A PRACTICAL-PARTICIPATORY EVALUATION OF A RACIAL DIVERSITY
EDUCATION PROGRAM FOR POLICE RECRUITS

BY

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DISSERTATION

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Abstract

The purpose of this study was to use a practical–participatory evaluative method (Cousins & Whitmore, 1998) to develop and critically evaluate a diversity education program for police recruits. The Policing in a Multiracial Society Program (PMSP) was developed on the basis of the literature and using the input of a core academic team, veteran police officers, and community members. The PMSP is an approximately 10-hour intervention incorporated into a Midwestern police training institute curricula. The intervention was developed over the course of a year in which stakeholders met to discuss the goals and objectives of the program and to provide feedback about its implementation with two cohorts of recruits. A quasi-experimental design was used to assess the influence of the PMSP intervention on a third cohort. Recruits participated in either the PMSP intervention ($n = 34$) or a Nonracial Diversity intervention ($n = 37$). Participants' pre- and posttest scores were compared on colorblind racial beliefs (or denial and minimization of racism), ethnocultural empathic feelings, and equitable policing practices/skills. Counter to the hypotheses of this study, there were no significant differences on posttest racial colorblindness and policing practices/skills scores across the two intervention groups. Also, surprisingly, recruits in the PMSP intervention group displayed lower levels of empathetic feeling toward people of color at posttest compared to their Nonracial Diversity intervention group counterparts. Additionally, the levels of ethnocultural empathy among the PMSP intervention participants decreased from pretest to posttest. These findings suggest that 10 hours of exposure to racial diversity education is insufficient in producing desired changes compared to changes that have been demonstrated in previous studies in which officers completed a semester long college course (Bornstein, Domingo, & Solis, 2012). Several recommendations for future development of the PMSP are included.

Dedication/Acknowledgements

You must love in such a way that the person you love feels free

Thich Nhat Hanh

I believe in the fire of love and the sweat of truth

Assata Shakur

When one commits oneself to the struggle, it must be for a lifetime

Angela Davis

To my son- Jaden Christopher Wilson

May you walk with grace in this world you inherit

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Introduction

On March 10, 2013 Collette Flanagan's son Clinton, an unarmed, Black man, was shot and killed by a Dallas police officer. Collette Flanagan refused to let the murder of her son go unnoticed and formed Mothers Against Police Brutality (MAPB), a local advocacy group whose mission is "to unite mothers and families nationally who have had their children suffer injustice at the hands of their local Police Department. We will hold law enforcement accountable. Our mission is to have an integral role in the changes and dialogues that will protect and save lives" (Mothers Against Police Brutality, 2014, Misson, para.1).

Part of MAPB's call to action includes raising local awareness around "What Happened to Jordan Davis, Happens in Dallas." This slogan connects the loss of Collette Flanagan to another Black family mourning the loss of their son, Jordan, at the hands of police officers. The Dallas Police Department is not required by law to collect or publicize statistics of incidences involving lethal force. According to an interview with Flanagan, MAPB was able to confirm 60 lethal shootings by Dallas police officers in the 10 year period from 1991 to 2001 (Mothers against Police Brutality, 2014) Although seventy five percent of these deaths were men of color, a Dallas police officer has not been indicted on charges in connection to a death since 1978. MAPB lobbied for the release of the Dallas Police Department lethal shootings statistics. In 2015 the Dallas police department began releasing its officer involved shootings statistics on their website in an effort to be transparent with the community. This snapshot of one city is not unlike the nation as a whole. Because there is no law requiring law enforcement to track and submit use of force data, there is much dispute about the prevalence of police excessive use of force. Data collection efforts from police departments (National Institute of Justice, 2009) and from the

public (Eisen, 2013; National Police Misconduct Reporting Project, 2010) cite differing statistics and interpret these statistics differently. What is undisputed in the literature is that that persons of color are disproportionally represented among those subjected to police use of force when a fire arm is involved (Gabrielson, Grochowski-Jones & Sagara 2014; Locke, 1996), those filing complaints around police abuse of force (Pate, Fridell & Hamilton, 1993), and those more likely to have distrustful, negative attitudes toward police (Weitzer, 1999). For example, Gabrielson et al. (2014) found that between 2010-2012 Black teenage boys were 21 times more likely to be killed by police than White teenage boys.

Police misconduct against communities of color is vast and involves a range of actions. Ron Daniels, director of the Center Constitutional Rights, defined the pattern of inequitable policing based on race as a "tradition" in American law enforcement (Daniels, 2000). Several lines of research point to an inequity in policing in which citizens of color, especially Black and Hispanic Americans, are not equally served and protected (e.g., Brunson, 2007; Geiger-Oneto & Phillips, 2003; Harris, 1999). Both observational and perceived data highlight the inequities in policing. For example, traffic stop data suggest that race is often used as an indicator for pre-textual traffic stops (Lamberth, 1996, 1998) and findings from survey data indicate that Black, Hispanic and White Americans believe racial profiling is wide spread (Engel, & Calnon, 2004; Gallup Poll, 2004).

Police misconduct against communities of color can be traced historically back to the foundation of the American police force (Bell, 2000; Websdale, 2001). It is a complex and multifaceted problem that calls for a combined effort from communities and police. MAPB demanded that the Dallas Police Department improve the multicultural education and training officers receive. Training has consistently been a suggested strategy for combating police

misconduct (Barlow & Barlow, 1994; Birzer & Tannehill, 2001; Blakemore, Barlow, & Padgett, 1995; Coderoni, 2002; Cox, 1994; Gould, 1997; Hennessy, 1993). Multicultural education and training for police has undergone significant evolution. On the basis of my review of the literature, I have identified three phases in the evolution of multicultural education and training for police officers: Design, Case Study, and Critical Evaluation. Through this evolution, scholars have suggested multicultural training should increase officer empathy, increase awareness of bias and improve interpersonal communications skills (Barlow & Barlow, 1994; Birzer et al., 2001; Blakemore et al., 1995; Coderoni, 2002; Cox, 1994; Gould, 1997; Hennessy, 1993); few researchers, however, give concrete suggestions for how to create educational training to accomplish these ends.

Two recent evaluations of police academy training programs suggest that training curriculum based on current state guidelines are ineffective at increasing recruit awareness of racism, and understanding of how issues of race intersect with policing (Schlosser, 2011; Zimny, 2012). Part of the issue may be the low dosage of such training (only a single dose of a 3 hour module). Although there are recent attempts at developing and investigating new models for multicultural education and training (Bornstein, Domingo & Solis, 2012; Cornett-DeVito & McGlone, 2000; Israel, Harkness, Delucio, Ledbetter, & Avellar, 2013), gaps remain in the literature. Most notably, there is limited data detailing the process in which diversity education interventions are developed and there is very little empirical evaluation of such interventions.

There has been a call within and outside of law enforcement for a paradigm shift in American policing. Scholars such as criminologists Skolnick and Fyfe (1993) argued for a repurposing of police values to "explicitly protect life" (p. 245). Community groups like MAPB demand equitable police policy and practices along with transparency and accountability from

police departments. More recently, the #BlackLivesMatter movement has brought to center stage police misconduct and the dehumanization of African Americans by police. The movement, founded by three women of color after the murder of Trayvon Martin in 2012, has grown since the high visibility police killings of unarmed Black boys and men including Michael Brown (June 2014), Tamir Rice (November 2014), Walter Scott (April 2015), and Freddie Gray (April 2015). #BlackLivesMatter prioritizes the humanization of blackness and argues that equitable policing for communities of color would be transformative for the nation as a whole. The release of the United States Department of Justice report on the Ferguson Police Department corroborates the message of MAPB and #BlackLivesMatter by acknowledging that the Ferguson Police Department practices "unconstitutional policing" with tactics that "reflect and exacerbate existing racial bias" and that have "sown deep mistrust between parts of the community and the police department" (Department of Justice, 2014, p.4). Within the police community there is a push to listen to the critical feedback from communities using a culturally aware lens (Schlosser, 2011; Zimny, 2012) and to achieve accountability through creating evidence-based policy (Walker, 2006) and data-driven police departments (Cordner &White, 2010).

Continuing to develop and critically evaluate multicultural education and training programs for police officers is essential in working toward providing police officers the tools to police equitably. Flanagan (2014) put it best when she said: "I think people are basically good and when you put a vehicle in place to where they can show you how good they are and what a good spirit they have, I think that they will take advantage to do so" (Mothers Against Police Brutality, para.9).

The purpose of this dissertation was to use a practical–participatory evaluative (P-PE) method (Cousins &Whitmore, 1998) to develop and critically evaluate a diversity education program for

police recruits. The Policing in a Multiracial Society Program (PMSP) is an approximately 10-hour intervention incorporated into the police training institute curricula. It was developed on the basis of the extant literature and using core principles of P-PE, including seeking input from communities affected by the program, which in this instance were veteran police officers and diverse community members; it is important to note that the PMSP was initiated by a representative at a Midwestern police training institute. The university affiliated PMSP team members were invited to assist the police training site to actualize its vision for diversity training of new recruits. Consistent with P-PE, all stakeholders met to discuss the goals and objectives of the program. The criterion for judging effectiveness primarily came from these meetings and consisted of the reduction in colorblind racial beliefs (or the denial of the existence of racism in the United States), an increase in ethnocultural empathy (i.e., empathic feeling for individuals from different racial or ethnic backgrounds than their own), and culturally sensitive, critical thinking skills related to dealing with police misconduct.

Research Purpose and Questions

This dissertation was designed to describe the development of the PMSP using P-PE and participatory action principles and to provide formative, evaluative data on the PMSP. The project consisted of three phases. The first two phases were related to the development, implementation, and initial formative evaluation of the PMSP. Activities during these phases included dialogues between stakeholder groups, implementation, and observation of the intervention followed by a revision process based on satisfaction data and stakeholder feedback.

The third phase consisted of a critical evaluation using a pretest-posttest quasi-experimental design. Police recruits were assigned to two squads as part of the larger police institute and the squads were then randomly assigned to either the PSMP intervention group or the Nonracial Diversity intervention group, in which recruits received approximately 10 hours of education

around diversity topics not involving race (e.g., LGBT issues). Three research questions were tested in the third phase of the project.

Hypothesis 1. On the basis of research indicating a decrease in colorblind racial beliefs after participation in diversity courses (Bornstein, Domingo, & Solis, 2012; Lewis, Neville, & Spanierman, 2012; Neville, Poteat, Lewis, & Spanierman, 2014), I hypothesized that police recruits would report lower levels of colorblind racial beliefs after completing the PMSP compared to police recruits in the Nonracial Diversity condition.

Hypothesis 2. On the basis of research indicating an increase in ethnocultural empathy after participation in diversity education (Mallinckrodt, Miles, Bhaskar, Chery, Choi, & Sung, 2014; Spanierman, Beard, & Todd, 2014), I hypothesized that police recruits would report higher levels of ethnocultural empathetic feeling after completing the PMSP compared to police recruits in the Nonracial Diversity condition.

Hypothesis 3. The PMSP intervention incorporated culturally sensitive, critical thinking skills as they relate to self-report equitable policing practices. I hypothesized that police recruits would identify increased equitable and culturally sensitive responses to a hypothetical police misconduct case after completing the PMSP compared to police recruits in the Nonracial Diversity condition.

Chapter Two
Review of the Literature

As a way to contextualize the problem of police misconduct against communities of color as well as the proposed solutions to address the problem, I provide a review of the literature on the following topics: (a) the definition of police misconduct against communities of color, specifically the African American community, (b) the historical perspective of the relationship between American police forces and the African American community and (c) the evolution of "diversity" training and education with police. In the review, I highlight both what is known about the unique issues related to teaching diversity/multicultural awareness to police officers and the important issues that are unaddressed or have received inadequate scholarly attention. The chapter concludes with a statement of the rationale for and purpose of the dissertation.

Definition of Police Misconduct against Communities of Color

Issues involving police misconduct against communities of color have been investigated by scholars and activists alike and have gained increasing attention in light of recent incidents such as the death of Eric Garner by New York city police officers (July 17, 2014), the killing of Michael Brown by Ferguson Missouri Police officer Darren Wilson (August 9, 2014) and the death of Walter Scott by a South Carolina police officer (April 4, 2015). Although there is no one universally accepted definition of police misconduct against communities of color, there are some common dimensions. On the basis of my analysis of the literature, there are three main common concepts that fall within misconduct: excessive use of force or brutality, biased based policing (e.g., racial profiling), and lack of police accountability.

Excessive use of force or brutality. Law enforcement is defined by the enforcement of social order through the legitimized use of force (National Institute of Justice, 2009). The

International Association for Chiefs of Police-IACP (2012) defined use of force as "the amount of force required by police to compel compliance by an unwilling subject" (p.14). The use of lawless excessive force on the other hand is considered brutality (Skolnick & Fyfe, 1993). Police excessive use of force is a difficult concept to specifically define and measure. In fact, it was not until 1994 that congress passed the Violent Crime Control and Law Enforcement Act requiring the justice department to collect data and report on police use of force (Williams, 2015). Although this is the law, many people including Collette Flanagan with MAPB in Texas find police departments reluctant and slow to release this data to the public. There are conflicting statistics about the actual prevalence rates of police excessive use of force, which is discussed in greater detail below (Eisen, 2013; National Institute of Justice, 2009; National Police Misconduct Reporting Project, 2010). However, the recent publicity of multiple incidents of individuals' deaths at the hands of police and the existence of community organizations and a social movement to end police brutality should convey the seriousness of this issue. Incidences of police unwarranted use of force also should not be thought of as a single episode event affecting single individuals, rather as an event(s) that affects families, entire communities, and the nation as a whole.

According to the National Institute of Justice (2009), police use excessive force in less than 1% of answered service calls. This statistic is based on the IACP Police Use of Force Report (2012) and citizen complaint data. The IACP report collected data from police departments on a volunteer and anonymous basis. It only included data from 236 of the 17,000 departments nationally, representing the experience of only 30% of the US population. Also, citizen complaint data often underestimates the problem.

One must consider the roadblocks to reporting incidences when evaluating citizen complaint data (Adams, 1996). Victims of police excessive use of force have little recourse in reporting abuse to a non-police entity such as civilian review boards, independent auditors and specialized prosecutors. However, these entities are not mandatory and when they are available, they are infrequently used. For example, a civilian complaint review board is a group of citizens, external to police departments and appointed by the mayor or other senior government official, to review complaints and make recommendations as to disciplinary action for police internal affairs to consider. Hickman (2006), writing on behalf of the US Department of Justice, reported that only 19% of large municipal police departments have a civilian review board and that agencies having such a review board in their jurisdiction received a greater overall rate of citizen force complaints than agencies without one.

Another roadblock to reporting brutality complaints against the police is related the high rates of brutality in low-income communities (Weitzer, 1999). Individuals in low-income areas lack the financial resources and legal expertise to build a case against what often times becomes a whole police department. Finally, victims are unmotivated to report abuse at the hands of police due to the unlikelihood that the accused go to trial, let alone be convicted. In 2002, only 8% of complaints against the police were investigated (Hickman, 2006) in part because criminal prosecutions of police officers for the use of excessive force are extremely rare (Klockars, 1996; Skogan & Frydl, 2004). The city of Chicago is an example of this low rate of prosecution, with only two percent of the cities' 1,509 excessive force complaints against police resulting in a penalty of some kind (We Charge Genocide Report, 2014).

The National Institute of Justice statistic that police use excessive force in less than 1% of answered service calls is incomplete and thus it is not surprising that independent organizations

have gathered additional data that offer different perspectives on the problem. Examples of these independent organizations and their publicly available databases are CATO Institute's National Police Misconduct Reporting Project (http://www.policemisconduct.net), Malcolm X Grassroots Movement's (MXGM) Operation Ghetto Storm Project (https://mxgm.org/operation-ghetto-storm-2012-annual-report-on-the-extrajudicial-killing-of-313-black-people/) and We Charge Genocide (http://wechargegenocide.org/). The originators of these databases are independent academics and dedicated community activists. While the National Institute of Justice relies on report data from police, these databases rely on citizen reports. All of the incidents reported are corroborated with local media sources such as newspapers and locally based online news outlets. CATO Institute's National Police Misconduct Reporting Project contends that in 2010, 1,575 claims of police brutality were made involving 6,613 officers. Of these 1,575 claims, 247 resulted in deaths. Excessive force complaints included (in order of most reported) physical attacks involving fist strikes/throws/choke holds, baton strikes, firearm-related excessive force, Taser-related cases, a combination of force types, use of police dogs and use of chemical weapons (pepper spray).

MXGM's Operation Ghetto Storm Project's 2012 Annual Report on the Extrajudicial Killing covered in detail the killing of 313 Black people at the hands of police (Eisen, 2013). The most jarring statistic from this report is that every 28 hours in 2012 someone employed or protected by the US government killed a Black man, woman, or child. On a local level, We Charge Genocide is committed to ending police violence against youth of color in Chicago Illinois. This group has prepared a report to be presented to the United Nations committee against torture, charging the Chicago Police Department with torture (We Charge Genocide Report, 2014). This report found that in the first six months of 2014, police shot 27 citizens and 23 of these citizens were Black.

The report also asserted that Black citizens are 10 times as likely as White citizens to be shot by Chicago Police Department. The findings about police misconduct in Chicago are part of a long history of abuse in this city; recently, the city of Chicago announced it plans to provide reparations to victims of police torture and their family members. Comparing the use of force data collected by the National Institute of Justice and citizen entities is difficult because of the differing populations sampled and the differing social perspectives of these entities.

What is undisputed in the literature is that persons of color are disproportionally represented among those subjected to police use of force when a fire arm is involved (Gabrielson et al., 2014; Fyfe, 1988; Locke, 1996), those filing police abuse of force complaints (Pate et al., 1993), and those more likely to have distrustful, negative attitudes toward police (Weitzer, 1999). Further, Brunson (2007) sampled a group of Black adolescent boys under 18 and found high percentages of abusive contact with police. Eighty percent reported direct incidents of police harassment and 90% reported they knew someone that had been harassed by police. Adolescent boys of color are a group likely to have police contact but are often not included in datasets or polls.

Nationally, statistics suggest that Black boys are more likely to be killed by police than their White counterparts. Between 2010-2012 Black teenage boys were 21 times as likely to be killed by police than White teens (Gabrielson et al., 2014). The United States Department of Justice survey on police use of force (1997) found that Black and Hispanic individuals were 70% as likely as Whites to have police contact. Half of all respondents on this survey who reported having been hit, pushed, choked, threatened with a gun, or restrained by a dog were Black or Hispanic. A recent opinion poll released by the Kellogg Foundation (2014) found that 68% of all Latino/a's polled worried police would use excessive force against Latino/a's. This report also found that only 26% of Latino/a's polled felt they were treated fairly by police. It should be

noted that these surveys did not sample from the thousands of men and women incarcerated in our country or those unable to access phones. It is safe to assume that the number of reports of police misuse of force would significantly increase if these individuals were polled.

It is also important to consider how girls and women of color are affected by police misuse of force. Gross (2015) noted that Black women comprise 20% of the unarmed Black Americans that have been killed by police in the past 15 years. Black women's experiences with police also include sexual violence while in custody. For example, former officer Daniel Holtzclaw of the Oklahoma City Police Department was convicted of raping and sexually assaulting multiple women while on duty, all of whom were Black women.

When highlighting the abuse communities of color experience at the hands of police, it is important to also acknowledge local (e.g., Mothers Against Police Brutality in Dallas, Texas and Champaign-Urbana Illinois's North-End Men's Breakfast Club [Cha-Jua, 2014]) and national entities (e.g., #BlackLivesMatter) that unite and mobilize resistance against police brutality. These groups are being formed out of a need for social change in communities that are experiencing loss and pain from incidences of police brutality. Alpert and Fridell (1992), in their article about the significant police policy changes around police use of force in the 1990's stated, "the primary agents of change were the minority communities. These communities had unity and organization which facilitated their challenge of police practices" (p.48). Local and national resistance efforts recognize that excessive force by police cannot be considered merely a result of single episodes. They know that the cumulative effect of multiple episodes of police abuse should be considered (Brunson, 2007) as well as the effects of intergenerational trauma, in which younger generations are effected by the experiences of older generations (Danieli, 1998).

Biased based policing (racial profiling). Another facet of police misconduct toward communities of color is biased based policing or racial profiling. The Police Executive Research Forum (PERF) (2001) defined racially biased policing as, "when law enforcement inappropriately considers race or ethnicity in deciding with whom and how to intervene in a law enforcement capacity" (p. 49). Although race and ethnicity were cited here, one could easily substitute variables such as age, class, or sexual orientation as well. The fact that race and ethnicity were highlighted in this definition speaks to the prevalence and importance of race when considering biased policing. I will discuss biased based policing using the statistical data from traffic stops, survey data and qualitative information documenting the lived experiences of people of color's interactions with police.

In 1997, Representative John Conyers of Michigan proposed H.R. 118, the Traffic Stops Statistics Act, which would require the Department of Justice to collect and analyze data on all traffic stops around the country; among the proposed data to be collected was the race of the driver. This bill was never passed because the National Association of Police Organizations insisted there was no reason to record such data. Thus, independent academic researchers and also smaller cities such as Urbana, Illinois have collected data on traffic stops.

Studies in New Jersey and Maryland compared rates of Black drivers to rates of Black drivers stopped by police (Lamberth, 1998). In New Jersey, Black drivers were 4.85 times as likely to be stopped as other drivers and 16.5 times as likely to be arrested. In Maryland, while Black drivers made up only 17.5 % of traffic violators, they made up 71.3 % of those searched by police for such stops (Lamberth, 1998). These findings led Lamberth and his colleague to assert: "Jim Crow is alive on America's highways, trains and airports" (Buckman & Lamberth, 2001, p. 1). In essence, these researchers argued that social control of the movements and freedoms of people of

color in the United States are still alive. They offered data as proof that we are not in a post-racial society.

The Department of Justice Report on the Ferguson Police Department (DOJ, 2014) recently corroborated findings from earlier seminal works. The report indicated that between 2012 and 2014, African Americans accounted for 85% of vehicle stops, 90% of citations, and 93% of arrests by the Ferguson Police Department, despite comprising only 67% of Ferguson population (DOJ, 2014). The DOJ report also stated "African Americans are more than twice as likely to be searched during vehicle stops, even after controlling for non-race based variables, but are found in possession of contraband 26% less often than White drivers" (p. 4).

The statistical traffic stop data are also supported by survey data indicating that Black and White Americans believe racial profiling to be wide spread (Engel, & Calnon, 2004; Gallup Poll, 2004) and these findings are further reinforced by qualitative analyses on the lived experiences of people of color in the U.S. (Brunson, 2007; Geiger-Oneto & Phillips, 2003; Harris, 1999). Results from a 2004 Gallup Poll found that 53% of all Americans believe that the practice of stopping motorists because of their race or ethnicity is widespread. Sixty seven percent of Black Americans and 63% of Hispanic Americans sampled thought racial profiling was widespread. Greiger-Oneto and Phillips (2003) found, like the DOJ (2014) Ferguson Report a decade later, that African American and Hispanic men experienced more police stops and searches as compared to White men. Yet, White men were more likely to carry drugs on their person.

Harris's (1999) findings remind us that racial profiling is a common experience for Black Americans despite neighborhood context and socioeconomic class. Harris's qualitative interviews with Black "middle class" Americans living in neighborhoods with low levels of crime uncovered three themes across participants: (1) the experiences of racial profiling led to

feelings of fear, anger and humiliation; (2) the daily adjustments Black Americans made to avoid police contact; and (3) the strict, detailed socialization of Black American children around police interaction. Harris stated, "Driving while Black' is a common experience for the Black community; an experience that is invisible to Whites" (p .38). These findings and conclusions are as relevant today as they were over 15 years ago when they were published. Scholars also recognize the effects of racial profiling on Muslim Americans (Rice & Parkin, 2010) and Latinos and immigrants (Martinez, 2010), even though there is a dearth in the literature around the specific context for racial profiling involving these groups.

   Lack of police accountability. The PERF (2001) report indicated that from their 15 citizen focus groups, many citizen participants were frustrated because they believed the majority of the law enforcement community denied the existence of racial profiling. This denial could be connected to lack of accountability, the last facet of racially motivated police misconduct described in this literature review. Almost all incidences of police misconduct go unpunished, where officers are allowed to keep their positions or only receive minimal periods of suspension (Frydl & Skogan, 2004). This lack of accountability for police misconduct is supported from above (police policy/administration) and below (police culture). Only recently have the demands from community members and others for police accountability been met with some success, most notably is the recent reparations offered to survivors of police torture in Chicago. Fifty-seven people were paid a combined total of 5.5 million dollars by the city of Chicago because of the actions of a detective unit, led by Former Officer Jon Burge, from the 1970s to the early 1990's. Allegations included that Burge and officers under his command had beaten, shocked, and suffocated community members into false confessions. The actions of Jon Burge and those

under his command highlight an instance of decades long, uncontrolled police desecration that cost great harm to the community.

The ethic of "discretion" appears to be linked to limited police accountability. Walker (2010) stated, "the central problem in criminal justice is controlling the discretion of criminal justice officials" (p. 6). Discretion in this situation refers to the decision making power afforded to police officers to use personal judgment in enforcing the law. Police policy has been suggested as a way to control the discretion of officers (Fyfe 1981;Walker, 2010). However, while many police departments have some sort of policy around bias and use of force, these policies differ and there is no recommended national standard. This leaves the oversight of officers to individual police departments. In addition to the limited oversight about bias and use of force, there is almost no formal (or informal) mechanism to recognize police officers for demonstrating equitable or culturally aware policing (Skolnick & Fyfe, 1993). Thus, police practices are neither consistently punished for bias and misuse of force nor reinforced for exemplary culturally informed behaviors.

Police administration often is also silent on advocating for these policies and hesitant if not resistant to enforce them (Williams, 2015). This complacency is also evident in the disorganized systems of supervision operating in many police departments, despite research that shows that close supervision can result in lower levels of officer misconduct (Davis & Mateu-Gelabert, 1999). Lastly, high levels of job fatigue and burnout have been shown to affect police officers' performance on the job (Alexander, 1999). Most departments, while claiming high levels of stress on the job, do not have burnout or job fatigue support mechanisms in place to ensure officers are fully capable of performing to the best of their ability on the job. In fact, Lambert,

Hogan, and Jiang (2010) found that organizational structure of correctional work environments contributed to burnout and job fatigue.

Police accountability is further undermined from the bottom up, particularly through the code of silence evident in the police culture. Police culture is insulated, and seeped in internal brotherhood and solidarity. It has been suggested that the components of being a police officer (danger, authority, and force) solidify a sense of brotherhood around a common police identity (Skolnick & Fyfe, 1993). The pressure to remain loyal to this community results in the establishment of a code of silence in which police may do things against their better judgment for the sake of loyalty (Corsianos, 2011). The code of silence is carried out through shunning, feared exposure of one's own misdeeds, and real or imagined fear that peer assistance will be withheld or delayed in a time of emergency (Skolnick & Fyfe, 1993). While the "bad apple" assumption does not explain police misconduct, the proactive actions of individual officers is crucial to a system of accountability. Walker (2006) emphasized the need for not just oversight but "ethical vigilance" and that each officer is involved in creating and maintaining individual and departmental standards.

The History of Misconduct by Police against the African American Community

In this subsection, I trace the historical relationship between the American police force and the African American Community. The history presented will begin with the historical period in which the nation thrived on and sustained a system of racialized slavery to the contemporary moment, described as the new nadir (Cha-Jua, 2001), marked by the state sanctioned violence by the American police forces on the African American Community. Throughout U.S. history, the police force has become symbolic not only of their own goals and vision as a field but the oppressive racial system that the United States has yet to shed.

The social control of people and land were paramount in the United States' rise to economic and social power. For the earliest colonists, keeping control of land and wealth oftentimes meant using violence to first obtain land (pillage of Native American land) and then to make profit from the land (a system of race-based slavery). Enslaved Africans and African Americans were kept subjugated in order to ensure a free labor force (Mills, 1997). A racialized social order was created to justify this unjust status quo. This social order was fueled by beliefs that Black slaves were cognitively limited, violent, and sexually aggressive—making it crucial that they be contained physically and socially.

This racial hierarchy was codified in law through slave codes (Kelley, 2000). Slave codes restricted the physical movement, social activities and literacy levels of Black slaves. The first semblances of American policing were born from a need for hyper social control. To quell White fear of Black insurrection and loss of societal and economic power, slave patrols would exercise complete authority in enforcing slave codes. Slave patrols would also scout for runaway slaves to assure they were punished and returned to their White, landowning master. These patrols were comprised of only White men. Even though many state laws required all White men to participate in this duty, patrolling slaves often fell to poor White men (Hadden, 2001). The duty came with a wage and the prospect of a monetary bonus for each slave caught and returned (Williams, 2015).

Following the historical period known as reconstruction (1865-1877) – in which Black Americans attempted to claim a civic and political identity – is a time period known as the nadir (1877-1923). In the transition from slavery to freedom, between 1863 and 1866, the slave codes were replaced by Black codes, which served the same purpose: to socially and economically contain Black communities as well as control Black labor for the benefit of White society.

During this time racial violence, both state sanctioned and personal, was common. Lynching was rampant. Black Americans could expect no police protection in the event of a lynching; in fact there are instances when law enforcement delivers the Black victim to the lynch mob (Cha-Jua, 2000).

Thriving Black communities after abolition did not receive police protection, and remained ever vigilant to the threat of destruction of their community property and violence against community members. Tulsa, Oklahoma (1921) and Rosewood, Florida (1923) are both examples of thriving Black communities, without formal police protection, that were destroyed by bands of White citizens (Bell, 2000). Black Americans were also murdered in the process of these incidents. The connection between the Ku Klux Klan and American police forces is blatant. American police forces were either comprised of active members in the KKK or acted complicity with the racist, hostile and lethal actions of the KKK (Websdale, 2001). The KKK would use powerful tactics of coercion and intimidation to overpower any sheriff that might try to suppress their influence (Websdale, 2001).

Due to the complex mixture of police negligence and aggression toward communities of color, the police involvement in protest and rebellion would further define the role of the police as guardians of the social order (Williams, 2015). In 1943, Detroit was an epicenter of racial tension as Black and White communities attempted to live and work side by side. Pressure mounted as Black soldiers returned home from fighting in WWII and were greeted with the familiar inequality and oppression. A "riot" erupted in which 17 of the 25 Blacks were killed by police officers; 9 Whites died, none at the hands of police. As police restored order they killed numerous Black lives and spared those of Whites.

Three instances of historical social movements and subsequent attempts at police reform are worth mentioning, both of which are related to the persistence of racially motivated police misconduct and the measures taken to ameliorate the problem. The first historical moment is the civil rights and Black power movements and The Kerner Commission of the 1960s followed by second historical moment of the rally against police brutality and the Christopher Commission of the 1990's. The present moment (2014-2016) can be considered a third time point in the history of police reform, especially considering the media attention on multiple deaths of people of color at the hands of police and scathing investigations such as the DOJ Report on Ferguson,

In the 1960s, the United States experienced a surge of resistance from the Black community and its allies, commonly referred to as the civil rights and Black power movements. The police played a central role during this time period. Although combating police misconduct was not an explicit goal of many leading civil rights leaders (Kelley, 2000), the problem was apparent in the policing of many of the protests and demonstrations of the time. Iconic examples are unarmed Black citizens being sprayed at close range with fire hoses and peaceful protesters being confronted by militarily armed police units (Churchill & Wall, 2002).

The Black power movement ushered in groups like the Black Panther Party that were outspoken about the issue of police brutality. The Black Panther Party called for an immediate end to police brutality and the murder of Black people in point #7 of their 10-point platform. As a result of the Black Panther Party's insistence on an end to police brutality, the group was unlawfully surveilled by the FBI. Local Chicago Police gunned down members of the Chicago branch of the group as they slept. The Black Panther Party, as representatives of the self-determined powerful Black citizen, triggered the historic fears or Black enfranchisement that the

police are rallied to quell. Both local and federal bodies of law enforcement were dispatched to control and contain the Black Panther Party (Churchill & Wall, 1990).

The 1960s was a time of potent resistance that was felt throughout the nation. Black communities erupted in defiance and outrage. The most powerful illustrations of this indignation were the deadly and violent confrontations often referred to as "riots" in several US cities. Cities like Los Angeles, Newark, and Detroit were home to violent confrontations between Black communities White citizenry, and predominantly White police forces. Although these events would come to be known as riots they are better described as rebellions. Many of these rebellions were either instigated by a police confrontation or fueled by excessive use of force by the police on protesters (Horne, 1995).

In response to these uprisings, President Lyndon Johnson appointed the Kerner Commission to investigate the causes and propose solutions to Black resistance. The report that came from this commission identified racism as a main cause of the "riots" and indicated the trigger incident in many of the uprisings was an act of police brutality (United States National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders & Kerner, 1968). The report suggested hiring a more sensitive and diverse police force as one of several reforms (United States National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders & Kerner, 1968). As a result of Black outrage and corresponding governmental response, police departments nationwide began implementing programs like police-citizens relations training that emphasized better communication and de-escalation skills. These programs did not require material on race/racism. Nor did these programs require thinking about cultural competence as a skill for police officers.

Unfortunately, police reform after the 1960s did little to deter officers from continually using oppressive tactics on communities of color. In the 1990s, the infamous Rodney King beating,

caught on video, spotlighted the unjust and abusive police tactics. Rodney King was tazed, kicked, and hit with a baton 33 times by four Los Angeles police officers on March 3, 1991. The encounter was videotaped by a witness and gained international attention. The acquittal of all four of these officers incited an uprising in Los Angeles in the spring of 1992. These events caused the mayor of Los Angeles to appoint an independent commission (Christopher Commission) to investigate the operations of the LAPD.

The report that came from this commission stated that there are a significant number of officers in the LAPD who repetitively use excessive force against the public (Christopher, 1991). The report emphasized the breakdown of trust between the LAPD and communities of color. It championed the community policing model as a solution to this strained relationship. The community policing model is founded on the concepts of crime prevention based on community involvement in problem solving. This model, while seemingly progressive, does nothing to change power dynamics between citizens and police. It also encourages higher police presence in areas that have higher incidence of crime. This means that communities of color and poor communities are targeted for more police contact. In essence, this model achieves the same levels of hyper control and abuse by police on the poor and people of color we have seen throughout history (Corsianos, 2009).

Although the beating of Rodney King became emblematic of police brutality because it was captured on video, the persistence of police violence directed at Black Americans, especially Black men, remain in the public's eye as exemplified by highly publicized killing of unarmed people. Examples include Oscar Grant III, who was shot to death by a police officer in Oakland California (2009) while he lay handcuffed, and Aiyana Jones, a 7-year-old girl, who was killed while sleeping on the couch as the Detroit Police Department raided her home (2011).

The slogan #BlackLivesMatter was popularized on social media after the death of Michael Brown in 2014, although it was founded two years previous in 2012 after the death of Trayvon Martin. This slogan is emblematic of the current social movement around inequitable policing. The movement works to place incidences of police abuse in broader contexts. Police abuse happens within the intersecting systems of racial and class oppression in the United States. Single incidents of police abuse are not committed in a vacuum. They are connected to hundreds of other incidents happening to people of color every day, including the 101 unarmed Black citizens killed by police in 2014 alone (National Police Violence Map, 2014).

Cha-Jua (2001) referenced incidents of police misconduct against Black Americans as markers that we are currently living in a new nadir, or low point, in the racial structure of the United States. Police violence and misconduct is a form of racial repression and is reinforced by elements like racialized incarceration (Alexander, 2012) and increased levels of private hate crimes (Perry, 2001). Cha-Jua (2014) argued that it is not coincidental that with the election of a Black president, we see lethal police tactics being administered on Black people at an alarming rate. Social control of Black bodies and the halt of Black advancement has been a theme consistent throughout our history.

Evolution of Police Diversity Training

There have been calls for a paradigm shift in the nature of policing within the criminal justice and policing fields (McDonald, 2003). This paradigm shift includes a rebalancing of priorities within policing and often includes the implementation of three possible models: community oriented policing, problem-focused policing, and restorative policing. These models suggest that police should shift away from solely seeking out crime and focusing on criminal

apprehension. From this perspective, priorities should include supporting all members in communities with safe, fair policing which focuses on solving community-defined problems.

As the field of policing attempts to build better relationships with communities, multicultural education training has been listed as one of the five most critical issues in policing (White & Escobar, 2008). Police officers begin training in a police academy as recruits. For police officers, academy training is the foundation of knowledge (Birzer, 1999) because it serves as a key socialization process that teaches philosophy and values (Skolnick & Fyfe, 1993) and it weeds out officers that do not conform to the ideals of the field (White & Escobar, 2008). Research findings also show that recruits, as opposed to veteran officers, are less cynical about and angered by diversity education (Gould, 1997). Gould suggested that the cynicism and hostility of the veteran police personality make the reception of multicultural training difficult. Also that training of veteran officers should include ample time for officers to vent the emotions that accompany their cynicism and hostility. It is for these reasons that some have argued that effective change in policing should start at the academy level (e.g., Birzer, 1999). Multicultural education and training, specifically, has been referred to by several different names: diversity training, citizen-relations training, interpersonal communications training. On the basis of my review of the literature, I observed the development of multicultural education and training in the field has evolved in three phases. These phases seem to follow a typical investigative structure starting with exploration and theory building, advancing to pilot testing ideas, and further advancing to more structured critical evaluations. Phase one represents the design phase in which pedagogical approaches and general teaching strategies were discussed. Phase two is the case study phase in which pilot programs were developed and presented in the literature or to other

professionals as case studies. Phase three is the critical evaluation phase in which training programs are being empirically tested and formally evaluated.

Phase one: Design. Phase one began in the early 1990's. The policing community began offering designs for "cultural sensitivity" training with police officers (Barlow & Barlow, 1994; Birzer & Tannehill, 2001; Blakemore et al., 1995; Coderoni, 2002; Cox, 1994; Gould, 1997; Hennessy, 1993). Many of these design ideas were in conversation with a traditional model of police training originating in the 1960's. The traditional model emphasized creating manuals for training that focused on general communication skills, de-escalation skills, and the acquisition of specific procedural skills related to police work. Ungerleider and McGregor (1993) examined the literature for diversity training interventions to change racial attitudes or behavior of police. They found that only four studies in the US had appeared by the early 90's, each of which was completed in the 1970's. Ungerleider and McGregor's literature review also suggested training was most effective when it was work-related, given by "insiders," or fellow police of equal rank, and implemented for longer than one session.

The primary work done in phase one included theoretical writing on approaches to training, methods of training and key teaching strategies. Different approaches to training offered during this phase focused on developing competencies, and there was a distinction between a culture specific and culture general approach. Traditional methods of police training during this time were criticized as being "static" and inactive (Blakemore et al., 1995). A process-based method was suggested where officers are active participants in learning and personally relate to the material. Process methods would reach beyond merely didactic training but would include dialogues, small group assignments and self-reflection exercises. Blakemore et al. (1995)

suggested that process-based methods provide experiential learning environments that encourage officers to connect with the communities they seek to understand.

Key strategies for program structure and delivery were discussed during this initial period (Barlow & Barlow, 1994; Hennessy, 1993). Program structure should focus on creating a positive working environment (Barlow & Barlow, 1994), which encourages active participation of officers with group discussions (Hennessy, 1993), and dialogue that emphasizes human relations skills (Barlow & Barlow, 1994) combined with an analysis of the agency's capacity to be culturally competent (Blakemore et al., 1995).

Strategies for creating a receptive audience and positive learning environment were also outlined during phase one (Barlow & Barlow, 1994; Hennessy, 1993; Shusta, Levine, Harris, Wong, 2002). Authors recommended that program structure should be developed with an in-depth knowledge of the mostly White male audience (Hennessy, 1993). Officers would be more receptive to training if the rationale included officer safety, liability, and effectiveness (Barlow & Barlow, 1994) and include officer testimonies and stories (Hennessy, 1993). While Hennessy (1993) stipulated that all White officer audiences learn best from White trainers, Shusta et al. (2002) suggested that ideally several trainers from differing racial backgrounds should present material. This suggestion was grounded in the contact hypothesis (Allport, 1979), which suggests that close and collaborative interracial interpersonal contact can reduce racial prejudice. It was also suggested that trainers are committed to training, know and express the limits of training (Barlow & Barlow, 1994), and have specific skills in facilitating difficult dialogues (Shusta et al., 2002)

Phase two: Case study. Phase two was the implementation and non-empirical observation of pilot programs for diversity training (Cornett-DeVito & McGlone, 2000; Gould, 1997; Hennessy,

1993; Huisman, Martinez, & Wilson, 2005; Lewis, 2011; Prosser, 2007; Stainbrook, 2010).

These studies often adopted a case study format. These case studies provided different training

foci and approaches, information about officer characteristics, and discussed unique challenges

experienced.

The descriptive case studies in this phase had a wide range of foci including: policing

immigrant communities (Prosser, 2007), policing Aboriginal communities (Lewis, 2011),

policing Muslim communities (Stainbrook, 2010), and considerations with women of color who

are survivors of domestic violence (Huisman et al., 2005). Scholars emphasized creating liaisons

and partnerships with respected individuals of communities (Huisman et al., 2005; Lewis, 2011;

Stainbrook, 2010), connecting with youth (Lewis, 2011), dispelling cultural myths (Prosser,

2007), survival language tips (Prosser, 2007), understanding societal pressures on certain groups

(Stainbrook, 2010), addressing stereotypes and power imbalances, and exploring commonalities

(Huisman et al., 2005).

Stainbrook (2010), in his paper on policing with Muslim communities, suggested that officers

consider taking both direct and indirect engagement strategies. Stainbrook believed officers

should be trained on how to engage directly with local Muslim communities via knowing the

community's history, social structure, religious background, immigration pattern, and cultural

nuances. He also posited that officers should be trained in indirect or "third-party" engagement

since Muslim communities may have deep-seated mistrust of law enforcement. A third party

could be a faith-based initiative or social service organization. Stainbrook underscored the

importance of media communication strategies training and offered two main suggestions. First,

officers should understand how Muslim communities perceive media content, especially given

the American media references to Muslims as the enemy. Second, officers should know and consume the media sources that Muslim communities prefer like Al-Jazeera news outlet.

Research adopting a case study method implemented different training approaches, including a three-stage pre-training /training/follow up approach (Huisman et al., 2005) and a cultural-general approach as opposed to a culture-specific approach (Cornett-DeVito & McGlone, 2000). Huisman et al. (2005) used trainers outside of the policing field. Scholars in the design phase have warned of the difficulties of citizen trainers in police education programming (Coderoni, 2002; Cox, 1994; Gould, 1997; Hennessy, 1993). Huisman et al.'s three-stage model of training attempted to create a trusting relationship with police and citizen trainers. In the pre-training phase, the citizen trainers attended police events and introduced themselves to police outside of the training time. During training, trainers focused on creating commonalities with the officers and gave officers a voice in the discussion. The last phase included trainers following up with officers to answer any question, consult on cases, and give additional resources.

Cornett-DeVito and McGlone (2000) implemented a training program using a cultural-general approach as opposed a culture-specific model. This meant that instead of focusing on the practices of a particular culture, the focus was on general skills like flexibility and empathy that could be applied across cultures. The training required each officer to participate in two 4-hour training sessions over the course of 6 weeks. Cornett-DeVito and McGlone used a model for intercultural training (Brislin &Yoshida, 1993) that included the following four competencies: awareness of one's self and one's own cultural influences, knowledge of other cultures, recognition of emotional challenges involved, and basic skills that can be applied to most intercultural encounters. They assessed officers on these competencies using the Cross-Cultural Adaptability Inventory (CAAI) (Kelly & Myers, 1995). The CAAI is divided into four subscales:

emotional resilience, flexibility /openness, perceptual acuity, and personal autonomy. Cornett-DeVito and McGlone found improvement on all subscales, except flexibility/openness.

Several scholars have investigated how individual characteristics influence officers' reception of diversity training. Using Myers-Briggs typology (Hennessy, 1999) and Minnesota Multiphasic Personality Inventory (MMPI) (Gould, 1997), the police officers' personality and cognitive leaning styles were considered. Hennessy (1999) relied on Carl Jung's theory of cognitive functioning to adapt training to officers' various learning styles. He argued that 70% of law enforcement could be defined as sensory thinkers (Hennessy, 1999). This meant that many officers preferred to perceive information realistically and concretely (sensor) and make decisions using impersonal and objective analysis (thinker). Hennessy's diversity training accommodated these cognitive patterns by using case studies that involved real-life policing issues and experiential components using multimedia resources.

Finally, scholars employing case studies have discussed the challenges they experienced with diversity training with police. Common challenges included officer resistance (Gould, 1997; Huisman et al., 2005), establishing trainer credibility (Cornett-DeVito & McGlone 2000; Huisman et al., 2005), and attention to terminology (Cornett-DeVito & McGlone, 2000). Officer resistance was framed as a result of the police personality (Gould, 1997) and police culture (Huisman et al., 2005). Cornett-DeVito and McGlone (2000) and Huisman et al. (2005), as non-law enforcement training groups, attempted to demonstrate trainer credibility trough a pre-training phase (Huisman et al., 2005) and by using text written by police and media presentations that involved policing (Cornett-DeVito & McGlone, 2000). Lastly, attention to terminology was highlighted. Police officers become resistant to programming if the program included the phrases cultural sensitivity or diversity training (Cornett-DeVito & McGlone, 2000).

Phase three: Critical evaluation. Phase three includes the formal and/or empirical evaluation of police diversity training programs. Several studies have evaluated a long-standing diversity program in a police academy (Schlosser, 2011; Zimny, 2012). Other studies evaluated new ideas for police training: adapting a college ethnic studies course for police officers (Bornstein et al., 2012) and implementing a specific police training program around LGBT issues (Israel et.al, 2013).

Schlosser (2011) and Zimny (2012) evaluated the effectiveness of a police training program based on Illinois state curriculum standards. The State of Illinois Basic Police Officer Training Curriculum has no section explicitly on multicultural competence training. It offers a general heading of "police citizen relations" that offers a simple 8 page outline on topics or "student performance objectives" to be covered. While considerations with the elderly take up 2 pages of this outline, "special considerations when dealing with minority groups" includes the following bullet points verbatim,

<div align="center">Special considerations dealing with minority groups</div>

    A. Blacks
    B. Hispanics
    C. Other ethnic groups
    D. Racial profiling

This curriculum offers little guidance or structure around dealing with issues of multicultural competence. The curriculum offers no suggestions for topics or content to be covered in relation to "dealing with minority groups" and offers no rationale for why officers should find these topics meaningful and important. Additionally, in the curriculum officers are not encouraged to reflect on themselves as police officers but instead they are required to merely consider special actions for certain groups. This broad treatment of Blacks and Hispanics on a group level ignores the complexity of these groups and the ways in which intersecting identities

such as class, gender, and age shape peoples' experiences. Schlosser (2011) and Zimny (2012) outlined the inadequacies of this curriculum and they suggested that existing models of police training are ineffective in accomplishing increased multicultural awareness or competence.

Schlosser (2011) and Zimny (2012) implemented pre-experimental pretest-posttest designs and used the Colorblind Racial Attitudes Scale- CoBRAS (Neville, Lilly, Duran, & Browne, 2000) to assess multicultural awareness. The CoBRAS is designed to measure colorblind racial ideology or the denial, distortion and minimization of institutional racism and societal privilege. Colorblind racial ideology is used to justify contemporary racial inequality (Bonilla-Silva, 2006; Neville, Awad, Brooks, Flores, & Bluemel, 2013). Both evaluations showed recruits entered training with high to moderate levels of colorblind racial beliefs. Neither Schlosser nor Zimny found a significant decrease in racial colorblindness (or increase in awareness about racism) in recruits participating in a state-sanctioned diversity program. The authors thus concluded that one, 3-hour training might be insufficient to produce the desired changes in recruits' level of knowledge about racism.

Evaluations of police training also include adapting a college ethnic studies course for police officers (Bornstein et al., 2012) and implementing a specific police training program around LGBT issues (Israel et al., 2013). Bornstein et al. (2012) evaluated recruits' beliefs about racism before and after completing a semester-long college ethnic studies course; they also used the CoBRAS as an outcome measure. College students not enrolled in the ethnic studies course were used as the comparison group. The researchers found that White police officers reported a significant reduction in colorblind racial beliefs after the course. This finding supports scholars' call for police officers to not just attend training but to complete formal education in the college setting because this type of education correlates with decreased risk engaging and misconduct

(Kane & White, 2009). In a separate study, Israel et al. (2013) used a pre-experimental design to evaluate a 5-hour education program that was developed based on community participatory practices. They found positive results evaluating their program for LGBTQ knowledge pertinent to law enforcement and self-confidence in using LGBTQ affirming tactics with respect to policing.

After a thorough review of the literature, I am in agreement with many scholars that state the existence of two gaps in the literature around multicultural education and training with police (Bornstein et al., 2012; Israel et al., 2013; Schlosser, 2011; Zimny, 2012). A first significant gap is the lack of empirical research on education and training. Much of the literature provides theories and suggestions for training with police, but there are surprisingly few empirical evaluations of interventions. A second gap in the literature is the under-theorizing about the appropriate outcomes of diversity training. Although scholars suggested diversity training should increase officer empathy, increase awareness of bias and improve interpersonal communications skills officers (Barlow & Barlow, 1994; Birzer & Tannehill, 2001; Blakemore et al., 1995; Coderoni, 2002; Cox, 1994; Gould, 1997; Hennessy, 1993), few scholars proffered recommendations for how to assess these desired outcomes.

The purpose of this dissertation project was to address the gaps in the literature by evaluating a multicultural education and training program with outcomes developed by conversations with police and community members. To achieve this, I adopted a Practical Participatory Evaluation (P-PE) approach to program development that utilized action research principals and focused on collaborations with trained evaluators and stakeholders (i.e. citizen community members and police community members). I served as an involved collaborator of this process, immersing myself in the perspectives of both community members and police, and serving as part of the

Policing in a Multiracial Society (PMSP) academic team. The PMSP program content and delivery was informed by the information from the three phases of the evolution of diversity education and training with police and critically evaluated using quantitative methods. The assessment of impact of the program was based on the desired outcomes identified from community, police, and academic stakeholders. Although the levels of participation in development of the training were not equivalent across multiple stakeholders, the PMSP team attempted to include entities in the design of the assessment of impact via input on concepts measured and timely feedback of results to stakeholders, as well as consideration of their perspectives on these results going forward.

Chapter Three

Development of the PMSP Intervention

This dissertation is a practical-participatory evaluation (P-PE) of the Policing in a Multiracial

Society Program (PMSP). It highlights multiple group collaborations and a responsive, utilitarian

framework. Principles of action research, specifically the Look, Think, Act model (Stringer,

2013), were used to develop the intervention. Action research compliments a P-PE framework by

incorporating collaboration between multiple, influential parties into research designs. PMSP

was quantitatively evaluated based on outcome variables identified and agreed upon by multiple

stakeholder groups. This chapter includes rich descriptions of the meaningful partnerships

involved in the P-PE framework. The steps of collaboration and evaluation are presented along

with a description of the PMSP intervention. A proposed quantitative design, based on

stakeholder input, was used to measure program effectiveness and is presented in a separate

method chapter following this.

Practical-Participatory Evaluation (P-PE) Framework

This section outlines the principles of P-PE and the way they informed the PMSP program

development and evaluation. P-PE focuses on partnerships between trained evaluators and

members of stakeholder groups (Cousins & Earl, 1992). It involves collaborative planning and

reflection, technical rigor (statistical analysis, research design), and responsiveness to local needs

(Cousins & Earl, 1995). Cousins and Whitmore (1998) stated that P-PE projects are often

guided by the principles of utility, education, and policy. P-PE projects work to provide a

product, program or intervention that is practically useful, and responsive to local community

needs. These projects often include an educative function in which the program or product

contributes to knowledge bases both locally and nationally. Finally, these projects often contribute to a political discussion or policy debate through their collaboration of many perspectives.

This dissertation project uses the three core principles of P-PE: utility, education, and policy. The intervention is a *useful*, practical tool for police training. The final intervention product, informed by these multiple perspectives is responsive to needs of both the community at large and field of policing. The project prioritizes collaboration from multiple stakeholder groups and the PMSP intervention was revised based on the reflections of these stakeholder groups.

The results of this project serve to *educate* multiple sources. First, the policing community benefit from advancement in training. Second, academic communities benefit from an example of historical and psychological concepts being used in police training. Finally, residential communities learn how police training is carried out and how they can have a voice in the development of training. PMSP is an intervention driven by community outrage over racially motivated police misconduct and a lack of thorough and appropriate training material to address this concern. The intervention development and implementation contributes to a larger conversation about training *policy* in police departments locally and nationally.

Evaluation Site

Midwestern Police Training Academy (MPTA) is the setting for the intervention and evaluation. The MPTA was founded in 1955 and is one of the largest police academies in the United States. MPTA is a 480-hour, 12 week, academy that exceeds requirements set by the Midwestern state in which it resides. MPTA emphasizes community-policing values including developing and strengthening mutually beneficial relationships with communities and their residents.

Description of Evaluation Team and the Collaboration

This section describes the evaluation team. Each member's background and social identities are discussed. The campus-community organization featured in this project is described and the partnership between MPTA and the evaluation team is explicated. Finally, I discuss how I viewed my role as an evaluator.

PMSP includes an interdisciplinary curriculum (history, psychology, criminal justice) and a core development team that is also interdisciplinary in their expertise. Academic contributors include Sundiata Cha-Jua a professor in the departments of African American Studies and History and Helen Neville, a professor in the departments of African American Studies and Educational Psychology. I am also an academic contributor; I am a doctoral student in the Educational Psychology department and affiliations with the Department of African American Studies. These academic contributors are joined by Officer M[1], Director of the MPTA. Officer M has a Ph.D. in Curriculum and Instruction and over 30 years of experience as a sworn police officer.

The literature suggests that there are several factors involved in meaningful collaborations in participatory evaluations (Cousins & Earl, 1992; King, 1998). First, the organization that is participating in the evaluation should be open to change and willing to engage in a participatory decision making process. Second, both the evaluation team and participating organization must share values. Third, there must be a co-creation of solutions, despite the expertise of the evaluation team. Fourth, the focus of the evaluation should be around big picture goals for the

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[1] Officer M is a pseudonym. Because this project lists specific dates regarding diversity training, printing Officer M's real name could provide information that would prevent the anonymity of participants.

programs future. Finally, the evaluation team must possess facilitation and negotiation skills since dialogue is a crucial aspect of a participatory evaluation.

The evaluation team which includes a veteran police officer and director of the MPTA identified the issue of racially motivated police misconduct as a priority in the field of policing and is committed to creating a police force that explicitly honors the values of social justice, equity, and fairness. The larger PMSP collaboration is committed to hearing from all voices involved in making change around police misconduct in communities of color. The focus of the evaluation is on big picture ideas of creating and sustaining an intervention that combats police misconduct through multicultural competence training. Finally, because part of the interdisciplinary team consists of individuals trained in counseling skills, dialogue facilitation and negotiation were appropriately managed.

Evaluator Role and Research Approach

The P-PE framework encourages the evaluator to interrogate her role in the project. The evaluator's role in a P-PE is not internal or external but "involved collaborating participant" (Mathison, 1994, p.6). I have accomplished this by soliciting and implementing feedback from all collaborating parties at all stages of this project. An example of this is during the development of the PMSP intervention. I collected and summarized feedback from police recruits. I made a presentation to the recruits and co-facilitated a discussion with recruits on their interpretation of the feedback. The conversation informed the changes made to PMSP at that point in development. Another example is the quantitative outcome measures included in the study; they came directly from meetings with community members and veteran police officers about the goals of the project.

Corsianos's (2009) concept of "hidden research" describes the preparation put into an action research project that is, often times, not reported in methods sections. This preparation is essential in building trust and authority with stakeholder groups involved in collaborations (King, 1998). From my viewpoint, it is important to understand the perspectives of each of the stakeholder groups involved. I completed an extensive amount of "hidden research."

I attended several community meetings in which interactions with the police were discussed. From these meetings, I learned how community members framed the issue of racially motivated police conduct. I was able to hear first-hand accounts of incidents where police mistreated community members. I also heard suggestions for making change in the future. To understand the police perspective, I attended a 36-hour citizen police academy (detailed below). I was able to understand the expectations and responsibilities of police officers. I was exposed to the training principles of use of force and police discretion. I gained insight into the multilayered context within which police officers often make their professional decisions.

Citizens Police Academy (CPA) Experience. In order to gain perspective on the experiences of law enforcement and build empathy for recruits, I participated in a CPA before the critical evaluation stage of the project. The CPA consisted of 36 hours of presentations, demonstrations, and discussions lead by members of the law enforcement community. Topics covered in presentations included DUI enforcement, control and arrest tactics, use of force, and the judicial system and policing. Demonstrations included a live Taser demonstration on a recruit, use of force role-plays where recruits had to react to dramatized scenarios, flash bang demonstration, and police dog demonstration. I also had the opportunity to experience the use of force simulator that all recruits train on.

This CPA experience helped me to understand the difficult decisions and choices officers often make. An example of this understanding was during a role-play situation in which recruits were asked to react to a mentally ill man wielding a gun. The situation was complicated because the man's wife was also present, herself in danger, yet insisting police not shoot or harm her husband. Many recruits ended up shooting the man and then had to deal with the intense emotional reaction of the wife. After the role plays, the recruits had an open debriefing session in which community residents could listen in on. Many of the recruits recounted how difficult it was to weigh the safety of the wife and surrounding community against the man with the gun.

Participating in the CPA also reinforced for me the physical power that law enforcement possesses. An example of this was during the flashbang demonstration. A flashbang is a non-lethal explosive that intends to stun the senses of a target by emitting a blinding flash of light and intensely loud noise. The effects of the flashbang are increased when detonated in smaller areas. The CPA flashbang demonstration was conducted in a very large warehouse with multiple open doors. I was scared when the flashbang went off and I could feel my body go into a fear response. My heart raced and my stomach dropped. I cannot imagine being in a closed, small apartment or house when a flashbang goes off. Also, I fear for the effects this device would have on a child. Along with the flashbang, I saw a man being Tasered and police dogs perform attack commands. These tactics confirmed for me the physical power the police possess.

I also reflected on how an individual with negative police experiences would feel attending the CPA and seeing these demonstrations of force. I could see this experience as being very traumatic for an individual. Watching a Taser demonstration or police dog demonstration could easily trigger painful, scary memories. Someone who has a fear of the police or who has been traumatized at hands of police might not want to participate in a CPA.

What I take to my evaluative approach from this experience is how difficult it can be to immerse oneself in a different culture. I was immersed in police culture for three hours a week for three months. I had to concentrate very hard to hear and learn from police perspectives. I remembered this feeling when I asked police recruits to listen to the perspectives of community members. The CPA experience challenged my value system. After attending CPA, I have heightened empathy for others going through an experience in which their value system is challenged, including police recruits going through multiracial education and awareness training.

Steps of Collaboration and Evaluation

This section outlines the process of collaboration and evaluation in which core evaluation team, community members, and veteran police officers participated. The PMSP intervention was developed and evaluated using an iterative, action research model containing three main stages: Look, Think, and Act (Stringer, 2013). The *Look* phase consisted of defining and organizing the evaluation team and initiating the stakeholder collaborations. This phase also included the framing of the problem of racially motivated police misconduct from multiple perspectives. The *Think* phase involved the collaborative planning of the intervention. The *Act* phase involved an iterative, collaborative process of implementing the evaluation and then revising the intervention. Each stage is comprised of different phases and these phases may contain specific steps. Each phase and its corresponding steps are discussed below. Figure 1 is a chart that visually displays the Look, Think, Act process. Table 1 visually displays the process of collaboration through phases and steps.

The Look stage consisted of organizing the core interdisciplinary development team, identifying other stakeholder groups to include in development and framing the problem of racially motivated police misconduct using the multiple perspectives contained in the core

collaboration. This stage happened in two phases. *Phase one* was the organization of the initial

interdisciplinary collaboration of academic contributors and the MPTA. The purpose of this

phase was to create a development team that could offer multiple perspectives on the issue of

racially motivated police misconduct. Also important was creating a meaningful, collaborative

relationship with the site where the intervention would be implemented, MPTA.

Phase two involved the meeting of this group to contextualize the issue of racially motivated

police misconduct and identify other stakeholder groups. The purpose of this phase was to

completely explore the issue of racially motivated police misconduct from multiple perspectives:

historical, psychological, and practical police training. This phase also identified what groups are

affected by this problem and should therefore be included as a stakeholder in the P-PE

evaluation.

The Think stage consisted of the initial PMSP intervention development. It occurred in three

phases. *Phase one* was a meeting with community members to explore their goals and hopes for

the project. The purpose of this phase was to gather information from a stakeholder group,

community members, which would contribute to the initial development of PSMP goals and

objectives. *Phase two* was a meeting with veteran police officers to explore their goals and hopes

for the project. The purpose of this phase was to gather information from a stakeholder group,

veteran police, which would contribute to the initial development of PSMP goals and objectives.

Finally, *phase three* involved the interdisciplinary team gathering the perspectives from both

stakeholder meetings and using them to inform the PMSP intervention foundation. The purpose

of this phase was to use information from the collaboration to represent the concerns of all

stakeholders in the development of PMSP. Both meetings with stakeholders produced

suggestions for big picture goals for PMSP and small picture activities, or group processes, to focus on.

   The Act stage consisted of the implementation and formative evaluation of the PMSP intervention. The two phases in this stage represent the two rounds of the intervention that were implemented on two separate police recruit cohorts at the MPTA. Each of the two phases consists of the steps implement, observe, reflect, and revise.

   Phase one and *phase two* of the Act stage involved giving the PMSP intervention to two separate recruit classes. These two recruit cohorts totaled 137 recruits (Cohort 1 $N = 56$, Cohort 2 $N = 81$). Recruits were predominantly White (86%) men (91%) between the ages of 23 and 33 (87%). The majority of recruits (95%) came to training with less than 6 months of experience in policing. Twenty one percent of these recruits had completed a high school diploma or equivalence, 12% of recruits had completed an associate's degree, 63% had completed a bachelor's degree, and 4% completed a master's degree.

   Both phase one and phase two contained the steps implement, observe, reflect, and revise. The *implement step* involved the recruits participating in the PMSP intervention. The purpose of this step was to give the intervention to recruits in preparation for an iterative evaluation. The *observation* step happened concurrently with the implement step and involved different stakeholders observing the intervention. The purpose of this step was to obtain field notes on the intervention from an observer that did not facilitate the intervention. The *reflection step* occurred after the intervention ended. Observation data and satisfaction survey data were collected and discussed (see Appendix A for a sample satisfaction survey). The purpose of this step was to use multiple data sources to make sense of what was successful in the intervention and what was not

helpful. The purpose of the *revise step* was to use the data from the observation and reflection steps and revise the intervention accordingly.

In the first phase of the Act stage, the PMSP intervention was given. The observers in this initial implementation were an undergraduate student and the evaluator. The observations and satisfaction survey data from recruits were reflected on. The intervention was revised based on these reflections. In the second phase of the Act, the revised version of PMSP was presented. In this phase community members and a police chief observed the intervention along with students.

The reflect step of this phase looked different than phase one because it involved presenting the satisfaction data to recruits before the intervention concluded. A dialogue with the recruits about these results followed this presentation. Also unique to this phase was a meeting where all of the observers met to discuss their perspectives and suggestions for the program. After this meeting the intervention was revised a second time based on input from the stakeholder observations meeting and recruit dialogue about survey data.

Figure 1. The PMSP intervention developed based on Action Research Principles
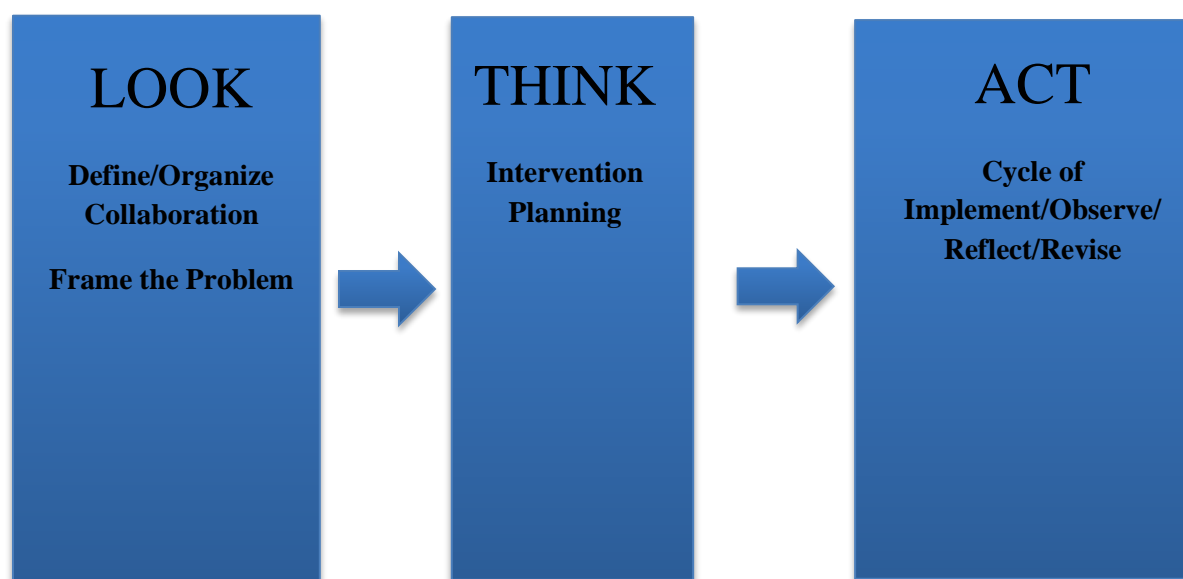
Table 1.   Phases and Steps of the PMSP Collaboration and Evaluation

	Purpose	Activities
LOOK		
Phase 1	Established initial interdisciplinary collaboration	
Phase 2	Explored the issue of racially motivated police misconduct from multiple perspectives	Initial collaboration met to discuss perspectives on police misconduct
THINK		
Phase 1	Explored goals and preferred intervention outcomes of a stakeholder group	
Phase 2a	Explored goals and preferred intervention outcomes of a stakeholder group	Met with selected community members and veteran police officers
Phase 2b	Gathered the perspectives from both stakeholder meetings and used them to inform the evolving PMSP intervention	
ACT		
Phase 1	**Cohort 1**	
Implement	Delivered education intervention in preparation for an iterative evaluation	Delivered intervention to cohort 1
Observe	Obtained field from an observer not implementing the intervention	Students observers
Reflect	Used multiple data sources to evaluate effectiveness of intervention	Satisfaction data collected
		Focus groups with community members and veteran police
Revise	Used data from the observation, focus groups, and reflection to revise intervention	Revised intervention

Table 1. Continued

Phase 2	**Cohort 2**	
Implement	Delivered education intervention in preparation for an iterative evaluation	Delivered intervention to cohort 2
Observe	Obtained field from an observer not implementing the intervention	Students observers Police chief Community members
Reflect	Used multiple data sources to evaluate effectiveness of intervention	**Step 1:** Collected satisfaction data **Step 2:** Presented data to recruits in last section of intervention **Step 3:** Met with veteran police, community members, and participating recruits
Revise	Used the data from the observation and reflection revise intervention	Revised intervention

Description and Development of PMSP Intervention

   Description. PMSP is an approximately ten-hour racial awareness education and training

intervention for police recruits designed to combat police misconduct against communities of

color. It was born from national and local communities need to improve interactions between

police and communities of color. Similar to Bornstein et al. (2012), the overarching mission of

PMSP is guided by critical race theory. Critical race theory mandates that racism is alive and

well in the United States and pervades the country on many levels: personal, community, and

institution (Ladson-Billings, 2007). PMSP consists of three, 3-hour blocks and uses the model of

cultural competence under which I was trained as a counseling psychology graduate student (APA, 2002; Sue, Bernier, Durran, Feinberg, Pedersen, & Vasquez-Nuttall, 1982). This model was chosen because it has an empirical base of best practices and was suggested by police scholars in the design phase as an appropriate model for training police recruits (Cox, 1994). The awareness, knowledge, and skills framework has evolved and has been endorsed by the American Psychological Association's multicultural guidelines (2002). It is a tripartite model including *awareness* of one's own assumptions of others, *knowledge* of the worldviews of those culturally different from us, and developing *skills* to interact in culturally sensitive towards others. The objectives of PMSP intervention are thus to increase officers' (a) *awareness* of their own social identities and racial beliefs; (b) *knowledge* about theory and research related to police misconduct and the sociohistorical experiences of racial minority communities, especially with police and the criminal justice system; and (c) efficacy to apply the communication and basic policing *skills* learned at the police training institute in a culturally informed way.

Best practices that informed development of the PMSP intervention. Researchers in counseling psychology have identified best practices for teaching multicultural competencies (APA, 2002; Arredondo, P., Toporek, R., Brown, S. P., Jones, J., Locke, D. C., Sanchez, J., & Stadler, H., 1996; Dickson, Jepsen, & Barbee, 2008; Kim, & Lyons, 2003).
 These best practices align well with the suggestions from criminal justice and police scholars of what multicultural competency training for police officers would look like. Scholars suggest using a broad range of methods to teach multicultural competencies beyond didactic ones (Arredondo et al., 1996). Exposure through interpersonal contact and meaningful emersion with other cultures (Dickson et al., 2008) and experiential learning experiences through discussion

and critical thinking exercises (Kim, & Lyons, 2003) combined with didactic strategies are recommended best practices for teaching multicultural competence in psychology.

The PMSP intervention development was informed by the best practices outlined in the police and multicultural psychology literatures. The PMSP intervention modules use group discussion, self-reflection exercises, critical thinking exercises, video presentations, and a community/recruit panel. The core presenters for the modules represent multiple social identity groups. The presenters consist of an African American man (Black Studies and history scholar), a Black American woman (counseling psychology and Black Studies scholar), and a White American man (retired police lieutenant). The diverse identities and experiences of the presenters was intentional and designed to address the concerns identified in the literature about having only "civilian" instructors (Gould, 1997; Huisman et al., 2005).

Development of PMSP intervention over three cohorts. The PMSP intervention evolved significantly from cohort 1 to cohort 3. Recruits completed a session evaluation form after each of the modules in each of the three cohorts (see Appendix A for the evaluation form for cohorts 1 and 2 and Appendix B for the evaluation form for cohort 3). Additional evaluation data were collected from veteran officers, police administrators, recruits, and community members in the form of focus groups, group feedback, observations, and informal conversations after each of the cohorts. The evaluation data in its entirety were examined and used to inform the content changes that were made after the first and second cohort interventions. The changes to the content are described below and represented in Tables 2 – 4.

Cohort 1 (Jan 2014). The PMSP team introduced the project to the recruits on the first day of the training. Subsequently, the first cohort received three 3+ hour modules with each module focusing on one aspect of the tripartite model of multicultural competencies (i.e., awareness,

knowledge, skills) (see Table 2). Only one PMSP team member presented at each module (for example, the Black American woman facilitated the first module). The first three hours consisted of activities focusing on the awareness component. The activities included creating a cultural coat of arms, defining multicultural competencies, conducting dyad interviews about cultural background and presenting information on implicit bias. The second module focused on knowledge and consisted of topics in African American history such as slavery and the constitution, racial violence and lynching, and civil rights movement and the new nadir. The third module focused on skills and covered topics such as the relevancy of race and racism to policing, minority hiring, communication skills, and a discussion about the NYPD's Stop and Frisk policy.

The recruits in the first cohort had mixed reactions to the PMSP, with a vocal group who expressed significant concerns. Many recruits in the first cohort responded to the modules in a defensive manner. Some recruits consistently verbally questioned the relevance of the intervention to police work. These recruits were hostile to presenters and made disrespectful comments during module presentations and on evaluation forms. Finally, a few recruits complained to their host institutions about the program.

We conducted two separate focus groups to receive additional feedback about the PMSP modules, one with community members and the other with police representatives. During the focus groups, we presented the goals and structure of the PMSP intervention, a summary of the recruit feedback based on the session evaluation forms and verbal feedback during the training (see Appendix C), and we facilitated a discussion of the "ideal" diversity-type training. Community members for the most part were favorable about the content of the education training. They, however, thought the intervention should consider recruits' early socialization

experiences and their racial identity beliefs. Participants in this focus group suggested that we cater the educational material to all levels of racial awareness, especially those with limited awareness. Participants also suggested we involve community members in the training and encourage recruits to think critically about their police work. In particular, they thought recruits should be able to think critically about the power they yield and how the community views them based on decades of strained police-community relations. In addition, they felt recruits should think critically about their own biases and assumptions and how this could have an effect on their police work.

Participants in the police representative focus group were critical of the PMSP; they suggested the language used to frame the education was offensive (i.e., "training" and "competencies") and that we should work harder to create a welcoming environment and not to shut officers down emotionally and make them feel like being a cop is bad. Other suggestions included using hands-on activities and hearing real life stories from people in the community, especially community members that support the police.

We significantly revised the PMSP intervention on the basis of the feedback from the focus groups and the recruit evaluation forms. We revised both the content and structure of the intervention. Specifically, we included topics from awareness, knowledge, and skills in each of the three intervention modules and the three PMSP instructors served as co-facilitators for each module. We reduced a lot of the history content, per the community member's suggestion of meeting recruits where they are. We added more time for discussion per the police members' suggestion of not shutting down the recruits. We also included a police-community member panel to involve community members in the intervention and for the recruits to hear real life

stories. Finally, we added a critical thinking model to encourage critical thinking skills in all policing situations.

  Cohort 2 (April 2014). This cohort received three 3+ hour modules of topics combining awareness, knowledge, and skills (see Table 3). Representatives of the police community (a local police chief) and citizen community members observed the PMSP intervention in its entirety. The training opened with a detailed discussion of the importance of this topic and of the education modules to policing. The content consisted of an explicit discussion of ground rules, an explanation of the multicultural competencies model adopted in the intervention, an introduction to the critical thinking model, and discussion of two videos. The first video was a documentary: *The Color Line and The Bus Line.* The documentary presented a case example of institutional racism where the inequitable access to public transportation caused a Black teenage woman to die at a poorly placed and unsafe bus stop. In addition to discussing the video, the recruits were asked to apply a critical thinking model to the case. The second video was about the NYPD Stop and Frisk Policy and recruits were again asked to apply the model. During the second module, recruits were asked to use the US census online to look up the racial demographics of the city they grew up in and the city they will be policing followed by a discussion. The key concepts of institutional racism and cultural racism were discussed followed by video examples of each. Research on implicit bias was presented along with information on community policing. In the third module, we presented recruits the results from their first two satisfaction surveys (Appendix D), we discussed ways in which we responded to their concerns for the third and final module, and we provided them an opportunity to share their thoughts. A citizen-police panel and question and answer session with recruits were followed by research on

why race matters in policing and how to gain community trust. We ended this final module with

a discussion about leadership and how recruits could be leaders.

At the end of the second cohort, we facilitated one focus group that consisted of veteran

officers and administrators, community members, and two recruits from cohort 2. Participants

included the police and community observers as well. The format of the focus group was similar

to the previous focus groups described earlier. At this time, we presented feedback from the first

two separate focus groups to representatives from all stakeholder groups gathered together (see

Appendix E). The participants in general were more positive about the revised PMSP training

than they were about the original education modules. A number of suggestions to improve the

training emerged from the discussion, including increased time for discussion, less content, and

more connection to policing.

The PMSP team used recruit feedback to revise the intervention for the third cohort. We tried

to include simple, thoughtful discussion prompts so recruits could have time to process and

speak. We also included more research and stated the sources of the research. We connected

each topic brought up to policing in some way, and ~~finally~~ we continued to follow the advice of

the community members about meeting recruits where they were in terms of identity and beliefs.

We were mindful of the defensive reactions of recruits that allowed them to feel guilty, hurt, and

hostile. When allowed for ample discussion time of recruit feedback involving their defensive

responses.

Cohort 3 (Jan 2015) PMSP intervention. The third cohort was divided into two groups:

PMPS intervention and Nonracial Diversity programming. The content of the cohort 3 PMPS

intervention is described below and in Table 4. The Nonracial Diversity programming is

described below in narrative format only. The cohort 3 PMPS group received three 3+ hour

modules. The first module consisted of a ground rules discussion, introduction to multicultural competencies, introduction to critical thinking model and key terms such as racism, discrimination, and bias. This module also included two videos followed by discussion, a video on institutional racism and a video about NYPD stop and frisk. The second module consisted of a summary of key points of module one, research and activity involving the Implicit Bias Test. The community –police panel and Q& A concluded this module. In module three we summarized module 2 and gave recruits a summary of the feedback they provided via surveys (Appendix F). Recruits discussed the PMSP team's response to their feedback. Recruits were shown a use of force scenario involving a Black man and asked to apply the critical thinking model to it. The module concluded with a video of a conversation between the police training director and PMSP team member and a Black policeman about the relevancy of race to policing.

   Cohort 3 (Jan 2015) Nonracial Diversity programming.   The Nonracial Diversity programming condition received three 3+ hour modules on Nonracial Diversity topics. Each module focused on one specific topic: module one was on crisis intervention with mentally ill citizens, module two was a LGBT ally training, and module three focused on victims of sexual assault. Module one was presented by a police trainer and involved lecture and minimal skill training. Module two was presented by a campus-based LGBT resource center and involved lecture and some discussion. Module three was presented by Rape, Advocacy, Counseling and Education services (RACES) of Urbana Illinois and consisted of lecture, and group discussion.

Table 2. PMSP Content Development of Cohort 1.

Module 1 Awareness	Module 2 Knowledge	Module 3 Skills
<u>Cultural Coat</u> (A)	<u>Racial Knowledge</u> (A K S)	Relevance to Police* (K)
Key Concepts* (K)	Slavery and Constitution (K)	Personal Stories from PO (K)
MC Competence (K, A)	Plantation Econ/ Black Codes (K)	Minority Hiring* (K)
<u>Dyad Interviews^</u> (A)	Disenfranchisement (K)	Is It Possible to be CB (K,A,S)
Tips for MCC video (K)	Racial Violence/Lynching (K)	**Communication Skills (S)**
Types of Racism (K)	1940s (K)	**Tactical 8 Step Stop (S)**
<u>Why Race Matters ^</u> (K, S)	Civil Rights Movement (K)	**Verbal Judo (S)**
Implicit Bias* (K, A)	New Nadir (K)	**Stop and Frisk Video^(KAS)**

Note. <u>Underline</u> = Activity   *= Research presented on Topic ^= Discussion
 A=Awareness, K= Knowledge, S = Skills
 Grey = Content removed   **Black** = Content retained

Table 3. PMSP Content Development of Cohort 2.

Module 1	Module 2	Module 3
Ground Rules^ (A,S)	Census Look up^(K,A)	Present Recruit feedback (A)
Cultural Badge (A)	Key Concepts- Institutional R (K)	Is Race Relevant^(A,S)
Key Concepts* (K)	Banished Video for IR^ (KS)	Community/Police Panel^(K,A)
MC Competence (K)	Key Concepts- Cultural R (K)	Why Race matters*(K)
Intro Red Model (K,S)	Bike Theft Video^(KS)	Gaining community Trust*(K)
Color Line /Bus line^(KS)	Implicit Bias*(K,A)	We can be leaders (K,A)
Stop and Frisk^(K,S)	Scenario^(K,A,S)	
	Community Policing (K)	

Note. Underline = Activity   *= Research presented on Topic ^= Discussion
A = Awareness, K= Knowledge, S=Skills
Grey = Content removed   **Black** = Content retained

Table 4. PMSP Content Development of Cohort 3 PMSP Intervention Group.

Module 1	Module 2	Module 3
Ground Rules^ (S)	Sum Module 1/Q&A (K, A)	Sum of Module 2
Key Concepts* (K)	Implicit Bias^*(K, A)	Present Recruit feedback (A)
MC Competence (K)	Terry Stop (S)	PMPS Response to feedback^(A,S)
Intro Red Model (K, S)	Community/Police Panel (K,S)	Micro aggression Video (K)
Color Line /Bus line^(K,S)		Use of Force Case^(K, A, S)
Stop and Frisk^(K, A, S)		Leadership Discussion^(A, S)
		Video (K)

Note. Note. Underline = Activity   *= Research presented on Topic ^= Discussion
A=Awareness, K=Knowledge, S = Skills

Chapter Four
Method for Assessment of Impact of PMSP

This chapter outlines the research design and statistical analyses used to assess the impact of the PMSP intervention. A brief description of the research design and participants are provided. Outcome variables and the instruments used to measure these constructs are discussed. Finally, data collection procedures are presented.

Design

This dissertation used stakeholder feedback from the developmental period of the evaluation to conduct a pretest - posttest quasi-experimental design in which recruits were assigned to two squads by the police training site and these squads were in turn randomly assigned to one of two conditions (PMSP vs. Nonracial Diversity). Quantitative measures were appropriate for this design because it allowed for the analyses of the self-report measures that succinctly operationalized the outcome variables. It also allowed for a quick turnaround period of data analyses between pre and post testing.

Participants

Participants were 73 recruits from one police training site cohort. The overwhelming majority of the participants were men ($n = 66$; 90%); only 7 of the recruits were women. About 90% of the sample was White ($n = 66$) and the remaining recruits were: Black ($n = 2$), Latino/a ($n = 2$), or biracial ($n =3$). Participants ranged in age from 21 to 41(M= 26, SD= 4.67). Eight participants had military experience.

Intervention

Participants were assigned to one of two diversity interventions: PMSP and Nonracial

Diversity. A description of the PMSP intervention can be seen above and in Table 4. A

description of the Nonracial Diversity Education programming can also be seen above.

 Measures

The measures were selected based on the feedback of stakeholder groups. The Colorblind

Racial Attitudes Scale (CoBRAS) (Neville, Lilly, Duran, & Browne, 2000) was selected based

on community members request that police recruits become more *knowledgeable* of institutional

racism and police community members request recruits become more informed about racism in

general. The Scale of Ethnocultural Empathy (SEE) (Wang, Davidson, Yakushko, Savoy, Tan &

Bleier, 2003) was selected based on community members request that police recruits learn to

think introspectively about and become *aware* of their own biases and preexisting beliefs about

ethnic minority groups. A race-related police misconduct case vignette was constructed for this

study based on the police communities' request that recruits be given a concrete ~~skills~~ based

assessment they could work toward mastering and implementing in the field.

Knowledge. We administered the Colorblind Racial Attitudes Scale (CoBRAS) (Neville,

Lilly, Duran, & Browne, 2000) to assess recruits' knowledge about the existence of racism. The

CoBRAS is a 20-item measure that assesses participants' colorblind racial beliefs. Colorblind

racial attitudes reflect levels of denial of racism in the United States. Participants respond to

items using a 6-point Likert-type scale ranging from 1 (*strongly disagree*) to 7 (strongly *agree*).

The CoBRAS contains three subscales: (a) Racial Privilege (seven items) measures level of

unawareness to the existence of White privilege; (b) Institutional Discrimination (seven items)

measures unawareness of the implications of institutional discrimination; (c) Blatant Racial

Issues (six items) measures levels of unawareness of general racial discrimination. A sample item is "Race is very important in determining who is successful or not." Previous studies have reported acceptable total score internal consistency coefficients (Cronbach's alpha) ranging from .76 (Neville et al., 2014) to .91 (Neville et al., 2000). The Cronbach's alpha coefficient estimates for the current study were for the most part acceptable: ranging from .69 (Institutional Discrimination Subscale) to .81 (Racial Privilege Subscale) for subscale scores and .79 for total scale score. Higher scores on the CoBRAS have been related to lower democratic attitudes (Spanierman, L. B., Neville, H. A., Liao, H. Y., Hammer, J. H., & Wang, Y. F. , 2008) and lower social justice attitudes (Lewis et al., 2012).

   Awareness. We administrated the Empathic Feeling and Expression subscale of the Scale of Ethnocultural Empathy (Wang, Davidson, Yakushko, Savoy, Tan & Bleier, 2003) to assess recruits' levels empathy toward people of color. The full SEE is a scale that measures participant's levels of empathy for individuals from different racial or ethnic backgrounds then their own. Higher scores indicate higher levels of ethnocultural empathy. Participants respond to items using a six-point Likert-type scale ranging from 1 (*strongly disagree that it describes me*) to 6 (*strongly agree that it describes me*). The Empathic Feeling and Expression subscale (15 items) measures concern about communication of discriminatory or prejudiced attitudes or beliefs as well as emotional or affective responses to the emotions and/or experiences of people from racial or ethnic groups different from one's own (e.g., "I seek opportunities to speak with individuals of other racial and ethnic backgrounds about their experiences"). Wang et al. (2003) reported internal consistency coefficients (Cronbach's alpha) ranging from .76 to .91 for total SEE score and .90 for the Empathetic Feeling and Expression subscale. The alpha coefficients for subscale score for the current study were acceptable: .71 (pretest) to .85 (posttest). Higher

scores on the full SEE have been related to lower levels of prejudice in undergraduate

populations (Albiero & Matricardi, 2013) and lower levels of stereotyping toward male and

female athletes (Karafantis, 2011).

   Skills. We created and administered a race-related police misconduct case vignette to assess

recruits' retention of culturally sensitive, critical thinking skills as they relate to equitable

policing (see Appendix G). The vignette describes a scenario between a young African American

Man and a police officer. There is a verbal disagreement and the officer begins to beat the man

with his expandable baton. A bystander captured the incident on video. Recruits were asked to

answer two open-ended questions. First, they were asked to describe how they would address the

police department, as chief of police, around this issue. Then they were asked to describe how

they would address the community, as chief of police, around this issue.

   Scoring was based on case vignettes used in the multicultural counseling literature. Vignettes

were scored on two dimensions: awareness and skills. For the awareness dimension, greater

scores were given to responses that incorporated the recognition that a potential wrongdoing

occurred; higher scores also reflected an acknowledgment that there may be an issue of race in

understanding the case. Conversely, lower scores represented limited acknowledgement of

potential wrongdoing and of misconduct. For the skills dimension, greater scores were given to

responses that reflected proactive action in the police community and citizen community.

Conversely, lower scores indicated inaction or limited actions taken with either the police

community or citizen community. Possible scores ranged from 0 *(no indication that race was an*

issue and no skills or actions offered) to 2 *(race was an issue and concrete actions/skills were*

described). The codes were created after reviewing the open-ended data and through a discussion

with the Black American woman PMSP team member. Two people coded the data: a Latino

undergraduate student and myself. I provided an hour-long training session. He and I coded the data using a codebook with scoring definitions and example quotes. The initial interrater agreement was 60% for each question. We met and discussed disagreements and then reached a consensus on the codes that we did not initially agree on.

Module satisfaction. We administered the Elaboration Likelihood Model Questionnaire (ELMQ; Heppner, Neville, Smith, Kiglivhan, & Gershuny, 1999) to assess participant satisfaction of the modules. The ELMQ is a 12-item measure that assesses conditions necessary for central route attitude change to occur, with higher totals indicating more favorable conditions for central route processing. Participants respond to the 12 items using a 5-point Likert-type scale ranging from 1 to 5. The ELMQ contains two subscales: (a) cognitive engagement, which measures participants' involvement with the topic, and (b) presentation quality, which measures student's evaluation of the presentation. A sample item is "How Motivated were you to listen to the presentation?" Heppner et al. (1995) reported a total score internal consistency coefficient estimate (Cronbach's alpha) of .83. For the purposes of this study, only the cognitive engagement subscale was used. Higher scores on the ELMQ has been related to higher levels of personal relevance to material for men of color in a culturally relevant intervention (Heppner et al., 1999).

Demographic information. An item demographic sheet was created for this study to gather personal information about age, sex, race, ethnicity religion, number of diversity courses previously taken, high school information and graduation year, and number of friends who are White/African American/Latino/a/ Asian/ Native American (see Appendix G).

Procedure

Human subjects IRB approval was obtained before data collection. The recruits gathered as a whole cohort during the first week of the academy for pretest data collection. PMSP instructors verbally described the project and research intentions to the recruits. After this invitation to participate, the presenters left the room and an undergraduate researcher and myself handed out the pretest survey packets, including a consent form. Consent forms indicated to recruits that participation was voluntary and that they could withdraw at any point. Two recruits chose to not participate in the research aspect of the project. It should be noted that these recruits were required to attend the educational modules. Pretest data collection took about 20 to 30 minutes. Recruits returned the surveys in sealed envelopes with their assigned ID numbers on them. The consent forms were stored in a separate location from the data. Both consent forms and data were kept in locked cabinets within locked research rooms in the police training site.

Recruits were assigned to two squads by the police training site and then the squads were randomly assigned to either the PMSP intervention group or to a Nonracial Diversity programming group. The intervention modules were conducted concurrently but in separate rooms at the police training site. The three modules occurred about once per week and took place in the evening. Pizza was provided for recruits. Posttest data were collected separately by squad. An undergraduate researcher and I administered collected the posttest data; we first thanked the recruits, reassured their anonymity and distributed the posttest survey packets, which included the CoBRAS, SEE, and the equitable policing case vignette. Survey administration took approximately 20 to 30 minutes.

Chapter 5
Results

Preliminary and Descriptive Analyses on Outcome Measures

I cleaned the data by double-checking for entry accuracy and coding accuracy. There was

very little missing data. In the event of missing data, mean replacement was used. One

participant was deleted from the CoBRAS and SEE data analysis because the participant missed

more than 20% of the items on each of the scales. I explored skewness and kurtosis of the

CoBRAS and SEE measures. Both showed no problems with their respective distributions.

I explored the degree to which the PMSP intervention group and the Nonracial Diversity

(NRD) intervention group were comparable on demographic characteristics and pretest study

variables. The intervention groups were comparable across age [t (69) = .766 p= .385] and across

gender and race. The PMSP intervention group had 3 women and the NRD intervention group

had 4 women. In terms of race, 3 non-White recruits were in the PMSP group and 4 non-White

recruits were in the NRD group. See Table 6 for means and standard deviations, on pretests

scores for both groups.

Table 5.   CoBRAS Means and Standard Deviations across Intervention Group and Time.

CoBRAS (Sub)scale	PMSP Pretest M (SD)	PMSP Posttest M (SD)	Nonracial Pretest M (SD)	Nonracial Posttest M (SD)
Racial Privilege	4.68(.89)	4.84(.91)	5.04(.77)	5.03(.76)
Institutional Racism	3.71(.86)	3.85(.82)	3.77(.94)	3.96(.91)
Blatant Racial Issues	2.83(.93)	3.24(.82)	3.09(.85)	3.39(.88)
CoBRAS Total	3.78(.60)	3.84(.61)	4.01(.58)	3.96(.52)

Note. CoBRAS = Colorblind Racial Attitudes Scale. Scores range from 1 to 6.

To explore the interrelations among study variables, I also examined the association between CoBRAS, SEE, and the Equitable Policing Vignette scores at posttest. Increased CoRBAS scores were related to lower equitable policing assessments as assessed by the vignette: -.29 (vignette question 1) and -.38 (vignette question 2). That is, there was a small but significant association between greater denial and minimization of racism and lower articulation of equitable policing actions. SEE scores were not significantly related to CoBRAS or Equitable Policing Vignette responses.

Descriptive Information and Themes from Open-Ended Data on the Session Evaluations

To gain a better understanding of the degree to which the participants were engaged with the intervention material, I explored recruits' levels of Cognitive Engagement across the modules in each intervention group, using the ELMQ measure. The means and standard deviations are provided in Table 6. The means across all PMSP modules were moderate and indicate a slight decreasing trend; the means suggest that the recruits in the PMSP group were somewhat motivated to listen to the topic and able to concentrate and evaluate the information presented. The means for NRD were moderate/high across modules. The means for the PMSP intervention were statistically significantly smaller compared to the NRD intervention on all three modules (see Table 6). This indicates that while recruits in the PMSP intervention group were somewhat engaged in the material presented in each module they were less engaged in the material then were the recruits in NRD intervention.

Although recruits in the PMSP intervention did report moderate levels of cognitive engagement in the modules, themes from the open-ended response data indicate several areas in which the recruits could have been distracted from the information presented. This is reflected in the themes from the open-ended data on the session evaluation forms. These themes include: two

themes around positive engagement (Enjoyment of hearing stories and perspectives, Reminders of values I aspire to uphold) and two themes around challenges to engagement (Information presented was biased, Us vs. Them vibes). Recruits identified two areas of the intervention were they felt positively engaged. One area involved "hearing the stories of others" and "listening to different perspectives." These comments were mentioned in response to the panels with community and police members. Another area of positive engagement centered around values the recruits were reminded to uphold such as " being respectful to everyone" and "being an active listener." Some recruits were also able to reflect on values they wanted to address going forward stating, " I have to be honest with myself" and "I learned I might have implicit bias." Many recruits also identified aspects of the intervention that presented challenges around engagement. Some recruits felt the information and data presented were biased. Recruits consistently mentioned in the session evaluation form that the presentation seemed "One-sided," "Misleading," or "False." Some recruits felt there was an "accusatory" vibe from the presenters. Recruits also mentioned on the session feedback forms that they were uncomfortable with the presenters and the material. They reported they felt an "us vs. them" attitude from the presenters and material. Some recruits also indicated that they did not understand the focus on the intervention material: "Why is everything about race?" and " Why is everything black/White?"

Table 6. Perceived engagement with the diversity programming.

Cognitive Engagement	PMSP M (SD)	NRD M (SD)	Effect Size
Module 1	3.38 (.59)**	4.36 (.28)**	.72
Module 2	3.36 (.44)*	3.70 (.73)*	.27
Module 3	3.23 (.33)**	3.89 (.55)**	.58
Average Total	**3.31 (.34)****	**3.99 (.44)****	.36

Note. *p < .05. ** p<.001. Cognitive engagement measured by Elaboration Likelihood Model Questionnaire: Cognitive Involvement subscale. Scores range from 1 to 5.

Main Analyses

   Hypothesis One. *I hypothesized that police recruits would report lower levels of colorblind racial beliefs after completing the PMSP compared to police recruits in the Nonracial Diversity condition.* A one-way within subjects (or repeated measures) ANOVA was conducted to compare the effect of diversity education (PMSP v. NRD) on levels colorblind racial beliefs. There was not a significant within group finding, Wilks' Lambda = 1.00, F (1, 69) =.007, p = .93. Similarly, there was not a significant between group finding, Wilks' Lambda = .98, *F* (1, 69) =1.50, *p* =.225. For means and standard deviations see Table 6. These results suggest that there were no pre- to posttest changes on racial colorblindness as measured by the CoBRAS for either the PMSP or the NRD groups and that the PMSP participants did not report lower racial colorblind beliefs at posttest compared to the NRD participants.

   Hypothesis Two. *I hypothesized that police recruits would report higher levels of ethnocultural empathetic feeling after completing the PMSP compared to police recruits in the Nonracial Diversity condition.* A one-way within subjects (or repeated measures) ANOVA was conducted to compare the effect of diversity education (PMSP v. NRD) on levels of ethnocultural empathy. There was a significant within group finding, Wilks' Lambda = .88, *F* (1, 62) =8.63, *p* = .005, and a significant between group finding, Wilks' Lambda = .91, *F* (1, 62)

=6.09, *p*= .016. For means and standard deviations see Figure 2. These results suggest that police recruits reported lower levels of ethnocultural empathy after the approximately 10 hours of racial awareness education in the PMSP intervention group and the recruits in the NRD intervention group showed no changes in ethnocultural empathy scores.

Hypothesis Three. *I hypothesized that police recruits would identify increased equitable and culturally sensitive responses to a hypothetical police misconduct case after completing the PMSP compared to police recruits in the Nonracial Diversity condition.* Two independent *t*-tests were conducted to compare the effect of diversity education (PMSP v. Nonracial Diversity) on the two questions from an assessment of equitable policing. There were no significant findings on question one, *t* (69) =.38, *p* = .70 or on question two, *t* (69) =.95, *p*= .34 (see Figure 2). These results suggest that recruits in the PMSP intervention group and from the NRD intervention did not perform differently at posttest on a two-question assessment of equitable policing skills.

Figure 2. Levels of EthnoCultural Empathetic Feeling between groups

Levels of Empathetic Feeling at Pretest and Posttest
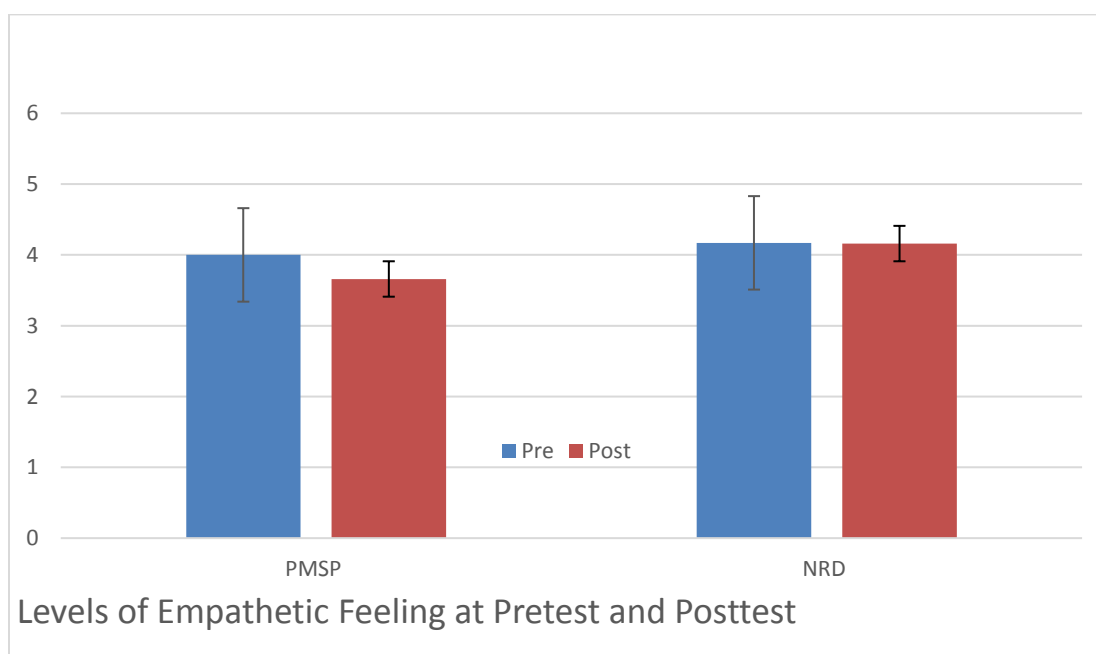
Chapter 6
Discussion

The purpose of this study was to use a practical–participatory evaluative method (Cousins &Whitmore, 1998) to develop and critically evaluate a diversity education program for police recruits. The PMSP is an approximately 10-hour intervention incorporated into a Midwestern police training institute curricula that was developed over the course of a year and was grounded in feedback from police and citizen communities. The main findings from this study indicated that participants in the PMSP intervention did not differ from participants in a Nonracial Diversity intervention on their colorblind racial beliefs or self-report equitable policing practices. However, surprisingly, there was an unexpected decline in ethnocultural empathetic feeling among participants in the PMSP intervention.

Recruits in the PMSP intervention did not differ from participants in a Nonracial Diversity intervention on their colorblind racial beliefs or self-report equitable policing practices. This finding is consistent with scholars who found no change in colorblind racial beliefs of police recruits enrolled in the state-sanctioned diversity training for police training (Schlosser, 2011; Zimny, 2012). Even though the 10 + hour PMSP was longer then the three hour training from Schlosser's (2011) and Zimny's (2012) work, it seems there was still not enough time for recruits to engage with, digest, and reflect on the information about race and racism. The finding is counter to Bornstein et al.'s (2012) research; they found a reduction in colorblind racial beliefs of police recruits through their enrollment in a semester long ethnic studies course. Taken together, it may be that the length of training for police around understanding race and racism needs to exceed 10 hours and could be most effective at the length of a college semester.

Surprisingly, recruits in PMSP intervention declined in their levels of ethnocultural empathy. Many of the recruits stated they had gone into policing "to help people" or "give back to the community." However, after the racial awareness education intervention, recruits reported less empathetic feeling toward people that are culturally different from them. It could be that the critical race lens of the PMSP offends the recruits. Scholars have theorized that police as a community are defensive against any type of threat to the integrity of their field (Skolnick & Fyfe, 1993; Gould, 1997). Acknowledging the existence of racism in policing could be perceived as a threat to field and created defensiveness that led to lower levels of empathy. These main findings can be further explored through three topic areas: Community readiness, stage of defensiveness, and the "shut down" affect.

Community Readiness

Findings from the current study can be conceptualized using the community readiness for change model (Edwards, Jumper-Thurman, Plested, Oetting, & Swanson, 2000). The community readiness for change model (CRCM) describes different reactions communities have to programs or interventions that try to make changes around specific issues like substance abuse or violence. The model outlines nine levels of community readiness: no awareness, denial, vague awareness, preplanning, preparation, initiation, stabilization, confirmation/expansion, and professionalism.

One of the main goals of the PMSP intervention was to raise recruits' awareness around the existence of racism in society and in the field of policing. An assumption of the training is that in order to be ready for change around police misconduct in communities of color, there must be acknowledgement that the issue of racism is real. It seems the recruits in this study were not ready to accept that race/racism plays a significant role in police work, or even in American society. Based on the CRCM stages, the participants in this study would be in either the no

awareness phase or the denial phase. The no awareness phase is marked with a complete lack of recognition toward the issue. It is also possible that the police culture within the police training site reinforced this continued lack of recognition. The hallmark of the denial phase involves denial that the issue exists at a local level.

According to data and behavioral responses in the modules, participants in the PMSP condition seemed to resist attempts at raising awareness around racism. Further at posttest, the participants had become less empathetic toward individuals from cultures different from them. They accused presenters of being biased and unscientific, despite the credentials of the presenters and the rigor of the scientific evidence. For example, the statistical data included in the presentations were from government databases or were published in top peer-reviewed scientific journals. They reacted defensively to the stories of citizens who were mistreated by police. These responses would indicate participants had no awareness that race is an issue in society and in policing, and moreover, the responses illustrated a level of hostility among some participants to exploring the possibility of the existence of racism. The drop in empathy at posttest also suggests that recruits were thus less sensitive toward the experiences of individuals affected by racism. Some participants argued that police misconduct was a product of the "biased" media. However, at times some participants did acknowledge that police misconduct against Black and Latinos existed, but that these "bad apples" were not like them or anyone else they knew. This type of response is consistent with the denial phase.

The no awareness stage of the CRCM mentions the role of the community culture in maintaining a lack of awareness. The police academy has been offered as a socialization period for young officers (Skolnick & Fyfe, 1993). It seems that a specific aspect of this socialization might include a denial that race/racism is an issue in society and thus in policing. Scholars have

also warned that the police community is resistant to being trained by non-law enforcement personnel (Coderoni, 2002; Cox, 1994; Gould, 1997; Hennessy, 1993) and defensive against any type of critique to the values and principles of their field (Skolnick & Fyfe, 1993; Gould, 1997). It may be that the content of the PMSP intervention that asks critical questions about the quality of policing for communities of color and places these questions in a larger sociohistorical context of race-relations in the U.S., the presence of non-law enforcement presenters, and a socialization process that denies the issue of race is a problem for policing contributed to participants' levels of readiness to change around the issue of racism in policing.

Stage of Defensiveness

The recruits, in all three cohorts were very defensive and resistant to the education material. This was evident through their feedback survey data and their behaviors in the modules. The culmination of this defensiveness was a decline in ethnocultural empathy at posttest. Considering neither Schlosser (2011) or Zimny (2012) found this level of defensiveness with a three-hour diversity education at the same site, there seems to be a stage of defensiveness that is not reached with brief training but reached with a 10-hour training. This stage of defensiveness needs more than a 10 hour intervention to be processed and worked through as the work of Bornstein et al. (2012) found with a semester long intervention.

Huisman et al. (2005) proposed an interesting strategy for combating police resistance to training and defensiveness. Their three-stage model of training (Pre-training, Training, Post-training) attempted to create a trusting relationship with police and citizen trainers. Huisman et al.'s observational qualitative data pointed to increased levels of trust given their three phases of contact. It seems, again that longer periods of meaningful contact with police, could assist in lowering defensiveness and increasing positive engagement with material.

A semester long intervention or a stage-based approach to training could help create a safe learning environment for police. The extended contact with presenters/facilitators would also create an environment where feelings of defensiveness could be processed. Relationships between facilitators and police could help produce healthy dialogue, encourage perspective taking, and model citizen-police relationships in-vivo.

A stage-based approach could even be created around anticipated defensive reactions. This would involve anticipating at what point recruits/officers become defensive and instituting specific environmental or content interventions to lower defensiveness. One specific environmental intervention, mentioned above, is focusing on creating a trusting relationship between facilitator and recruit/officer.

It should be noted that the PMSP was an interracial presentation team and also a mixture of citizen presenters and police presenters. There are mixed feelings in the literature about the racial composition of diversity trainers for police, some in favor of all White (Hennessy, 1993) and some in favor of interracial (Shusta et al., 2002). It seems that recruits in this dissertation had more defensive reactions to the community presenters, and especially the community presenters of color. This does not mean that recruits should not receive information from people of color. However, if longer periods of time and more facilitator contact are recommended for improving multicultural training with police, then extra care should be taken to ensure the psychological health of presenters, especially presenters of color that may receive increased resistance from recruits. This could include providing strict ground rules for modules, modeling safe styles of disagreement, and having transparent, safe dialogue with recruits about inappropriate displays of defensiveness.

"Shut Down" Effect

Many of the police participants in the focus groups we conducted during the developmental phase of the project warned the PMSP team not to "shut recruits down." "Shutting down," relates to emotional agitation or aggravation that causes recruits to stop paying attention to presentations or processing information provided. While recruits reported moderate levels of cognitive engagement, open-ended response data, behavioral observation and the decline in ethnocultural empathy suggest that recruits were emotionally aggravated and resisting material.

A small example of this involved the use of the word multicultural "competencies" in our presentations on multicultural competencies. Members of police community indicated using the word "competencies" would shut recruits down because it would imply they were currently incompetent. When introducing the concept of multicultural competencies in the module, the presenters acknowledged that the word was controversial and clarified the meaning of the term; the term is widely accepted in the psychology literature and refers to a process in which people develop cultural humility over time. The word does not imply that there is ever an end point nor does it imply that people are incompetent. Even with this caveat to the use of the term, it may be that some participants were "put off" at the presumed assumption of incompetence and some of the participants thus stopped processing information and engaging in the presentation. It seems that, given this warning by police personal, the PMSP could have emotionally agitated recruits to "shut down."

Other scholars have reported positive interactions and outcomes with diversity training with police, where officers seemed involved, engaged, and not shut down. Two examples from the literature come to mind. First, Israel et al. (2013) who conducted training on cultural knowledge with police around LBGT issues, and second Cornett-DeVito and McGlone (2000) who

conducted general cultural competence skill training with officers. Two important differences exist between these reported successful interventions and the PMSP: A focus on race adopting a critical race lens and an explicit attempt at self-reflection and awareness. These differences in content and structure might be triggering the "shut down effect" evident in recruits in this dissertation. Interventions that keep police engaged, like those mentioned above, have content that is focused on the cultural practices or experiences of "other" groups like the LGBT community or content that is void of any specific cultural information and teaches general behavioral skills for interacting with all people, no matter the culture (i.e., communication skills, de-escalation, active listening).

It seems that as soon as the PMSP team affirmed the existence of racism in the United States, recruits began to resist the material. Race and racism are difficult topics for people in the U.S. in general, and police more specifically, to engage with. The knowledge content of the PMPS intervention included concepts like institutional racism, implicit bias, and societal privilege. These concepts are difficult to grasp when fully engaged, let alone when emotionally triggered. The PMSP team did attempt to respond to this emotional reaction by reducing the amount of graphic images, validating recruits varied emotional responses, and empowering recruits by recognizing the are leaders in the community. However, as discussed above, the topic of racism in policing could trigger heightened emotional responses in police recruits because their socialization is telling them racism in policing is a non-issue, and the critical analysis of police work in communities of color could be perceived as a threat to the integrity of policing.

In addition to topics around race/racism being difficult to understand and accept, the PMSP intervention also asked that recruits reflect on their role in society and develop awareness around their responsibility as police officers to combat racism. This focus on self-reflection, which is

often absent in police diversity training, seems to be hard to achieve at least for recruits in this study. It seems police need extra scaffolding when expected to develop self-awareness, a concept that is not practiced in many other elements of their training. This scaffolding is also especially important around a topic such as race that they are resistant to in the first place.

Findings from this evaluation suggest that learning about, discussing, and engaging with the topic of race/racism is extremely difficult for police recruits, whom the literature has championed as the most moldable of all in the police community (Gould, 1997). The police community, even at its most impressionable level (recruits), is at low levels of readiness to change around the issues of racism in policing. It seems that the cultural competence model of awareness, knowledge and skills in which PMSP is grounded required the recruits to engage with difficult material and use the concept of self-awareness, a concept not readily used by recruits throughout their training experience. It seems the PMSP intervention was not long enough to meet the following conditions necessary for understanding and processing PMSP content: (1) Create a safe trusting relationship between presenters and recruits; (2) see recruits through the difficult process of learning about something counter to one's belief system and then integrating it appropriately; (3) modeling and scaffolding the concept of self-awareness; and (4) combating the negative effects of police cultural socialization.

Limitations

The limitations of this study include historical effects, the anti-Hawthorne effect, absent psychometrics on case vignettes, and limitations to the design. The heavy media coverage of police abuse of communities of color at the present historical moment could have influenced the results of this study, priming recruits to respond in defensive ways. There was evidence of an anti-Hawthorne effect. The Hawthorne effect occurs when respondents know they are being

studied and might respond in socially desirable ways. In this study, participants knew they were being studied and responded in hostile, defensive ways.

Reliability information was not conducted on the vignette case response measure. The research design, as a whole, was limited because only one cohort was evaluated. The design would have benefitted from a third data point because the posttest data point was only midway through the training academy. Also, a longitudinal data collection point possibly after the recruits graduate and are on the job would be helpful in assessing the effectiveness of the intervention over time.

Recommendations

Based on the experience of participatory development of the PMSP, the findings from the critical evaluation of the intervention and the extant literature five areas of improvement are offered with specific recommendations in each. These areas are Length, Consistency, and Content, Trust Building and Relationship Building, Positive Role Modeling, Process of the Process, and Self-Care. These themes work to bolster conditions that foster community readiness for change, combat defensiveness, and increase cognitive engagement.

Length, Consistency, and Content

1. PMSP should consist of a longer, consistent dose.

The PMSP should span the entirety of the academy experience in order to meet and process the zone of defensiveness. The intervention content should be scheduled with recruits on a weekly basis for consistency.

2. PMSP content and values should be integrated throughout the entire training academy.

Although the evaluation site director was a presenter of the PMSP content and two local police chiefs offered encouraging video remarks about PMPS to recruits in module one, recruits were

still resistant and in denial. It is important for the site director to continue to push PMSP values in the site mission statement, promotional materials, and curriculum. This continuity of PMSP message will help counter the colorblind socialization from the police community.

3. PMSP should retain awareness, knowledge, and skills framework but incorporate more structured individual exercises such as self-reflection prompts and safe, first person, discussion questions.

The awareness, knowledge, and skills framework should include more structured individual exercises that will help foster self-reflection away from group influence. Combating group socialization into defensiveness could happen partly by encouraging individual exploration of topics that are later incorporated in to a facilitated group discussion. It also might be helpful to retain the knowledge, awareness, skills framework, but label these areas as something other than competencies. The police community seemed to indicate many times they were off put by the suggestion that they were "incompetent" in an area. Suggestions might include content areas, building blocks, pieces, growth areas, or proficiencies.

4. PMSP should assign short homework assignments such as short readings and journaling.
Short homework will keep the recruits engaged with the material outside of the modules. Thinking things through at home also allows for a safe, pressure-free space to process information. Homework assignments can also guide recruits in a healthy exploration of the ideas presented in modules as opposed to recruits looking for information on problematic, inaccurate sources on the web or TV.

Trust Building/Relationship Building

5. PMSP presentation team should continue to be an interracial team of police presenters and citizen presenters. Recruits and the presenters should be encouraged to talk about their personal experiences using narratives and counter narratives.

PMSP can build on the contact hypothesis (Allport 1979; Dovidio, Gaertner, & Kawakami, 2003), which posits that personal encounters with people of different races increases acceptance. Talking about personal stories together helps make this contact meaningful. Meaningful contact has been shown to bolster the effects of the contact hypothesis (Bowmen & Denson, 2011). Having presenters share about themselves also helps build trust between citizen trainers and recruits. Also, through this story telling, presenters can model and scaffold self-awareness and reflection for recruits.

6. The community PMSP presenters should devote some time with general police related functions such as Citizen Police Academy.

This recommendation comes from my experience in the Citizen Police Academy. PMSP presenters are asking police to respect communities different from them through learning knowledge, examining biases, and interacting with the communities they police. The PMSP team should consider going through this parallel process in terms of entering the police community. The Citizen's Police Academy experience allowed me to immerse myself for a significant amount of time in police culture, learn knowledge about the culture, and examine my biases. I found this experience helpful because it reminded me of the nuances of entering communities/cultures different from my own. It helped me gain credibility with police audience and reaffirmed, experientially, the mission of the PMSP intervention.

7. The community *PMSP presenters should spend time with recruits inside the academy separate of PMSP intervention.*

This quality time will help presenters build a trusting relationship with recruits. The relationship that the presenters are able to create with recruits is just as important as the content. Given a trusting relationship with presenters, the recruits could be able to receive the material in a less defensive and less reactive manner.

Positive Role Modeling

8. *PMSP content should include specific examples of equitable policing at all modules/stages.*

These positive examples will serve as reassurance that the PMSP is not an attack on the integrity of policing. Examples of positive policing also model the end result of successful PMSP training. This helps to build trust on the presenters end in the recruit's ability to police equitably. It also builds trust from the recruits that the PMSP goals and values are worth consideration.

9. *PMSP should include opportunities for the recruits to engage with community outside of academy walls.*

PMSP should not take for granted that recruits know how to interact with community members. Providing opportunities for recruits to practice community engagement in the academy is skill training for police and also a way to get the community involved in police training as well. The partnership between police and community can begin in the academy with exercises like this.

Process the Process

10. *PMSP should continue to monitor recruit feedback via survey and focus groups. This feedback should be presented and discussed with recruits.*

The act of processing feedback helps recruits build confidence and comfort in self-awareness exercises. The transparency of soliciting recruits' honest feedback and then discussing it with

them helps to build trust with presenters. The feedback can also continue to inform the participatory development of the PMSP intervention.

11. PMSP presenters should model their process of disagreement for recruits and have discussion about this disagreement.

The PMSP team, while united in program values, does not individually agree on every issue. Modeling the process of healthy discussion around disagreement is beneficial for recruits. This valuable communication skill will allow respectful discourse during the PMSP training but will also carry over into interactions with the community.

Self-Care

12. PMSP presenters should institute regular self-care check-ins and processing sessions.

This recommendation stems from participating in three cohort rounds of implementing the intervention and reflecting on my experience and the experiences of my co-presenters. It was difficult to experience the resistance and defensiveness to material that I find very meaningful as well as watch PMPS presenters being disrespected. The PMSP should prioritize self-care in order to sustain their mental health through recruit defensiveness and resistance. Self- care will also help prevent burnout and keep presenters at maximum energy and effort levels for module presentations.

Suggestions for Future Research

All programs that tout multicultural training for police should be critically evaluated as this study has done. The PMSP program, specifically, should continue to implement the feedback from multiple stakeholder groups in continued development. A recommendation that was voiced in several community group focus groups is that measures like the Colorblind Racial Attitudes Scale be given to recruits at the start of training and analyzed for recruit multicultural

competencies levels. It was suggested that the training could then be tailored to the group's average levels of awareness, knowledge, and skills. Also, cultural brokers or allies could be identified to then serve as leaders with the large group.

To better understand the dynamics of police multicultural training, future research might focus on the following: community involvement in training, variables related to interpersonal relationship skill building, the use of behavioral measures and longitudinal designs. This study observed differing reactions from police recruits towards community members participating in their training. It would be interesting to investigate and develop best practice guidelines for involving community members in police training. It is important to protect the community members experience and keep their mental health in mind. In what context are police recruits able to hear the stories of community members and grow/learn from them?

So much of building police/community trust and working toward equitable policing relies on relationships. Future research might investigate if police training is adequate at providing foundational interpersonal relationship skills. If police are expected to build positive relationships with communities, especially communities culturally different from them, they will need to have foundational relationship building and maintenance skills. This skill set should include dealing with interpersonal conflict and disagreement, breaches of trust, and most importantly how to repair interpersonal ruptures.

Future research might use and develop behavioral measures for multicultural competence in police. The field of policing is hands on, and much of police training is scenario or role-play based. Using behavioral measures might resonate well with police for this reason. It is also imperative to measure behavior change because police behavior can impact lives in grave ways and ensuring that behaviors change as well as attitudes and beliefs is essential.

It is imperative that longitudinal research designs continue to be implemented when investigating multicultural training with police. Police training is split into two phases (academy and field training). It is important to follow recruits in their training to the field training stage, early career years, and later career years. Police cultural socialization could be investigated; the impact of positive community involvement and the feasibility of programs like PMPS to create lasting meaningful institutional change can be investigated through longitudinal designs.

Conclusion

This study chronicled the participatory development and critical evaluation of a racial diversity education program for police recruits: Policing in a Multiracial Society Project (PMSP). The PMSP did not raise recruits awareness of racism or increase performance on an assessment of equitable policing practices/skills, counter to the hypotheses of this study. Also counter to hypotheses, recruits displayed lower levels of empathetic feeling toward people of color after participation in the PMSP. This finding suggests that effective interventions might have a time frame that is longer than 10 hours and possibly as long as a college semester for developing multicultural competencies in the police community. This dissertation has provided several recommendations for future development of the PMSP. Along with a longer, more consistent training experience, PMSP and other programs like it might concentrate on creating trusting relationships between recruits/officers, providing examples of and modeling positive police behavior, and encouraging self-reflection through structured individual exercises within class content and homework exercises.

This dissertation was a response to a centuries old protest from American communities of color around inequitable policing. The recent high visibility of people of color, women, men and children alike, who are dying at the hands of the American police force reminds us all how

deeply important the issue of police misconduct is. This dissertation attempted to bring police and community voices together to develop a solution through diversity education training. Every minute that went into the development, execution, revision, and evaluation of the Policing in a Multiracial Project was a minute that the PMSP team acknowledged the life or death struggle that communities of color face in the wake of police misconduct. It is my hope that through this acknowledgment, if nothing else, we brought dignity and humanity to communities facing this struggle and danger every day.

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Appendix A
Satisfaction Survey Sample (Cohort One and Two)

Session Feedback Form

Group: MPTA	
Date: May 19, 2014	Time: 6:00 - 9:00pm

Part I. Please give feedback on how well this session met its objective (indicate your response by circling the number:

Objective 1: Define and discuss various forms of racism.

	Low				High
Relevance of Content	1	2	3	4	5
Clarity of Presentation	1	2	3	4	5
Relevance to your learning	1	2	3	4	5

Objective 2: Apply RED critical thinking model to racism scenarios.

	Low				High
Relevance of Content	1	2	3	4	5
Clarity of Presentation	1	2	3	4	5
Relevance to your learning	1	2	3	4	5

Objective 3: Apply RED critical thinking model to policing scenarios.

	Low				High
Relevance of Content	1	2	3	4	5
Clarity of Presentation	1	2	3	4	5
Relevance to your learning	1	2	3	4	5

(Continued)

Part II. Evaluation of Session

a) What did you learn from the session/workshop that was new?

b) How can you apply this new information in the future?

c) Other comments and suggestions

Part III. Presenter

a) How do you rate the presentation (organization, use of audio-visuals, handouts, etc.)?

Low			High	
1	2	3	4	5

b) Please rate the knowledge of the speakers?

Not Knowledgeable			Knowledgeable	
1	2	3	4	5

c) How do you rate the presentation skills of the speakers?

Low				High
1	2	3	4	5

d) Overall rating

Poor	Average	Excellent
1	2	3

Appendix B
Satisfaction Survey Cohort Three
MODULE 1 EVALUATION

PART 1: EVALUATION OF WORKSHOP SESSION

Directions. Please circle the number that best corresponds to your view of the presentation today.

1. How important was the topic of this program to you personally?

Not at all important   1   2   3   4   5   Very
Important

2. How motivated were you to listen to the presentation?

Not Motivated at All   1   2   3   4   5   Very
Motivated

3. What the presenters said about this topic held my attention.

Strongly Disagree   1   2   3   4   5   Strongly
Agree

4. How difficult to understand was the information presented?

Not Difficult at All/   1   2   3   4   5   Very
Difficult
I Did Not Try at All   I Tried to an
Extent

5. During the presentation I was distracted from thinking about the topic.

Strongly Disagree   1   2   3   4   5   Strongly
Agree

6. There was enough time in the presentation to think about the topic.

Strongly Disagree   1   2   3   4   5   Strongly
Agree

7. The presenters made good points about the topic.

Strongly Disagree   1   2   3   4   5   Strongly
Agree

8. To what extent did you try hard to evaluate the information provided?

I Did not try at all   1   2   3   4   5   I Tried to an
Extent

9. To what extent did you find the presentation well organized and easy to follow?

Not at all Organized   1   2   3   4   5   Very
Organized
And Not Easy to Follow   and Easy to
Follow

10. To what extent did you find it difficult to concentrate on the presentation?

Very Difficult   1   2   3   4   5   Not at all
Difficult

11. In your estimation, how logical and accurate was the information presented?

Not at all Logical   1   2   3   4   5   Very
Logical
and Not Accurate   and
Accurate

12. How would you rate the quality of the presenters' information?

Very Poor   1   2   3   4   5
Excellent

PART II. EVALUATION OF WORKSHOP SESSION

1. What did you learn from the session/workshop that was new?

2. How can you apply this new information in the future?

3. What aspect of the workshop was most helpful and why?

4. What aspect of the workshop was least helpful and why?

Appendix C
Focus Group Handout

Policing in a Multiracial Society Project
Community Member Meeting, March 24, 2014

PURPOSE/GOALS of the PMSP:
- Purpose of the program is to implement and evaluate a "diversity" training intervention to increase culturally responsive policing.
- We are in the process of piloting a 10-hour intervention; we will pilot the project across three recruit cohorts.
- The training intervention consists of an introduction and three modules based on the tripartite model of multicultural competence – awareness, knowledge, and skills.
- At this point, we are working to increase recruits':
  A. *Awareness* of their own social identities and racial beliefs;
  B. *Knowledge* about color-blind racial ideology, institutional racism, and African American and other racialized group's sociohistorical experiences, especially with police and the criminal justice system;
  C. Efficacy to apply the communication *skills* learned throughout the MPTA in a cultural informed way.

GOALS of the discussion:
- Purpose of the meeting is to receive feedback from community members about the goals of the project, the content of the intervention, and "desired" outcomes.
- We are meeting with two types of "communities" (i.e., broader community and the police community).
- We will incorporate feedback into the PMSP intervention.

DISCUSSION questions:
- What are your general reactions to the project?
- What do you think about the specific goals? Are there additional goals we should consider?
- What content do you think the intervention should include?
- What are desired outcomes of the intervention?
- What additional issues/suggestions/processes should we consider?

NEXT steps:
- Finalize intervention based on feedback from both types of communities.
- Seek community member feedback on the pilot data/findings from the next implementation of the intervention.
- What are your thoughts about holding a community and police community shared meeting to discuss initial findings from the emerging project?

Appendix D
Policing in a Multiracial Society Project
June 2014
Recruit Feedback

<u>Survey Data Snap Shot</u>

Module 1		
Poor	Average	Excellent
11	47	20

Module 2		
Poor	Average	Excellent
24	49	8

<u>Open-ended responses (Module 2)</u>

What did you learn?
Racism is practiced by individuals and institutions
Need for serious consideration of facts before drawing conclusions
How racism and slavery developed
Implicit bias
Minorities deal with things Whites don't realize

How will you apply this info?
How to be more aware of racism (take a pause before making decision)
Make sure I understand myself fully so I can make better decisions
I can more effectively communicate
Maintain an open mind
Be a leader

Comments
Felt one-dimensional
Concentrated on Black/White
Felt like a guilt trip for being born White
Allow more time for every person who wishes to speak
Need more relevance to policing
None of videos and presentation was scientific (everything was biased)
This is very hurtful to me

Appendix E
MPTA project feedback summaries
Cohort #1
April 4 2014

Community members Suggestions

Be mindful recruits come from all White towns and/or are veterans

Mindful of recruit racial identity development
    DO we need to take it down a notch?

Bring in a community member (that can handle being emotionally vulnerable) that has significant experiences with the police

Place emphasis on indirect victims (families and communities)

Activities
    Social hour
    Fish bowl
    All dress in civilian clothes
    Have a community member "code switch" demonstration
    Rearrange the seating

Outcomes
A sense of humility and flexibility
Leave curious and thinking critically

Create a sense of accountability (tell supervisors of recruits about training)

For recruits to remember their own journey and what it felt like to realize/learn things and feel uncomfortable/vulnerable/defensive.

Be prepared to be a leader or a an Ally

Leave with the courage to touch those who are in power (Veteran officers)

Police Community suggestions

Don't

DON'T SHUT RECRUITS DOWN

Don't use "diversity" "intervention" or "Competence"

Don't make recruits feel like they are bad people for being cops

Don't make this feel like a forced training

Don't make us feel like we haven't had the opportunity to prove ourselves

DO

Do create a sense of comfortably and compromise for recruits

Do focus on individual differences not race

Do focus on all different aspect of culture

Do remember that recruits = a room of type A people

DO iterate this sentiment "Respect is a two-way street"
                    Understanding the difference between perception and reality

Do "you need to train community about how we do our job"

Activities
Hands on
Real life stories
"TBone" exercise (similar to community code switching suggestions)

Appendix F

Policing in a Multiracial Society Project
February 2015
Recruit Feedback

<u>Survey Data Snap Shot</u>

How important was the topic of this program to you personally?
Not at all important   1   2   3   4   5   Very Important

	Module 1	Module 2
Mean	3.27	3.08

How motivated were you to listen to the presentation?
Not Motivated at All   1   2   3   4   5   Very Motivated

	Module 1	Module 2
Mean	3.69	3.42

What the presenters said about this topic held my attention.
Strongly Disagree   1   2   3   4   5   Strongly Agree

	Module 1	Module 2
Mean	3.75	3.40

<u>Open-ended response Themes (Module 2)</u>

Information presented (data)
    "Biased", "One-sided", "Misleading", "False"

Enjoyed learning about different perspectives and hearing stories

Felt there was a "accusatory" vibe from presenters, "us vs them" feel.
    "Why is everything about race" " Why is everything black/White?"

I was reminded to be a "respectful" "active listener" " every time I put the uniform on"

"I learned I might have implicit bias" " I have to be honest with myself"

Suggestions from the evaluations

Leave more time for discussion
Avoid back/forth about statistics
Provide more recent data
Bring in panelists with more police contact
Review ground rules often
Dominos Pizza isn't the best

Appendix G

Vignette

SECTION 4

Directions. Please read the below scenario and respond to the two sets of inquiry following the scenario.

You are the Chief of Police in a medium sized Midwestern city. One of your officers is accused of excessive use of force during an encounter with an African American young man. The officer stopped the young man at a crosswalk and asked him for identification. The young man asked why he was being stopped and why he was being asked to show identification. The exchange was recorded by a citizen on her cell phone. The video showed that both the officer and the young man's voices got louder and louder during the 1 minute exchange. The officer then began hitting the young man with his fists and then with his expandable baton. The young man sustained head injuries and a broken rib. The officer said that the young man resisted arrest and posed a threat. Witnesses corroborated the young man's interpretation of events; the witnesses said that the young man did not resist the officer, but instead was asking questions about why he was being stopped. The young man's family and his community are asking your department to hold the officer accountable for the beating and to address concerns about larger issues of systematic police misconduct in the community.

1. As the Chief of Police, you decide to hold a department meeting. What will you tell your officers and command staff? What is important to have on the agenda?

2. As the Chief of Police, what are some concrete ways you might respond to the specific and more general concerns raised by the community?

Appendix H
Demographic Information Form

<u>**Directions:**</u> Please tell us about yourself by completing the following information.

1. Age:_____

2. Gender
    a. Male
    b. Female

3. What is your racial or pan-ethnicity (circle all that apply)
    a. Asian/Asian American
    b. Black
    c. Latino/Hispanic
    d. Native American/American Indian (e.g., Cherokee, Blackfoot, etc.)
    e. White
    f. Bi-racial or Multiracial (please specify:_____)
    g. Other racial or pan-ethnic group(s) (please specify_____)

4. What is your primary ethnic background? (e.g., African American, Filipino, Chinese, French, Mexican
   American, Italian, Haitian, English, Cuban, Turkish, Jewish, etc.) :
   _____

5. Have you served in the United States of America Armed Forces (i.e., Army, Navy, Marine Corps, Air Force, or Coast Guard)?
    a. Yes
    b. No

6. Which religion or spiritual beliefs do you identify with?
    a. Christian Catholic
    b. Protestant
    c. Islam
    d. Hindu
    e. Jewish
    f. Buddhism
    g. Agnostic or Atheist
    h. Other (Specify _____)

7. How many multicultural/diversity related or ethnic studies courses have you completed?

    a. no courses   d. 3 courses

b. 1 course   e. 4 courses
c. 2 courses   f. 5 + courses

8. Please provide us with the below information about your high school years. That is, the information below downloaded into a separate and secure location from the other survey responses.

What high school did you graduate from?
   a. _____ Name of high school
   b. _____ City
   c. _____ State

What year did you graduate from high school? _____ Year

9. Using the scale below, please indicate the racial/ethnic backgrounds of people who are part of your inner circle (i.e., close friends). Please circle the number below of each item that corresponds to your response.

0	1	2	3	4	5
None	Almost None	Very Few	Some	The Majority	All or Almost All

My current friends are:

Asian/Asian American	0	1	2	3	4
Black	0	1	2	3	4
Latino/Hispanic	0	1	2	3	4
Native American/American Indian (e.g., Cherokee, Blackfoot)	0	1	2	3	4
White	0	1	2	3	4