical discrimination theory driving them suggest that if indeed racial profiling occurs, it is because it is a rational practice based on the behavior of minority populations. As maintained by MacDonald (2003:9), criticism of statistical discrimination theory demonstrates a "willful blindness to the demographics of crime." However, a few of the officers pointed to the limitations of statistical discrimination theory (Armour 1997; Harring and Ray 1999). One survey respondent, a white male in his thirties with some college education, after indicating that racial profiling did not have a legitimate use in some circumstances, explained that after working in law enforcement "one can become *programmed* in seeing specific crimes committed by a certain race."

Officer Pate, cited earlier, when asked to define racial profiling, described a bleak future for civil liberties if the statistical discrimination theory comes to justify racial profiling:

> …if we start pulling over everybody of Middle Eastern descent, and interviewing them and searching their cars and doing all of this stuff simply because they're Middle Eastern descent, instead of because of any behavior that you see, it's gonna end up…Lack of, lack of freedom for one group is

lack of freedom for all is the way I see it. And if we can do that to Middle Eastern people just because of 9-11, then where's it gonna stop? Potentially it's gonna works its way back into, you know, the 1950s, African-Americans. It's gonna work its way into Hispanics, Japanese-Americans like it was during in World War II. It's gonna go back all the way backwards. And although I'm a white person, I totally feel like anybody can end up bearing the brunt of that. And, it just won't stop. If we allow it in one area, it's just gonna bleed over into them all.

As evident from the previous comments, the concept of statistical discrimination was viewed as a legitimate explanation for the racial profiling phenomenon. It was also viewed by a minority of officers as a means that did not justify the ends.

With supporters, statistical discrimination theory was employed to rationalize why minorities were subject to racial profiling. Other officers, however, while acknowledging that profiling occurs, attributed it to the socioeconomic status, rather than to the racial/ethnic status of the individual(s) involved. Socioeconomic links to crime, like racial/ethnic links to crime, were seen to manifest spatially as well. Officers' views on the influence of socioeconomic status on the racial profiling process, to which I turn now, is the subject of the last part of my analysis. I begin by introducing the notion of residential segregation and follow with analysis of officer accounts of the salience of socioeconomic status on the police-minority relationship.

SOCIOECONOMIC STATUS

Prevailing in the literature on race relations are the racialized patterns found in one critical area of life that is directly linked to the primacy of space in the racial profiling process: residential segregation. Some analysts suggest that residential segregation patterns are influenced and maintained by social distance preferences and economic status, with less emphasis placed on whether race/ethnicity directly factors into residential decisions (Wilson 1978; Thernstrom and Thernstrom 1997; Fossett 2003). Racially bound areas then may be viewed as constructed by economic factors, with racial composition a by-product of socioeconomic status.

Other researchers point to the staying power of race-based demarcations in housing patterns, and that even high socioeconomic status minorities cannot fairly compete with whites in high status areas (Massey, Condran, and Denton 1987; Massey and Denton 1993). Further, some maintain that if socioeconomic factors were determinant in residential segregation, wealthy whites and wealthy minorities would live together, as would poor whites and poor minorities, which is generally not the case (Farley, Steeh, Krysan, Jackson, and Reeves 1994). In sum, explanation for whether status segregation patterns are socioeconomic, racial, or a combination of both has been the subject of a great deal of sociological inquiry.

Whether found in the mechanisms that facilitate residential segregation or in the "out of place" doctrine of the police officer's patrol, socio-spatial controls work to maintain the social order in the United States and may be viewed by some as economically derived. Though the issue of socioeconomic status and its intersection

with race/ethnicity did not emerge as a theme with the survey respondents, well over

one-third (4/11) of the interviewees brought up socioeconomic status when discussing

the police-minority relationship. For instance, Officer Evans, a white male in his thirties

with some college education, when discussing why black males were the majority of

people listed on Novad Police Department warrant lists, attributed it to the

socioeconomic differences between blacks and whites.

Officer Morris, a white male in his forties with some college education, said that

socioeconomic factors played a major role in conflict found in the police-minority

relationship:

> In certain sections of town we'll be patrolling, we have a lot better
> understanding, a lot better cooperation with the people we serve than those
> in the lower end of the wage-chain [who] seem to have a lot of resentment
> towards us...feel like we are trying in inhibit them in ah what they do day to
> day and of course you have a lot of crime in areas of …there's poverty, low
> socioeconomic areas, and so there's a little more tension there between us
> and the community. Extra tension.

Later, when asked why he thought minority populations were less approving of

the police than were whites:

> Again, I would have to say it all depends on the socioeconomical area. Ah,
> if it is a very low-wage worker or unemployed, a large populace [that] is
> unemployed in certain areas of the city, yes, then I'd think it's distrust and
> uh, negativism is gonna be present. But in more affluent parts of town, I
> haven't seen that. It doesn't matter what ah, race or ethnic background
> someone has…the more affluent, they seem to have a better understanding,
> they're more intellectually inclined to discuss problems rather than to get
> upset with you over your decisions or what actions you may have to take.

When asked what factors influenced the police-minority relationship in Novad,

one survey respondent, a white male in his twenties with some college education,

pointed to economically-based spatial segregation patterns in his account of the police-

minority relationship while characterizing these areas as minority space:

> Depending on what area of town one works depends on the relationship.
> Majority of officers that work in the low-income areas experience a poor
> relationship. There is a small group of minorities in these areas that have a
> good relationship with police. No matter how hard we try there is a great
> number of minorities that refuse to 'like' the police.

Officer Brooks, a white male in his thirties with some college education, offered

the following when asked to define racial profiling:

> ... it just happens to be that a lot of the drug areas happens to be in the
> minority areas of town. And a lot of the arrests and searches and stuff that
> happen, are in those areas because of the economic type things, and the drug
> culture that goes on over there. Versus say uh, a real fancy gated community
> on the other side of town where they don't have people walking the street at
> all hours, selling drugs…because ah, the people of influence or a wealth,
> won't tolerate that in their neighborhood. Versus the people that don't have
> that influence or wealth can't do anything but tolerate it. So, what happens
> is that ah, people are getting stopped more often in those minority
> areas…So, it's not a matter of profiling, it's just a matter of geographic and
> ah, economic things of where the minorities live due to their economic
> status, I think, more than anything. And that we have more crime in those
> areas.

This officer pointed to structural elements that limit or facilitate access to "safe"

neighborhoods, while also suggesting that a "drug culture" is influential in explaining

the position of minority populations in the social stratification. He also observes the

power dynamics that facilitate or limit an individual's access to "quality" neighborhoods

Officer Adams, cited earlier, when asked if she have found minority communities

to be less approving of the police than are whites, offered a similar explanation of

structural restraints:

> One of the issues you can look at is when you're dealing with high crime
> areas, I think statistics show that you do have a lot of minorities in those

areas that have higher crime areas and we can go back to the socioeconomic levels. Ah. And you can, we can probably talk all day about differences in opportunities that has to do with it as well. But they tend to uhm, have seen the police on a, more of ah, ah, I guess an area where arrests are made and, and those kind of things. And that may tend, I can see how that will tend to develop an attitude when constantly that's the type of activity that you see.

This officer provided insight into the police-minority relationship that few others delved in to and serves as an alternative view to the dominant narrative expressed by others. Like other officers, she recognized the socioeconomic conditions experienced by minority communities but specifically acknowledged the social restraints placed on certain populations, i.e., "…we can probably talk all day about differences in opportunities."

Later, Officer Adams adds:

…for the most part, most street level drug activities, it's not unusual to be evident in lower socioeconomic areas. And it just so happens that in Novad, as in I think, most cities, in most towns, that you're going to have a large number of minority groups in areas that have higher levels of crime. And ah, I would contribute that factor to issues as far as minority relations.

The counter views Officer Adams expressed also show up in her acknowledgement that "minority relations" affect the positioning of race/ethnic groups in the United States.

As evident in the dominant narrative, some of the officers view the spatial segregation of minorities and whites as due to socioeconomic factors that are not grounded in race-based distinctions. Thus, racial profiling – frequently discussed spatially – is viewed by some officers as grounded in socioeconomic factors. As with the statistical discrimination concept discussed earlier, the notion that socioeconomic status "trumps" race/ethnicity provides a rationale for the racial profiling process.

Others acknowledge socioeconomic partitioning but frame it within structural constraints that may be race-based.

The police officer's "worldview" is decidedly affected by the racial partitioning that exists in the United States. In policing, minority status, associated with low-income, criminalized space, is viewed as suspect. The "out of place" doctrine inherent to police work normalizes this partitioning for many of the officers, in part because of community policing initiatives that encourage officers to be alert to "outsiders." Officers are entrusted to enforce social control of racially demarcated space, inextricably linked to socioeconomic status, and thus law enforcement decisions manifest racially. I move now to the conclusion in which I review my findings and point to their social policy implications.

CONCLUSION

Whether due to racial ordering or socioeconomic partitioning, racial/ethnic groups in the United States are socio-spatially divided. This spatial reality figures prominently in the study of police-minority relations in large part because the "out of place" doctrine, a longtime guide for social control practices, guides police work. In order for the "out of place" doctrine to work, it coincides with social processes that designate whole neighborhoods as "criminal" or "non-criminal." In practice, minority space is criminalized and white space generally remains free of this stigma.

Thus, in response to the longstanding divergence in attitudes toward the police between minorities and whites, I conclude that differential social control experience, based in entrenched residential segregation patterns that manifest both racially and socio-economically, likely influence citizen views about the police. Further, officer views that discount contemporary policing practices but instead focus on how historical, seemingly defunct practices shape the relationship likely affect contemporary police-minority relations. Finally, these policing practices are sometimes viewed in the context of statistical discrimination theory and thus are rational expressions of "the facts." Socioeconomic status, not race/ethnicity, was viewed by some as the basis for profiling practices, and thus also served to rationalize policing practices that "appear" race-based. In the remainder of this section, I will review my findings to support these conclusions.

When describing the police-minority relationship, many of the officers pointed to how historical interactions have shaped minority views toward the police. I found important distinctions, however, in how these historical precedents were viewed. While

some of the officers placed contemporary policing practices in the context of these historical practices, the dominant narrative was that past practices used by the police against minorities are in effect unfairly "used" by minority communities to judge contemporary policing. When viewed through the comparative lens of overt and covert race-based practices, officers who ascribe to this latter, dominant view can do so because the measures of racial prejudice and discrimination invoked to demonstrate the decline of racism are traditionally based on overt displays that no longer dominate race relations in the United States.

This "past is the past" storyline works to contain documented and acknowledged inequality in policing particular populations, that is, the storyline limits these unfair practices to days gone by and thus deflects responsibility for contemporary police-minority relations for some, and in particular, white male, officers. The dominant narrative, however, is not just the domain of white male officers as evident in the comment from Officer Ortega that some minorities believe the police "are out to get them." This points to the strength of the police occupational socialization and/or self-selection employment processes involved in the police organization (Van Maanen 1975; Skolnick and Fyfe 1993; Trice and Beyer 1993).

The "white boy in a no white boy zone" storyline invoked by many of the officers avoids the racial imagery common to contemporary racial profiling discourse. As suggested by Bonilla-Silva (2001), storylines help facilitate the discourse surrounding a racial issue. In doing so, recurring themes such as "the past is the past" and "white boy in a no white boy zone" work to maintain the racial order in part because

they allow racial issues to be discussed in ways that appear non-racialized in an era in which race-based action is considered on the decline, or as suggested by Ruggiero (2000), they are rationalizations that make things appear acceptable.

Descriptive accounts of policing practices point to the primacy of space and the meanings assigned to it. The "white boy in a no white boy zone" storylines presented by the officers points to racial spaces that partition race/ethnic groups in the United States. While experience with a "no white boy zone" neighborhood grants the officer insider knowledge of comings and goings, the observation that the white male in the scenario is not viewed as a lover, friend, in-law, or co-worker of one of the neighborhood's "recognized" residents points to a racially ordered society in which these interracial pairings are seen as unlikely.

Entire neighborhoods can be viewed as being suspect or innocent, depending on race/ethnicity and socioeconomic demographics. The predominantly minority areas in Novad, as in many communities in the United States, are primarily low income and thus are comprised of many residents who are limited in their housing options not only financially but also because of race-based distinctions in the housing market (Bobo and Zubrinsky 1996). Because of this limitation, residents of the predominantly minority and low-income spaces in Novad are subject to increased police activity aimed at mainly street-level crime associated with low-income communities. As suggested by Officer Morris, who views racial profiling as "more geographic than it is ethnic," the spatial criminalization of primarily minority areas comes to define all inhabitants of that area. Given official crime victimization statistics (U.S. Department of Justice 2001) that put

minorities at greater risk of both violent and property crimes, and long-standing survey research that points to disproportionate involvement in crime by young black males (see Hindeling 1981), social space that is predominantly minority would indeed be subject to active police patrol. Consequently, police activity is not only influenced by the actions of individual actors in a given space but is closely related to how that space is viewed in its entirety.

Socioeconomic status, rather than race/ethnicity, was discussed by some officers as the basis for profiling practices. Most of the officers who discussed socioeconomic status indicated that it has in effect replaced historically race-based police action. Socioeconomic status was often grounded in spatial terms, thereby enforcing the "who belongs where" tenet of the "out of place" doctrine. A dominant narrative in this line of discussion was the association of minority status with low-income status.

Dominant narratives in all of the points covered were voiced primarily from white male officers, with alternative views voiced most commonly from minority and female officers. As primary agents responsible for maintaining the social order, officers expressing the dominant narratives are "essential to the survival of existing arrangements" (Jacobs and Helms 1997). These "existing arrangements" undoubtedly include policing practices that have historically shaped and continue to shape the police-minority relationship. Alternative views from minority and female officers diverge from dominant views in part because these groups experience subordinate status in a society that is, in many aspects, dominated by a white male worldview. As seen in initiatives like community policing, and sparked by outrage at police practices in minority

communities, the American police organization has already embraced the need for reform. This study gives support to those calling for greater diversification of American police forces as I show that one source of this reform arises from the alternative voices of minority and female officers.

The police directly impact the order of society and shape people's daily lives (Liska and Yu 1992). Descriptive insight into the social processes of the police-minority relationship continues to be an important area of social inequality research, particularly with the police experience because of the limited amount of qualitative studies in the area. Yet because the police are a "closed" group, there are obvious limitations to the candidness they offer during interview research. However, as shown in this study, the majority of officers acknowledged that racial profiling does occur. The few officers that participated in the research, then, may indeed reflect "the tip of the iceberg" when it comes to officer views on racial profiling and the police-minority relationship. Even with this research limitation, as racial profiling continues to take its place as one of the salient issues facing United States society, further research from the view of the most manifest agents of social control, the police, is essential to understanding the day to day mechanisms that maintain the social order.

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APPENDIX A

INTERVIEW PROTOCOL

ALL RESPONSES ARE CONFIDENTIAL. NO REAL NAMES, INCLUDING THE NAME OF THE POLICE DEPARTMENT OR CITY, WILL BE USED IN THE RESEARCH REPORT. AS NOTED IN THE CONSENT FORM, THE AUDIOTAPES MADE DURING THE INTERVIEW WILL ONLY BE LISTENED TO BY THE PRIMARY RESEARCHERAND WILL BE DESTROYED AFTER THEY HAVE BEEN TRANSCRIBED.

SECTION A: BACKGROUND QUESTIONS

1) Are you a sworn police officer with this police department?

2) How long have you lived in Texas?

3) What area of the country did you grow up in?

4) How would you describe the racial make-up of the area you grew up in? (Predominantly…?)

5) How would you describe the interactions with minorities (Whites, if applicable) you had growing up in your neighborhood and school? Did you have people you consider "friends" who were minority (White, if applicable)?

6) How long have you been in law enforcement?

7) What other jobs, besides law enforcement, have you held?

8) To what area of operations are you currently assigned? Patrol, Criminal Investigations, Traffic, Tactical, Narcotics, Other?

9) What other areas of operations have you been assigned to?

SECTION B: POLICE-MINORITY RELATIONS AND COMMUNITY POLICING

10)   Given your experience, how would you describe police relations with

        minority populations (non-white populations) in this town?

11)   In your experience, what factors influence police-minority relations in this

        town?

12)   How do you define "community policing?"

13)   In your experience, in general, has community policing been a benefit or a

        disadvantage to police work?

                Why?

14)   Some suggest community policing initiatives improve the relationship

        between the police and minorities, while others suggest some community

        policing efforts are better handled by other professionals such as social

        workers. In your experience, has the increase in community policing

        initiatives affected police-minority relations?

                Why or why not?

15)   There is much research suggesting that minority populations are less

        approving of the police than are Whites. Given your experience, have you

        found this to be the case?

                        If so, why do you believe minority populations are less

                        approving of the police than are Whites?

SECTION C: RACIAL PROFILING

16) "Racial profiling" has been in the news a lot, especially since 9-11. Some people who were against racial profiling now believe that it can be an efficient tool in law enforcement in the 'war against terrorism.' Other arguments suggest that racial profiling throws "too big a net" and is therefore ineffective. How do you define racial profiling?

17) To what extent do you believe racial profiling occurs in law enforcement? Can you describe a situation where 'racial profiling' may have occurred?

18) In your experience, is using race as a factor an efficient element in identifying a suspect?

Why or why not?

19) Does racial profiling have a legitimate use in some circumstances?

Why or why not?

SECTION D: USE OF FORCE

20) Legitimate "use of force" may be defined as the amount of force considered reasonable to apprehend a suspect. From your experience, describe a situation in which use of force was needed to apprehend a suspect.

21) What factors helped you decide that use of force was necessary?

22) What other factors can you name that influence an officer's decision whether or not to use force? (Derogatory language, resistance, knowledge of rights…)

23) Do you believe that a suspect who believes he/she has done nothing wrong has a right to use force to defend him/herself from police use of force?

Why or why not? What if the force from the officer was excessive?

24) Research on policing points to several factors that influence an officer's decision to use force, including the demeanor of the suspect. To what extent do you believe that suspects who are "disrespectful" to the police are more likely to have force used against them than those who are "respectful"?

How do you define "disrespectful" and "respectful" in this circumstance?

25) "Disrespect" may involve a challenge to the authority of the officer. From your experience, describe a circumstance in which you believed a suspect was challenging the authority of a police officer.

26) What options would you consider to gain control of a situation involving a challenge to your authority?

27) The Inglewood, CA incident is a recent high profile case in which some view the incident as a case of police use of excessive force, while others view it as appropriate use of force under the circumstances. "Excessive force" has been defined as using more force than reasonable in seizing or detaining an individual. To what extent do you believe excessive use of force occurs in law enforcement?

28)   What factors, if any, on behalf of the suspect do you believe influences the

        situation so that excessive force occurs?

        What factors, if any, on behalf of the officer do you believe influences the

        situation so that excessive force occurs?

SECTION E: ACCOUNTABILITY

28)   How effective do you believe the process of "ferreting out" officers who use

        excessive force is in law enforcement?

29)   What ramifications result if an officer is reported for excessive use of force?

30)   Do you believe officers who engage in misconduct are sanctioned/punished

        in a meaningful way?

                        Why or why not?

31)   Are you aware of a situation that resulted in an officer being sanctioned for

        misconduct? If so, please describe it.

32)   Describe how the officer was sanctioned for the misconduct.

33)   In your experience, do you believe most officers report serious misconduct

        by fellow officers?

                        Why or why not?

34)   The "code of silence" is a well-documented element of the police subculture.

        How do you define the "code of silence"?

35)   How important do you think the code of silence is for policing?

36)   In the Inglewood case, one of the allegations is that the officer

        reporting/documenting the apprehension of the suspect did not

report/document the use of force employed by the officer who was physically handling the suspect. In your experience, if a police officer used force on a suspect, and was witnessed doing so by other officers, what is the likelihood that the force would be documented?

37) Given your experience, how would you describe the effectiveness of Internal Affairs in combating police misconduct?

38) What factors do you believe influence the effectiveness/ineffectiveness of Internal Affairs?

39) Some people in support of Internal Affairs maintain that other professions "police" themselves, such as the medical and legal professions. For instance, internal investigations in the medical professional are conducted by those in the medical profession, not by "outsiders." What are your views on this matter?

40) Given your experience, how would you describe the effectiveness of Civilian Review Boards in combating police misconduct?

41) What factors do you believe influence the effectiveness/ineffectiveness of Civilian Review Boards?

42) Supporters of Civilian Review Boards maintain that this system lessens the likelihood of 'cover-ups' in police misconduct investigations because there is outside review. What are your views?

43) This is the last question. What do you think can be done to improve relations between minority communities and police departments?

APPENDIX B

POLICE-MINORITY RELATIONS SURVEY

Thank you for agreeing to participate in my study on police-minority relations. This survey is part of a research study on police-minority relations for my master's thesis at Texas A&M University – Department of Sociology. The research has been approved by the Chief of Police. There are two types of questions in the survey below: (1) open-ended questions where you write a brief answer to the question, and (2) questions where you circle the responses that best apply to you. If you need additional space to answer a question, please feel free to write on the back of the last page of the questionnaire. You may quit or omit any questions at any time. Participation or non-participation will not have any impact on your employment status. Please turn the survey in, *whether or not you filled it out or completed it* (this helps to ensure anonymity of participants). I appreciate your time and consideration.

PLEASE DO NOT WRITE YOUR NAME ON THIS SURVEY, AS ALL RESPONSES SHOULD BE ANONYMOUS.

Police-Minority Relations Survey

SECTION A: BACKGROUND

1) Age: _____

2) Race/Ethnicity: 1 = Anglo/White   4 = Asian
                      2 = Hispanic/Latino   5 = Other (please specify_____)
                      3 = African American

3) Gender: 1 = male   2 = female

4) Marital status: 1 = single   4 = divorced
                      2 = married   5 = widowed
                      3 = separated

5) Highest level of education completed: 1 = high school   3 = college degree
                                              2 = some college   4 = graduate school

6) Are you a sworn police officer with this police department?   1 = yes   2 = no

7) How long have you lived in Texas? _____

8) What area of the country did you grow up in?

             1 = south   4 = west
             2 = north   5 = not applicable/other _____
             3 = east   (please explain)

9) How would you describe the racial make-up of the area you grew up in?

        1 = majority White   4 = majority Asian
        2 = majority African American   5 = Mixed
        3 = majority Latino/Hispanic

10) How would you describe your interactions with minorities (Whites, if respondent is minority) you had growing up in your neighborhood and school?

11) Did you have people you consider "friends" who were minority (White, if respondent is minority)?

        1 = yes   2 = no

12) How long have you been in law enforcement? _____

13) To what area of operations are you currently assigned?

        1 = Patrol   4 = Tactical

2 = Criminal Investigations   5 = Narcotics
3 = Traffic   6 = Other (please specify)_____

14) What other areas of operations have you been assigned to?

       1 = Patrol   4 = Tactical
       2 = Criminal Investigations   5 = Narcotics
       3 = Traffic   6 = Other (please specify)_____

SECTION B: POLICE-MINORITY RELATIONS AND COMMUNITY/GEOGRAPHIC POLICING

15) How would you describe police relations with minority populations in this town?

       1 = Very Bad   4 = Good
       2 = Bad   5 = Very Good
       3 = Neutral/Don't Know

16) What factors influence police-minority relations in this town?

17) In general, has community/geographic policing been a benefit or a disadvantage to police work?

       1 = benefit   2 = disadvantage

→   Please explain.

18) Has the increase in community/geographic policing initiatives affected police-minority relations?

       1 = yes   2 = no

→   Please explain.

19) There is much research suggesting that minority populations are less approving of the police than Whites. Have you found this to be the case?

       1 = yes   2 = no

    (19a) If so, why do you believe minority populations are less approving of the police than are Whites?

SECTION C: RACIAL PROFILING

20) How do you define racial profiling?

21) To what extent do you believe racial profiling occurs in law enforcement?

    1 = rarely   4 = frequently
    2 = sometimes   5 = very frequently
    3 = don't know/neutral

22) Is using race as a factor an efficient element in identifying a suspect?

    1 = yes   2 = no

→   Please explain.

23) Does racial profiling have a legitimate use in some circumstances?

    1 = yes   2 = no

→   Please explain.

SECTION D: USE OF FORCE

24) What factors help an officer decide that use of force against a suspect is necessary?

25) Do you believe that suspects who are "disrespectful" to the police are more likely to have force used against them than those who are "respectful"?

    1 = yes   2 = no

26) "Disrespect" may involve a challenge to the authority of the officer. What options would you consider to gain control of a situation involving a challenge to your authority?

27) How frequently do you believe use of excessive force occurs in law enforcement?

    1 = rarely   4 = frequently
    2 = sometimes   5 = very frequently
    3 = don't know/neutral

28) What factors, if any, on behalf of the suspect do you believe influences the situation so that excessive force occurs?

29) What factors, if any, on behalf of the <u>officer</u> do you believe influences the situation so that <u>excessive force</u> occurs?

SECTION E: ACCOUNTABILITY

30) How effective do you believe the process of "ferreting out" officers who use excessive force is in law enforcement?

        1 = not effective at all   4 = effective
        2 = not very effective   5 = very effective
        3 = don't know/neutral

31) Do you believe officers who engage in misconduct are sanctioned/punished in a meaningful way?

        1 = yes   2 = no

→   Please explain.

32) Do you believe most officers report serious misconduct by fellow officers?

        1 = yes   2 = no

→   Please explain.

33) The "code of silence" is a well-documented element of the police subculture. How important do you think the code of silence is for policing?

        1 = not important at all   4 = important
        2 = not very important   5 = very important
        3 = don't know/neutral

34) If a police officer used force on a suspect, and was witnessed doing so by other officers, what is the likelihood that the use of force would be documented?

        1 = very unlikely   4 = likely
        2 = unlikely   5 = very likely
        3 = don't know/neutral

35) How would you describe the effectiveness of Internal Affairs in combating police misconduct?

        1 = not effective at all   4 = effective
        2 = not very effective   5 = very effective
        3 = don't know/neutral

36) What factors do you believe influence the effectiveness/ineffectiveness of Internal Affairs?

37) How would you describe the effectiveness of Civilian Review Boards in combating police misconduct?

    1 = not effective at all   4 = effective
    2 = not very effective   5 = very effective
    3 = don't know/neutral

38) What factors do you believe influence the effectiveness/ineffectiveness of Civilian Review Boards?

39) This is the last question. What do you think can be done to improve relations between minority communities and police departments?

Is there anything else you would like to add, clarify, etc.?

Thank you very much for helping with my research.
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