“WE ARE NOT FELONS, WE ARE COLLEGE STUDENTS”: A CRITICAL ANALYSIS OF AFRICAN AMERICAN COLLEGE MALES’ PERCEPTIONS AND LIVED EXPERIENCES WITH CAMPUS POLICE AND LOCAL LAW ENFORCEMENT

by

LAKIESA CANTEY RAWLINSON

(Under the Direction of NATOYA HILL HASKINS)

ABSTRACT

Drawing on Critical Race Theory, this phenomenological study explored nine Black males’ perceptions and experiences with campus police and local law enforcement at two public universities in the southeast. Few scholars (Smith, Allen, & Danley, 2007; Wada, Patten, & Candela, 2010) have critically analyzed this population’s views of law enforcement amid the wave of police brutality incidents in the United States and have rarely examined their realities with police officers beyond the context of predominately-White institutions (PWIs); Semi-structured interviews and photo elicitation were the data collection methods utilized. The data analysis revealed six themes, which indicated that participants had similar conceptions of the law enforcement groups and all officers, irrespective of race and gender identities, harassed, stereotyped, and racially profiled them. Data also exposed that the recent deaths of Black males [e.g., Eric Garner, Jordan Davis, etc.] by use of excessive police force and White citizens ultimately altered participants’ attitudes toward local police. Most participants proclaimed being in college had no bearing on their lived experiences with the law enforcement groups; their race, gender, class, religion, and perceived sexual orientation identities adversely effected their

encounters. To strengthen relationships between law enforcement and Black educated men, participants explained that the criminal justice and higher education systems need to have stronger accountability measures for bias-based policing; in addition, counselors and student affairs administrators should regularly assess students' opinions of campus police and local law enforcement groups supporting colleges and universities; in addition, offer programs on self-advocacy and civil rights.

INDEX WORDS: African American males, Campus police, College students, Critical Race Theory, Excessive force, Local law enforcement, Phenomenology, Photo elicitation, Police brutality, Police misconduct

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DEDICATION

To my Lord and Savior, Jesus Christ, thank you for the vision and sustaining me through this arduous journey. Through death, sickness, car accident, burglary, and other life challenges, you never left me – yet gave me hope when I was hopeless. I am forever thankful for your grace and mercy.

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

"Black Lives Matter," "I can't breathe," and "If I die in police custody" are words permanently etched in my memory as I consistently watched news report regarding the police-involved shootings of unarmed Black men, women, and children. In a mere 148 days from January 2015 to May 2015, police officers have killed nearly 100 Black people (Kindy, 2015); in most cases, the district attorneys have failed to convene a grand jury and rarely indicted police (Baez, 2014; Cohn, 2015; Goodman & Baker, 2014). As a Black woman, I sympathize with my fallen Black brothers and sisters and empathize with their families who seek answers and justice, but I can only imagine their pain. Most of these victims have been Black males or come from disadvantaged positions where poverty, drugs, and other social issues saturate their neighborhoods while a few have come from more privileged backgrounds.

My life does not parallel the lived experiences of the majority of Blacks attacked or killed by the police because I have privileges. I have educational, class, and religion privileges that preclude me from experiencing some forms of oppression, and at one point in life, I believed I had gender privileges in comparison to Black males. However, my perspective changed after hearing about Sandra Bland's encounter with police. Sandra Bland, a college educated Black female, illegally changed lanes while driving in Texas, which resulted in a police officer stopping her alongside the highway (Chapin, 2015). At some point during the encounter, the officer arrested and escorted Sandra to jail. Three days later, guards found Sandra Bland dead in her jail cell with a trash bag around her neck. Although the medical examiner ruled her death as

suicide, contradictions in her file have raised some questions (Ford, 2015; McLaughlin, 2016). Therefore, by virtue of merely existing in society as a Black person, law enforcement and dominant racial groups criminalize me and I am inescapable from racial discrimination, which haunts me in many areas of life; henceforth, I too, female or not, am at risk of police harassment and violence.

My heart is heavy because I am experiencing police brutality vicariously through the victims. Tears have swelled in my eyes and rolled down my face after seeing the video recording of a police officer using excessive force with a Black female teen at a pool party in Texas. Disbelief, shock, and anger were the emotions that surfaced when I saw four New York police officers hold down a Black man for allegedly selling untaxed cigarettes. To make matters worse, the four officers used an illegal chokehold procedure, which caused the man to die (Goodman & Baker, 2014).

Dear friends, what we are witnessing is not a Black or White issue, but national catastrophic occurrences affecting the emotional and psychological state of victims, families, bystanders, observers -- these racialized phenomena are perpetuating a cycle of tension between people of color and law enforcement. The question is: when will it stop? Are we presently living in the Jim Crow Era where we deny Blacks basic freedoms and where race remains a powerful determinant that dictates how one is treated by individual police officers as well as the entire criminal justice system? As a more "perfect union," America has contradicted itself. The Preamble to the Constitution of the United States professes to insure domestic tranquility and to promote the welfare of others; however, such guarantees do not apply to all of humanity (National Archives and Records Administration, n.d.). While policies have been developed and institutionalized to protect Black people from racial discrimination, I contend that Blacks must

still confront political, economic, educational, and social disparities; this ongoing battle is tiresome and makes my soul weary.

Recent deaths of Sandra Bland in Waller County, Texas (Montgomery, 2015), Mike Brown in Ferguson, Missouri (Reilly, 2014), Eric Garner in Staten Island, New York (Goodman & Baker, 2014), and Freddie Gray in Baltimore, Maryland (Cohn, 2015), have galvanized national concern and a racial and political discussion in society regarding police brutality against African Americans. However, few researchers have explored the impact of these recent racialized phenomena on African American college men who consistently hear and see media reports about police use of excessive force against their racial group (Birzer & Smith-Mahdi, 2006; Chaney & Robertson, 2013; Griffith, Hueston, Wilson, Moyers, & Hart, 2004). Unfortunately, African American college males are not exempt from disparate treatment by law enforcement; researchers have reported that this group has raced and gendered experiences with campus police (Mbuba, 2010; McCabe, 2009; Smith et al., 2007). Law enforcement groups target and discriminate against them within and outside the confines of the institutions that they attend (Coleman, 2015; Cureton, 2003; Richardson, 2015; Warren, 2011).

The following chapter provides a historical overview of law enforcement interactions with African Americans; outlines the role of campus law enforcement; examines police misconduct at the national level and on college campuses; describes the present strategies being implemented to curtail these said issues; and summarizes the African American college male experience while illuminating environmental and social stressors that they contend with in postsecondary settings. Additionally, a brief summary of the gaps in the literature regarding African American college men and police brutality are presented to justify the need for further examination into their lived experiences with law enforcement organizations. Then, I introduce

Critical Race Theory (CRT) as the conceptual framework for exploring this phenomenon. CRT provides a lens to deconstruct the dominant narrative regarding African American college males' attitudes and outcomes with law enforcement; enables a discourse on how racism interplays with other forms of subordination to influence these interactions; gives this population a platform to authentically "voice" their realities; and offers a framework for transforming systems of oppression (Delgado & Stefancic, 2006; Espino, 2012).

United States Law Enforcement and African Americans

In the United States, police brutality against African Americans dates back to legalized slavery, thus the highly publicized police misconduct cases involving African American men, women, and children are not isolated events nor new phenomena. The institution of slavery and denial of civil rights for communities of color were central to the development of the American police system (Bass, 2001; Mentel, 2012). During legalized slavery, law enforcement enforced written, constitutional laws and "unwritten codes of conduct" to maintain segregation (Chaney & Robertson, 2013, 2014; Mentel, 2012, p. 3); specifically, southern states instituted slave patrols, which monitored and regulated slaves as well as returned and punished runaways (Bass, 2001; Sage Publications, n.d.). These "law enforcement" entities embraced punitive strategies, including lynching, whipping, and beating to sustain oppression and to force compliance (Bernasconi, 2014; Chaney & Robertson, 2013, 2014). Consequently, these unconstitutional practices did not end here, but revolutionized into different forceful methods.

Law enforcement discriminatory practices continued to plague African American citizens during the 1960s Civil Rights Movement (Bernasconi, 2014; Greene, 2000; Hurst, Frank & Browning, 2000). Police officers used batons, fire extinguishers, and physical force as methods to control African American civil rights protesters and to enforce the law (Lersch & Mieczkowski, 2005). In this era, the media began to publicize the violent-citizen police

interactions, which gave people a glimpse of the cruel and unusual treatment (Lersch & Mieczkowski, 2005; Maurantonio, 2014). According to Myers (2004), an example of police misconduct in this time occurred in 1946 when police Chief Lynwood Shull -- who was White -- struck an African American Army Sergeant, Isaac Woodward, with a black jack during interrogation; the attack resulted in this individual permanently losing his eyesight. Subsequently, in Baltimore during 1967, racial riots occurred when African Americans retaliated against two White police officers who they perceived used excessive force with two African American youth (Alfonso, 2014). In response to the claims of police lawlessness and riots involving police, President Lyndon Johnson created the President's Commission on Law Enforcement and Administration (1967) in addition to The National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders (1969). The Commissions investigated law enforcement practices and concluded that police officers needed to use less forceful methods to maintain social order; however, the orders from these reports were not long lasting (Lersch & Mieczkowski).

In the 1990s, the topic of police brutality reemerged as a salient topic in the African American community and law enforcement nationally after the beating of an African American motorist, Rodney King, by four White police officers (Chaney & Robertson, 2014; Rushin, 2015). A citizen recorded the encounter, which exposed the police brutality of African Americans and prompted widespread rioting in Los Angeles (Maurantonio, 2014). The Los Angeles court system charged the officers with assault and use of deliberate force, but the jury acquitted the officers of all charges (Hurwitz & Peffley, 2005). Investigations by Congress revealed that the incident reflected an organizational culture where violence and racism were the norm and a lack of accountability prevailed through the law enforcement system (Rushin).

The beating of Rodney King was a catalyst in the movement against police brutality and triggered government again to consider structurally reforming the law enforcement system (Maurantonio, 2014; Rushin, 2015). After this incident, Congress attempted to regulate police departments involved in misconduct by passing statue-42 U.S.C. 14141, also known as "The Police Misconduct Provision" (Rushin; U.S. Department of Justice, 2012). This statue prohibits state or local law enforcement officers from engaging in a "pattern or practice of conduct that deprives persons of rights protected by the Constitution or laws of the United States" (U.S. Department of Justice, 2012, para. 8).

Regrettably, the government has not been effective in curbing violent police behaviors against African Americans. Police brutality has a long history in the United States resulting in a culture of distrust between the police and African Americans (Anderson, 2014; Katz, 2015). Unfortunately, the scope of police misconduct against African Americans is difficult to assess because the media does not report every incident nor does law enforcement agencies. According to Rushin (2015), the government has investigated eighteen percent of law enforcement agencies for alleged violation of statue 42 U.S.C. 14141. Furthermore, in a recent poll conducted by the Pew Research Center (Anderson), 70% of African Americans reported that police officers do not treat them fairly in comparison to 51% Hispanics and 37% White Americans. In addition, scholars investigating law enforcement's relationship with African Americans have reported that this racial group is more likely to make complaints about police violence (Brunson, 2007); to hear negative stories about police encounters (Warren, 2011); and to express experiencing racial prejudice while operating automobiles (Bell, Hopson, Craig & Robinson, 2014; Birzer & Smith-Madhi, 2006).

Although, the discourse on African Americans and law enforcement tends to be negative, some members of this community have reported that law enforcement behave properly during encounters (Langton & Durose, 2013) and are effective in protecting communities (Mbuba, 2010). Certainly, African Americans' experiences with law enforcement are not restricted to one particular setting or limited to specific types of interactions. African American citizens, both disadvantaged and advantaged, are likely to have voluntary or involuntary contacts with law enforcement as there are several types of jurisdictions in which they operate (e.g., education, government buildings, parks, corporate businesses)[International Association of Police Chiefs, 2015; Montgomery, 2015; Smith et al., 2007]. In most of these jurisdictions, "law enforcement" offers the same services as local law agencies and has the power to exercise their authority to keep communities safe and to prevent people from violating rules and policies (International Association of Police Chiefs). The following section will explore law enforcement at postsecondary institutions to enhance understanding of campus police officers' roles and operations.

Campus Law Enforcement

Reflecting on law enforcement in postsecondary institutions, campus police emerged at colleges and universities over 100 years ago; Yale University was the first postsecondary institution to establish an official campus police department in 1894 (Hopkins & Neff, 2014; Peak, Barthe, & Garcia, 2008). During the beginning of the law enforcement movement on college campuses, majority of the agencies classified themselves as "watchmen" and "public safety." At that time, campus law enforcement had limited sworn in officers whose primary job involved rudimentary security tasks of locking building doors and patrolling the campus community (Hopkins & Neff, 2014; Peak et al., 2008).

The professionalization of campus law enforcement occurred during the 1950s due to several contributing factors. Campus demographics changed as more students from diverse backgrounds enrolled in college. In addition, some students began to involve themselves in the Civil Rights and Vietnam anti-war movements by protesting on college campuses, which caused social disorder on campuses (Hopkins & Neff, 2014; Peak et al., 2008). As a result, colleges and universities broadened campus police roles and responsibilities and empowered them to maintain social order while enforcing campus policies (Hopkins & Neff). Other factors that contributed to the transformation in campus police authority was the increase in campus crimes including arm robbery, murder, and rape (Hopkins & Neff; Hummer, Austin & Bumphus, 1998) and targeted campus attacks including the school shooting at Virginia Polytechnic Institute and State University that resulted in numerous deaths (Drysdale et al., 2010). Subsequently, many postsecondary institutions began to strengthen campus law enforcement by hiring trained officers who had the power to arrest and to carry firearms (Hopkins & Neff; Hummer et al.).

Additionally, in 1990, Congress passed the Student Right to Know, Crime Awareness, and Campus Security Act in response to the increasing number of security issues at colleges and universities (Drysdale et al., 2010; Guffey, 2013). The catalyst for this legislation occurred after the sexual assault and murder of Jeanne Clery in the residence hall at Lehigh University (Guffey). This legislation, also known as the Jeanne Clery Act, requires all colleges and universities that receive federal aid to provide regular updates regarding specific crimes that are committed on or near campus (Drysdale et al.). In 2010, 235, 599 crimes were reported by institutions who complied with the Clery Act (Drysdale et al.). Of these crimes, 74.6 percent were burglaries and motor vehicle thefts, 9.2 percent were aggravated assaults, 8.4 percent were robberies, 5.9 percent were forcible sex offenses, 1.7 percent arsons, 0.1 percent were non-

forcible sex offenses, and 0.1 percent were murders and non-negligent manslaughter (Drysdale et al., 2010). Based on these numbers, in addition to educating students, colleges must focus their attention on addressing students' behaviors that disrupt the learning environment and jeopardizes the campus communities' safety.

Presently, in addition to having full-fledged law enforcement on campus, many colleges work collaboratively with local law enforcement to ensure members of these communities are abiding by the law (Peak et al., 2008). For example, when Reaves (2015) surveyed the role of campus law enforcement at four-year public and private colleges with 2,500 students or more, the researcher learned: (a) 75 percent of the campus police officers carried weapons; (b) 70 percent had an established relationship with outside law enforcement; and (c) 90 percent used sworn police officers with the power to arrest. These statistics elucidate the growing presence of campus law enforcement on college campuses as well as their increasing power.

In essence, college campuses are not immune to violent acts and other crimes seen in the communities that surround them (Drysdale et al., 2010; Hummer et al., 1998). In response to these crimes, campus law enforcement have begun to function in a similar capacity as local, state, and federal agencies (Peak et al., 2008; Reaves, 2015). Specifically, campus law enforcement patrol the communities to prevent crime, respond to crises, provide escort services, and make arrests; in addition, many are authorize to utilize a side arm, baton, or pepper spray while on duty (Hopkins & Neff, 2014; Reaves). Campus police are a subsystem of the larger criminal justice system; thus, it is possible that the same racial biases and injustices deeply rooted at the national level may also manifests at colleges and universities.

Police Brutality at the National Level

According to the U.S. Department of Justice (2012), police misconduct is a "pattern or practice of conduct that deprives persons of rights protected by the Constitution or laws of the

United States" (para. 8). Some examples of police misconduct include excessive force, discriminatory harassment, false arrests, coercive sexual conduct, and unlawful stops, searches or arrests (U.S. Department of Justice, 2012). Presently, federal laws, including both criminal and civil statutes, are in place to protect citizens and non-citizens against police deviance (U.S. Department of Justice 2010, 2012).

Police brutality is a form of police misconduct where a police officer utilizes excessive force, which is beyond the force that is generally required with a citizen to intimidate or to enforce the law (Danilina, n.d.; Holmes, 2000). This phenomenon may manifests at multiple levels. Physical force is a common form of police brutality and can consists of an officer using fist strikes, batons, pepper spray, guns, and chokeholds (Packman, 2010). Police brutality can also take on the form of "false arrests, verbal abuse, psychological intimidation, sexual abuse, police corruption, racial profiling, political repression, and the improper use of tasers" (Danilina, n.d., para.1).

Several social, environmental, and personal conditions such as higher crime neighborhoods and extreme stressful situations may influence police officers use of excessive force (Holmes, 2000; Small-Jordan, 2015); however, race and racism have been consistently documented in the literature as predictors of involuntary encounters with police (Birzer & Smith-Madhi, 2006; Dottolo & Stewart, 2008; Warren, 2011). Race is a socio-political construct used to categorize people based upon their skin color (Bell, Love, & Roberts, 2007; Johnson-Bailey, 2002). Whereas, racism is defined as a "system of advantage based on race and supported by institutional structures, policies and practices that create and sustain advantages for the dominant White group while systematically subordinating members of targeted racial groups" (Bell, 2007, p.1). Race and racism are profound forces shaping people of color experiences in society and

particularly in the criminal justice system to perpetuate inequalities such as police brutality, mass incarceration, racial profiling, unfair sentencing, and inadequate legal representation (Bell, Love, et al., 2007; Roberts, 2004). Defining police misconduct, police brutality, race, and racism are vital in providing context on this discussion on African American college males' perception of police -- these variables demonstrate the complexity of this national issue and how the latter reinforces police brutality.

According to the *Washington Post*, from January 1 to May 31, 2015, more than two people were killed per day by the police for a total of 385 people (Kindy, 2015); *The Guardian* calculated 464 deaths for this period (Swaine, Laughland, & Lartey, 2015). Although both media outlets reported different numbers, these totals exceed the number of police deaths calculated by the federal government over a ten-year time span (Kindy; Swaine et al., 2015). In addition, both the *Washington Post* and *The Guardian* revealed that of those killed, the majority killed were White, African American, and male (Kindy; Swaine et al.). While considering the factors of armed in this total number, 80 percent of these people had guns, knives, vehicle, or other objects and posed a threat to the officers (Kindy). Consequentially, 32 percent African Americans were the majority of those killed by police while unarmed, although they make up just 13 percent of the total U.S. population (Swaine et al.; U.S. Census Bureau, 2015); whereas 25 percent Hispanics/Latinos (17 percent of the total U.S. population) and 15 percent Whites (77 percent of the total U.S. population) were killed by police while unarmed (Swaine et al.; U.S. Census Bureau). Based on these numbers, it is evident that law enforcement targets African American men more than other racial and gender groups; however, to offer a more complete narrative about police misconduct, the experiences of other groups must be included.

Although police misconduct directed toward presumed heterosexual, cisgender African American men dominate mass media, other cultural groups have had punitive relationships with this entity (Master, 2015). In 2015, 20 women were shot and killed by police -- nine White, five African American, three Hispanic, and three unknown -- but, their stories are not widely known (Kindy, 2015; Workneh, 2015a). In particular, African American women have claimed that they experience both physical and sexual abuse from police, making their realities with police slightly different from their African American male counterparts (Blay, 2015; Workneh, 2015b). For example, police stopped Crystal Pope from Harlem Heights while searching for a rapist and during an interview with reporters she stated, "They patted me around my waistline and butt. They were so aggressive…it was all so intense and very upsetting" (Blay, 2015, para. 7). In response to police violence against African American women and girls, the #Sayhername movement has emerged to draw attention to injustices facing African American women by police (Workneh, 2015a). Regrettably, in addition to African American women, police deviance has become a common experience for other historically marginalized populations. However, most often, researchers (Kindy; Pew Research Center, 2013; Workneh, 2015a) present data about the lived realities of other cultural groups as if gender exists on a binary; hence, ignoring the complexity of this social construct and how police brutality affects gender non-conforming communities.

Lesbian, gay, bisexual, and transgender (LGBT) communities have made claims of police misconduct and harassment; however, little is known regarding how many LGBT people have been victimized by police (Dwyer, 2015; Lambda Project, n.d.; Miles-Johnson, 2013). Recently, Dwyer (2015) examined LGBT youth between the ages of 16-25 interactions with police to raise awareness regarding their lived experiences; Dwyer (2015) found that members of these

communities unwillingly conformed to heteronormative expectations of gender and sexuality to mitigate unfair treatment and negative interactions with police. Furthermore, other researchers have found that in addition to experiencing police misconduct, LGBT people tend to mistrust the police (Lambda Legal; Miles-Johnson); specifically, research conducted by Lambda Legal (n.d.) in 2012 indicated that those individuals identifying as LGBT in addition to low-income or people of color were more susceptible to police mistreatment. These findings illuminate how police misconduct affects multiple groups; similar to African American men, there are many ambiguities regarding the actual number of women and LGBT people victimized by law enforcement.

At the national level, most of what is known about contemporary police brutality issues derives from sources that do not rely on empirically grounded data and are commentary in nature (e.g., news reports)[Cohn, 2015; Goodman & Baker, 2014; Reilly, 2014]. Previous research has extensively examined African Americans' attitudes and opinions regarding police (Brunson, 2007; Chaney & Robertson, 2013; Weitzer & Tuch, 2004) and their encounters with officers (Bell et al., 2014; Birzer & Smith-Mahdi, 2006; Langton & Durose, 2013; Warren, 2011). Unfortunately, few studies address how educational attainment intersects with other social identities to influence peoples' perceptions or interactions with the police (Bell et al., 2014; Birzer & Smith-Mahdi, 2006; Chaney & Robertson, 2013; Warren, 2011); in addition; most researchers tend to study at-risk African American men contending with economic and ecological barriers (Brunson, 2007; Brunson & Gau, 2015) or those with limited education (Dottolo & Stewart, 2008).

In addition, researchers have argued that the magnitude of police misconduct is difficult to assess (Barry & Jones, 2014; Chaney & Robertson, 2014; Chumley, 2014). Specifically, the

criminal justice system has failed to hold officers accountable for bias-based policing; further, many officers and agencies rely on subjective reasoning to determine if they perceive an incident as police misconduct (Baez, 2014; Bass, 2001). Most often, police misconduct cases involving people of color are considered legally justifiable by police departments and court systems (Barry & Jones, 2014; Baez) made evident by the non-indictments in recent and lesser known cases including Michael Brown in Missouri, Sean Bell in New York, and Jonathan Bell in North Carolina (Baez; Coleman, 2014; Taylor, 2014). In addition, citizens may often give false reports to retaliate against officers that interrogated or arrested them -- even when the officers' actions were in compliance which further complicates police brutality reporting; these actions may lead to an overrepresentation of false police misconduct reports (Harris, 2014).

Additionally, there are methodological issues associated with the police brutality data collection process (Chaney & Robertson, 2014; Johnson, Hoyer, & Heath, 2014; Swaine et al., 2015). Moreover, Johnson, Hoyer, and Health (2014) criticized the reporting system for being flawed and incomplete. The information collected on police misconduct is based on self-reports submitted to the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) and Centers for Disease Control (CDC) and Prevention by law enforcement agencies; unfortunately only a small number of police departments report incidents of police misconduct (Johnson et al., 2014; Richardson, 2015). When *The Wall Street Journal* conducted an analysis of justifiable homicides by United States law enforcement from 2007 to 2012, they found that more than 550 killings were missing from police records; however, the racial demographics of these killings were not included in the analysis (Barry & Jones, 2014). Furthermore, only 750 out of 17,000 law enforcement agents actually contributed information to the FBI's database (Johnson et al.); consequentially, some police departments fail to report these incidents because of fear of scrutiny and liability. Another

point to consider is that the FBI only collects two types of data on police brutality -- the total number of people killed by police in justifiable action and the weapon used in the homicide; thus not considering the role of race, gender, and other factors in these incidents and data collection process (U.S. Department of Justice, 2010).

Police Brutality at the Collegiate Level

While reflecting on the college-age population, institutions of higher education and the students they serve have not been impervious to police misconduct. Recently, at Arizona State University, an African American female professor claimed campus police abused and threatened her during their interaction (Wince, 2014). Although the professor pleaded guilty to resisting arrest, a bystander, corroborated her claims in that they perceived police used an unreasonable amount of force (Kingkade, 2014). Further, at the University of Virginia, an African American male student who identified as a third-year honor student and member of a historically Black fraternity reported that Virginia Alcohol Beverage Control (ABC) agents beat him (Coleman, 2015). According to Coleman (2015), the student did not resist arrest, but the agents slammed his head into the hard pavement with excessive force after they approached him about his ID. These incidents demonstrate that racism is a consistent part of the African American experience irrespective of educational attainment; however, these examples only elucidate one aspect of the police brutality problem on college campuses.

Contrary to public belief, incidents of police brutality on college campuses are not isolated to the Black community. At the University of Maryland in 2010, an unarmed White male student was beaten by two county police with batons for being disruptive while celebrating the school's recent basketball win (Castaneda, 2010). Similarly, at the University of South Alabama in 2012, another campus police officer shot a White male student in the chest after he

allegedly threatened the police; the student later died from his injuries (Nelson-Gabriel & Rawls, 2012). In both incidents, the officers were not criminally charged; however, the University of South Alabama officer's superiors placed him on administrative leave and he was later reinstated (Castaneda, 2010; Editorial Board, 2014; Nelson-Gabriel & Rawls). Since then, the family of the student from the University of South Alabama has filed a civil suit and is awaiting a federal court trial (Fambro, 2014).

Research regarding diverse populations at postsecondary institutions views of the campus police as well as their experiences is scarce. Presently, most research regarding campus police has focused on alcohol enforcement and sanctioning (Cremeens, Usdan, Umstattd, Talbott, Turner, & Perko, 2011; Toomey, Miazga, Lenk, Erickson, Winters, & Nelson, 2011) and sexual assault incidents and reporting (Hollister, Scalora, Hoff & Marquez, 2014; Smith, Wilkes, & Bouffard, 2014). A few studies have examined undergraduate students' perceptions of campus police across race (e.g., African Americans, European Americans, Asians, and Hispanics), academic status (e.g., freshman, sophomore, junior, senior, and graduate), and gender [Griffith et al., 2004; Jacobsen, 2015; Vinciguerra & Magane, 2011; Wada et al., 2010]. However, these studies utilized small samples of the African American population (less than 2%) [Griffith et al., 2004; Wada et al., 2010]; focused exclusively on differences across gender (Jacobsen, 2015; Vinciguerra & Magane, 2011); and utilized quantitative research traditions (Griffith et al., 2004; Moon & Corley, 2007; Mbuba, 2010) -- such examinations prevent the researcher from obtaining rich-thick, descriptive information that could provide deeper insight on the unique perspectives of African American college students' realities with law enforcement groups.

Although these previous studies with law enforcement on and off college campuses have had different foci, there seems to be a consensus across the collected data. Overall, African

Americans have more negative views of law enforcement in comparison to White populations (Hurst et al., 2000; Langton & Durose, 2013; Mbuba, 2010). In addition, African Americans tend to perceive their encounters with police officers to be racially motivated (Bell et al., 2014; Mbuba) and that the police behaved improperly during their interactions (e.g., shouting, cursing, verbal threats, or physical force) [Langton & Durose; Moon & Corley, 2007]. Based on this comparison of research from different law enforcement agencies, it appears that the culture of mistrust toward law enforcement that began 200 years ago during legalized slavery has persisted. Although the literature has provided evidence that race influences encounters with law enforcement, one must consider other dynamics to fully comprehend the complexity and scope of police brutality.

Other Factors to Consider Regarding Police Brutality

Intersectionality. While exploring the topic of police misconduct and African American men, placing the notion of intersectionality at the center of this analysis is critical; intersectionality rests on the assumption that multiple social identities, including race, gender, and class – to name a few -- simultaneously interact and shape one's experiences in society (Andersen & Collins, 2013a). Theory of intersectionality asserts that it is problematic to examine our social identities as mutually exclusive categories because people possess more than one social identity that reinforces each other to affect their lived realities with oppression (Collins, 2012; Crenshaw, 1991). Henceforth, within the context of this inquiry, one cannot examine the experiences of African American college men with law enforcement by focusing on their racial identity or gender identity alone. Exploring African American college men realities with police from a unitary perspective (e.g., race or gender) inadequately explains their disparate outcomes with law enforcement and will not lead to adequate change of the system (Collins,

2000). Police have targeted and criminalized this population because they are African American (i.e., race) and male (i.e., gender) made evident by the overwhelming number of police killings in comparison to other racial groups (Banks & Hughes, 2013; Bernasconi, 2015; Kindy, 2015; Richardson, 2015; Swaine et al., 2015). Although intersectionality stems from Black feminist scholarship, it is applicable in understanding the worlds of other disenfranchised populations; thus, the subsequent paragraphs will provide a succinct overview of the development of this theoretical framework.

The concept of intersectionality emerged during the Black feminist's social movement of the 1960s and 1970s to offer a comprehensive analysis of the social injustices faced by women of color; yet, the term remained unnamed until the 1990s (Collins, 2012, 2015a). Black feminists felt the women's movement initiated by White women focused exclusively on gender and did not consider other cultural categories that made women of color worldviews different from their own (hooks, 2000). Thus, Black feminists scholars, who were joined by Latinos, Chicanos, Native Americans, and Asian Americans in the fight for women of color rights, took the lead in making claims on the interconnectedness of race, gender, class, and sexuality (Collins, 2012; hooks, 2000). Women of color contended that these intersecting systems of power negatively affected their careers, relationships, and positions on the social hierarchy (hooks, 2000; Collins, 2015a). In 1989, intersectionality became a legitimate term when academia credited Kimberle Crenshaw with coining the term in her seminal work, "Mapping the Margins: Intersectionality, Identity, Politics and Violence Against Women of Color" (Collins, 2012). Since then, intersectionality scholarship has broadened to other disciplines and scholars have applied this framework to analyze the lived experiences of other historically marginalized groups (Bowleg, Teti, Malebranche, & Tschann, 2012; Collins, 2012, 2015a).

From a historical perspective, Black women were the forerunners in shaping the discourse on the interrelatedness of race, gender, class, and sexuality (Collins, 2012, 2015a). In particular, Patricia Hill Collins was instrumental in broadening the conversation on intersectionality when she introduced the matrix of domination (Andersen & Collins, 2013a; Collins, 2000). The matrix of domination is an interlocking system of oppression based on the social constructions of race, ethnicity, gender, sexuality, class, age, ability, religion, and nationality that impacts people's individual consciousness, interpersonal relationships, and outcomes with various institutional systems (Andersen & Collins, 2013a; Collins, 2000). Since the introduction of this concept, intersectionality scholarship has transcended to men and other disenfranchised populations to illuminate the complexities of their social realities with oppression and power (Anderson & McCormack, 2010; Bowleg et al., 2012).

Specifically, scholars focusing on African American men have begun to use the intersectionality framework to examine how race coupled with other cultural categories, including disabilities (Banks & Hughes, 2013) and sexual orientation (Anderson & McCormack, 2010) have shaped their realities. In essence, intersectionality offers a complexed and nuanced understanding of how systems of oppressions mutually reinforce each other. Thus, to comprehend African American men outcomes with law enforcement, scholars must commit to a multidimensional paradigm and consider how race and gender produces experiences that are different from race or gender alone. Given the complexity of police misconduct, other contributing factors to this phenomenon have been identified which may provide additional insight on the lived realities of African American men.

Situational, individual, and organizational factors. Some scholars have focused on situational, individual, and organizational factors that may precipitate police misconduct (Eitle,

D'Alessio, & Stolzenberg, 2014; Holmes, 2000; Kane, 2002; Terrell & Mastrofski, 2002). Few researchers have recently examined these variables; therefore, it was essential to integrate dated sources into this specific discussion. The first factor maintains that situational conditions including race, gender, and behavior of suspects determine if the police officer will use excessive force (Holmes; Terrell & Mastrofski). For example, Sanchez and Rosenbaum (2015) found in their study of law enforcement's perceptions regarding patrolling Latino and African American disadvantaged communities that police officers tend to be more aggressive to moralize these areas; specifically, they attempted to prevent drug trafficking, liquor law violations, and gang behavior. Paradoxically, Richardson focused on the officer in his research on police violence by examining masculinity threat -- the anxiety associated with one perceived as not possessing masculine characteristics; he contended that officers may become hyper masculine in threatening situations to demonstrate that they are masculine (Richardson, 2015).

The second factor, individual, suggests that characteristics such as the officer's racial identity, personal biases, personality type, educational training, and years of experience can influence interactions (Holmes, 2000; Terrell & Mastrofski, 2002); for example, if the officer has an aggressive temperament, then they will more likely use excessive force. Harris (2014) examined how years of experience and college degree affected interactions and concluded that officers without a college degree, with less years of experience, and lower performance scores during academy training were more likely to engage in acts of police misconduct.

The last factor, organizational, maintains that the size, existence of an internal affairs unit, in-service training, and cultural dynamics of the police department determine the degree to which police officers embrace and tolerate excessive force (Eitle et al., 2014; Holmes, 2000). Specifically, Eitle, D'Alessio, and Stolzenberg (2014) examined the association between police

organizational and environmental factors and police conduct with 497 city police departments who collectively had 2, 501 police misconduct incidents between 2009-10; the researchers found that the following factors -- larger organizations, non-existence of an internal affairs unit, and limited in-service training -- had a substantive impact on police misconduct.

Presenting other factors beyond race as predictors of police misconduct illuminates the convolution of police brutality. Officers involved in the recent high-profiled cases have countered allegations of police brutality by stating their responses were justifiable and necessary to protect their lives. Several of these cases, Michael Brown and Eric Garner for example, resulted in non-indictments (Cohn, 2015; Goodman & Baker, 2014; Johnson et al., 2014). Conversely, in the case involving Freddie Gray's death, the Baltimore state attorney filed criminal charges against six officers who identified with various racial/ethnic groups and genders (Cohn). Many citizens and scholars have implied that there is a relationship between race and police misconduct; therefore, police target more people of color in comparison to Whites (Harris, 2015; Holmes, 2000; Richardson, 2015). Unfortunately, few researchers (Hurst et al., 2000; Langton & Durose, 2013) have focused on non-racial characteristics and other conditions that shape citizens' involuntary contacts and perceptions of police. Scholars should continue investigating all of the variables that influence police encounters with the public to provide additional views on police brutality.

Current Responses to Police Brutality

Currently, national law enforcement and campus police are engaging in various efforts including community-oriented policing to improve their relationships with the citizens that they serve while attempting to better their neighborhoods (Greene, 2000; Griffith et al., 2004; Watkins, 2015). Community-oriented policing consists of police working collaboratively with

citizens to identify and address the unique problems affecting their lived spaces (Prono, 2014). For example, in Detroit, community leaders have organized meetings with the government and law enforcement agencies to discuss the deliberate use of police force and ways to resolve this issue (Curry, 2015). Additionally, in cities such as Chicago, Philadelphia, and Mobile, community leaders are joining forces with the police to facilitate youth-oriented workshops where participants discuss police encounters, emotions related to recent issues, and how to interact with the police (Watkins, 2015). These programs have made headway in restoring the public's trust in the police and promoting community policing (Griffith et al., 2004; Watkins, 2015).

The media, activist organizations, and the government have assisted with addressing police brutality issues by being at the forefront to capture and document these stories as well as engaging in actions to rectify these situations. Some of these entities have argued for a national repository of police misconduct cases to document the totality of this phenomenon more accurately (Johnson et al., 2014; Richardson, 2015). Additionally, the U.S. Department of Justice (2014) has begun to review police departments, which resulted in the government finding a few precincts in violation of systemic practices that reinforced racial bias and deprived individual rights. More specifically, the Albuquerque Police Department (U.S. Department of Justice, 2014) and the Ferguson Police Department (U.S. Department of Justice, 2015) were recently found to have engaged in a pattern or practice of excessive force that targeted racial minorities.

Consequently, national events regarding the law enforcement and communities of color have triggered a range of responses from society. Many citizens across the country in places such as Los Angeles, New York City, Chicago, Cleveland, Seattle, and Fresno have responded

by participating in public protests (Miles, 2013). Furthermore, the public, including both dominant and less dominant groups, have relied on social media outlets to express their disdain of current police practices and the disregard for African American lives. This sentiment has transcended to college campuses across the country in that student leaders have initiated various demonstrations to vocalize their concerns (Kass, 2014; Ma, 2015). A student at the University of Virginia stated, "I don't want to be like Mike Brown,"… referencing the unarmed 18-year-old killed by police in Ferguson, sparking the protests, "but I am him" (Kass, 2014, para. 4).

African American College Males

Research on African American college men have implied that this group is a vulnerable population at postsecondary institutions (McDaniel, DiPrete, Buchmann, & Shewd, 2011; Ross et al., 2012). There is evidence implying that African American college males lag behind their African American female and White counterparts in college enrollment and completion. For instance, the U.S. Department of Education (Ross et al.) reported that a lower percentage of African American men enroll in postsecondary institutions in comparison to African American women (31 vs. 43 percent). Among those African American males and females that enrolled in college from 1999 to 2000 and 2009-10, African American females earned the majority of bachelor's degrees in comparison to African American males (65. 7% vs 34.3% 5 in 1999-2000 and 65.9 % vs 34.1% in 2009-10) [U.S. Department of Education, 2012].

Various arguments exists that attempt to explain the African American male gap in educational attainment. Research suggests that this gap begins prior to enrolling in higher education institutions and onsets during the formative years of education (U.S. Department of Education Office of Civil Rights, 2012). According to the U.S. Department of Education's Office of Civil Rights (2012), administrators are more likely to suspend African American boys

during K-12 (20 % out of school suspensions for African American boys in comparison to 12 % American Indian, 9% Hispanic, 7% White, and 3% Asian/Pacific Islander boys) and less likely to take rigorous courses during grades seven and eight. Additionally, the educational system has classified 20% of African American boys as mentally retarded, although they only make up 9% percent of the student population (National Educational Association, 2011). These factors can influence academic preparation for college and one's ability to pass standardized testing required for college admission. Contrarily, in high school, the trend slightly shifts for African American boys (U.S. Department of Education Office of Civil Rights, 2012). Approximately, 32% of African American boys take and pass advanced placement tests in comparison to 30% African American girls (U.S. Department of Education Office of Civil Rights). However, African American boys are twice as likely to drop-out of high school in comparison to White boys; in addition, on average their scholastic aptitude test (SAT) scores are more than 100 points lower than White boys (Gabriel, 2010; National Education Association, 2011).

Some researchers argue that African American males must contend with racial prejudice and discrimination while working on a higher education degree; these racist encounters tend to occur in social and academic spaces and typically lead to mental distress, disconnection, and poor academic performance (Cureton, 2003; Hardwood, Huntt, Mendendall, & Lewis, 2012; Johnson-Ahorlu, 2012; McCabe, 2009; Solorzano, Ceja, & Yosso, 2000; Swim, Hyers, Cohen, Fitzgerald, & Bylsma, 2003). Specifically, some researchers have reported that African American college men have more frequent interactions with law enforcement than other racial and gendered groups (McCabe; Moon & Corley, 2007). For example, a study by Smith, Allen, and Danley (2007) on the psychosocial experiences and rattle battle fatigue of African American college men revealed that this group felt like illegitimate nonmembers of the campus community

and perceived that police on and off campus targeted them. Based on the literature, racism appears to be a problem for African American college men as they encounter this system of oppression in multiple ways on campus. Consequently, a higher education degree does not necessarily protect an African American male from the personal and social issues that affect their non-higher education counterparts; this group may also experience police brutality like Mike Brown who was two days away from attending college prior to a police officer killing him (Reilly, 2014).

Theoretical Framework

Critical race theory (CRT) serves as the theoretical framework of this study. This theory acknowledges race and racism as key factors shaping individuals' realities (Delgado & Stefancic, 2006). Therefore, using a CRT lens allows me to decontextualize how racism interrelates with the police brutality phenomenon. In addition, CRT considers how other social identity categories intersect with race to influence one's life; henceforth, this framework will aid in analyzing how race, gender, and other social identities collectively effect African American men outcomes with law enforcement (Delgado & Stefancic). CRT also reconstructs human agency by allowing individuals to challenge the dominant narrative through storytelling (Espino, 2012; Ladson-Billings, 1998). In this study, storytelling will provide a vehicle for African American college males to divulge their daily realities with campus police and local law enforcement (Espino). Furthermore, given the social justice component that undergirds CRT, I anticipate that the findings will unveil strategies that will help mitigate the ongoing occurrence of police misconduct and how to support students in higher education that experience police brutality (Delgado & Stefancic). In addition, this study reflects my commitment to helping African

American college males reach parity in society, which is a social justice agenda and aligns with CRT. In chapter two, I discuss CRT in more detail.

Purpose of this Study

The purpose of this phenomenological study is to understand African American college males' perceptions and experiences with law enforcement both on and off campus. In light of the recent police-related deaths of African American men, women, and children, this research study is relevant and could unmask how the incidents have affected African American college males. To date, most studies have focused on disadvantaged populations' opinions and encounters with law enforcement (Langton & Durose, 2013; Warren, 2011); however, few have explored the role of higher educational attainment in these phenomena (Dottolo & Stewart, 2008; Mbuba, 2010).

Dominant ideologies of color-blindness and meritocracy perpetuate a myth that racial discrimination no longer exists and that educational attainment may decrease the likelihood of encountering injustices; however, one cannot support this notion without adequate research. This inquiry aims to provide transparency on the systemic barriers making it more difficult for African Americans males to successfully complete college. Examining African American college males' outcomes with campus police and local law enforcement will provide insightful information to student affairs administrators, practitioners, and educators in addition to other entities in higher education responsible for educating, supporting, and advocating for this at-risk population.

Research Questions

Below are the research questions framing this study:

1. How do African American college men perceive campus police and local law enforcement?
2. How have racism and other forms of subordination shaped African American college men experiences with campus police and local law enforcement?

Significance of this Study

Reflecting on research and conventional wisdom, one can conclude that law enforcement on and off campus target African Americans men (Meehan & Ponder, 2002; Moon & Corley, 2007; Smith et al., 2007; Warren, 2011). Oppressive encounters with police can adversely affect African American men higher education trajectory and ability to obtain a college degree; in addition, experiences with oppression can have a deleterious effect on their mental well-being (Cureton, 2003; Jernigan et al., 2015; Johnson-Ahorlu, 2012; McCabe, 2009). Specifically, researchers use the terms, racial battle fatigue and racial trauma, to describe the psychological responses to ongoing exposure to racial discrimination (Jernigan et al.; Smith et al., 2007). Both conditions trigger responses such as fear, headaches, withdrawal, guilt, confusion, shame and galvanize the need to fight back (Jernigan et al.; Smith et al., 2007). Henceforth, it is possible for African American college males to endure these symptoms; therefore, individuals concerned with advocating and supporting African American college males must examine how the ongoing prevalence of racially bias policing and police misconduct cases on and off campus impact this population academically, socially, and psychologically.

This study will add to the current literature on police brutality and provide some understanding of how the recent racialized police incidents are affecting African American

college males. Although substantial research explores African Americans' perception of law enforcement (Birzer & Smith-Mahdi, 2006; Chaney & Robertson, 2013; Langton & Durose, 2013), few researchers have specifically examined African American college males' attitudes toward campus police and local law enforcement. Furthermore, to this date, I have only found one study that has compared and contrasted how college students at a PWI in the northwest perceived law enforcement on and off campus; therefore, this study will build upon this previous research by examining these two entities in the southeastern part of the United States at multiple colleges (Wada et al., 2010). In addition, scholars have yet to provide advocacy and support strategies grounded in empirical data to postsecondary institutions on how to address police mistreatment with students (Cohn, 2015; Coleman, 2015; Jernigan et al., 2015; Watkins, 2015). Ultimately, this research inquiry aims to describe how African American college males relate to campus police and local law enforcement; to understand their interactions with law enforcement; and to unmask factors that positively or negatively shape their college progression and parity in society. Lastly, this study will amplify the lived experiences of African American college males whose discourse on police misconduct has been absent from the literature. Police brutality is multidimensional and convoluted -- any resolution regarding these issues must address issues at the individual, societal, and institutional level.

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Operational Terms and Definitions

The terms below inform this study. Henceforth, I included definitions in the manuscript to enhance clarity, and terms are defined based on the context of the study.

In this paper, *academic climate* "consists of students' observations about their academic experience, such as treatment by instructors, being perceived as serious students by peers, and receiving academic mentoring" (Reid & Radhakrishnan, 2003, p. 265).

African American are people of African descent. The researcher used African American interchangeably with Black (Broido, n.d.; Merriam-Webster, n.d.).

Campus climate is "the current attitudes, behaviors and standards of faculty, staff, administrators and students concerning the level of respect for individual needs, abilities and potential" (University of California, n.d., p. 1)

Campus police is law enforcement at postsecondary institutions responsible for keeping colleges and universities safe and maintaining social order (Hopkins & Neff, 2014; Peak et al., 2008). Campus police perform some of the following duties: patrolling, escort services, and enforcing campus policies; in addition, campus police have the power to arrest and carry firearms (Hopkins & Neff; Reaves, 2015).

Excessive force is when a police officer uses an amount of force against a citizen that is more than necessary to gain their compliance (Terrill & Mastrofski, 2002; US Legal, 2015). In this text, the researcher uses excessive force interchangeably with police misconduct and police brutality.

Local law enforcement includes police and sheriff departments (Law Enforcement, n.d.).

Police brutality is a "pattern or practice of police misconduct that deprives persons of rights protected by the Constitution or laws of the United States" (U.S. Department of Justice,

2012, para.8). Police brutality includes behaviors such as derogatory and abusive language, unnecessary searches, or excessive physical force (Holmes, 2000; Langton & Durose, 2011). Within this text, the researcher uses police brutality interchangeably with excessive force and police misconduct.

Police misconduct is a form of police misconduct where a police officer uses excessive force, makes verbal threats or psychological intimidation to enforce the law (Danilina, n.d.). In this context, *police misconduct* is an umbrella term that describes police brutality and excessive force.

Predominately white institutions (PWIs) are institutions in higher education where more than 50% of the student population identifies as White (Brown & Dancy, 2009).

Race is a sociopolitical construct used to categorize groups of people based on their physical characteristics (Andersen & Collins, 2013a; Bell, Castaneda, & Zuniga, 2010).

Racism is system of power that benefits dominant groups and maintains a divide between disadvantaged (e.g., Black racial groups) and advantaged racial groups (e.g., White racial groups); racism manifests at the individual, societal, and systemic levels and creates disparities in various systems, including education and criminal justice system (Bell, 2007; Bell et al., 2007a; Bell et al., 2010).

U.S. law enforcement agencies are local, state, and federal agencies in the United States responsible for maintaining the law (Law Enforcement Agency, n.d.).

White describes people of European descent and those whose physical characteristics categorize them as White. In this text, the researcher used White interchangeably with White American and European American (Broido, n.d.).

Chapter Summary

This chapter provided a rationale for examining African American college men's perceptions and experiences with campus police and local law enforcement; in addition, I highlighted gaps in this area of research to justify further investigation. Moreover, several of the recent police brutality incidents were described while demonstrating how these phenomena have influenced citizens at the national and collegiate levels. Further, the chapter defined police misconduct from a historical perspective and identified factors that contribute to the phenomenon. In addition, the chapter included an overview regarding the development of campus law enforcement, jurisdiction, and roles and responsibilities to clarify their function at colleges and universities. The chapter concluded by analyzing the African American male college student experience with a specific focus on current academic, social, and psychological challenges that this population contends with in educational settings.

The subsequent section will provide a broad overview of the literature on race, racism, and critical race theory to examine how racism permeates throughout the lives of African Americans -- especially African American men. Chapter Two also includes a discussion regarding the criminal justice system to provide a holistic perspective on police brutality and to explore other claims of unfairness and injustices in the criminal justice system. The chapter culminates with a review of African American men encounters with law enforcement on and off campus.

CHAPTER 2

A SELECTED REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

"As the countless protests, tear gas, National Guard deployments and looting proved, police brutality provokes more anger than other outrages because it's the supreme violation of our individual rights in a democracy. It is the state actor, as another person, violently snatching our breath away "under the law of color." That the state's victims throughout our history have been overwhelming African-American stamps it as an indelible "badge of slavery," which means nothing makes you feel more Black in America than experiencing police mistreatment. Very few modern oppressions convey the permanence of racism -- individual and institutional -- like the ritual of unpunished police abuse" (Troutt, 2014, p. 1).

Racial inequality has been a long-standing issue in the United States for African Americans. Pivotal moments in history including the Civil Rights Movement, which involved sit-ins, protests, marches, and boycotts aided in outlawing segregation and discrimination. Subsequent legislation including the Civil Rights Act of 1964 prohibited discriminatory practices based on race, color, age, religion, sex, and national origin (Andersen & Collins, 2013a; Bell et al., 2010) and the Voting Rights Act of 1965 which legalized voting for all races (Kelly, 2015) also helped to mitigate racist practices and policies. However, 50 years later, racism affects the way people operate in the United States (Sheared, Johnson-Bailey, Colin, Peterson, & Brookfield, 2010); more specifically researchers purport that racism negatively impacts infrastructures, policies, practices, and cross-racial relationships while disenfranchising communities of color (Bell, 2007; Benjamins & Whitman, 2014; Cornileus, 2012).

Presently, many citizens are concerned regarding the racial climate and racially discriminatory policing in the United States. The unprecedented surge of national police violence against African American youth, women, and men has caused society to question claims of a post-racial America (Jernigan et al., 2015; Workneh, 2015a). Unfortunately, police brutality victims such as Aiyana Jones, age 7; Tamir Rice, age 12; Kimani Gray, age 16; Shantel Davis, age 23; and Jonathan Ferrell, age 24 will never have the opportunity to tell their stories because they are dead (Coleman, 2014; Jernigan et al., 2015; Workneh, 2015b). Additionally, the grand jury's decision not to indict police officers involved in the killings of African Americans, Michael Brown and Eric Garner, has drawn attention to the systemic issues within law enforcement and the entire criminal justice system (Taylor, 2014). Many races have stood in solidarity and expressed interest in resolving social injustices and racial police violence. In a *New York Post* article (Roberts & Short, 2014), one Protestor Steven Harris, 24, said the following:

> I'm tired of the unjust behavior that the NYPD portrays on a daily basis. We deserve a higher level of respect. This isn't just a Black issue. It's a worldwide issue of disrespect and unjust behavior from police towards the community (para.8).

However, the police brutality problem seems to be more salient for African Americans. Law enforcement is more likely to profile and kill unarmed African Americans in comparison to other races (Kindy, 2015; Swaine et al., 2015). Regrettably, the media does not publicize every bias-based police incident nor does law enforcement report every police misconduct case, which makes it harder to discover the details of each situation and to evaluate fully the magnitude of the phenomenon.

The circumstances surrounding each allegation of the excessive use of force by police officers against Black citizens has differed (Bernasconi, 2014). In most of the police brutality incidents, the officers have been White males; however, in some cases, the officers have been people of color and female (Cohn, 2015; Montgomery, 2015; Reilly, 2014). Given the overwhelming number of police misconduct cases involving Black Americans, many citizens, reporters (Anderson, 2014; Chumley, 2014; Cohn, 2015; Goodman & Baker, 2014) and researchers (Jernigan et al., 2015) postulate that racism was a key factor that influenced law enforcement's responses. Scholars (Brunson, 2007; Hurst et al., 2000; Meehan & Ponder, 2002; Warren, 2011) have long theorized that racism may increase Black citizens' chances of encountering unwarranted contact and aggressive situations with law enforcement. In addition, some researchers claim a racial divide exists over the legitimacy of police due to recent and past cases of police deviance (Anderson; Brunson; Hurst et al.; Warren; Weitzer & Tuch, 2004). Thus, as the researcher, I will examine race and racism while exploring the factors that influence African American male college males' perceptions of police. Racism cannot be divorced from police brutality, and society must recognize that race and racism shapes the experiences of all groups in society (Andersen & Collins, 2013a).

The ongoing police brutality phenomenon has triggered a range of responses including protests, looting, and social media activism from different populations. College students, in particular, have involved themselves in addressing racially bias policing. This response may be a result of police brutality at the national level coupled with individual attacks on students and professors of color by campus officers and local law enforcement (Gordon, 2015; Kass, 2014). Examples of police misconduct against African American college students are not hard to find. After a uniformed Alcoholic Beverage Control agent used excessive force with Martese R.

Johnson, an African American Honor student at the University of Virginia, people were in an uproar (Brisco & Williams-Harris, 2015). Martese Johnson's former high school principal commented in the *Chicago Tribune*: "You hear of this too often, and it just shows, it doesn't matter what accolades they have, for this type of violence and brutality to happen," she said. "It's sad" (Briscoe & Williams-Harris, 2015, para. 20). In this same article, one of his peers stated:

> It's an atrocity. I never thought this would happen to a Kenwood student, let alone Martese Johnson. One would think we would be safer at school than in Chicago but we are literally unsafe everywhere. It's just no respect for Black males (para.15).

Reflecting on these narratives, it is evident that college campuses and college-aged students are not exempt from experiencing racialized police violence. Unfortunately, given the dearth of research in this area, the extent of these problems remains largely unknown. Currently, little to no data exists on the exact number of college students that have been involved in police brutality incidents with law enforcement on and off campus nor how this population perceives law enforcement post the upsurge of police misconduct cases in the United States (Briscoe & Williams-Harris, 2015; Gordon, 2015; Kass, 2014).

Most researchers have used surveys to collect information regarding society's perceptions of law enforcement (Anderson, 2014; Blake, 2014; Chumley, 2014; Coleman, 2015). The current body of research has illuminated differences across racial groups; however, the research has not fully captured how various subgroups (i.e., lower class, middle class, college students, high school students) view police nor how ecological (i.e., disadvantaged settings vs. advantaged settings) factors shape attitudes (Anderson; Chumley). This study will provide insight on the implications of recent police brutality incidents by examining African American college males'

attitudes toward law enforcement on and off campus. Focusing on African American college males is important because their voices have been notably exempt from the literature in this area.

Chapter Two begins with discourse on race and racism to illustrate how these factors interact to affect the lived experiences of African Americans and produces inequalities at multiple levels. Then, I draw attention to CRT as an adequate lens to explore law enforcement misconduct with African American college men, particularly how racism and other forms of subordination intersect to influence these interactions. To give context on racialized policing and to demonstrate the complexity of this phenomenon, the literature review includes a discussion on the criminal justice. Building on this foundation, the next part of the chapter examines the influence of race on perceptions and encounters with law enforcement. Finally, the review of the literature concludes with an overview of African American college males' attitudes and outcomes with campus police.

Race

Race is a powerful determinant in the United States that shapes peoples' everyday experiences in society and refers to one's physical characteristics such as skin color or biological ancestry (Johnson-Bailey, 2002; Pendry, 2011). The language and meaning attributed to race continuously evolves as society develops rules and policies to stratify groups based on social conceptions of race (Andersen & Collins, 2013b). Although, scientists working on the human genome project discovered that a race gene does not exist, race is one of the most significant factors affecting people's realities with power and systems of oppression (Andersen & Collins, 2013b; Ladson-Billings, 1998). Physical characteristics and skin color may differ among people; however, these factors alone do not define race. Presently, most scholars describe race as a social and political construct used to categorize people; race shapes personal judgments,

relationships, behaviors, and outcomes as well as how people perceive themselves (Andersen & Collins, 2013a, 2013b; Bell et al., 2010; Sheared et al., 2010).

Previous research has concluded that racial categories emerged in the United States to establish a system of dominance and subordination that made White populations superior based on their skin color (Andersen & Collins, 2013b; Bell et al., 2010). Racial categories often reflect present societal and political conditions; henceforth, racial categories are fluid and continuously evolve (Andersen & Collins; Bell, 2007). Most scholars have agreed that persons racialized as White are the dominant racial group (Bell, 2007; Bell, Joshi, et al., 2007; Bell, Love, et al., 2007) and contend that this position reflects White supremacy, which originated during the colonization era. During the colonization period, White Americans seized the Native American land while enslaving African Americans and Mexican Americans to secure economic freedom (Andersen & Collins, 2013a; Bell et al., 2010). Additionally, due to their lighter skin tone, scientist perceived White Americans as more physically attractive and placed them at the top of the racial hierarchy (Andersen & Collins, 2013b; Bell, 2007).

As a social construction, race is not a fixed category and changes as the social and political landscape transforms. For example, prior to immigration, only three races existed per the laws of the land -- White, Black, and mulatto (Andersen & Collins, 2013a). However, the cultural landscape shifted after people migrated to the United States, which caused the racial categories to become more complex. Some of the races as described by the United States Census (2010) include White, Black or African American, Non-Hispanic White, American Indian/ Alaska Native, Asian, Hispanic/Latino, Native Hawaiian/Pacific Islander, and multiracial. In fact, many people do not fit into the constructed racial binaries and identify with multiple groups (Bell et al., 2010). In essence, the racial binary symbolizes oppression; it is restrictive in that it

does not allow people to acknowledge their other racial/ethnic identities. Furthermore, although more racial categories presently exist in society, a racial hierarchal structure remains in place favoring dominant groups (e.g., White people) while marginalizing people of color (e.g., Black people).

Race and Racism

Race and racism are interconnected. Judgments about race have helped produce a system of social power and privilege (Mooradian, 2010; Tatum, 2010). As defined by Solorzano, Ceja, and Yosso (2000), racism is the act of being prejudice and discriminatory against another person based on his or her racial background. In essence, racism is the attitudinal and behavioral manifestation of inequality based on race that is systematic and maintained by institutional structures, policies, and practices; it dictates social advantages and disadvantages (Bell, 2007; Tatum).

Traditionally, researchers have categorized racism into two distinct categories: (a) overt, which is conscious, purposeful discrimination and (b) covert, which is, categorized as unconscious, subtle racial bias (McCabe, 2009; Redlawsk, Tolbert, & McNeely, 2014). Some researchers contend that implicit forms of racism such as microaggressions are more prevalent, but harder to diagnose (Hardwood et al., 2012; Sue et al., 2007; Torres-Harding, Andrade, & Diaz, 2012). According to Sue et al. (2007), racial microaggressions are those subtle, common, and brief indignities directed towards people of color; these researchers (Sue et al., 2007) have added to the literature on racism by constructing a taxonomy of microaggressions which has provided a deeper understanding of how these forms of racism operate and manifests in society. In essence, implicit biases are often invisible and undergirded by negative stereotypes (beliefs)

and attitudes (feelings) -- when combined with conscious attitudes, systemic disadvantages prevail (Andersen & Collins, 2013b; Richardson, 2015).

Most often, the implicit, unconscious forms of racial bias occur during human interactions and in various environments (Sue et al., 2007; Tuitt & Carter, 2008). For example, subtle forms of racism can manifests in some of the following ways: (a) assuming an individual of color is a criminal; (b) giving preferential treatment to a White person versus a person of color; or (c) excluding people of color from the media (Sue et al., 2007). Other scholars have discovered that implicit forms of bias such as racial microaggressions occur in other settings including higher education and adversely impact African American, Asian American, Latino, and Native American undergraduate students' collegiate experiences (Hardwood et al., 2012; McCabe, 2009; Solorzano et al., 2000). Similarly, some researchers have alleged that when people who work for the criminal justice system are unaware of their own racial biases, they contribute to the cycle of oppression (Bell, 2007; Richardson, 2015). Bell (2007) added to the literature on subtle forms of bias by introducing the notion of internalized domination. Internalized domination refers to people unknowingly behaving and thinking in ways that reflects and perpetuates their privilege and power. Thus, if people are socialized to "exclude specific groups, then they will act in exclusionary ways" (Andersen & Collins, 2013a, p. 3). Although all of these positions aid in understanding covert forms of racism, Bell (2007) presents a broader perspective on the implications of this phenomenon while the other scholars (Hardwood et al.; McCabe; Richardson, 2015; Sue et al.) arguments are situated within specific contexts which limits generalizability.

Countless studies have also documented the existence of explicit racism, the intentional discrimination against racial/ethnic minorities, (Henricks & Harvey, 2015; Shams, 2015) in the

areas of health (Benjamins & Whitman, 2014; Leigh, 2012); education (Johnson-Ahorlu, 2012; Vincent, Tobin, Hawken, & Frank; 2012); and the criminal justice system (Chaney & Robertson, 2013; Western & Pettit, 2010); although these studies have broadened our understanding of various forms of inequalities at the institutional level, these studies do not examine how these institutional systems of oppression intersect and collectively impact one's lived experiences.

Data provided by official government agencies have illuminated present challenges that African Americans must confront. According to the United States Census Bureau (2013), African Americans have the second highest poverty rate at 27.6% in comparison to multiracial groups (20.4%), European Americans (13%), and Asian Americans (13%); this figure also exceeds the national poverty rate of 15.8%. Furthermore, DeSilver (2013) stated that the unemployment rate for African Americans has doubled that of European Americans for the past six decades. As reported by the United States Bureau of Labor Statistics (2015), the unemployment rate for African Americans was 9.1% in comparison to 5.6 % for European Americans; this number is higher than the national unemployment rate of 5.3%.

Although disparities vary across sectors, African Americans perceive the criminal justice system to be the most bias in comparison to the other institutions (Anderson, 2014; Hurtwitz & Peffley, 2005; Pew Research Center, 2013). Specifically, the Pew Research Center (2013) surveyed European American, African American, and Hispanic American citizens' perceptions regarding racial disparities in the United States post the Dr. Martin Luther King's Jr.'s infamous "I Have a Dream Speech"; they reported that African Americans felt their community was treated less fairly than European Americans and Hispanic Americans in the areas of dealing with the police, in the courts, at work, in stores, in restaurants, in local public schools, and in getting health care. African Americans perceived the greatest disparities in their experiences with police

(70% African Americans, 52% Hispanic Americans, and 37% European Americans) and court system (68% African Americans, 40% Hispanic Americans, and 27% European Americans); in addition, these were the two areas rated highest by European Americans for having the most inequalities. Similarly, Hurtwitz and Peffley (2005) who investigated African American and European American citizens' beliefs about the fairness of the criminal justice system reported that African Americans found the criminal justice system to be more unfair in comparison to their European American counterparts, which makes them more suspicious of police.

There are many tiers within the criminal justice system; unfortunately, inequalities often exist at each level and interconnect to create a matrix of oppression for African Americans (Meehan & Ponder, 2002; Warde, 2012). Generally, racism is endemic and permeates through almost every fabric of society; consequentially, racial inequalities often extend beyond systemic disparities and produces psychological, physical, and emotional stress for disenfranchised populations. Thus to fully explain the meaning of race and how it impacts one's lived experiences, critical race theory must be integrated into the discussion.

Critical Race Theory

For this study, CRT is an adequate analytic framework for exploring African American college men's perceptions of law enforcement both on and off campus; it is used in this context alongside with theory of intersectionality to enable a discourse on how race and other social identities, namely gender, interconnect to shape African American college men attitudes and experiences with these systems (Crenshaw, 1991). In addition, this race-based epistemology is appropriate for educational research because society often equates educational attainment with egalitarianism; however, systems of oppression and unjust practices often halt students of color outcomes in these settings (Cureton, 2003; Harper, Patton, & Wooden, 2009; Love, 2013). Thus,

CRT in this context provides a lens to examine and challenge how race and dominant racist ideologies have influenced African American college males' interactions with campus police who are a functional unit at many colleges and universities.

Delgado and Stefancic (2006) defined CRT as a "collection of activists and scholars who are interested in studying and transforming the relationships among race, racism, and power" (para.5). This theory emerged in the 1970s from critical legal studies (CLS) and legal scholars, including Derrick Bell (Black), Alan Freeman (White), and Richard Delgado (Hispanic), who felt that efforts to establish equality for racial groups in the realm of law were not progressive after Civil Rights Movement legislation had passed (Delgado & Stefancic, 2006; Ladson-Billings, 1998). A unique component of CRT is that it requires social action to change barriers and conditions that impede upon disenfranchised groups' access to resources, rights, and full participation in society (Delgado & Stefancic; Solorzano & Yosso, 2001). CRT theorists believe that it is not only important to understand an issue, but to challenge subjugation that exists at the micro, meso, and macro levels.

The CRT framework has evolved overtime to analyze the everyday experiences of other groups, including Latinos (LatCrit), Asians (Asian Crit), Whites (WhiteCrit), and women (FemCrit) (Solorzano & Yosso, 2001). Additionally, researchers utilized CRT to address racial injustices in the areas of economics (Delgado & Stefancic, 2006), politics (Crenshaw, 1991), and education (Ladson-Billings, 1998) to name a few. Specifically within the realm of higher education, many educators and scholars have used CRT to understand and question how race influences the realities of students of color in the classroom (i.e., curriculum, tracking, discipline, etc.) and in social settings (i.e., interpersonal relationships, residence halls, etc.) [Espino, 2012; Love, 2013; Hardwood-Huntt, et al., 2012; McCabe, 2009; Solorzano & Yosso].

Scholars modify the CRT tenets to support the unique needs of each research inquiry. Some researchers have summarized the major concepts into seven (Harper et al., 2009); five (Delgado & Stefancic, 2006; Solorzano & Yosso, 2001) and four tenets (Espino, 2012). Although a consensus does not exists regarding the tenets, for this study, I identify seven tenets to frame the critical race theory discourse in education and law enforcement:

- CRT posits that race and racism are permanent fixtures in the United States and structures people's experiences at the individual, societal, and institutional levels (Delgado & Stefancic, 2006; Espino, 2012).
- CRT challenges whiteness which maintains a system of subordination between Whites and persons of colors and guarantees economic, social, and political privileges to the dominant racial group (Harris, 1993, 1995; Ladson-Billings & Tate, 1995).
- CRT rejects dominant ideologies, including neutrality, liberalism, color-blindness and meritocracy, which sustain systems of disadvantage and inequalities (Delgado & Stefancic, 2006; Solorzano & Yosso, 2001).
- CRT recognizes interest convergence in which White Americans will only advocate for racial equality if it promotes their self-interests (Bell, 1980; Delgado & Stefancic, 2006).
- CRT insists that race is socially constructed; race maintains a social hierarchy that benefits dominant populations while subordinating people of color (Delgado & Stefancic, 2006).
- CRT acknowledges that race often intersects with other social identities and affects one's experiences with power and oppression (Delgado & Stefancic, 2006).

- CRT maintains a commitment to social justice to empower marginalized populations and to dismantle systems of oppression (Solorzano & Yosso, 2001; Espino, 2012).

Tenet 1: Race and Racism are Ordinary Experiences for People of Color

The first tenet is that race and racism are ordinary experiences for people of color in the United States (Delgado & Stefancic, 2006; Espino, 2012; Solorzano & Yosso, 2001). As it relates to African Americans, from a historical perspective, this group was exploited and enslaved by White Americans; denied access to education; restricted from voting; and required to use separate facilities (Bell, 2007; Bell, Joshi, et al., 2007; Bell, Love, et al., 2007). Additionally, during segregation this racial group was subjected to cruel and unusual treatment (e.g., beatings, lynching, etc.) by their "masters" and White Americans who were the dominant racial group (History, n.d.).

Racism is salient to the African American experience, as people of color must contend with prejudice and discrimination at the individual and institutional levels in the criminal justice system, education, health care, labor market, and housing (Andersen & Collins, 2013a; Bell, Love, et al., 2007). Specifically within the context of higher education, African American males have reported experiences with racism that included being considered suspicious and threatening, hearing racial comments and jokes, often consciously or unconsciously, and receiving differential treatment by people in classrooms and other social spaces (Hardwood et al., 2012; Swim et al., 2003); in addition, some have reported being perceived as intellectually inferior by White peers and faculty (Solorzano et al., 2000; Tuitt & Carter, 2008). Swim and colleagues (2003) concluded from their study that African American male and female college students experienced one episode of racism every two weeks. While in law enforcement, African American males are more likely to be racially profiled (Moon & Corley, 2007; Warren, 2011); to

be stopped, searched, and ticketed (Langton & Durose, 2013); and to be killed (Johnson et al., 2014) in comparison to other racial groups. Based on these findings in the literature, it is evident that racism is a normal, everyday experience for African American, including holders of educational degrees; thus, a goal of CRT is to unmask racism and its various forms to make a case that it still matters.

Tenet 2: Whiteness as Property

CRT scholars posit that whiteness functions as a system of privilege that subordinates people of color in the United States while guaranteeing economic, political, cultural, and legal rights for those that identify as White (Harris, 1993, 1995; Ladson-Billings & Tate, 1995). Specifically, Harris (1993) asserted that whiteness functions as property that US law protects. Further, Harris (1993) theorized:

> Whiteness is not simply and solely a legally recognized property interest. It is simultaneously an aspect of self-identity and of personhood, and its relation to the law of property is complex. Whiteness has functioned as self-identity in the domain of the intrinsic, personal, and psychological; as reputation in the interstices between internal and external identity; and, as property in the extrinsic, public, and legal realms (p.1725).

Harris (1993) identified four property functions of whiteness while analyzing United States law: (a) rights of disposition; (b) rights to use and enjoyment; (c) reputation and status property; and (d) rights to exclude. The *rights of disposition* refer to Whites being able to maintain white supremacy by passing along their rights and property to heirs (Bondi, 2012). The *rights to use and enjoyment* imply that White Americans can deploy their whiteness as needed with regard and protection from the law (Bondi, 2012; Harris, 1993). The third right, *reputation and status property*, assert that the law will preserve the integrity and position that White people

hold (Bondi, 2012; Harris, 1993). Lastly, the *rights to exclude property* function proclaim that White Americans have the right to exclude other people based on their racial identities and the law will automatically protect Whites over other racial groups (Harris, 1993).

Historically, racial domination was the driving force that legitimized whiteness as property (Harris, 1995). Specifically, White property owners, which were mainly males, were the beneficiaries of this system because they had power to make decisions whereas people of color did not (Ladson-Billings, 1998). Specifically, during this time, the nation perceived Black and Native American people as property; for Blacks, White Americans formalized this dominance through the institution of slavery whereas for Native Americans, White Americans seized their land (Harris, 1993, 1995). Consequentially, in addition to Whites treating Blacks as property, Blacks did not have civil rights because they were not White and did not own land. The control over less racial dominant groups in which Whites possessed because of their racial identity led to the construction of the concept of whiteness as property (Harris, 1993, 1995; Ladson-Billings). Unfortunately, the historical pattern of White racial domination has persisted; White Americans are still the automatic recipients of economic, social, and political power and "white privilege" has become a natural order protected by the law (Harris, 1993).

Moreover, in the legal system, whiteness prevails to criminalize people of color while permitting White Americans to proclaim innocence (Annamma, 2015). For example, as it relates to the current wave of police brutality incidents, a White police officer by the name of Darren Wilson, shot and killed Michael Brown, an unarmed Black teenager (Reilly, 2014). Despite the conflicting accounts of what occurred from eyewitnesses and the police officer, the law sided with the White police officer and the state attorney did not indict him; thus, protecting the rights of the White person. In most recent police brutality cases, the state attorneys have not indicted

the police officers who mostly identify as White rather the courts have opted to settle with the Black families. Settling with the Black families is not justice, but rather dehumanizes those killed by law enforcement by placing a "price tag" on their life (Baez, 2014; Cohn, 2015; Goodman & Baker, 2014). Such decisions indicate to African Americans that their lives do not matter and they are still property, while reifying to Whites that they are powerful and in control.

Tenet 3: Challenging Dominant Ideologies of Color-Blindness and Meritocracy

CRT rejects the notions of objectivity, neutrality, liberalism, color-blindness, and meritocracy, which advances white supremacy (i.e., whiteness) and masks inequalities and disparities (Delgado & Stefancic, 2006; Solorzano & Yosso, 2001). In particular, CRT scholars postulate that notion of color-blindness and neutrality, assumes that there is equality for all (Andersen & Collins, 2013a; DeCuir & Dixson, 2004; Shams, 2015; Sue et al., 2007). Sue and colleagues (2007) stated that color-blindness disregards people of color experiences and forces them to assimilate or acculturate to the dominant culture. Likewise, Andersen and Collins (2013b) argued that color-blindness makes White Americans believe that segregation and discrimination are no longer issues for people of color due to laws that prohibit denying these groups access to the labor market, housing, and public spaces.

Researchers interested in analyzing how institutions such as law enforcement and higher education impact African American college males must integrate color-blindness into the conversation; unfortunately, if people ignore the presence of race and racism, then they are less likely to authentically engage in the fight to eradicate systems of oppression (Bell, Love, et al., 2007). The color-blindness ideology can adversely affect African American males who may not conform to American standards of masculinity; society has a tendency to categorize these males as thugs, drug dealers, and delinquents and use these stereotypes to justify mistreatment

(Bernasconi, 2014; Williams, 2013). Furthermore, embracing the color-blind ideology lessens people's ability to become critically aware of their own biases and their conscious or unconscious contributions to the cycle of oppression (Gallagher, 2013).

Meritocracy is an additional dynamic to consider under this second tenet; the United States has indoctrinated meritocracy, which assumes that for people of color, the playing field has been leveled (Bell, 2007; Bell et al., 2010). This ideology rests on the premise that a person can be successful if they work hard regardless of race, societal position, and environmental conditions that may prohibit them from reaching parity in society (Bell, 2007; Bell et al., 2010). Unfortunately, meritocracy is a myth, as many African Americans do not have the tools or resources to overcome these barriers or to resolve inequalities in multiple systems. In particular, African American males lag behind their African American female and White American male and female counterparts in college enrollment and completion; thus, even with college degrees, racism and other forms of oppression blight their opportunities (Cornileus, 2013; Smith, Hung, & Franklin, 2011). Specifically, Smith and colleagues (2011) reported that as African American males moved up the educational pipeline, they experienced more racial microaggressions and societal problems (e.g., becoming involved in a crime, unemployment, poverty, health problems, etc.) which debunks the notion of meritocracy. Although there is a push for African American males to obtain a higher education degree, the degree does not lead to automatic success nor does it mitigate social and environmental stressors.

Tenet 4: Interest Convergence

An additional tenet of CRT is interest convergence. The interest convergence epistemology asserts that White Americans, irrespective of their social positions, will involve themselves in eradicating racial equality only when they believe it is in their best interest

(Closson, 2010; Delgado & Stefancic, 2006). Bell (1980), argues that both Black and Whites interests must converged in order for Whites to involve themselves in helping Blacks achieve equality -- Whites do not want to risks losing their superior status because they reap the economic, psychical, and social benefits by sustaining racial oppression (Bell, Love, et al., 2007; Espino, 2012; Solorzano & Yosso, 2001).

In particular, Bell (1980) elaborated on interest convergence while discussing the outcomes of the Brown vs. Board of Education case, which forced the school systems to desegregate. Bell (1980) suggests that Blacks and Whites' interests converged to move forward integration of the schools. However, the Supreme Court condemned segregation to foster a relationship between the United States and third world countries during the Cold War; to minimize an uproar from Black veterans who fought during World War II, but were still denied basic rights upon their return home; and to push forward industrialization in the South; unfortunately, there was less concern for racial equality and this sentiment has transcended to present day society (Bell, 1980).

As it relates to present day issues, individuals interested in deconstructing police misconduct can apply the interest convergence concept. The government has consistently struggled with law enforcement reform; however, the assault on people of color will not cease if law enforcement continuously criminalize, surveil, and mistreat them (Bernasconi, 2014). For instance, Alexander (2012) contends that during drug investigations, police departments have engaged in "illegal shakedowns, searches, and threats" in search for property and cash; due to revenue-sharing agreements with the federal government, law enforcement agencies allow police officers to keep these items (p. 81). Therefore, as long as the federal government permits law enforcement to engage in these acts, then police brutality will be inevitable -- there will be little

interests in addressing police misconduct because police officers reap the financial benefits in situations such as drug investigations.

Tenet 5: Race is Socially Constructed

Critical race theory also implies that race is socially constructed (Delgado & Stefancic, 2006); races are categories invented by society based on physical characteristics and skin color that benefit dominant racial groups (Andersen & Collins, 2013a; Bell, 2007). Furthermore, racial categories are fluid rather than fixed and structured to reflect the social, historical, and political landscape (Andersen & Collins, 2013a). Racial categories dictate where "people live, who we marry, how much we earn, who represents us in government, how we are portrayed in the media, how much wealth we accumulate and pass on to our children, and other factors that affect life opportunities…" (Bell, 2007, p. 118). In addition, racial categories shape who society perceives to be a criminal and who is not (Richardson, 2015). Bernasconi (2014) argued that there is an association between criminalization and racialization, which has led to justifiable acts of police violence against African American males. Clearly, the racial categories have produced a social hierarchy that benefits dominant racial groups while marginalizing people of color.

Tenet 6: Intersectionality

Another broad theme of CRT is that a person's race often intersects with other social identities, including class, gender, age, ability, sexual orientation and so forth, and further shapes their realities (Andersen & Collins, 2013b; Delgado & Stefancic, 2006). Crenshaw (1998) coined the relationship between social identities as the theory of intersectionality; theory of intersectionality states that our social identities are interconnected and influences people's outcomes with systems of inequality (Andersen & Collins, 2013b; Hardiman, Jackson & Griffin, 2007). Intersectionality holds that the various forms of privilege and oppression do not act

independent of each other, but belong to one overarching system; they interact to create a matrix of domination, which makes it difficult to examine one social identity without considering its connection to another (Andersen & Collins, 2013b).

Specifically for African American males, some researchers (Cornileus, 2012; Mooradian, 2010; Western & Pettit, 2010) have found that when other social identities compound with their racial identity, it affects their lives in ways that are different then just being African American. For example, while examining the influence of race and gender on the career development of African American professional men in corporate America, Cornileus (2012) found that this group contended with gendered racism; specifically, employers stereotyped African American, overlooked them for promotions, and rarely recruited them for corporate positions. In another context, Lasala and Frierson (2012) explored the experiences of African American gay youth and their families and learned that their journeys were similar to European American youth. However, parents of the African American youth were concerned about the double stigma their children would face as being both African American and gay as well as fulfilling gendered roles as an African American male. In essence, African American males face a double stigma due to their gender and racial identities.

Tenet 7: Commitment to Social Justice

A final component of CRT is that there must be a commitment to social justice by eradicating the systems that sustain a racial hierarchy and subordination (Solorzano & Yosso, 2001). Engaging in social justice work can be liberating as people begin to challenge policies and practices and transform systems to create a democracy where every person has full and equal participation in society (Lewis, Arnold, House, & Toporek, 2003). For example, in response to the racially biased police incidents, many individuals have voiced their concerns in many ways.

Some people have protested (Goodman & Baker, 2014), organized town hall meetings (Curry, 2015), or "sounded off" on various social media outlets to create powerful platforms such as #BlackLivesMatter (Garza, 2014); these responses can be liberating and aid in deconstructing dominant messages about the onset of police misconduct.

Furthermore, social justice advocacy can be empowering to people of color and other marginalized populations (Solorzano & Yosso, 2001). Some scholars (Banks & Hughes, 2013; Espino, 2012; Ladson-Billings, 1998) contend that storytelling allows one to deconstruct the dominant ideology and to describe their authentic realities. In most of the recent police brutality cases, the people of color involved in these situations have been unable to tell their story because they die from the excessive force used by White police officers; thus, silencing their voices (Johnson et al., 2014; Kingkade, 2014). Most often, their families and friends must give an account regarding the character of the decease to counteract narratives that depict victims as delinquents (Briscoe & Williams-Harris, 2015). For example, after the death of Eric Garner, his widow, Esaw, told a group of protesters:

> My husband was a quiet man but he's making a lot of noise right now. His voice will be heard. We are all fighting …we need to make it strong and I just want to hear everybody in unison say 'I can't breathe. They took my breath away (Roberts & Short, 2014, para.14).

Additionally, eyewitnesses to these racialized phenomena are able to counteract the master narratives through personal recordings of these events or through interviews conducted by media, thus making it harder for police to conceal the truth (Coleman, 2014).

In sum, racism manifests in different ways and ideologies of color-blindness, meritocracy, interest convergence aid in masking and maintaining this system of advantage and

disadvantage. Racism is a divisive element causing tension between African Americans and White Americans; however, this system of inequality has had deleterious effects on other racial groups, including Native Americans, Mexicans, Chinese, Puerto Ricans, and South Asians in unique ways (Bell, 2007; Bell, Joshi, et al., 2007; Harris, 1995). Although, periods in history such as the Civil Rights Movement and its passed legislation that represent progress for African Americans, racial practices are still pervasive as African Americans are still dealing with the aftermath of Jim Crow laws and segregation economically, socially, politically, psychologically, physiologically, and emotionally (Alexander, 2012; Bell et al., 2010; Warde, 2012). Furthermore, while the various consequences of racism for African Americans have been illuminated across the literature, few researchers have offered information about the role of race in African American male college students' encounters with law enforcement on and off campus. To help African American males achieve equity and equality in society, researchers must continuing exploring this population's experiences with various entities in society to identify ideologies and systems that aid in their success or propose barriers.

Psychological and Emotional Consequences of Racism

Scholars have made several key claims regarding the psychological, physiological, and emotional effects of racism (Carter, 2007; Freire, 2000, Jernigan et al., 2015; Tatum, 2010). Some researchers (Freire, 2000; Tatum, 2010) have explored the psychological consequences of racism by focusing on internalized oppression. According to Tatum (2010), internalized oppression is a frequent process that occurs when people of color accept the stereotypical messages and images produced about their group. Bell (2007) described this condition as internalized subordination. For disadvantaged groups, internalized subordination onsets when they begin to think, feel, and act in ways that reinforce their oppressive positions and do not

advocate for change (Bell, 2007; Hardiman et al., 2007). Unfortunately, for culturally marginalized populations, internalizing stereotypical messages can perpetuate feelings of hurt, inferiority, and self-hate.

While some scholars (Bell, 2007, Tatum, 2010) have pointed out the implications of internalized oppression, Freire (2000) focused on how marginalized populations could counteract this phenomenon. Freire (2000) claimed that oppressed populations must change the way they internalize the world of oppression; the oppressed must engage in the process of conscientization where they become critically conscious of their positions and structures that entrap oppression, begin to fight for their own liberation, and challenge the status quo (Freire, 2000). Although many African Americans have engaged in the transformation of their own liberty since the Civil Rights Movement, many chose to remain silent regarding social issues as means of survival and to avoid losing economic and physical security (Bell, 2007).

In other discussions on the consequences of racism, some researchers maintain that it causes stress (Carter, 2007; Carter & Sant-Barket, 2015; Jernigan et al., 2015). Jernigan and colleagues (2015) alleged that the recent police killings of African Americans might cause racial traumatic stress and produce "fear and hypervigilance, headaches, insomnia, body aches, memory difficult, self-blame, confusion, and shame" (p. 1). Carter (2007) argued that race-based traumatic stress onsets when people of color have a series of racial discrimination encounters, which can adversely affect their emotional and physiological well-being. In addition, Carter (2007) mentioned that traumatic encounters with racism are often very painful; thus, many people of color work hard psychologically to avoid the memory and pain that they feel. Smith, Hung, and Franklin (2011) discussed another type of race-related stress, mundane extreme environmental stress (MEES) after studying the experiences of 40 African American males from

different educational backgrounds who endured racial micro aggressions. From Smith et al. (2011) research, they learned that African American males across the educational categories experience MEES; however, the MEES levels were higher as African American men moved up the educational pipeline.

The effects of racism are multidimensional in that it adversely impacts people of color systemically, emotionally, psychologically, and physiologically (Hardiman et al., 2007; Jernigan et al., 2015). Although many people of color have dealt with this system of oppression in unique ways, African Americans contend with racism even in settings that are intended to foster upward mobility (e.g., educational settings, job, etc.); thus, no African American is exempt from experiencing this phenomenon (Smith et al., 2011). Consequentially, cumulative and diverse experiences with racism tend to leave people of color with open wounds that are hard to heal. For example, Sue, Nadal, Capodilupo, Lin, Torino, and Rivera (2008) examined 13 African American men and women encounters with racism and found that these occurrences produced feelings of "anger, doubt, guilt, or sadness" and these feelings remained with them for long periods of time (p.336). Similarly, Swim and colleagues (2003) surveyed 50 African American males and females encounters with racism and learned that these incidents had a significant emotional impact on them with anger being a predominant response. While we know that there are many psychological stressors of racism for African Americans, scholars have yet to investigate African American college males' psychological responses after encountering law enforcement on and off campus. Scholars and activists interested in eradicating racism must continue analyzing and drawing attention to this form of oppression and examining the systems that maintain it to foster change (Carter, 2007).

Criminal Justice System, Racism, and African Americans

Many scholars have classified the criminal justice system as one of the most powerful institutions adversely affecting African Americans (Barak, 2004; Hurtwitz & Peffley, 2005; Sanchez & Rosenbaum, 2011). The criminal justice system is composed of five functional areas -- law enforcement, prosecution, defense attorneys, courts, and corrections (National Center for Crime and Victims, 2008). Essentially, this system is a cultural agent responsible for defining crime and classifying criminals (Barak, 2004; Bernasconi, 2014). Similar to race, crime and the criminal are fluid terms that reflect the current social, political, and economic conditions of society. Unconscious racial bias and explicit discrimination are intricately woven into every fabric of the criminal justice system and manifests in the forms of racial profiling (Meehan & Ponder, 2002), sentencing (Mooradian, 2010), disproportionate minority incarceration (Roberts, 2004; Warde, 2012), access to adequate legal representation, and parole (Bell, Joshi, et al., 2007).

The criminal justice system criminalizes African Americans; in particular, African American males are categorized as threatening, suspicious, and delinquent (Bernasconi, 2014; Richardson, 2015). Goode (2013) reported that although the incarceration rates of African Americans males have declined, the criminal justice system is more likely to incarcerate African American males seven times more than White American males. Warde (2012) found in his comparative analysis of criminal justice systems across the USA, Canada, and England that each system incarcerated more African Americans than other racial groups. When Dottolo and Stewart (2008) examined 16 (nine females and seven males) middle-aged African American and 22 (12 females and 10 males) European American high school graduates' encounters with the police, they discovered that African American males and females mentioned more discriminatory experiences with law enforcement than European Americans. Whereas Meehan and Ponder

(2002) investigated racial profiling from an ecological framework by riding along with patrol officers and discovered that law enforcement surveilled and stopped more African Americans in White American suburban neighborhoods versus African American urban areas. In fact, this study was unique in that it drew attention to the relationship between racial profiling and place and provided evidence that racial profiling is not limited to communities categorized as disadvantaged, but can occur in other settings. These studies illuminate the unfairness and inequalities that manifests within the criminal justice system; unfortunately, these outcomes are not specific to African American adults as the criminal justice system mistreats youth.

Racial bias within the criminal justice system is a factor commonly cited as a reason for the overrepresentation of youth of color (Armour & Hammond, 2010; Bell, 2007a). Specifically, American and Latino youth are at greater risk of being incarcerated in comparison to European American youth for the same offenses (Hurst, 2000). In this same regard, Mooradian (2010) concluded from this study that although African American youth only make up 15% of the United States population, they are more likely to be arrested (26%), processed by juvenile courts (32%), and to have cases sent to adult criminal courts (46%).

Other scholars have suggested that race is not the only factor that influences how the criminal justice system interacts and responds to African Americans (Barak, 2004; Western & Pettit, 2010). More specifically, socioeconomic status (Barak; Dottolo & Stewart, 2008), gender (Langton & Durose, 2011; Warde, 2012) and educational attainment (Western & Pettit) are being considered as factors that shape people's outcomes with the criminal justice system. In sum, all of the aforementioned studies support critical race theory in that: (a) they illuminate that racism is real for African Americans and manifests systemically (e.g., corrections and law enforcement); (b) the social construction of African Americans as criminals and subordinate has resulted in

them being targeted by the criminal justice system and disproportionately confined; and (c) the concept of intersectionality demonstrates that race coupled with other social identities influences one's experience with the criminal justice system.

This brief analysis of race and the criminal justice system gives credence to how inequalities and biases permeate the subsystems to produce various outcomes. For populations contending with multidimensional disadvantages, the outcomes have varied; however, African Americans overwhelmingly contend with corruption, brutality, and racial profiling more than other racial groups (Comfort, 2012; Dottolo & Stewart, 2008; Langton & Durose, 2011; Roberts, 2004; Western & Pettit, 2010). Holistically, the current criminal justice system has roused society to question the structure and application of laws and policies (Anderson, 2014; Taylor, 2014).

The high-profile police killings of African American men have dominated mass media's headlines and prompted the public to focus on law enforcement reform (Anderson, 2014; Cohn, 2015; Gordon, 2015). After the grand jury declined to file criminal charges against the police officers involved in the Eric Garner and Michael Brown cases, people of color began to question the investigations and reviews of police officers and departments involved in these cases (Katz, 2015). Although the central focus of this discussion is on African American college males' perceptions and experiences with police, it is imperative to explore the entire criminal justice system to comprehend the magnitude of racially biased policing. There are several mechanisms in place to protect citizens against police mistreatment; however, they have been ineffective in addressing these issues at the organizational level (Rushin, 2015). The combination of individual racial biases coupled with institutionalized patterns of racial discrimination adversely effects African American communities' interactions with the criminal justice system. The

following section will expound on these implications by unpacking how race and racism influences perceptions and experiences with law enforcement.

Race, Perceptions, and Experiences with Law Enforcement

The police are a component of the criminal justice system that enforces statutes and safeguards communities at the state level. Given their personal involvement with the community and power to control a person's outcome with the criminal justice system, numerous studies have examined the public's perception of the police (Bell et al., 2014; Hurst et al., 2000; Langton & Durose, 2013; Shuck, Rosenbaum, & Hawkins, 2008; Warren, 2011; Wu, Sun, & Triplett, 2009). Recently, the sequence of racially biased incidents with the police and inability to indict police officers involved in these cases has galvanized interests in analyzing public opinion of these incidents (Anderson, 2014; Chumley, 2015; Cohn, 2015; Goodman & Baker, 2014; Rushin, 2015; Taylor, 2014). In an image presented in an *Atlanta Black Star* article, a college student is seen a holding a sign "I am a scholar, not a criminal" (Gordon, 2015, p. 1). This statement is one of many by the public regarding police brutality and aids in unveiling how this phenomenon has affected people. However, few to little people have initiated empirically based studies to understand the impact of recent racialized police incidents on people of color.

Across the literature, scholars have claimed race is a key predictor shaping citizens' attitudes about police (Bell et al., 2014; Birzer & Smith-Madhi, 2006; Brunson & Gau, 2015; Chaney & Robertson, 2013; Langton & Durose, 2013; Wu et al., 2009). In comparison to European Americans and Latinos, researchers have consistently concluded that African Americans tend to have unfavorable views about law enforcement (Bell et al., 2014; Langton & Durose; Warren, 2011). However, few works have focused on African American college students' perceptions of law enforcement.

One claim supporting the notion that African Americans are generally more dissatisfied with the police is that this group perceives most police encounters to be illegitimate (Brunson, 2007; Langton & Durose, 2013; Shuck et al., 2008). Researchers have concluded that most people of color believe that they will be racially profiled (Bell et al., 2014); surveilled and stopped while driving (Langton & Durose); harassed; or arrested by law enforcement without probable cause (Shuck et al.). For example, Shuck, Rosenbaum, and Hawkins (2008) investigated the influence of race, social class, and neighborhood context on citizens' attitudes regarding police on the following domains: fear of police, police services, and police misconduct. Of the 168 European Americans, 162 Hispanics, and 131 African Americans surveyed in this study, African Americans and Hispanics perceived that the police used more aggressive control strategies in economically disadvantaged communities in comparison to advantaged neighborhoods which has led them to fear law enforcement; approximately, 67.2% African Americans feared police in comparison to 12.6% European Americans.

A second assumption undergirding African Americans' negative attitudes of police is that this group believes law enforcement and other social institutions cannot be trusted (Bernasconi, 2014; Sanchez & Rosenbaum, 2011; Warren, 2011). While exploring the history of law enforcement cases involving misconduct and violence against African Americans (e.g., Fred Hampton, 1969; Mark Clain, 1969; Amadou Diallo, 1999; Jamaal Taylor, 2012) in the United States, some researchers have concluded that a large number of these cases are uninvestigated and police often lack adequate resources to conduct proper investigations; thus, leading people of color to believe this system is unjust and unfair (Bernasconi, 2014; Taylor, 2015). Sanchez and Rosenbaum (2011) examined 40 police officers' (16 Hispanics, 15 White, 9 African Americans) perceptions of culturally marginalized communities that they patrolled to give a different

perspective regarding the relationship between the two groups; the researchers reported that even when officers do not exercise excessive force in African American and Latino neighborhoods, African Americans, in particular, still have pessimistic attitudes toward police. Unfortunately, the long history of negative encounters and learned messages about law enforcement may contribute to these views. Similarly, Warren (2011), examined how vicarious experiences and attitudes toward other social institutions (e.g., education, housing, etc.) influenced trust with police for 353 African American and 277 European American North Carolina drivers. Warren (2011) alleged that African Americans, who had more traffic stops and reported more incidents of disrespectful encounters with police, were less likely to trust police; however, both African Americans and European Americans had neutral opinions regarding social institutions.

Lastly, some researchers have reported that African Americans perceive that police use force that is more excessive with their group than with other racial groups (Brunson, 2007; Langton & Durose, 2013; Warren, 2011). Most often, researchers use surveys to gauge the public's opinion of the police. Specifically, the Pew Research Center (2013) surveyed 1,471 European Americans, 376 African Americans, and 218 Hispanics while Langton and Durose (2013) surveyed 1,899, 202 European Americans, 1,085,620 Hispanics, 1,012,560, African Americans, 124, 069 Asian/Native Hawaiian/Pacific Islander, 582, 997 American Indian/Alaskan Native, and 217, 923 other racial groups using the Public-Police Contact Survey. Both studies concluded that African Americans felt that police treated them unfairly and used excessive force (Langton & Durose, 2013; Pew Research Center, 2013). In sum, these findings support previous claims in the literature that African Americans are categorized as criminals which increases their likelihood of encountering police (Bernasconi, 2014; Richardson, 2015)

and CRT in that racism is a normal part of the African American experience (Delgado & Stefancic, 2006).

Researchers have also examined how social variables and environmental conditions shape perception of police (Brunson, 2007; Shuck et al., 2008; Weitzer & Tuch, 2004; Wu et al., 2009). Specifically, researchers have examined the interplay of race with other factors, namely class, gender, and community context, on attitudes toward the police (Schuck, et al.; Wu et al.). Wu, Sun, and Triplett (2009) measured the impact of race and class on citizens' opinions of police in various neighborhoods by surveying 1,963 African Americans and European Americans in 29 racially-mixed, 19 European American, and 18 African American communities that identified as lower or middle class; the researchers did not provide an exact number of race and class demographics, which limits understanding of how these variables intersected and influenced perception. However, Wu and colleagues (2009) concluded that African Americans living in economically advantaged neighborhoods had less favorable attitudes toward the police in comparison to their European American neighbors whereas both African Americans and European Americans from disadvantaged communities had negative views of the police. Similarly, Shuck et al. (2008) investigated satisfaction with police by examining differences across race, socioeconomic status, and neighborhood context with 168 European Americans, 131 African Americans, and 162 Hispanics. Of these participants, 31% identified as middle class while 69% were lower class. The researchers found that middle class African Americans had more positive attitudes toward the police than non-middle class African Americans; however, middle-class African Americans living in socioeconomically disadvantaged neighborhoods had more negative perceptions of police than middle-class African Americans residing in advantaged neighborhoods (Shuck et al.). These studies have aided in supporting CRT's tenet that race often

intersects with other social identities to affect one's experience with oppression; however, these findings also elucidate a gap in the literature in that few studies have examined the role of environmental context in shaping citizens' perceptions of the police and even less attention has been given to postsecondary settings and African American college males.

Direct Experiences

Scholars have researched citizens' direct experiences with the police and have concluded that race is a factor to consider while examining the public's opinion of the police (Birzer & Smith-Madhi, 2006; Brunson, 2007; Weitzer & Tuch, 2004). Direct experiences are those voluntary (i.e., citizen initiated) or involuntary (i.e., traffic or street stop) [Langton & Durose, 2013] contacts with the police that tend to frame the public's perception. For example, Brunson (2007) explored how vicarious and direct encounters with police harassment and violence influenced 40 African American at-risk males between the ages of 13 to 19 perceptions of police. As reported by Brunson (2007), 83% of the participants experienced harassment, 33% did not feel comfortable talking to police, 50% said the police are not polite, and 50% felt that the police harassed and mistreated people in their neighborhood. Whereas Birzer and Smith-Madhi (2006) explored 15, African American males and females who ranged in age from 18 to 65 lived realities with racism. While reflecting on law enforcement, these participants believed that the police did not understand the African American culture and that having gold teeth and dreadlocks or wearing urban clothing increased their chances of having an encounter with police. Clearly, age does not prevent one from having direct, involuntary contact with police, as police officers also mistreat young and old African Americans.

Involuntary Experiences

According to the literature, by far, the involuntary contacts and the type of behavior exuded during these encounters by police influence citizens' attitudes more than other factors (Birzer & Smith-Mahdi, 2006; Brunson, 2007; Hurst et al., 2000; Langton & Durose, 2013). As previously mentioned, Langton and Durose (2013) examined citizens ages 16 and older interactions with police using the Police-Public Contact Survey and found that most African Americans, White Americans, and Hispanics perceived that the police behaved improperly when officers physically searched or frisked them and when force was used. Specifically, when police officers did not search or frisk these groups, 77% believed that the police behaved properly; however, this percentage decreased to 54% when these populations were searched/frisked (Langton & Durose). Furthermore, Langton and Durose (2013) discovered that the perception gap widened when considering actual force; when police officers refrained from using force during citizens' encounters, the perception rating was 85% in comparison to 30% when they used force. Along the same lines, Brunson (2007) discovered in his qualitative analysis of the cumulative impact of police encounters on 40 at-risk and delinquent African American males that officers sought them out; during these interactions, the youth, who were between the ages of 13 to 19, stated that the police officers were threatening, combative, and hostile. Therefore, involuntary police contact coupled with the type of police behavior appears to be strong predictors of perception.

Vicarious Experiences

Several researchers have asserted that vicarious experiences are also predictors of attitudes toward the police (Brunson, 2007; Warren, 2011; Weitzer & Tuch, 2004). According to the literature, vicarious experiences are those indirect contacts with the police that people hear

about from others (i.e., family, friends, and media) that may be internalized and projected during one's future encounter with the police (Warren, 2011; Weitzer & Tuch, 2004). For example, in the study examining the influence of vicarious experiences and trust of social institutions with 353 African Americans and 277 White Americans, Warren (2011) found that African Americans (12%) were twice as likely to hear negative stories about the police in comparison to White Americans (6%). Inevitably, both African Americans and White Americans were less likely to respect the police after hearing negative stories about police behavior. Hearing stories about police brutality from family and friends are powerful in shaping citizens' perceptions of police; however, the media is also a formidable system influencing perceptions.

Media Experiences

The media is a social institution that informs and shapes how people perceive different groups in society (Bell, 2007; Johnson et al., 2014; Mbuba 2010). More concretely, as it relates to law enforcement, media are at the forefront in reporting cases of police misconduct and exercise control in how they communicate these stories to the broader community. Consequentially, the media related stories reify stereotypes about groups of color claimed by mainstream society (Bell; Bernasconi, 2014). In particular, many scholars have criticized the media for depictions of African Americans as criminals (Bell; Bernasconi). Positioning Blacks as criminals is indicative of how whiteness works in that there is a presumed innocence associated with identifying as White, while groups of color are regarded as delinquent (Harris, 1993, 1995). Paradoxically, scholars have also claimed that police officers are scrutinized by media as they are represented in inhumane and unrealistic ways (Johnson et al.); thus, potentially damaging their image and influencing how they are perceived by members of society.

Overall, most researchers have concluded that African Americans report more dissatisfaction with law enforcement in comparison to other racial and ethnic groups across all types of interactions (Birzer & Smith-Madhi, 2006; Brunson, 2007; Warren, 2011). However, many of these studies viewed this topic by exploring the influence of race, class, and neighborhood context while giving minimum attention to the role of education on perception. Of the few studies that have integrated education into the conversation, the findings have been inconsistent (Shuck et al., 2008; Warren, 2011; Wu et al., 2009). For example, Warren (2011) found that education did not influence attitudes toward police whereas Shuck et al. (2008) found educational attainment to be a contributing factor. To elaborate, Shuck et al. (2008) reported that people with more education tend to have more positive views of the police in comparison to those with little to no education; however, participants' attitudes became less positive when considering policing in disadvantaged communities (Shuck et al., 2008). Although, these studies have provided some understanding of the role of education in shaping attitudes toward the police, overall there is limited information in the literature that extends beyond disadvantaged communities to investigate more "privileged" communities such as college-aged populations. Scholars have silenced African American college males' voices by excluding their stories and experiences from the literature. Critical race theorists will posit that ignoring the voices of marginalized communities is symbolic of oppression and perpetuates the dominant paradigm (Delgado & Stefancic, 2006; Espino, 2012). Marginalized populations, such as African American college males, must counter dominant messages by telling their own story, which may unveil how different entities on campus simultaneously privilege and oppressed them (Bell, 2010, Esposito, 2011).

African American College Males: Experiences with Racism, Police, and Police Brutality

The African American experience is deeply rooted in social, economic, political, cultural, and systemic inequalities. These issues have transcended to African American college students that seek to advance personally, professionally, and financially (Cureton, 2003; McCabe, 2009). Unfortunately, many young, bright, African American college students must confront ingrained inequities on college campuses (Hardwood et al., 2012; Harper et al., 2009; Smith et al., 2011). Scholars have consistently reported that African American college students must battle with overt and covert forms of racism in the campus environment while contending with other social stressors (Cureton, 2003; Hardwood et al., 2012; McCabe, 2009; Smith et al., 2007; Smith et al., 2011). For example, Smith and colleagues (2007) explored the experiences of 36 African American males at predominately-White institutions and discovered that these males felt they were illegitimate members of the campus community, subjected to hyper surveillance, and controlled by community police strategies; in addition, the males indicated that they experienced racial microaggressions in academic, social, and public spaces on campus. Likewise, Solorzano, Yosso, and Ceja (2000) examined 18 African American females and 16 males' experiences with racial microaggressions at predominately-White institutions and learned that this group also encountered racism in academic and social spaces. Researchers have explored African American college males' experiences on campus from a broad perspective, but rarely focus exclusively on their lived realities with campus police and local law enforcement (Hardwood, et al.; McCabe; Smith et al., 2007; Smith et al., 2011; Solorzano et al., 2000; Tuitt & Carter, 2008) which may be a growing area of interest after the national wave of racialized police incidents.

This study will add to previous work by taking a critical race theory approach to unpack African American males' perceptions and experiences with law enforcement on and off campus.

Critical race theory will aid in illuminating the individual, cultural, and structural systems of oppression in law enforcement on and off campus that ostracize African American males; in addition critical race theory will offer a transformative lens to dismantle inequalities that may exist while empowering African American college males who participate in the study.

African American College Males Experiences with Racism

Some researchers have explored African American college males' experiences with racism by examining the campus racial climate (Johnson-Ahorlu, 2012, 2013; Strayhorn, 2013; Reid & Radhakrishan, 2003). Specifically, Strayhorn (2013) investigated 274 White American and 117 African American undergraduate students' views of the campus climate utilizing the College Student Success Questionnaire. Strayhorn (2013) reported that more African American (31%) students expected to encounter racism than White American (14%) students did; in addition, African American students that perceived the campus climate to be cold and uncaring had higher intentions of leaving the campus in comparison to their peers who found the environment warm and caring. Likewise, Johnson-Ahorlu (2012) investigated the campus racial climate by focusing on how racism and stereotypes adversely impacted ten African American females and seven males at a minority-serving institution academic learning and success through interviews; the researcher concluded that in academic spaces, participants were categorized as intellectually inferior and experienced racial hostility from faculty which led students to feel insecure about their academic abilities. Both Strayhorn (2013) and Johnson-Ahorlu (2012) described the inequitable treatment of African American undergraduates on campus; however, they did not provide an analysis of differences across gender, which limits understanding of each group's individualized outcomes in these spaces. Examining experiences with racism across

gender may help higher education professionals to understand why college matriculation, persistence, and graduation gaps exist between African American females and males.

Previous research has examined how racism adversely influences African American college males' academic trajectory by investigating the general campus climate (Cureton, 2003; Reid & Radhakrishan, 2003). Specifically, Cureton (2003) surveyed a total of 126 African Americans and 115 White American students at a predominately-White institution to understand how racially exclusively social circumstances influenced each racial group's academic experience. Cureton (2003) found that both racial groups encountered adverse situations in the university setting that impeded upon their academic success and felt that professors did not value their opinion nor cared if they learned. Similarly, Reid and Radhakrishan (2003) examined 671 White American (371 men and 354 women), 358 Asian American (204 women and 154 men), 212 Latino (118 women and 94 men), and 182 African American (99 women and 83 men) undergraduate and graduate students' perceptions of the academic, racial, and general campus climate at a predominately-White institution utilizing the General Campus Climate Survey. However, contrary to Cureton (2003), these researchers found that African American students were more likely to have negative experiences in the classroom compared to the other racial groups. African American students reported that peers and instructors did not perceive them to be serious students -- the instructors, in particular, were less likely to advise and mentor them compared to their White peers (Reid & Radhakrishan, 2003). Paradoxically, other conditions such as college preparation (Buchmann and DiPrete 2006; U.S. Department of Education Office of Civil Rights, 2012); parental involvement and support (Journal of Blacks in Higher Education, 2010); and finances (DiPrete & Buchmann, 2013; Journal of Blacks in Higher Education) have been found to influence African American college males' matriculation, retention, progression.

Specifically, African American college males that are not academically prepared for college, whose parents are less informed, and who have limited financial support typically have a difficult time enrolling and staying in college (DiPrete & Buchmann, 2013, Journal of Blacks in Higher Education, 2010). Hence, there are varieties of factors that influence African American college males' academic success, including micro aggressions.

Researchers have also investigated racism by focusing on African American college males' occurrences with racial microaggressions (Hardwood et al., 2012; McCabe, 2009; Smith et al., 2011). For example, Hardwood, Huntt, Mendenhall, and Lewis (2012), investigated undergraduate and graduate students of color, including 36 African American (22 women and 14 men), 24 Latino (14 women and 10 men), 20 Asian American (12 men and 8 women), and 1 Native American (a man) experiences with racial microaggressions in residence halls at a predominately-White institution. Hardwood et al., (2012) pointed out that residence life staff criminalized students of color and forced them to take off book bags before entering the cafeteria, but did not subject White students to the same treatment. Moreover, in this study, Hardwood and colleagues (2012) reported that the students of color saw racial slurs in the residence hall in addition to hearing derogatory comments and racial jokes from White roommates and peers. Unfortunately, racism manifests in multiple ways in collegiate settings and can perpetuate psychological distress for many culturally marginalized populations.

Existing literature on African American college students' experiences with racism has illuminated the psychological and emotional costs associated with this phenomenon (Chao, Longo, Wang, Dasgupta, & Fear, 2014; McCabe, 2009; Smith et al., 2007; Smith et al., 2011; Tovar-Murray, Jenifer, Andrusyk, Angelo & King, 2012). Chao, Longo, Wang, Dasgupta, and Fear (2014) examined how perceived racism influenced self-esteem, shyness, and psychological

distress among 394 African American (212 women and 177 men) undergraduate and graduate students; the authors concluded that students with higher perceived racism were more susceptible to lower self-esteem, shyness, and psychological distress in comparison to peers with lower perceived racism. Tovar-Murray, Jenifer, Andrusyk, D'Angelo, and King (2012) investigated how race related stress and ethnic identity predict career aspirations with 83 African American female and 80 male college students at a predominately- White institution. Tovar-Murray and colleagues (2012) found that experiences with racism detracted African American students with low identity development from their career aspirations and produced racism-related stress. Whereas Swim, Hyers, Cohen, Fitzgerald, and Bylsma (2003) explored 27 African American females and 24 males everyday realities with racism at a predominately-White institution utilizing both qualitative and quantitative methods and reported that these students felt less comfortable and more threatened during racist events. These studies draw attention to how racism not only produces physical danger, but also perpetuates psychological harm.

Although majority of these studies have examined this phenomenon within the context of predominately-White institutions, the majority of the conclusions have been similar in that: (a) African American college males have less positive views about the campus racial climate in comparison to their White peers and (b) African American college males are subjected to racial prejudice and discrimination in the classroom (McCabe, 2009), residence halls (Hardwood et al., 2012) and with campus police (Smith et al., 2007). Researchers focused on the higher education setting have linked perception of the campus racial climate to student progression and retention; thus, African American college males' experiences with racism must be examined to help them avoid mental distress, failure, and premature departure from the university setting (Cureton, 2003; McCabe; Smith et al.; Strayhorn, 2013). While racism is not the major focus of this study,

previous research has implied that racism is one possible predictor of police brutality (Brunson, 2007; Richardson, 2015). These findings have created a need to determine if racism has any effect on campus police and local law enforcement's interactions with African American college males.

For many members of society, higher education presents the opportunity to achieve full and equal participation in society. However, despite popular belief, colleges and universities are not exempt from racism as African American college males report experiencing racial discrimination in classroom and social spaces (Chao et al., 2014; McCabe, 2009; Reid & Radhakrishan, 2003). Consequentially, for African American college males, racism impinges upon their rights as students and creates barriers as they progressed toward college completion (Cureton, 2003). Further investigation is needed to analyze the role of race and racism in African American college males' encounters with campus law and local law enforcement; outside of the college campus context, race has been found to influence citizens' attitudes (Anderson, 2014) toward the police and a factor that influences police interactions with citizens (Warren, 2011). Hence, African American college males may experience similar problems with police organizations on and off campus.

African American College Males Experiences with Campus Police & Local Law Enforcement

Within the context of higher education, policing research is limited. Previous research examining campus police and students has focused on students' perceptions of the legitimacy of campus police officers (Jacobsen 2015); students' willingness to report violent behavior to campus police (Hollister et al., 2014); students' satisfaction with police (Cureton, 2003; Griffith, et al., 2004); students' race and gender on police traffic enforcement actions (Moon & Corley,

2007); and campus police's alcohol enforcement practices (Creemens et al., 2011; Toomey et al., 2011). Of the few studies that included African American participants, it was evident that this population was subjective to prejudice and racial discrimination (Moon & Corley, 2007; Vinciguerra & Magane, 2011); however, in some studies it was difficult to comprehend their experiences because the population was grouped with others (e.g., African American females, Hispanics, and European Americans) which limited understanding their individualized realities (Cureton, 2003; Griffith et al., 2004; Mbuba, 2010).

For example, Moon and Corley (2007) explored how student drivers' race and gender influenced campus officers decision to stop, search, and sanction by analyzing 10, 210 traffic stops on a large predominately-White institution; the researchers found African American males, who made up 8% of the student population, were more likely to be searched in comparison to White American (83% of student population), Hispanic (5% of student population), and Asian/Pacific Islander (3% of drivers) students; however, African American male drivers were less likely to receive a legal sanction in comparison to Asian American drivers. Whereas Griffith, Hueston, Wilson, Moyers, and Hart (2004) investigated 557 college students satisfaction with campus police services at a mid-sized institution in which 82% were White, 12% were Hispanic, 2% Asian/Pacific Islander, 2% African American, 2% other and 70% female and 30% male. Griffith and researchers (2004) found it difficult to analyze students' satisfaction levels across race due to the small number of students of color that participated in the study; however, concluded that females had more positive views than males in that they believed police were more concern, knowledgeable, able to solve problems, helpful, and fair. Consistent with previous studies on African American citizens' interactions with law enforcement, there are instances in which African American college males have been victims of police misconduct

(Brunson, 2007; Langton & Durose, 2011; Warren, 2011). To examine accurately the magnitude of African American college males' experiences with law enforcement on and off campus, it is imperative to review the conclusions drawn by other researchers.

One particular study conducted by Mbuba (2010) examined attitudes toward the police while considering race and other factors including educational attainment, gender, prior police encounter, and academic major with 365 students (86 % White students and 14% students of color [i.e., African American, Asian American, Hispanic, and non-White racial groups] at a mid-sized institution in the mid-west . In this study, Mbuba (2010) found that race was the most important predictor of attitudes. Both students of color and White students felt that the police provided an important service to the community; however, the students of color reported experiencing more negative police encounters than the White students. Furthermore, this study revealed significant differences across gender in that the males were more likely to perceive the police as corrupt in comparison to females. In essence, this particular study illuminated that educational attainment does not prevent one from thinking negatively about the police.

To this date, only one researcher has examined students' perception of campus police officers and local police; this study will build upon this research (Wada et al., 2010). Specifically, Wada, Patten, and Cadela (2010) examined 593 college students' legitimacy of campus police compared to municipal police at an institution in the Pacific Northwest utilizing a survey. Of the participants in this study, 80.9% were European American, 7.4% racially mixed, 5.2% Asian American, 2.9% Hispanic, 1.9% African American, and 1.7% Native American. Wada et al. (2010) concluded that students felt municipal police were more legitimate than campus police were and that the non-White students had less favorable views of campus and municipal police. Similar to previous studies (Cureton, 2003; Griffith et al., 2004), differences

across specific racial groups were not analyzed as African American male and female students were grouped with others.

Regrettably, all of the aforementioned studies provide a limited perspective on campus policing and systemic racism and police brutality in that: (a) majority of the participants in these studies were White American which excludes the voices and experiences of students of color (Griffith et al., 2004; Mbuba, 2010; Wada et al., 2010); (b) other variables such as age and gender framed the studies (Hollister et al., 2014; Vinciguerra & Magane, 2011); and (c) African American males and females were grouped together; thus disregarding how race intersects with gender and other social identities to influence one's realities. In conclusion, research regarding African American college males' experiences with campus police and local law enforcement is rare. Given the national trends on police brutality, researchers must investigate these areas to understand the magnitude of this phenomenon. Critical race theorists would argue that focusing on the dominant ideology about campus and local law enforcement reinforces racism and dismisses the lived experiences of people of color. Marginalized populations need a platform to voice their stories. Sharing their realities through narratives can be empowering and could help these populations to counteract dominant messages (Bell, 2010; Espino, 2012). Furthermore, critical race scholars would posit that researchers must integrate theory of intersectionality into the conversation; people have multiple social identities that overlap and further affect their lived experiences with oppression and power (Delgado & Stefancic, 2006; Solorzano & Yosso, 2001). Although African American men and women history with oppression may be similar, each group has had different outcomes due to their racial, gender, and other social identities.

Chapter Summary

This chapter presented race and racism as critical factors negatively influencing African Americans experiences in education, labor market, health care, and criminal justice system. To augment claims that race and racism still matter in society, I integrated critical race theory into the paper and provided examples of present day forms of racism. In addition, the academic, psychological, and mental effects of racism were described while illuminating how racial bias and discrimination specifically affects African American college students.

The second section of the literature review focused on the criminal justice system and incidents of racism in its various sectors, including law enforcement, legal representation, court, and correction systems. Subsequently, law enforcement was discussed in greater detailed while drawing attention to studies that have investigated the public's attitudes towards police officers and factors that moderate their perceptions of the police. This section concluded by examining African American college males' experiences with campus police and local law enforcement. Although limited literature exists in this area, I aimed to provide a rationale that would support further investigation of African American college males' encounters with police organizations on and off campus.

Ultimately, the goal of this study is to provide insight on an area where few researchers have explored. In addition, provide African American males with a platform to name their realities with campus police and local law enforcement. The following section outlines the methodological process utilized in this study.

CHAPTER 3

METHODOLOGY

The purpose of this study is to explore African American college males' perceptions and experiences with campus police and local law enforcement utilizing a critical race theory paradigm. As gatekeepers of the criminal justice system, society expects police officers to uphold the law as well as to protect the welfare of the public. They operate in multiple jurisdictions including education, corporate, and other systems in unique ways (Holmes, 2000; Law Enforcement Agency, n.d.). Therefore, African American college males similar to other citizens are bound to have voluntary or involuntary encounters with law enforcement given their functions in various communities. For this study, I aim to uncover and describe the meaning that African American college males ascribe to their views and real-world experiences with police organizations; in addition, place race, gender, class, and other social identities at the center of this analysis to identify factors that may maintain oppression.

Unfortunately, across the literature, scholars have consistently argued that Black citizens are more likely to have unfavorable views of the police and unwarranted encounters due to racism (Chaney & Robertson, 2013), negative categorizations associated with Blackness (Bernasconi, 2014), and masculinity threat (Richardson, 2015). According to CRT, it is normal for racially marginalized populations, particularly Blacks, to experience racism on a daily basis at the micro, meso, and macro levels; racism is endemic and a permanent fixture in society that defines people of color lived realities (Bell, 2007; Solorzano & Yosso, 2001). Henceforth, it is likely that Blacks will have racist encounters in social systems, including law enforcement

(Chaney & Robertson, 2014; Richardson). Regrettably, few researchers have investigated Black college males' experiences with law enforcement on and off campus; in addition, there is little information in the literature exploring their opinions of this agency amid the wave of recent police misconduct cases involving Black citizens and police officers. Considering CRT, which questions racism in addition to the epistemologies and ontologies that legitimizes it, this study aims to highlight Black college males' stories regarding their encounters with police organizations while drawing attention to the social inequalities penetrating law enforcement (Solorzano & Yosso, 2001).

The following research questions guided the study:

1. How do African American college men perceive law enforcement on and off campus?
2. How does racism and other forms of subordination influence African American college experiences with campus police and local law enforcement?

This chapter presents the research approach, design, and methods utilized in this study. First, I give an overview of phenomenology and provide a rationale for using the research tradition for this study. Subsequently, I discuss the research process that includes a description of the sampling techniques, participants, data collection methods, and data analysis techniques. In addition, I describe the strategies of trustworthiness implemented to promote a rigorous and credible study. The chapter concludes with a positionality statement regarding my worldview, assumptions, and biases.

Phenomenology

Phenomenology, whose origins are rooted in philosophy and psychology, is a type of qualitative research tradition where the investigators seeks to establish the meaning or essences of a lived experience for participants (Creswell, 2014; Hays & Singh, 2012; Moustakas, 1994;

Siedman, 2013). Drawing on the work of Husserl (2012) and Moustakas (1994), there are several facets to consider regarding this strategy of inquiry. First, phenomenology aligns predominately with a constructivist theoretical orientation whose epistemology posits that multiple possible truths exist and that knowledge is subjective and constructed through language (Gergen, Lightfoot & Sydow, 2004; Hansen, 2014). Secondly, phenomenology focuses on individuals' lived experiences and how these phenomena appear in their consciousness (Creswell, 2014; Husserl, 2012; Merriam, 2009). Further, phenomenologist aim to explore and uncover what participants perceive and know about a natural order from their personal point of view as well as the collective meaning of the phenomenon (Creswell; Hays & Wood, 2011; Husserl; Moustakas; Yeh & Inman, 2007).

For this study, I used a phenomenological approach to analyze African American college males' attitudes and interactions with police organizations for multiple reasons. First, this approach allows the researcher to preserve participants' authentic views and voices; specifically, the researcher aims to maintain an objective stance by engaging in consciousness raising exercises on how previous literature and personal assumptions influence the investigation (Husserl, 2012; Moustakas, 1994). Moreover, Moustakas (1994) referred to this process as *epoche*, in which the researcher reduces their personal beliefs, biases, and understandings of the world and investigates phenomena from an open, fresh perspective. Generally, researchers bracket their assumptions and typically acknowledge them by maintaining a reflexive journal (Husserl; Yeh & Inman, 2007). From a CRT viewpoint, these strategies help to maintain the integrity of the study, mitigate the likelihood of master narratives influencing historically marginalized populations' stories, and empower culturally devalued groups who never felt

comfortable sharing their experiences (Delgado & Stefancic, 2006; Espino, 2012; Hays & Wood, 2011; Ponterotto, 2010; Solorzano & Yosso, 2001).

Another reason why phenomenology is a viable approach for working with marginalized populations is that the researcher can create lateral relationships with participants that promote collaboration during the research process (Hays & Woods, 2011). During most research inquiries, a hierarchical relationship often persists with the researcher positioned as the dominant person and the participant as the less dominant person (Hays & Singh, 2012). Thus, for racially disadvantaged populations, minimizing the power differential is vital as these populations experience subjugation in various personal relationships and contexts; having the same social status as the researcher can be liberating and empower them to voice their thoughts (Hardiman et al., 2007). Furthermore, when researchers provide a space for these populations to have power over their own affairs, it can aid in minimizing feelings of oppression and intellectual inferiority that they may endure in broader society.

Additionally, a phenomenology inquiry enriches the research process because this method focuses on analyzing how different groups within the same context experience or consciously think about a phenomenon. When researchers hone in on the individual and collective realities of the group, it provides a deeper understanding regarding phenomenon while illuminating similarities and nuances (Hays & Wood, 2011). The critical race scholar conducting a phenomenology study rejects the notion that people of the same cultural background have unitary experiences; CRT stands on the assumption that although a group of people may share similar characteristics, each individual person has other social identities that interlock to influence their outcomes in society (Delgado & Stefancic, 2006).

In sum, a phenomenological study is useful in obtaining richer and authentic information regarding how an individual or community perceives and experiences a phenomenon. However, Hays and Wood (2011) cautioned that when using this approach, the researcher must ensure that they select participants that actually have experienced the phenomenon. In addition, while using this research methodology, the researcher must remain conscious of their assumptions to avoid altering the natural data obtained from participants (Husserl, 2012).

Theoretical Framework

Building on the phenomenological framework, I integrated CRT as an additional lens to explore the systemic issues underpinning participants' attitudes and outcomes with campus police and local law enforcement. CRT enables a discourse on whiteness and liberal epistemologies of color-blindness and meritocracy; in addition, how these dominant ideologies have structured social, political, and economic outcomes for people of color (Love, 2013). Additionally, CRT engenders a social justice component that empowers racially marginalized groups to seek their truths through storytelling (Espino, 2012; Solorzano & Yosso, 2001). Although society considers education institutions as places that promotes equality, unfortunately, patterns of implicit and explicit bias manifests in these settings (Cureton, 2003; Harper et al., 2009; Ladson-Billings, 1998). Thus, the African American college males in this study were not exempt from encountering oppression, which is why it was imperative that they tell their stories. Participants' narratives offered an alternative perspective on the phenomena with campus police and local law enforcement as well as counteracted dominant ideologies reflecting White hegemony. Figure 1 represents the conceptual framework utilized in this study.

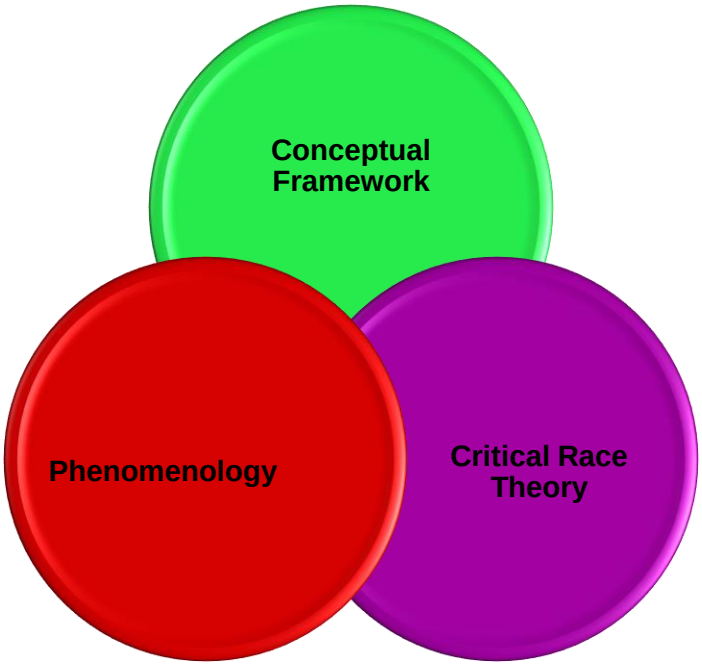


Figure 1. Diagram of Conceptual Framework

Procedure

Institutional Review Board

Prior to recruiting participants for this research study, I sought approval from the Institutional Review Board (IRB). The IRB consists of five individuals responsible for reviewing research proposals and ensuring that human subjects are protected (Creswell, 2014). Each IRB evaluates research studies for potential risks and harm against participants, and this is a required process for all researchers. While considering these expectations, I completed and submitted the IRB application after successfully defending my dissertation prospectus. After gaining approval from the IRB to move forward with the study, I started the participant recruitment process.

Participant Sampling

I used a purposeful sampling and a snowball sampling technique to identify participants for this study. In purposeful sampling, participants must have certain characteristics to

participate in the study (Johnson & Christensen, 2011). For this study, participants had to meet the following criteria: (a) identified as an African American male; (b) enrolled at a postsecondary institution; (c) attended an institution with a campus police organization; and (d) have had direct or indirect encounters with law enforcement on or off campus. In addition, given the sensitivity of this subject and concern about locating participants, I used a snowball sampling technique. The snowball sampling technique allowed the initial participants to recruit and nominate other individuals in their social networks to participate in the research study (Johnson & Christensen). Through the snowball sampling, I identified several potential participants and utilized them for this study.

Recruitment Techniques

Utilizing the aforementioned criteria, I sought eight to ten African American males enrolled at postsecondary institutions in the state of Georgia. To recruit participants, I created a professional database that included the names, phone numbers, and email addresses of higher education leaders working in the areas of diversity, multiculturalism, and social justice across the state of Georgia. In addition, I created a student database that included the names and email addresses of student organizations' presidents at colleges and universities within the University System of Georgia. Some of the organizations contacted were the National Pan-Hellenic Council (NPHC) fraternities, Student African American Brotherhood Associations (SAAB), and student chapters of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP). Members of these organizations are mainly comprised of African American students; thus, I deemed these organizations as valuable sources to identify and recruit participants for the study.

After creating these databases, I sent each group an email script and flyer regarding the study. Particularly, the email that I sent to the professionals (Appendix A) provided a general

overview of the study as well as a script that they could send directly to their students. To maintain confidentiality, this script included instructions for students to contact the primary investigator directly via phone or email if they were interested in the study. I also created a distinct email for the student organization leaders (Appendix B); this email included a summary of the study, but did not include a separate script for students. Both groups received the same flyer (Appendix C).

Most of the participants responded through email regarding their interests in this study. After requesting participants' phone numbers, I followed up via phone and provided supplemental information regarding the scope of the study, criteria, data collection procedures, and time commitment. Upon confirmation, I scheduled an interview time with each participant. Prior to the study, I sent each participant the following forms:

1. Informed Consent (Appendix D), a form that included a description of the study, participants' rights, and potential risks;
2. Photo Elicitation Release Form (Appendix E), a document explaining to participants how their photos will be used;
3. Interviewee Demographic Form (Appendix F), a form consisting of demographic information to ensure participants met criteria for study; and
4. Photo Elicitation Instruction Sheet (Appendix G), a document including guidelines on how to take photos.

Participants had the option of emailing or dropping the forms off to me prior to the interview, and participants had to complete all forms before the data collection process. Once I reached data saturation, I ended the participant recruitment process.

Participants

I recruited nine African American males from two postsecondary institutions in the state of Georgia to participate in this study. More specifically, seven participants attended a public university known as Hall University in this study. At Hall University, 63% of the student population identified as African American/Black, 22% White, 6% Asian, 4% Hispanic/Latino and 5% as two or more races and other; in addition, 69% females and 31% males attended the university. Two of the nine participants attended a predominately- White institution which was named Lee University for the purposes of this study. Lee University had the following racial student demographics: 63% White, 27% African American/Black, 5% Hispanic/Latino, and 5% as two or more races and other; in addition, 52% females and 48% males attended this university. Due to the limited research analyzing African American college males' opinions and encounters with various police groups, utilizing participants from diverse settings provided a broader view of the phenomena (Harper & Kuh, 2007). As an incentive for participating in the study, I gave each participant $10.00 after completing the interview and submitting their two photos.

Data Collection

There are various qualitative data collection processes, ranging from interviews, observations, and documents that a researcher can use to understand the meaning of a phenomenon for participants (Creswell, 2014; Merriam, 2009; Siedman, 2013). Most often, in qualitative inquiries, the researcher is the primary instrument of data collection (Merriam). As such, the researcher utilizes data collection strategies closely related to their theoretical orientation, research problem, purpose of study, and population under study (Creswell; Merriam). For this study, I collected multiple forms of data. First, I collected demographic information from participations to ensure they met criteria for study. In addition, I employed

two data collection strategies, semi-structured, individual interviews and photo elicitation, to capture the essences of participants' views and lived experiences with police organizations on and off campus. I describe each data collection method in detail below.

Interviewee demographic form. The first part of the data collection process consisted of each participant completing a demographic form. In particularly, the form requested information regarding participants' race/ethnicity, gender, religion, sexual orientation, social class, type of encounters with campus police and local law enforcement, and other pertinent data related to this study (Appendix F). By using the Interviewee Demographic Form, I was able to confirm if participants met certain characteristics needed to participate in this study; in addition, by completing the form, participants became more consciousness of their multiple identities, which was important in deconstructing their lived experiences from a CRT paradigm (Collins, 2012, 2015a).

Upon completion of the Interviewee Demographic Form, I asked participants to give me a pseudonym. Although most of the participants were able to identify a pseudonym with ease, I assisted two participants with creating one. Ultimately, the pseudonym enabled me to protect each participants' identity and maintain confidentiality as specified in the Informed Consent Form (Creswell, 2014). After participants completed the Interviewee Demographic Form, I moved forward with conducting the individual interviews.

Semi-structured interviews. Moustakas (1994) argued that in phenomenological investigations, interviews should be one of the primary data collection methods. An advantage of interviewing is that it helps the researcher obtain a more comprehensive understanding of the phenomenon when they are unable to observe participants' behaviors (Creswell, 2014; Merriam, 2009; Siedman, 2013). Interviewing also gives the researchers flexibility to probe for additional

information while ensuring that they have accurately interpreted participants' responses (Dougherty, 2009; Moustakas, 1994). Although, language nuances may pose a barrier during this process, interviewing elicits information that is unobtainable from other data collection procedures (Creswell, 2014). Researchers are able to obtain a large of amount of data that ultimately gives them insight on participants' stories (Dougherty). Siedman (2013) contended that interviewing provides an avenue for researchers to analyze the meaning people make of their experiences in addition to how they interpret the world. In this study, the interview questions aided in raising participants' consciousness about their attitudes towards police organizations and lived realities with these groups (Freire, 2000; Moustakas). The interviews also prompted participants to tell their unheard stories while simultaneously countering master narratives that mostly claim that the uneducated and disadvantaged encounter police (Bell, 2010; Espino, 2012; Packman, 2011; Reilly, 2014).

All of the participants in this study identified with a racially subordinate group; therefore, it was important for me to utilize a data collection strategy that aligned with CRT. CRT acknowledges that racially subordinate groups experience disparities on a daily basis (Ladson-Billings & Tate, 1995); thus, I wanted to avoid silencing participants and engaging in behaviors that perpetuated feelings of shame, inferiority, or isolation---emotions that many culturally devalued hold (Comstock, Hammer, Strentzsch, Cannon, Parsons, & Salazar, 2008; Hardiman et al., 2007).

By interviewing marginalized populations, the researcher mitigates some of these challenges because they are able to build rapport, establish a sense of trust with participants, and express empathy (Dougherty, 2009; Merriam, 2009; Siedman, 2013). Most often, relational disconnections occur with marginalized populations when individuals working with these groups

fail to acknowledge the injustices presenting challenges in their lives (Comstock et al., 2008). Additionally, individuals working with culturally devalued populations can further perpetuate mistrust when they lack competency on how their positions with privilege affect their perceptions and interactions with the group (Comstock et al.). Hence, if the interviewer is unaware of these potential barriers, it can damage the relationship with participants and affect their ability to express themselves (Hays & Singh, 2012). To prevent these situations from manifesting, I attended to my positions with power and personal assumptions through bracketing and reflexive journaling.

One other important consideration regarding interviewing is that this data collection technique promotes a reciprocal relationship and shared power between the researcher and participant. Establishing a lateral relationship grounded in mutual engagement is critical to promoting dialogue with racially disadvantaged groups who are accustomed to power differentials existing in various contexts (Bell, 2007; Hays & Singh, 2012). Ultimately, through interviewing, participants are able to give voice to their lived realities using their own words without dominant ideologies altering these narratives (Bell, 2010; Yosso, 2005).

I developed a semi-structured interview protocol (Appendix H) with eleven questions. Prior to interviewing participants, my dissertation chair reviewed this protocol for clarity and to ensure questions aligned with the study. The less structured interview format permitted me to respond to participants' emerging perspectives and gave me the autonomy to ask follow-up questions based on each person's specific opinions and responses (Merriam, 2009). Most often people of color have divergent experiences and perspectives. Thus, the degree of privilege and exclusion will vary from person to person as their racial identities intersect with other social group memberships and contextual factors (Collins, 2015; Hardiman et al., 2007).

The eleven interview questions on the semi-structured interview protocol focused on five areas: (1) participants' views of campus police and local law enforcement; (2) participants' life experiences with police groups; (3) participants' thoughts and feelings associated with these attitudes and encounters; (4) factors shaping their views; and (5) advocacy strategies. I developed questions centered on these topics for four reasons. First, these questions align with Siedman (2013)'s interview protocol for phenomenological studies where the research focuses on the participants' history with a phenomenon, details of their experiences, and meaning ascribed to these experiences. Secondly, for most participants, the interview was the first time that they had a dialogue regarding these phenomena; therefore, it was necessary to ask questions that enhanced their self-awareness on the ways they have and have not been oppressed (Freire, 2000). Further, racially subordinated groups are holders of multiple identities that overlap and influence their realities with privilege and oppression (Collins, 2015). Thus, it was imperative to identify the identities most salient to participants' encounters with police groups. Finally, given that CRT embraces a social justice component, one of the interview questions honed in on advocacy strategies (Solorzano & Yosso, 2001). Lewis and colleagues (2003) posit that providing the space for marginalized groups to identify self-advocacy skills can be empowering as they take initiative in gaining their own liberation.

I conducted all of the interviews for this study as the primary investigator. Prior to the semi-structured interview, I explained the purpose of the study to each participant over the phone. After agreeing to participate in the study, I sent each participant an Informed Consent (see Appendix D) to ensure each person understood their rights and privileges in addition to the risks associated with the study. Then, I scheduled the individual interview after receiving this form.

I facilitated face- to- face interviews with seven of the participants in their natural setting. Sometimes participants may find it difficult to articulate themselves during face-to-face interviews; however, this form of interviewing allows the researcher to develop a more personable relationship with participants (Hays & Singh, 2012). Alternatively, due to personal schedules and geographic limitations, I conducted two of the interviews online through Skype. While online based interviewing may limit the researcher's ability to connect authentically with participants, it is practical option that saves costs and time (Opdenakker, 2006). In addition, Siedman (2013) contended that Skype interviewing can work for phenomenological investigations and is an approach that appeals to younger generations, 18 to 25, in an era inundated with technology; however, he cautions that the researcher must find a way to remain amiable during the interview process to avoid patronizing participants.

As previously stated, before beginning the interview process, I asked each participant to provide a pseudonym to protect their identity; when participants were unable to develop a pseudonym, I assisted them. During the actual interview, I used this pseudonym and recorded each interview with two digital recording devices to capture participants' responses; in addition, I utilized two recording devices in the event of technological failures during the actual interview. Each initial interview lasted approximately 40 minutes and culminated with a question that probed participants about their final thoughts or additional comments. Upon completion of the interview process, I completed a contact summary sheet (Appendix I) to identify my salient thoughts, main ideas, and to compare and contrast participants' views throughout the interview process (Siedman, 2013). I repeated these steps for each interview. Additionally, after transcribing each interview, I facilitated a follow-up interview via phone with six out of the nine

participants to ensure I accurately captured their experiences with each police group; these follow-up interviews lasted approximately 10 minutes.

Photo elicitation. For this study, I used the photo elicitation strategy as a secondary qualitative data collection method. First recognized by John Collier (1957) as a viable data collection strategy in anthropology, photo elicitation involves integrating photography into the research interview (Harper, 2002). Many qualitative researchers utilize the photo elicitation strategy because it enhances understanding of data collected through the interview process in addition to providing participants with an alternative method to communicate their experiences, thoughts, and feelings (Bridger, 2013). Through photo elicitation, participants express themselves beyond words by focusing on what they are sensing and experiencing subconsciously about a phenomenon (Bridger; Guillemin & Drew, 2010; Harper).

When coupled with interviewing, photo elicitation can promote critical dialogue during the interview process (Torre & Murphy, 2015). Essentially, photo elicitation involves the researcher using participants' photographs to drive open-ended questions that will elicit further understanding of issues affecting the participants and feelings difficult to express verbally (Sandhu, Ives, Birchwood, & Upthegrove, 2013). This data collection strategy aids in minimizing the power imbalances between the researcher and participants while empowering them. Participants take on an active role in data collection as they gather photographs that are meaningful to them while using their own words to explain salient ideas and thoughts (Torre & Murphy).

Photo elicitation aligns with CRT in many ways, which is why I integrated the strategy into the study. In this study, I asked the African American college males to take two photos regarding their perceptions of campus police and local law enforcement. The photo elicitation

process provided a platform for participants to counteract White hegemonic views regarding African American college males' experiences with police organizations on and off campus. Most often dominant groups use controlling images and messages to sustain systems of oppression as well as to hide the truths regarding people of color realities with racism (Bell, 2007). The photo elicitation process gave participants a unique platform to ground their realities with police groups and with minimum interference from dominant ideologies (Harper, 2002). Additionally, by taking photos, participants were able to voice unheard concerns and communicate to educational stakeholders feelings difficult to express (Delgado & Stefancic, 2006; Guillemin & Drew, 2010; Solorzano & Yosso, 2001). Harper (2002) asserted that using photos in the research interview permits people from different cultural backgrounds to comprehend how each group make meaning of the world. At times, the varying racial groups will interpret things differently due to their social position and power; thus, sharing photos fosters understanding of each group's socially constructed realities (Torre & Murphy, 2015). Lastly, the photo elicitation process allowed participants to view and reflect on their lives while bringing to the forefront hidden feelings in the subconscious (Torre & Murphy). Many scholars contend that for historically marginalized groups, taking photos may galvanize a deeper consciousness of their social existence and mobilize their interests to change their oppressive situations (Harper; Solorzano & Yosso).

Before each scheduled interview, I described the photo elicitation process verbally and provided participants with the Photo Elicitation Instructions (Appendix G) that reiterated the steps. Additionally, I gave participants the Photo Elicitation Release Form (Appendix E); this form gave me permission to retain participants' photos and rights to publish in the dissertation

and future research publications. Participants that signed these forms moved forward with the research process.

In this study, the photo elicitation process involved participants taking one photo of campus police and one photo of local law enforcement to document visually their perceptions and real-life experiences with police groups. I also asked participants to provide a caption for their photos to summarize their views. After taking the photos, participants emailed them to me prior to the interview. At the end of the individual interview, participants had the opportunity to reflect and process the meaning of the photos. As a guide, I used the pre-scripted questions in the Photo Elicitation Instructions; however, I deviated from this protocol as major concepts and emotions emerged from participants. Figure 2 provides a visual image of the interview process.

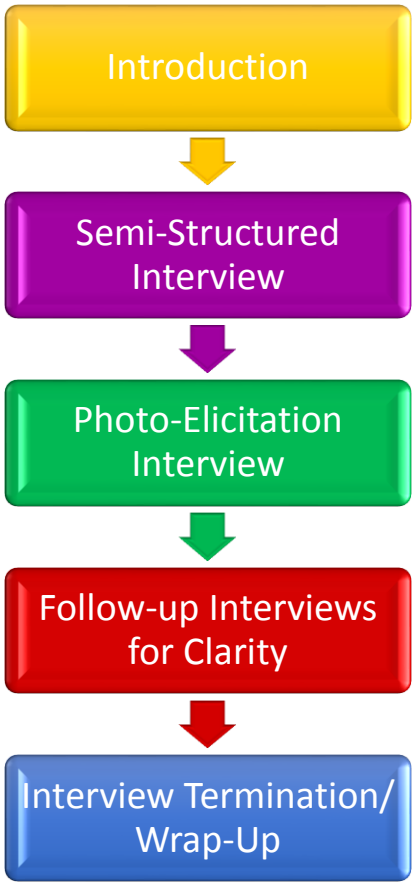


Figure 2. Sequential Steps in Semi-Structured and Photo Elicitation Interview Process

Data Analysis

The data analysis process for this study consisted of five steps that aligned with phenomenological research procedures and CRT (Creswell, 2014; Hays & Singh, 2012). Specifically, the data analysis steps were as follows: (1) bracketed assumptions; (2) transcribed data and developed an understanding of how each person experience the phenomena; (3) developed a priori code book based on theoretical framework and research team perspectives; (4) used the priori code book as an initial guide for coding and engaged in the horizontalization process; and (5) synthesized essences of participants' experiences into themes. The subsequent paragraphs highlight each step. In addition, Figure 3 provides a visual representation of this process.

Figure 3. Data Analysis Steps

Step 1: Bracketed assumptions. As the primary investigator for this study, I began the data analysis process by bracketing my assumptions and biases about the research topic (Hays & Singh, 2012). In phenomenological inquiries, researchers refer to this process as *epoche*, a Greek word that means to refrain from judgment (Moustakas, 1994). Regardless of the term one may utilize, acknowledging and suspending judgments about the phenomenon under investigation allows the researcher to approach the inquiry with a fresh perspective (Husserl, 2012). From a CRT theoretical framework, this action also aids in protecting the authentic

voices of racially marginalized groups as well as prevents the researcher from contaminating the interview with their own self-perceptions (Delgado & Stefancic, 2006; Siedman, 2013). Typically, this critical reflection process occurs throughout the study and is not a one-time event. Hence, throughout this study, I continuously documented my thoughts and feelings in a reflexive journal.

Step 2: Transcribed the data. After conducting all of the interviews, I began the transcription process. Siedman (2013) asserted that researchers should transcribe interviews after collecting data to "avoid imposing meaning from one participant's interview on the next" (p. 116). In essence, transcribing each interview allowed me to immerse myself fully in the data as well as to preserve each participant's narrative, which is central to both phenomenological investigations and CRT (Creswell, 2014; Yosso, 2005). Specifically, the CRT approach to storytelling examines people of color stories for their cultural knowledge and unrecognized experiences. Yosso (2005) contended that when we ignore the voices of people of color, it silences and further marginalizes them. Therefore, while transcribing, I recorded the meaning that I gathered from each person's interview in the margins to document their experiential knowledge on police (Hays & Singh, 2012; Yosso, 2005).

Step 3: Created a priori code book. Next, I created a priori codebook (Appendix J) undergirded by a CRT framework to keep race, racism, and other forms of subordination at the center of data analysis and to document the research team's experience of the phenomena. To construct this codebook, I sent members of my research team three interviews to transcribe and code. After the research team coded the interviews, we compared and contrasted our thoughts via phone and reached a consensus regarding the initial codes (Hays & Singh, 2012). Using this feedback, I constructed the a priori codebook. In the codebook, I included emic codes supported

by rich-thick descriptions and direct quotes from participants. Hays and Singh (2012) noted that creating the codebook early on in the data analysis process helps researchers to consider participants' information within the context of their conceptual framework and research purpose. As such, the a priori codebook guided the next step of the data analysis procedure.

Steps 4 & 5: Engaged in the horizontalization process and synthesized the essences and meanings of group's statements into themes. After constructing the a priori codebook, I transitioned to Moustakas (1994) phenomenological data analysis process to deeply understand the essences and meaning of participants' responses. First, I engaged in the process of horizontalization. Horizontalization involved listing participants' statement made about the phenomena under a priori code that aligned with CRT into a chart; removing statements that did not align with the study; and combining similar, repetitive statements (Moustakas). After completing these steps, I clustered the invariant statements into themes. Next, I created a textural-structural description of each theme supported by direct expressions from participants (Appendix J) [Hays & Singh, 2012]. Then, I reviewed the themes and accompanying statements from each participant's transcription for accuracy (Moustakas).

Strategies of Trustworthiness

In qualitative research, researchers focus on establishing trustworthiness rather than validity and reliability because it is difficult to capture the objective truth and reality in qualitative research (Kline, 2008; Merriam, 2009). Trustworthiness involves providing substantive, compelling evidence regarding a phenomenon and adhering to a rigorous methodological process (Kline, 2008). In addition, trustworthiness entails establishing these qualities: (a) credibility, demonstrating the truth of findings; (b) transferability, the applicability of findings to other populations; (c) dependability, the degree in which others can produce

similar findings, and (d) confirmability, demonstrating that the findings are free from researcher biases (Lincoln & Guba, 1985). Given this context, to promote trustworthiness in this study, I used these strategies: data triangulation; research team; member-checking; rich-thick descriptions; and reflexive journaling.

Data triangulation. Most often, in qualitative inquiries, researchers use multiple methods, sources of data, investigators or theories to increase credibility (Merriam, 2009). Lincoln and Guba (1985) contended that using one single method limits understanding of a phenomenon; however, when the researcher uses multiple methods, they enhance understanding of how people have experienced a phenomenon. Specifically, in this study, I utilized two data collection methods-semi-structured interviews and photo elicitation-to analyze the meaning that participants ascribed to their perceptions and encounters with law enforcement on and off campus (Kline, 2008; Merriam). This process involved cross-referencing participants' photos and captions with interview statements; engaging in these steps allowed me to check for consistencies and discrepancies in participants' meaning of the phenomena.

Research team. For this inquiry, I also organized a research team as another credibility strategy (Lincoln & Guba, 1985). Organizing a research team gave me additional views to consider while examining the meaning that participants attributed to their lived experiences with police organizations. In addition, using a research team helped to minimize the influence of my biases on data analysis (Lincoln & Guba). More concretely, I sought the help of two African American men employed in higher education to involve perspectives that closely matched the research participants (Hays & Singh, 2012). Members of the research team assisted with uncovering the meaning of participants' expressions by coding interview transcriptions and attending meetings to synthesize the data (Merriam, 2009).

Member-checking. Member checking was the third technique that I integrated into this study to establish trustworthiness and credibility (Lincoln & Guba, 1985). This technique gave participants in this study the chance to review their interview transcriptions for accuracy. Some researchers (Lincoln & Guba; Siedman, 2013) contend that member checking may present challenges for the researcher. Specifically, while reviewing their transcription, the participant may modify views about the phenomenon or may want information removed, which can affect the researcher's analysis of their data (Lincoln & Guba; Siedman). Essentially, in this study, participants were able to validate or invalidate their lived experiences with police organizations by reading the information they provided in the reports (Hays & Singh, 2012). After transcribing each interview, I emailed each participant their interview transcript and suggested checking the document for errors. This step was important to me because most often, dominant ideologies mask people of color authentic experiences in the literature (Bell, 2007); thus, I wanted to avoid replicating this injustice by giving participants the opportunity to confirm their stories and my interpretations of their expressions.

Rich-thick descriptions. As a way to enhance the transferability of findings from this study to another setting, I also integrated rich-thick descriptions (Merriam, 2009). Specifically, I presented each participant's individual story as well as information about their campus setting. Additionally, while discussing the findings, I included detailed descriptions with direct quotations to contextualize the study and to help others assess the extent to which their situations align with context of this study (Merriam).

Reflexive journaling. The final strategy of trustworthiness that I used in this study was reflexive journaling. Reflexive journaling raises the researcher's consciousness regarding their biases and assumptions as it relates to the research topic (Berger, 2015; Moustakas, 1994; Yeh &

Inman, 2007). Additionally, critical reflection helps the researcher to evaluate how their beliefs may influence the research process (Merriam, 2009). On several occasions, I recorded my thoughts and I have provided a sample of the reflexive journal in Appendix L. Furthermore, the following paragraph focuses on my positionality as a researcher and illuminates my general views regarding the research topic.

Researcher's Positionality

The recent racialized police brutality incidents have affected me both emotionally and psychologically. As an African American woman, mother, wife, aunt, mentor to African American males, and social justice advocate, I sit in awe and disbelief at the number of African American men, women, and children that law enforcement has brutalized and killed. Unfortunately, police brutality is not a new phenomenon. Law enforcement has had an authoritarian and punitive relationship with people of color since the 19th century (Bass, 2001). As the political, social, and economic landscape of this nation shifted, simultaneously, police brutality revolutionized as police officers gained access to artillery and learned new tactics to maintain a system of control (Bass; Chaney & Robertson, 2013).

Consequently, police misconduct is not a people of color issue, but a "people" issue. People from all walks of life have been victimized by police -- both educated and uneducated, middle class, lower class, upper class, and lesbian, gay, bisexual, and transgender communities -- to name a few. Presently, my central concern is Black lives because disparities are ubiquitous. Law enforcement kills Black bodies more than other racial groups, which leads me to reject liberal claims of a post-racial society and equality. In this critical reflection, I will attempt to unveil my assumptions and biases as it relates to law enforcement, police brutality, and systems

of oppression. As a disclaimer, although this process may appear to be effortless, it is yet difficult as I continuously toil with this subject and the implications of my authentic perspective.

While growing up in a small, rural, lower middle class area from 1982 to 2000, I never had direct or vicarious experiences with police brutality. Furthermore, I was not an at-risk youth nor categorized as delinquent in comparison to some of my counterparts, thus, I rarely encountered police groups. Crime and police brutality was a rare phenomenon in this environment because I had class privileges. From my perspective, police officers irrespective of race and gender had a positive reputation in the community and relationship with most citizens. Many police officers "parented" students in the school system through non-forceful, non-threatening tactics and were highly involved in the community. Even when crimes occurred or law enforcement had direct encounters with the public, I do not recall citizens questioning police officers' legitimacy or strategies. Henceforth, at the center of my analysis, is the assumption that not all of law enforcement is corrupt and abusive; police officers provide a service to our communities by protecting citizens and maintaining social order.

Consequently, the recent wave of racialized police incidents involving Black citizens and White police officers has placed me in a state of shock; these incidents have provoked an overwhelming sense of anger and frustration and it is difficult to avoid projecting these feelings towards all of law enforcement and other dominant groups. Additionally, these incidents have had a greater impact on my perceptions of law enforcement and the criminal justice system than the Rodney King incident in which White cops beat a Black motorist (Chaney & Robertson, 2014). I was about 13 years old when the Rodney King brutal beating occurred and was unconsciously aware of what this incident meant for the Black community. Currently, it is impossible to keep abreast of the trending topic in society. Some of the recent, well-known

police brutality cases involved Freddie Gray, Tamir Rice, Mike Brown, Walter Scott, and Sandra Bland; however, this list is miniscule and does not include all of the Black bodies harmed by police. These indirect police brutality incidents as well as my own lived experiences with racism have muted my color-blind perspective. Thus, a core assumption that I hold is that racism is a core issue of the 21st century and law enforcement embraces this system of oppression as a cultural norm. Race structures the way that police officers perceive and interact with Black citizens.

On October 11, 2015, a police officer stopped me for running a red light. Immediately, I began to worry and a sense of panic subsumed me while waiting on the officer to come to my vehicle. A police officer has not stopped me in over four years, and I knew that the recent police brutality incidents sweeping through the nation and my research in this area triggered my emotional responses. When the police officer arrived to my vehicle, I attempted to tell my story; however, the officer made it clear that he was in control by exerting his power. However, as a citizen with rights, I felt obligated to state my position and continued talking to provide a rationale for my behavior. My "conversation" with the officer shifted from calm to tense; the officer became furious that I challenged his authority. In my eyes, we were just having a "conversation"; however, according to the officer, we had an "argument." Thus, the police officer felt it was necessary to give me a ticket.

Instantly, I became infuriated and tears rolled down my face. As I waited on my ticket, I felt silenced and that I no longer had a voice. I could not risk going to jail or dying like Sandra Bland while in police custody. While concern for my own safety, I had my sorority sister remain on the phone in the event that the "conversation" spiraled out of control. Again, I reflected on my actions in that moment and knew that the recent police brutality incidents galvanized these

responses. Race was not a factor that attributed to the incident as the police officer appeared to be African American. I believe I threatened the police officer's masculinity as well as his social power, which prompted him to give me a ticket. Thus, at the center of my analysis regarding law enforcement lies the belief that a power imbalance exists between law enforcement and citizens -- law enforcement retains the power while citizens are powerless. Citizens must comply with officers as well as conform to the socially accepted behaviors that law enforcement deem appropriate to avoid police mistreatment as well as incarceration.

As I get deeper into the research and learn about all of the police brutality incidents involving African Americans, I become overwhelmed by the number of incidents. As a mother, I am concerned that law enforcement will victimize my child one day if I remain silent and motionless. I believe law enforcement despairingly targets African Americans due to negative categories associated with blackness (Ladson-Billings, 1998; Richardson, 2015). Furthermore, many of the police brutality incidents involving African Americans are not publicized and do not gain the media's attention; this lack of coverage illuminates that African American lives do not matter.

My wounds become deeper as I begin to analyze the entire criminal justice system and recognize that disparities are evident throughout the entire system. In the 21st century, it is mind-blogging that there are systems and people that still dehumanize and devalue African Americans. My ancestors fought extremely hard to free their people from beatings, hangings, and other oppressive acts during legalized slavery (History, n.d.); unfortunately, these antiquated strategies have taken on modern day forms in which police officers use batons, tasers, and firearms to subdue people of color without probable cause. The issues with law enforcement will not

resolve on their own, but will require that all people collectively fight to end police brutality and the policies and practices that sustain police misconduct.

Although, I have not endured police brutality directly, I have experienced it vicariously through my African American brothers and sisters. As I watch these ordeals unfold on national television and social media websites, I yearn to engage in this fight with other protestors as social justice advocacy runs deep into my soul. At a very young age, my mother and grandmother, who were ordained Baptist ministers, socialized me to give back to my community and to help those who were in need. Furthermore, my educational training in the areas of diversity and social justice make me qualified to advocate on behalf of groups that law enforcement target. However, at times, it is hard to maintain a neutral and optimistic position. Often, I feel that my educational training and direct experiences with social activism are irrelevant and lack purpose because police brutality is an ongoing phenomenon. Furthermore, my gender identity and educational privilege does not preclude me from experiencing police brutality; police brutality affects young, old, educated, uneducated, middle class, and lower class Blacks (Mbuba, 2010; Meehan & Ponder, 2002). No one is exempt from this atrocity.

Nevertheless, I must contribute in some way and use my educational privilege to conduct research, which will provide a platform for culturally devalued populations to unleash their voices that the literature has silenced. Ideally, this research will shed some light on African American college males' relationships and realities with campus police and local law enforcement. In addition, as a humanitarian, I hope this research inquiry will inspire human beings from all backgrounds to stand in solidarity with those who that contend with this phenomenon and to take action.

Chapter Summary

Chapter 3 provided an overview of the research tradition, participants, and methodological process while integrating critical race theory into the discussion to justify how these areas align with the framework. Specifically, this chapter offered a rationale for using phenomenology, a qualitative research design, as a strategy of inquiry to answer the research questions; in addition, justified the utility of CRT as a theoretical lens. This section also included information regarding the data collection and analysis techniques; in addition, outlined the strategies of trustworthiness utilized to establish a rigorous and credible study (Kline, 2008). The chapter concluded with a summary of the researcher's positionality, which illuminated how my biases, values, and beliefs influenced the research process.

CHAPTER 4

FINDINGS

This study used a phenomenology research tradition to understand the meaning of African American college males' perceptions of campus police and local law enforcement. In addition, because the participants belonged to a racially subordinate group, I integrated a CRT theoretical framework into this study to uncover and interpret how racism and other forms of oppression influenced their dealings with the police groups. The following research questions framed the exploration of these phenomena: 1) how do African American college men perceive campus police and local law enforcement? and 2) how have racism and other forms of subordination shaped African American college men experiences with campus police and local law enforcement? These questions prompted participants to unveil their truths regarding their personal and vicarious realities with campus police and local law enforcement. Further, participants' stories provided a more encompassing view of their experiences across the two campuses as well as illuminated the nuances in their attitudes and encounters with the police groups. Moreover, the participants' responses highlighted how their multiple identities -- race, gender, religion, perceived sexual orientation, and education-level shaped their attitudes and outcomes with campus police and local law enforcement.

In this chapter, I present key findings obtained from the nine, semi-structured individual interviews. At the beginning of the chapter, I describe each participant and then present their stories, which include an overview of their attitudes and encounters with campus police and local law enforcement. Then, I provide a general summary of the findings that captures the essences

of the group's opinions and realities with the law enforcement organizations. Photographs and direct quotations were included in the individual and collective summaries to support conclusions and as data triangulation strategies (Hays & Singh, 2012). Finally, the chapter culminates with a summary of the findings.

Participants

This study had nine African American male participants who attended public, postsecondary institutions in the southeastern region of the United States. Seven out of the nine participants attended Hall University. Hall University was a small-sized, public university with the following student demographics: 63% African American/Black, 22% White, 6% Asian, 4% Hispanic/Latino and 5% as two or more races and other; in addition, 69% female and 31% male students. The other two participants attended Lee University, a large-scale university with the following student demographics: 63% White, 27% African American/Black, 5% Hispanic/Latino, and 5% as two or more races and other; in addition, 52% female and 48% male students. All of the participants were full-time students and identified solely with one race and ethnic group -- African American/Black. See Table 1 for a display of the African American college men demographic information including their institution type, academic classification, age, religion, socioeconomic status, and sexual orientation.

Table 1

Demographic Information for African American College Males

Pseudonym	Age	Institution	Academic classification	Social Class	Religion	Sexual orientation
Bruno	22	Public University	Junior	Lower	Searching	Heterosexual
Jay	22	Comprehensive/ doctoral-granting university	Senior	Middle	Christian	Heterosexual
Kai	19	Public University	Sophomore	Lower Middle	Christian	Heterosexual
Mike	26	Public University	Senior	Lower Middle	Christian	Heterosexual
Xavier	27	Public University	Senior	Lower Middle	Islam	Heterosexual
Malcolm	22	Public University	Senior	Lower Class	Christian	Heterosexual
OJ	27	Public University	Senior	Lower Middle	Spiritual	Heterosexual
Alex	25	Public University	Senior	Lower Middle	Unknown	Heterosexual
Chris	19	Comprehensive/ doctoral-granting university	Sophomore	Upper Middle Class	Unknown	Heterosexual

Participants' Individual Narratives

This section presents participants' individual stories regarding their lived realities with campus police and local law enforcement. Focusing on the individual narrative is important to phenomenological studies as researchers aim to understand each person's interpretation of the phenomenon as well as the group (Merriam, 2009). Furthermore, CRT claims that although individuals may identify with the same racial group, each person in the group is bound to have racially different life experiences (Delgado & Stefancic, 2006). People have multiple social identities that combine and mutually reinforce each other to affect their outcomes with privilege and oppression (Tatum, 2010). The participants' individual narratives are as follows:

Participant 1: Bruno

Bruno was a 22-year old enrolled at Hall University. In addition, he was a junior majoring in political science. Bruno identified as lower class and worked part-time while in school. In addition, Bruno stated that he was heterosexual and "searching" in terms of his religion. On campus, Bruno was involved in several organizations, including a historical Black fraternity and a service organization.

During the interview, Bruno indicated he had direct contact with campus police and local law enforcement on numerous occasions and felt that most of these involuntary stops were unwarranted. For example, he stated, "They treat us like we are the wrong" and "that everything is a problem." Specifically, Bruno felt campus police targeted Black males based on their "appearance" and exclaimed, "You [campus police] don't give no one the benefit of the doubt. Like I said, we are not felons. We are college students." Unfortunately, Bruno attributed his negative encounters with law enforcement to the "criminality of the Black man" -- two identities he felt society devalued and degraded.

Overtime, Bruno's views towards campus police shifted from negative to positive. He explained, "At points, they [campus police] were just outright disrespectful and very unprofessional, but now I would say that they are a lot more subtle. They are very professional." Bruno felt his interactions with campus police transformed after the university hired more Black campus police officers. Generally, Bruno believed White officers used their privilege and social power to target, profile, and mistreat Black college males. However, Bruno was unaware of how White privilege also served to protect the social and psychologically interests of Whites (Bell, 1980). Bruno presented two photos to portray his current views of campus police and police groups in general:

Figure 4. Campus Police Looks Like Us and Now Listens to Us

Figure 5. Americans Are a Threat to Police

Participant 2: Jay

Jay was a 22-year old senior majoring in engineering at Lee University. He identified as middle class, heterosexual, and Christian; he also worked part-time while enrolled in college. Additionally, Jay was involved in various co-curricular experiences, including being a member of an on-campus organization, commonly known as the National Society of Black Engineers.

Despite his attempt to be an exemplar college student, Jay reported that his race and gender identities caused him to have negative encounters with campus police and local law enforcement. In particular, he perceived that campus police placed more Black students under surveillance on campus than White students. One striking comment from his interview was, "I think as a Black male [campus police] is someone there to antagonize you. Someone there to follow you around. They don't really do much of anything, but just annoy you." He shared similar feelings toward local law enforcement and remarked, "I feel like they do prey on us -- like they always looking for us."

Essentially, Jay's views towards campus police and local law enforcement were quite similar. As a holder of two identities categorized as disadvantaged by society, he experienced micro aggressions and police groups discriminated against him. Lastly, although Jay was unable to recognize his encounters with police on and off campus as symbols of systemic racism, he mentioned the "world was tough and really unfair" for Black people. He provided these photos and captions to reiterate his feelings:

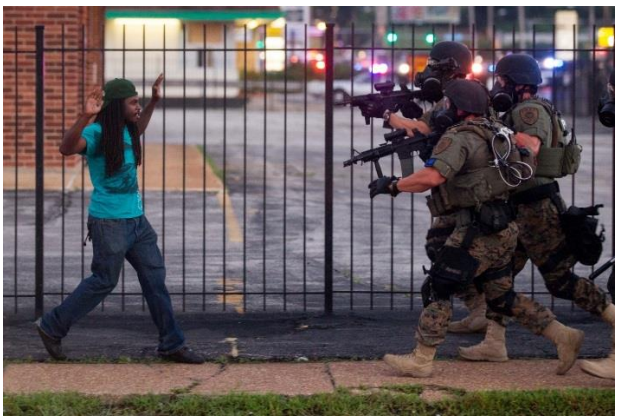


Figure 6. When You Cough Near Campus Police

Figure 7. Local Police: Racial Profiling

Participant 3: Kai

Kai was a 19-year-old sophomore that attended Hall University, a small-sized institution in the southeastern part of the United States. He was majoring in Biology with a Minor in

African American Studies. Kai stated that he was lower middle class, heterosexual, and Christian; in addition, he was a Presidential Scholar, which afforded him the opportunity to attend college without having to pay tuition. Further, Kai worked part-time on campus and was involved in Student Government, a mentoring program, and a campus-wide organization.

Overall, Kai had a positive perception of local police, but unfavorable views of campus police. He perceived that campus police stereotyped African American males at on campus events and were incapable of performing their job. In particular, after learning from a friend that campus police called him "sweetness," Kai began to dislike campus police. He explained how campus police probed a friend about his perceived sexual orientation:

> And the question is always, is he gay?...That is something that I don't care to hear. And if that is the kind of opinion that you want to formulate based off what you want to see, based off your definition of what a man is -- that is fine. But to go on and to say to your other co-worker, who is saying, who are y'all talking about? Oh, I am talking about sweetness. You know -- you give somebody a derogatory name.

For Kai, his perceived sexual orientation and gender norms were the most salient factors structuring his encounters with campus police. Kai never indicated he was gay, therefore, demonstrating that the officer's heteronormative assumptions led him to question Kai's masculinity. Furthermore, although gender norms and homophobia impacted his interactions with campus police, it is apparent from previous comments that Kai was conscious of how his race and gender identities simultaneously structured his experiences with police organizations. The images below depict his views towards the two police groups.

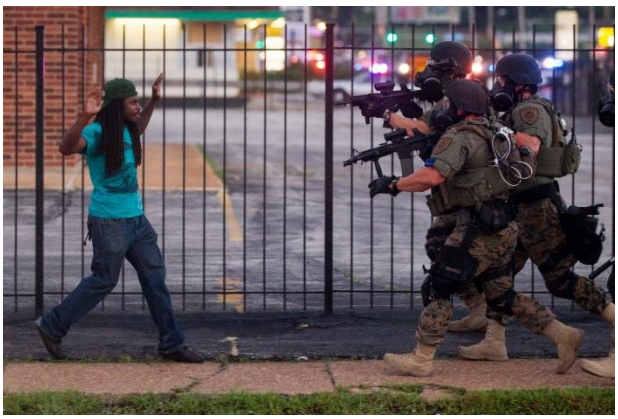


Figure 8. Campus Police: It's Just Me and Education Until Death Do Us Apart

Figure 9. Local Police: The Hearts Lost the Masks…Who Are They Really?

Participant 4: Mike

Mike was a 26-year old senior enrolled at Hall University majoring in healthcare management. He identified as lower middle class, Christian, and heterosexual; Mike also stated he was recently married. Mike worked part-time on campus, but was not involved in co-curricular programs and activities.

During the interview, Mike mentioned having several personal experiences with campus police and local law enforcement. He distinguished his feelings towards the police groups and stated, "I have a pretty good perception of campus police -- especially compared to other police." Specifically, Mike alleged that local law enforcement, outside of campus boundaries were unjust and treated "Black guys" differently. One of the most striking comments from Mike's interview was, "I just feel like as Black men we have to be more careful with where we are at, what times of day we are somewhere, and stuff like that."

Clearly, Mike perceived that as a Black man, he was unable to be his authentic self. He also recognized that socially constructed standards have placed Black men into categories of deviant and abnormal, therefore, his experiences in life did not parallel those of advantaged groups (Ladson-Billings, 1998). In addition, as a Black man, Mike claimed he was consistently

stereotyped and racially profiled while driving. He provided the following images of himself with captions to illustrate how police groups formulated opinions of Black men based on their appearance:

Figure 10.Token Black Guy

Figure 11. Why Me?

Participant 5: Xavier

Xavier was a 27-year-old senior enrolled at Hall University. He was majoring in psychology and human services and worked part-time as a Resident Assistant. Xavier categorized himself as lower middle class, heterosexual, and Muslim. In addition to attending school full-time, Xavier managed a non-profit organization assisting youth from low socioeconomic backgrounds. Given his on-campus leadership position, Xavier, for the most part, had a positive perception of campus police.

Unlike the other participants, Xavier discussed how his "race" and being "Islamic" shaped local police views toward him and caused this group to interact with him in biased ways. Xavier elaborated on a situation where he felt that White police officers were prejudice towards him and others while wearing their hijabs. He stated:

> We were dressed accordingly, so they knew it. We were going to a social gathering at a park, and we were like parked on the street because there was a large gathering. And you could tell, like, they were not pleased to have to deal with us. It was vivid. Like I do not know if it was the Black thing, the religion or a combination of both. I think it was. And it was White police officers of course, and they were just displease -- it was a displeasure for them.

In essence, Xavier's story demonstrates how intersectionality functions although he was uncertain about how the various identities structured his life. Xavier belonged to multiple, marginalized groups -- Black, male, Muslim, and lower class -- and as a result, he experienced micro aggressions and had several negative encounters with local police. Xavier provided one image and caption to represent his strikingly different views of the police groups:

Figure 12. The Tale of Two Cities: Good Guy (Campus Police) vs. Bad Guy (Local Law Enforcement)

Participant 6: Malcolm

Malcolm was a 22- year old senior majoring in mathematics at Hall University and had aspirations of becoming a high school teacher. He categorized himself as lower class, heterosexual, and Christian. Furthermore, in addition to attending school full-time, Malcolm worked part-time off-campus and held a leadership position in a historical Black fraternity.

During the interview, Malcolm reported having several direct experiences with campus police and local law enforcement. Malcolm mentioned he was "cool" and "pretty comfortable" with the campus police officers; however, he believed that campus police were unprofessional, not-properly trained, and targeted students' social spaces. For example, he stated, "but when it comes to, like, activities on campus such as like, maybe a big event or party or something, they are quick to shut it down." Contrarily, Malcolm categorized local law enforcement as unjust and unfair; in addition, he believed they had negative attitudes and discriminated against Black males. He remarked, "I think some of them really abuse their power. I have been, you know, harassed by them, and the ones that I have been harassed by were not Black. They were either White or Hispanic."

Overall, as a Black male, Malcolm experienced discrimination from police officers that belonged to advantaged and disadvantaged racial groups. Furthermore, his racialized encounters with local police produced psychological stress as he reported feeling "nervous" about interacting with any type of police group. While clear about his feelings, Malcolm felt helpless and was unaware on how he could advocate for himself. He provided the following images and captions to represent his perceptions:

Figure 13. Campus Police: Mall Cop

Figure 14. Local Police: The Judge and the Jury

Participant 7: OJ

OJ was a 27-year-old non-traditional student enrolled at Hall University. He was a senior majoring in English with a concentration in literature. OJ stated he was lower middle class, heterosexual, and spiritual. Additionally, OJ worked part-time on campus as a building manager and had frequent contact with campus police due to his job.

OJ had favorable views of campus police and indicated that they were "helpful" and "courteous"; however, he had two negative experiences with White campus police officers that slightly altered his views. Throughout most of the interview, OJ, unlike most of the other participants held a color-blind perspective. He felt race was not a predictor of one's interactions with police groups -- rather social class was the most salient factor influencing individuals' outcomes with law enforcement.

Furthermore, although several members of OJ's family were law enforcement officers, he alleged that local law enforcement was corrupt and unjust which stemmed from his involuntary encounters and recent police brutality cases. OJ mentioned he "lost hope" in the criminal justice system. After considering his direct experiences with various subsystems (e.g., law enforcement, court system, penal system) of the criminal justice system, OJ recognized systems of oppression interconnect and reinforced each other. OJ provided the following images and captions to illustrate his views towards campus police and local law enforcement:

Figure 15. Campus Police: Officer, These Are the Only Weapons That I Have

Figure 16. Local Police: How Much Do You Need Now?

Participant 8: Alex

Alex was a 25 year old senior majoring in sociology with a minor in women and gender studies at Hall University. He identified as lower middle class and heterosexual; in addition, he was actively involved in various campus student organizations, including the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People.

During the interview, Alex mentioned the word "authoritative" several times while describing both campus police and local law enforcement; thus, insinuating that as a social institution they have power and privileges. Although, Alex had limited contact with campus police, his vicarious experiences through female peers generated negative views of this police group. In essence, he believed campus police needed to have a stronger presence on campus to keep male and female students safe. Interestingly, Alex was one of two participants to integrate the Black female experience with police groups in the interview.

In regards to local law enforcement, Alex, perceived they misjudged and stereotyped Black men. A salient comment from Alex's interview furthering illustrating his views is as follows:

> I do not dress like the typical African American male -- especially pertaining to how our society portrays us to be or whatever. But, what I can say is that when I do dress relaxed and stuff like that, I just, I feel like there is a level of uncomfortableness when it comes to police officers.

Ultimately, Alex felt he could not be his authentic self, due to conceptual foundations of whiteness that deny and reject cultural values, traditions, and clothing of less dominant groups (Ladson-Billings, 1998). Alex provided the following images and descriptions to represent his attitudes towards both police groups:

Figure 17. He's Automatically Victimized

Figure 18. Police Abuse Their Power

Participant 9: Chris

Chris was a 19-year-old sophomore majoring in electrical engineering at Lee University. He identified himself as upper middle class and heterosexual. Presently, Chris was not involved in any student organizations on campus.

In general, Chris believed local police were unjust, unfair, and purposely targeted Black males. Specifically, he claimed that campus police overreacted to situations. For example, Chris stated, "That is just really another thing that bothers me about cops in general. In my experiences and in others that I've seen, cops can like, almost never handle a situation by themselves." Furthermore, he also alleged that campus police did not have adequate responsibilities on

campus and tended to harass students of color -- especially Black males and Black females. Interestingly, he was the only participant to reference the permanence of systemic racism on campus. More concretely, Chris felt campus police behavior towards Black students was indicative of the campus culture where racism prevailed in multiple contexts. During his interview, he stated:

> I have definitely heard stories of Black people going in this particular bar and just a lot of places on campus in general. I have just heard stories about people getting looks and getting talked to any kind of way. It is just kind of ridiculous. So, racism is very much alive on this campus I would say.

Essentially, this participant was cognizant of how his multiple identities interconnected and affected his outcomes with law enforcement groups. Furthermore, he was conscious of how oppression infiltrated macro systems and its sub-systems to sustain inequality. To illustrate his views towards campus police and local law enforcement, Chris submitted these photos and images:

Figure 19. Campus Police: I Wasn't Looking For Trouble -- Troubles Looking for Me

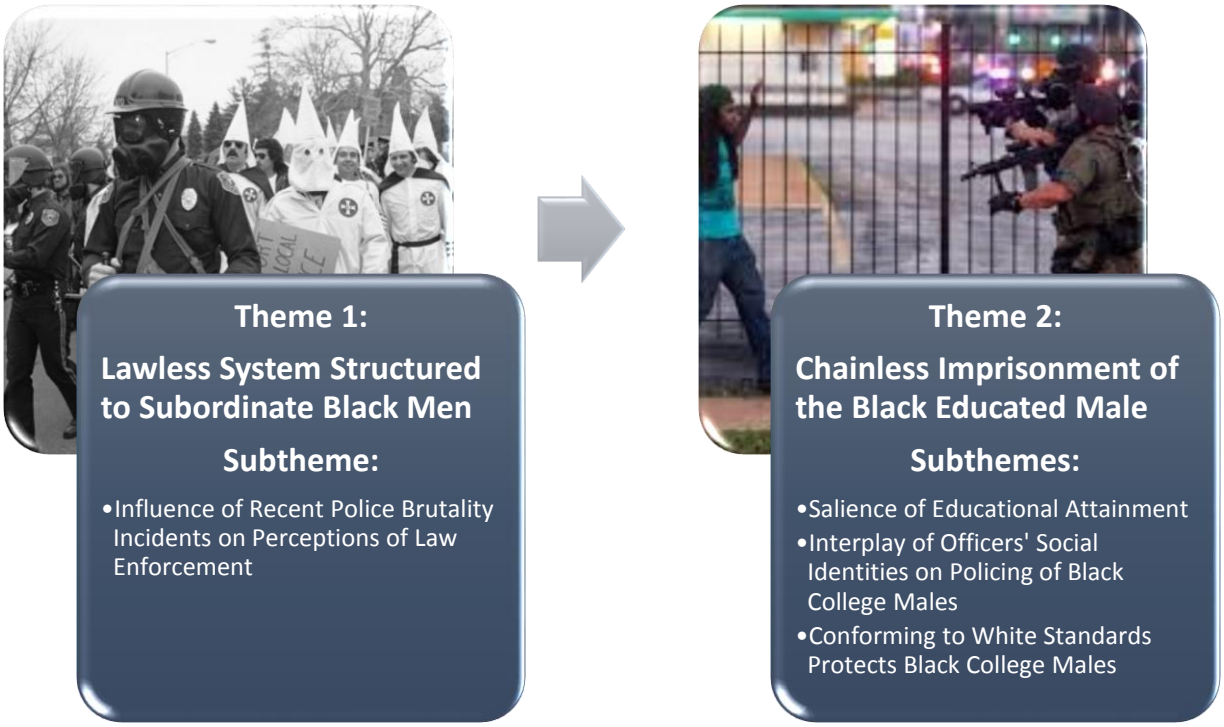
Figure 20. Local Police: It's All About the Money

In sum, the individual narratives unveiled participants' similar and dissimilar attitudes and outcomes with campus police and local law enforcement. CRT would contend the students of color have unique interpretations of their lived realities with police groups researchers must consider to present a holistic view of the phenomena. Reducing their experiences to a monolithic perspective will be an injustice and limit understanding of the differential experiences people of color have with race and racism in addition to other systems of subordination. (Delgado & Stefancic, 2006; Yosso, 2005; Solorzano & Yosso, 2001).

Major Themes Regarding African American College Males' Perceptions and Experiences with Campus Police and Local Law Enforcement

Many complexities emerged while analyzing participants' attitudes and experiences with campus police and local law enforcement. However, after performing a thematic analysis of the qualitative data, two major themes captured the common essences of participants' views and outcomes with the law enforcement groups; in addition I created four subthemes to illuminate the various nuances. The first theme is Lawless System Structured to Subordinate Black Men with subtheme: Influence of Recent Police Brutality Incidents on Perceptions of Law Enforcement. The second theme is Chainless Imprisonment of the Black Educated Man with subthemes: Salience of Educational Attainment; Interplay of Officers' Social Identities on Policing of Black College Males; and Conforming to White Standards Protects Black College Males. Figure 21 provides a visual display of emergent themes; both themes overlap and essentially address the social identities and systems of oppression that interconnected and influenced participants' opinions and interactions with law enforcement groups.

Figure 21. Phenomenological Model of African American College Males' Perceptions and Lived Experiences with Campus Police and Local Law Enforcement



Theme 1: Lawless System Structured to Subordinate Black Men

Majority of the participants in this study described campus police and local law enforcement as "unfair systems" with established "rules and laws" that oppressed Black males in the community and at postsecondary institutions. The participants shared that police officers from both law enforcement agencies lacked "morality"; in addition, alleged that institutions of higher education and the criminal justice system rarely held police officers "accountable" for

bias-based policing. As such, despite the non-discriminatory laws governing college campuses and US constitutional guarantee of equal protection, law enforcement officers have social power to dehumanize and discriminate against Black males. While reflecting on their interactions with campus police and local law enforcement, participants referenced recent police brutality incidents as a key factor structuring their perceptions of law enforcement organizations; therefore, I created the following subtheme to illuminate the effect of this phenomenon on participants' opinions: Influence of Recent Police Brutality Incidents on Perceptions of Law Enforcement.

Most of the participants proclaimed that law enforcement groups deemed their social position and "institution" as valuable assets worth protecting -- regardless of the barriers that their actions may pose on racially subordinate groups. For example, when asked to describe local law enforcement, Bruno, a student from Hall University, shared, "They [local police officers] put morality to the back in order to protect the institution and to protect the jobs of their co-workers." He further explained,

> What this institution [law enforcement] is doing to African American men as a whole is not a coincidence. It is not happening by chance. We are not blowing things out of proportion. I mean it is clearly an institution that advocates against us. It promotes pretty much being in that powerful position and being able to do whatever you want to do. The problem with that is -- we are always considered the criminals.

Malcolm, another student from Hall University, submitted a photo (Figure 15) that captured the essence of participants' feelings:

Figure 15. Local Police: The Judge and the Jury

He expounded on the meaning of this photo while illuminating the criminal justice system is illegitimate. Malcolm stated, "I just feel like sometimes it is a lose, lose situation -- you know. Once you get into the system as a Black person, they are not trying to let you out, whether you are right or wrong." In essence, participants' interests seldom converged with law enforcement, but rather conflicted. Although many Black males vied for racial justice and equal protection from the law enforcement system, police officers resisted in order to maintain their power and authority; thus, sustaining the systems of oppression.

Chris from Lee University eluded to how his immersion with racism in other areas of life heightened his sense of racial disparities permeating in the local law enforcement system. Chris remarked:

> I think, it's [racism] a trickle down system -- the top down -- that kind of aided in shaping my views of local law enforcement. I realized long ago that this country is set-up for Black people to fail and local law enforcement is one of the ways that they do that.

During a later portion of the interview, Chris elaborated on the racial injustices structuring the law enforcement system. He insinuated that police officers have accepted negative stereotypes associated with Black males and the law enforcement system has normalized these conceptual notions. He purported:

> That's the funny thing about this system. There are rules and laws set in place that are clearly bias and yet, there is justification for each and every thing. We can be made out as whatever buzz word that you want to use, thugs, animals, I don't know, just a whole lot of stuff. So, this is definitely a product of the system that we are living in and I feel, you know, helpless. Because I'm like, at times, you know what can I really do? Because I really don't know how to beat the system myself. I guess you have to be in, to beat it.

Additionally, Alex, a student from Hall University, also implied that negative categorizations of Black males influenced police officers' decisions. Alex shared:

> I feel like society has trained and embedded with us as people that Black males are this and like that. For example, if Black males have dreads, they are known to be thieves, robbers, killers, hoods, ratchet and stuff like that.

The participants' comments support CRT claims that racism is endemic in American society (Closson, 2010; Collins, 2015). Most often, dominant racial and social groups unconsciously juxtaposed conceptual foundations of whiteness to conceptual foundations of blackness. When the two conceptual notions diverge, dominant racial and social groups formulate biases and engage in discriminatory behaviors that ultimately affect people of color realities.

Interestingly, participants also claimed the campus police system permitted officers to engage in exclusionary behaviors toward Black, undergraduate males; in addition, they perceived that this police organization had minimum regard for the non-discriminatory laws governing higher education and the context in which they worked. For example, Alex, a student from Hall University asserted that campus police "are patrolling a college campus and not a city";

henceforth, asserting that campus police should interact with students differently based on their jurisdiction. Further, Alex mentioned "Campus police don't follow rules and regulations. They take their badge and take it as form of authoritarianism in negative ways." He also Alex provided the following image to represent his views of both campus police and local law enforcement.

Figure 18. Police Abuse Their Power

When asked why he submitted this photo, Alex remarked, "I chose this photo because I believe it represents how I feel about police abusing their power. I believe now-a-days, police are taking their badges and using it to their advantage towards certain minorities."

Bruno from Hall University, elaborated on students' expectations of campus police and declared campus police should have a "greater sense of accountability while interacting with students on campus." Later in the interview, he further explained his viewpoints and shared, "They [campus police] treat [Black males] as if they are always in the wrong. They [campus police] embody the mentality of local police officers. Looking at everybody and every action as a as a problem…It is never warranted." Kai from Hall University echoed his peer's sentiment regarding the campus police system while implying that campus officers have a disdain for Black male students. He shared, "In the Campus Safety Department, people are rude. Then, the police officers in there are being even ruder. It's an ongoing thing. Whoever is leading them is not like

making sure that their attitudes are always positive." Further, Kai offered additional opinions about campus police:

> It feels like you [campus police] can't stand us. It is like you have something against us; we are college students. We are still in that growing stage where we are going to make mistakes. Granted, people have to be held accountable, but you do more harm to a person when you are abrasive, when you are aggressive, and you are using physical force that is uncalled for.

Moreover, Oscar, another student from Hall University honed in on the leaders in the campus police department. He stated, "I feel like police officers do what they do now because they know that they can get in trouble. People really don't take action to make sure these police officers are investigated." When prompted to clarify which police group he was referring to, Oscar responded, "Campus police are police too;" henceforth, suggesting that students conceptualized their experiences with campus police and local law enforcement the same, but some nuances made them slightly different. Collectively, participants' felt both law enforcement groups had "nasty attitudes, "tore up their property," and "overreacted to situations"; thus, exhibiting the functions of whiteness in that police officers have full autonomy to determine how they will use their power and authority with marginalized populations (Closson, 2010; Harris, 1995).

Influence of Recent Police Brutality Incidents on Perceptions of Law Enforcement

For participants in this study, a core factor shaping their attitudes of law enforcement groups were recent mass media reports regarding police excessive use of force with Black men. While considering the totality of the police brutality incidents, participants suggested that their views of law enforcement groups shifted; these incidents enhanced participants' awareness of the

ways in which race and gender structured Black males' outcomes in society. Many of the participants shared that police officers were "unfair" and feared officers would "beat," "choke," "shoot," or "kill" them without probable cause.

Specifically, while describing his attitudes toward local police, Alex, a student from Hall University, shared:

> Right now, in this current time, I feel like the local law enforcement, another authoritative entity, that they are using their badge for their advantage to hinder certain races -- especially African American males and females, now.

Bruno from Hall University expressed similar feelings while discussing a recent encounter with campus police at a gas station near a local college. During the encounter the police officer, he consciously referenced national police brutality incidents. Bruno stated:

> We had left like a party and then went to Quik Trip. We were getting gas, and the police officer was like – hurry up. Y'all got to go -- everybody has to go. So, I was like just don't choke me out or shoot me. Why did I say that? He got mad.

Interestingly, Malcolm, who was also from Hall University, shared a similar story. While visiting a local college campus with his fraternity brothers, a few White officers questioned them while patrolling the campus. He exclaimed, "They automatically started like, you know, antagonizing us or whatever. So, we drove off, and I was like -- don't shoot no Black boys tonight." Participants' comments reveal that Black college males subconsciously hold these national incidents of police misconduct against Black males at the forefront of their minds; in addition, hold a powerful awareness of the differential treatment of Black men in society.

A few students connected the wave of police brutality incidents to the structural functions of racism. Chris, a student from Lee University, emphasized:

> I don't know all of the stories, because everything that is reported to the news doesn't cover the full scope of police brutality and how they [police officers] think they can act with Black people. It [reflects] the institution of racism and proves that it pretty much keeps Black people down."

Whereas Malcolm from Hall University added:

> I just feel like there are police officers out there that are in the KKK. Those who -- you know -- are involved in these police shootings, like, with Mike Brown or Jordan Davis who got killed by another guy. Like those police shootings, I feel like an officer should be trained to deescalate a situation before killing someone…A lot of these incidents could have been handled differently, then somebody being killed. We will learn later on. But it keeps happening to us. So I just feel like a lot of officers don't care for Black people and that is why it is so easy for them to shoot or kill.

Chris, who was keenly aware of the complexity of racism and how it manifests at multiple levels in society, expounded on his peers' views. Specifically, he inferred that color-blind ideologies are minimizing the police brutality phenomenon and shared:

> And now, I guess, because, the institution of racism is more veiled, it is not as plain as it was years ago. People don't really think it's really an issue anymore. Then, you got these people on Twitter, talking about like, the hashtag -- #blacklivesmatter. Then, they try to supplant that by saying -- #alllivesmatter. But, if all lives mattered, would Black lives matter even be a hashtag in the first place?

OJ from Hall University agreed with his peers, but also suggested that the criminal justice system rarely held officers accountable for their actions. He exclaimed:

> Some things just ain't right. Some punishments don't fit the crime. And, it just seems like it [police shootings] is constantly happening over and over again. Police officers are getting off for shooting and killing people. So, I have lost hope.

Malcolm held similar views and claimed, "The media is showing all the things that's happening to us. I think they [law enforcement] are trying to cover it up. I feel like they are trying to cover it even more." Henceforth, participants perceived law enforcement have social power to behave in exclusionary ways; consequently, the law protects these accumulated privileges.

Further, many of the Black males opted to reference specific police brutality incidents that altered their views of law enforcement groups. More concretely, one participant focused on Mike Brown, an 18-year old Black male fatally shot by a White police officer in Ferguson, Missouri (Reilly, 2014). Mike, a student from Hall University stated, "Its [police brutality] scary honestly because you really don't know. Well, I really do not know what Mike Brown did. Well, we will probably never know the true story."

In addition, Mike along with other students focused on Eric Garner, a 44-year old Black male, killed by a White police officer utilizing an illegal chokehold method (Goodman & Baker, 2014). Particularly, after reflecting on the Mike Brown incident, Mike alleged that local law enforcement overreacted to situations involving citizens of color. He remarked:

> So, Eric Garner was just standing outside. Apparently, they said he was just selling cigarettes. But, if somebody is saying that they can't breathe and it is like 10 of y'all- there is really nothing that they can do.

Alonzo who also attended Hall University referenced the same incident while illuminating the bystander effect, which occurs when an individual does not intervene during a threatening situation involving others (Hollister et al., 2014). He exclaimed, "It makes me feel

like, am I truly protected? It is really justice for all or justice for some? Eric Garner was a different situation, you know, because people were standing outside and he still got choked to death."

Ironically, while discoursing the police brutality phenomenon, participants recalled national incidents where White citizens shot and killed Black males; henceforth, Black, undergraduate males have difficulty distinguishing shootings of Black males by law enforcement and those by White citizens. Both phenomenon demonstrate the property function of whiteness -- the right to use and enjoy (hooks, 1997; Harris, 1995). As the dominant racial and social group, White people and police officers can use their whiteness to subordinate Black males that allegedly break the law. For example, during a previous quote, Malcolm from Hall University mentioned "Jordan Davis." Jordan Davis was a 17-year old Black male shot and killed by 47-year old Mike Dunn, a White male after an argument about loud music (Buxton, 2015). Whereas Mike, another student from Hall University, mentioned "Trayvon Martin," a 17-year old Black male killed by George Zimmerman, a 32-year old American and neighborhood watchman (Love, 2013). Mike stated, "I don't know what Trayvon did. Well I cannot speak on Trayvon -- that was not law enforcement. He was neighborhood watchmen."

Consequently, the national incidents of police brutality against Black males affected the participants in multiple ways. A few participants focused on how these situations altered their level of trust with local law enforcement groups. Chris, a student from Lee University, stated:

> I think it just makes us [pause] trust them even less. Like, I never really had like a trusting issue with police before, but like, with all these -- you know -- cases popping up and people getting shot and like for simple reasons -- like getting choked out to death -- it really makes you not trust the police. Like, if I have a problem, now I am hesitant about

> calling the police and stuff. Like, I think more people are prone to fixing problems on their own because they do not want police involved.

OJ views aligned with Chris. He shared that the deaths of Black men at the hands of police "is sad." While elaborating on his feelings, he stated, "I hate to be pessimistic, but it really makes me lose hope in the justice system a little bit" whereas Kai expressed:

> It makes me weary…it is like an uneasy feeling. When I get in the car with people, I'm very nervous because I am just like -- in the back of mind -- even if the speed limit is 45 and they are going 49, I am saying we're Black, we can't go over the speed limit.

Further, Malcolm also expressed concerned about driving while Black and stated, "I kind of like, black out basically. I get nervous or whatever. So, whenever I see a cop behind me or whatever and I get pulled over, I am always thinking about the worst thing that could happened."

Although the participants only referenced Trayvon Martin, Jordan Davis, Eric Garner, and Mike Brown, other reports of police misconduct could have potentially influenced their attitudes toward local law enforcement groups. Essentially, Black college males' views of local law enforcement diminished when they perceived police officers' behaviors as inappropriate and unjust. Unfortunately, law enforcement groups may continue mistreating Black college men to reap the psychologically, social, economic, and political benefits (Bell, 1980).

Theme 2: Chainless Imprisonment of the Educated Black Man

The notion of intersectionality emerged as participants acknowledged their race, gender, and education identities as the most salient factors structuring their lived experiences on and off campus. Participants' social identities intersected causing a dual existence where they had access to privilege based on their education, but yet endured discrimination due to their race and

gender identities. Oscar, a student from Hall University, submitted a photo capturing the dichotomous realities of Black college males' experiences with police:

Figure 4. Officer, These Are the Only Weapons That I Have

While Oscar's peer, Kai, explained that seeking, a higher education is vitally important to African American men, but the institution of racism coupled with other systems of oppression jeopardized their dreams. He shared:

> I am here on a college campus and I am seeking some type of life. I am seeking some type of development. I am seeking a higher education as they put it, and that's all I have as an African American male student until some type of factor, some type of obstacle or type of barrier steps in the way (i.e., law enforcement) in most cases -- to keep me from achieving my goals.

In general, for many of the participants, obtaining a college degree was critically important to their mobility through the social ranks; however, oppressive systems prevailed on their college campuses -- institutions deemed as egalitarian and a great equalizer in society. While reflecting on their experiences as Black educated men on and off campus participants illuminated other factors beyond education, including officers' social identities, personal

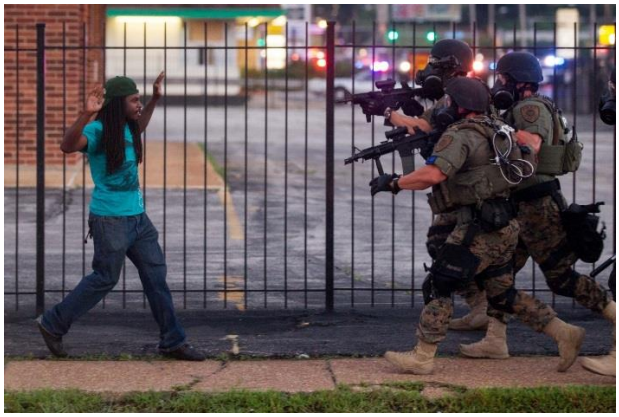
appearance, and context that influenced their outcomes. As such, the following subthemes were created: (1) Salience of Educational Attainment; (2) Interplay of Officers' Social Identities on Policing of Black College Males; and (3) Conforming to White Standards Protects Black College Males.

Salience of Educational Attainment

For most of the participants in this study, obtaining a college degree was vitally important; however, five out of the nine Black college males questioned if their "degree mattered." Participants proclaimed being in college did not preclude them from having unwarranted and negative experiences with campus police and local law enforcement. This uncertainty held by participants challenges the notion of meritocracy, which alleges that one's talents, abilities, and education leads to success and aids in mitigating social inequalities (Andersen & Collins, 2013; Gallagher, 2013).

Many of these participants were keenly aware of how their multiple, interrelated social identities affected their lived experiences with law enforcement groups. Participants claimed law enforcement groups on and off campus "hated" Black males, which superseded the mere fact that they were in college. For example, Jay from Lee University mentioned, "I think as a Black male campus police is someone there to antagonize you. Someone there to follow you around. They don't really do much of anything, but just annoy you." While Mike from Hall University focused on how local police stereotyped Black men in his hometown. He shared, "I don't care if you got on a suit and a nice low haircut and all of that --you are a Black guy… I just feel like as Black men we have to be more careful with where we are at, what times of day we are somewhere, and stuff like that."

Ironically, three participants submitted the same photo to represent their views on how law enforcement groups interacted Black males. See the image below.



Figures 6, 8, and 17

When asked to explain the photo, participants gave similar, but distinct responses. For example, Jay from Lee University provided this photo to represent his views on campus police. His caption for this photo was "When You Cough Near Campus Police" because he felt this group was suspicious of Black students. Alex, a student from Hall University, used the following caption, "He's Always Victimized." He expressed that society constructs and reproduces negative messages about Black males and as a result, they have endured a long history of law enforcement mistreatment. From the comments and pictures, it becomes evident how race interlocks with gender and structures Black males' experiences with prejudice and discrimination.

In addition to recognizing the injustices that Black college males confronted daily, several participants from Hall and Lee Universities considered if their educational attainment benefitted them during encounters with police. For example, Malcolm stated, "But, I don't even tell them [local law enforcement] that I am in college. Because I am Black so I mean, whether I

am in college or not, they probably don't care." Whereas Mike shared, "So, I think just because you go to college. I don't think your interactions are going to be different" while Kai exclaimed:

> Because I do not think, I am anybody different. I do not think that I am exempt because I am in college. I might be walking through my neighborhood. I might be walking through my college apartments. I might be walking on campus, but what is really about to happen?

Similarly, Jay from Lee University shared a story regarding an encounter with local law enforcement in which he alleged that his multiple interrelated identities predicated the traffic stop. According to Jay, he informed the police officer that he was in college, yet did not get the response he anticipated. Jay explained:

> Like, when she [police officer] was asking to search the car, I was like, I haven't done anything wrong. Like, I am just a student. Why did I get pulled over? And they [police officers] were just like, we will tell you; however, they basically weren't telling me. So, it was like 15 minutes of them questioning me and like searching the car before they finally told me why they pulled me over. And they pulled me over because they thought -- in her words -- they thought I was rolling a blunt and getting ready to smoke it in the car. And I was drinking a frosty.

Building on this concept of local law enforcement racially profiling students, Jay provided the following photo to support his beliefs:

Figure 4. Local Police: Racial Profiling

He explained the meaning of this photo and stated, "Like because you are a young Black male in a nice car, you got to be doing something wrong -- either you stole it or you doing something wrong in the car."

Paradoxically, a few students alleged that being in college was a form of "capital" and made a difference in their interactions; this belief aligns with the liberal claim of meritocracy in that participants perceived their education precluded them from having negative experiences with police groups. Many described specific incidents in which they "used" their educational attainment as leveraged during encounters. For instance, Xavier from Hall University, stated, "Actually, actually I do think honestly I think being able to speak well -- being able to articulate yourself and being a college student does knock off a notch when you speak with police." Whereas, OJ, another student from Hall University commented, "I do think they have a little bit more leniency towards college students."

Furthermore, Chris, from Lee University also talked about the salience of his educational identity during encounters with local police. However, for him, he also considered a person's behavior to be equally important. Chris remarked:

> I think it could. They probably see a kid just trying to find their way, I guess. They may have a little bit more sympathy towards you. But, I would think that me being polite would offset any type of, you know, any negative energy.

Based on participants' stories, it becomes apparent that Black males place a high value on attaining a college degree. However, as Black men, they must learn to navigate racial barriers on and off campus. Unfortunately, many members of law enforcement and society have been socialized to believe that Black men are "thieves," "robbers, "killers," hood, "ratchet," and "criminals."

Interplay of Officers' Social Identities on Policing of Black College Males

Participants in this study deconstructed their lived realities with law enforcement groups by focusing on police officers' race and gender identities. Many of the Black males reported "all officers" exerted their "authority" with Black males and attempted to relegate them to an "inferior" status. Many of these actions threatened the relationships between male students of color and police agencies; in addition, reflected the institution of racism and property functions of whiteness. Police officers, irrespective of race and gender, accumulate whiteness and its inherent privileges due to their social position, thus have power to marginalize men of color (Ladson-Billings, 1998).

For example, while attempting to explain why officers of color targeted Black men, Alex expressed:

> I don't know if it is because they feel like, they have worked hard to get to where they are or is it a certain type of privilege [respect] that-- you know -- you have to give them or whatever. I don't necessary know, but I do feel like police officers, African American males and females do the most.

Additionally, Mike from Hall University offered a similar perspective to rationalize why Black officers exerted their power with Black college males. He stated, "Like most of the Caucasian officers already don't like Black people, so he [African American local law enforcement] is just trying to fit in with them. So, now, he act like he don't like Black people too."

A few participants claimed that police officers possessed social power to exclude; therefore, the officers' race and gender identities did not influence their encounters. Malcolm from Hall University, claimed, "I mean whether you are a White officer, A Black officer, a female officer or a male officer, you are an officer." In addition, Kai from Hall University contended, "it is all Black, White, male, female, young, and old campus police" that marginalized Black males. While Mike, another student from Hall University steered the conversation from the Black and White binary and suggested Hispanic officers also hold biases toward Black men. In particularly, he shared a story where local police stopped him multiple times on the highway while searching for a suspect that committed a crime. According to Mike, the police racially "profiled" him based on his vehicle. Mike explained, "The first time it was a Hispanic [male] officer that pulled me over. I let my window down, and he was like -- you got some guns-- and I said no. You got some drugs, and I said no. He never asked for my license or insurance, so I get back on the highway."

Several of the Black males reported that White police officers specifically marginalized them. For example, Malcolm from Hall University, exclaimed, "I think some of them really abuse their power. I've been, you know, harassed by them and the ones that I have been harassed by were not Black. They were either White or Hispanic." Moreover, OJ, another student from Hall University recounted an incident where a White police officer from campus made direct contact while in his on-campus apartment for having an expired tag. He stated:

> It made me feel like I was supposed to be afraid -- he was just like very aggressive, and he was a bigger guy too. And so I feel like maybe his size spoke for itself and he didn't have to be so aggressive in his approach, but he was. And, it made me a little uneasy, and especially, there wasn't like a situation where I was harming anybody else or potentially harming anybody else- it was an expired registration.

Jay described White officers at Lee University; in particularly, he complained that campus police placed more Black students under surveillance than White students. He shared a story regarding an incident that occurred on campus. According to Jay, a White police officer stopped him while walking to a student organization meeting on campus at the same time of a White, female student who was running. Jay explained:

> "I think her being a White female definitely, like, she didn't even show up on his radar -- he didn't see her at all. And me, like, being a Black male, like, the first thing I say, or rather he saw -- he definitely honed in on me. So, I could have been running with the White girl and he still would have stopped me.

Chris from Lee University echoed his peer's sentiment about White officers at the institution. According to Chris, he recently attended a student organization meeting comprised of mostly African American students where students focused primarily on campus police. Chris recaptured his peers' statements and stated:

> From what I've heard, they'll [campus police] pull you over, you know, anyone that they feel is doing wrong. But, a lot of the time, the vast majority of the time, it's Black guys. Every now and then Black females, but most of the time Black guys and then the cops are like White people -- White males.

Paradoxically, a few students enrolled at Hall University, where most of the student population is of color, felt that the law enforcement system and dominant ideologies have socialized Black male officers to accept stereotypical messages and images about Black males; as such, Black officers exuded these biases while interacting with them. For instance, Kai remarked:

> The majority of our officers are Black and so the only White officer that we have on campus, I don't ever, I never encountered him in a -- you know -- in a hateful or malicious kind of way. So most of the negative energy that I get are from the Black officers and it's mostly the men, mostly the men.

Similarly, Alex, from Hall University declared that Black officers on and off campus excluded Black males. He asserted, "To a certain extent, I do feel that African American cops are harsher on African American males and females… One thing that I can say is that Black and African American male police officers will fight you." These examples provided by the participants demonstrate that dominant and less dominant groups may accept systems of oppression as normal and may not recognize their prejudices towards specific groups (Andersen & Collins, 2013a).

Conforming to White Standards Protects Black College Males

On the contrary, a few participants in this study reported that some campus and local law enforcement officers refrained from oppressing Black males. Specifically, participants acknowledged that "at certain times" police officers from both organizations were "courteous" and "friendly" towards them; in addition, assisted with crises (e.g., car-related issues). However, many of the participants contradicted their views in that they highlighted variables, including personal appearance, context, and communication, that made the experience positive. From a

CRT lens, when the Black college males did not pose a threat to law enforcement groups or conformed to White standards, police officers resisted subordinating them (bell, 1997; Ladson-Billings, 1998).

For example, Mike, a student from Hall University stated he had an overall positive perception of campus police. He remarked, "I have a pretty good perception of campus police – especially in comparison to other police. Sometimes, they just stop to talk to you to see if everything is ok." However, when asked to provide photos regarding his perceptions of campus police and local law enforcement, Mike unconsciously refuted his original perspective. In particular, Mike's photos inferred that appearance influences Black college males' encounters with police groups; the pictures are as follows:

Figure 10. The Token Black Guy

Figure 11. Why Me?

Mike indicated his attire in *Figure 11* attributed to his multiple, involuntary contacts with local law enforcement. He explained, "That picture of me with the more urban attire, I definitely don't look like I am in school. I probably look like I am going up to cars and trying to sell something." In contrast, when Mike dressed in professional clothing, as seen in *Figure 10*, he

believed police groups categorize him as the "Token Black Guy"; thus, leading to more positive encounters with law enforcement on and off campus.

Similarly, Kai, from Hall University also expressed having positive outcomes with local police, but also claimed his attire and context influenced the interaction. While reflecting on his views of local law enforcement, Kai stated, "When, I appear to be somebody in a uniform or somebody working behind a counter or something like that -- you know -- the interactions are different versus when I appear to be just a student…or somebody with a gun." Kai further explains, "So, I feel like a lot of times, my interactions with police officers are more pleasant when my semblance is different."

Furthermore, Xavier from Hall University admitted having positive experiences with campus police, yet also honed in on how race and gender adversely affected his outcomes with campus police and local law enforcement groups. Initially, Xavier described campus police as the following, "Majority of them interact in a positive manner. They are not really demanding. They don't try to force their authority or whatever. They usually communicate in a respectful tone or manner -- so more of a guider than anything." When probed further about the role of race, gender, and other social identities in shaping his outcomes with police organizations, he stated:

> Well for me, it influences a lot. I have to be aware of where I am, what I look like, what I represent. So, I have to carry myself in a manner that I may not want to at the time. But just so there won't be any misunderstanding or any reason for blame. I have to carry myself civilized I should say all the time.

To ensure I clearly understood Xavier's feelings, I asked the following question, "Do you feel like you must carry yourself in this manner with campus police? He responded, "Correct."

Henceforth, similar to the other participants, Xavier presented an incongruous story. However, a common theme from the aforementioned quotes is that Black college males may feel forced to conform to conceptual functions of whiteness to mitigate negative outcomes with police groups (Ladson-Billings, 1998).

Chapter Summary

Chapter 4 highlighted the major findings from the semi-structured interviews and photo elicitation process. For participants in this study, the epistemologies held by campus police and local law enforcement reinforced systems of oppression while sustaining a power hierarchy between students and police groups. The CRT research lens was essential here as I was able to deconstruct the hidden meaning behind participants' stories while connecting the messages back to systems of subordination in addition to dominant ideologies of meritocracy, color-blindness, and whiteness.

In essence, participants' personal encounters, vicarious experiences, and media related stories -- especially highly publicized cases involving Black men -- generated unfavorable views of law enforcement. Participants acknowledged that police organizations internalized their superior status and disregarded non-discriminatory laws governing communities on and off campus. Additionally, majority of the participants professed that their race and gender identities were salient factors shaping outcomes with police groups while others considered social class, perceived sexual orientation, and religion. Lastly, most participants reported that being in college had no bearing on their outcomes with campus and local police officers as they experienced unwarranted searches, racial profiling, and harassment.

Interestingly, some of the Black college males alleged that police officers representing multiple races and genders stereotyped, targeted, and racially profiled them. However, some of these officers respected them and resisted exuding their social power when they conformed to White standards of dress, behavior, and communication. Although participants had varying experiences with law enforcement groups, the African American college males' collective

narratives unveiled their struggles with navigating systems of oppression while working on a college degree.

CHAPTER 5

DISCUSSION

The findings from this study provided a deeper understanding of African American college males' ideologies and realities with campus police and local law enforcement. In this chapter, I expound on the major findings by comparing and contrasting data from this study to previous literature and CRT tenets. Additionally, I draw some conclusions regarding the implications of this study for counselor educators, student affairs practitioners, and law enforcement. Finally, I conclude this section by identifying the limitations of this study and highlighting recommendations for future research.

Purpose of the Study

This study examined African American college males' perceptions of campus police and local law enforcement; in addition, analyzed how race, gender, class, perceived sexual orientation, and religion structured their outcomes with police organizations. Central questions guiding this exploration were: (1) how do African American college males perceive campus police and local law enforcement? and (2) how have race and other forms of subordination shaped their experiences with campus police and local law enforcement? Research surrounding African American college males' attitudes and lived realities with different police groups at various types of colleges and universities is underdeveloped; in addition, few scholars have examined this population's opinions during the rise of police misconduct cases in the United States. Hence, this study has added to the literature on policing in higher education and offered

insight on the oppressive structures shaping citizens of color outcomes with police groups (Jacobsen, 2015; Mbuba, 2010; Smith et al., 2007; Wada et al., 2010).

Using a conceptual framework grounded in phenomenology and CRT greatly enhanced this research inquiry. Specifically, the phenomenological approach enabled me to use a semi-structured interview protocol while gathering in-depth information regarding participants' individual and collective outcomes with police groups -- rather than attempting to understand participants' worldviews from quantitative surveys as seen in previous studies (Hays & Wood, 2011; Hollister et al., 2014; Langton & Durose, 2013; Merriam, 2009; Siedman, 2013). Further, the interview process provided the space for participants to name their realities and voice unheard stories to stakeholders concerned with helping African American males in college.

Furthermore, I integrated photo elicitation as a secondary data collection method into the study to broaden understanding of the phenomena and to build a more rigorous study (Hays & Singh, 2012). Few studies (Jacobsen, 2015; Mbuba, 2010; Wada et al., 2010) have considered this data collection method while exploring college students' experiences with police groups and citizens' perceptions of local law enforcement (Birzer & Madhi, 2006; Brunson, 2007; Warren, 2011). Therefore, photos submitted by participants provided a visual image of their lived realities with campus police and local law enforcement while giving participants the opportunity to express themselves in a unique, meaningful way (Torre & Murphy, 2015).

In addition, given that participants in this study belonged to a racially subordinate group, applying a CRT theoretical lens was also important. CRT posits that racism is a normal and everyday reality for people of color (Solorzano & Yosso, 2001). Researchers exploring issues in educational settings often integrate this theoretical lens into their work because CRT theorists claim this system is a microcosm of larger society perpetuating racial subordination and White

hegemony (Ladson-Billings & Tate, 1995; Ladson-Billings, 1998; Love, 2013). Using CRT tenets in this study fostered a discourse on how race and racism structures the experiences of Black college men in postsecondary settings by honing in on their interactions with campus police (Ladson-Billings & Tate, 1995). A CRT approach to this inquiry also provided an analytical framework to deconstruct how participants' gender, race, and other social identities intersected and shaped their outcomes with police organizations on and off campus (Collins, 2012). In addition, this paradigm offered a lens to challenge dominant racial epistemologies, including color-blindness and meritocracy, claiming racism no longer exists and only impacts the less educated, delinquent, or economically disadvantaged (Collins, 2015b; Delgado & Stefancic, 2006).

Discussion of the Findings

Many of the African American college males' outcomes with police groups were similar; however, complexities emerged after considering the interplay of present societal conditions, their social group memberships, and systems of oppression. After clustering participants' statements, I identified two themes capturing the essences of their attitudes and interactions with police organizations; in addition, I created four subthemes to explicate the nuances and factors altering their perceptions and experiences with both law enforcement groups. The themes and subthemes are as follows:

- Lawless System Structured to Subordinate Black Men
    - Influence of Recent Police Brutality Incidents on Perceptions of Law Enforcement
- Chainless Imprisonment of the Educated Black Male
    - Interplay of Officers' Social Identities on Policing of Black College Males

- Salience of Educational Attainment
- Conforming to Whiteness Protects Black College Males

In general, the themes parallel findings from existing studies; however, diverged in some areas. Specifically, findings from this study supported previous literature in that the African American college males' views and experiences with police on and off-campus resembled citizens of color attitudes and accounts of their interactions with law enforcement groups. Additionally, similar to other men of color at PWIs, African American college males' from the PWI in this study also sensed campus police harassed and stereotyped them (Cureton, 2003; Smith et al., 2007). On the contrary, findings from this study revealed four key differences from previous literature (Mbuba, 2010; Smith et al., 2007; Wada et al., 2010): (1) African American college males have similar views of campus police and local law enforcement; (2) reports of police violence against African American males affects African American college males' opinions of local police and psychological well-being; (3) African American college males at a public institution where majority of the population identifies as students of color have negative attitudes and experiences with campus police; and (4) in addition to race and gender, African American college males' class, religion, and perceived sexual orientation influence their outcomes with police groups. While discussing the key findings below, I will elaborate on these similarities and differences.

Lawless System Structured to Subordinate Black Men

Majority of the participants in this study reported having low regard for both campus police and local law enforcement, which stemmed from their personal encounters and mass media reports of police violence against Black males. Generally, participants perceived that police groups "hated" Black men and this misandry permeated throughout various subsystems of

the criminal justice system and college campus. As such, participants believed the criminal justice and higher education systems sustained the oppression of Black men by rarely holding police officers accountable for their prejudicial attitudes and discriminatory actions. In general, their perceptions support CRT claims regarding the permanence of racism in that race affects people of color daily experiences at the individual, societal, and institutional level (Delgado & Stefancic, 2006; Solorzano, 1998). Further, participants' views give critical insight on how race and gender are not mutually exclusive categories, but rather intersect and consequently create social inequalities (Collins, 2015).

Specifically, some participants categorized the law enforcement system as "unfair," "biased", and immoral. In previous studies, citizens of color (Birzer & Smith-Madhi, 2006; Shuck et al., 2008) and college students of color (Cureton, 2003; Smith et al., 2007) have expressed similar concerns about local law enforcement and campus police. However, to date, only a few studies (Smith et al., 2007; Wada et al., 2010) have compared and contrasted students' perceptions of both police organizations; in addition, these aforementioned studies have primarily focused on this phenomenon within the context of PWIs. Building on this foundation, this study has expounded on the ecology of policing in higher education by examining outcomes of Black males at two different types of public universities. Findings from this study revealed Black males at a PWI and public university with a high number of students of color had low regard for campus police.

Similar to previous studies, the African American college males formulated opinions of law enforcement groups based on police officers' attitudes and actions during direct and vicarious encounters (Tyler & Fagan, 2008; Tyler, Fagan & Geller, 2014; Warren, 2011). As seen in existing literature on campus police (Hollister et al., 2014; Jacobsen, 2015) and local

police (Brunson, 2007; Langton & Durose, 2013; Pew Research Center, 2013), participants' attitudes diminished when they perceived that police groups treated racial groups unequally, used excessive force, or exerted their social power. Interestingly, participants had similar views and outcomes with campus police and local law enforcement, which paralleled Smith and colleagues (2007) study conducted in a PWI setting. Participants alleged that both police groups stereotyped, racially profiled, and harassed them more than White students. In particularly, participants pointed out that campus police disrupted their social spaces which aligns with previous research focusing on White students experiences with police groups (Hollister et al., 2014; Jacobsen, 2015). In contrast to previous research, participants attributed this phenomenon to the meaning ascribed to their race and gender identities, which is indicative of whiteness and how social constructions of race dictates who will be included and who will be excluded (hooks, 1997).

Paradoxically, although students expressed having similar views and outcomes with law enforcement on and off campus, participants reporting having more negative encounters with local police than campus police. This finding aligns with Wada and colleagues (2010) study on student evaluations of local and campus police groups; however, most of the participants in this research inquiry were White males and females whereas all of the participants in this study were African American males. This finding suggests college students irrespective of race have more positive experiences with campus police than with local police. Further, the increase in negative experiences with local police indicate that the farther away Black males move away from campus, the more likely they will have direct contact with police groups; thus, it is possible that, at times, the college campus safeguards them from having involuntary, unwarranted encounters with local police groups.

Particularly, participants in this study emphasized that the high-profile incidents regarding police misconduct against Black men triggered their negative assessment of local police. Few empirically based studies have considered the effects of this phenomenon on college-aged students (Cohn, 2015; Goodman & Baker, 2014; Pew Research Center, 2013; Reilly, 2014); however, similar to recent polls regarding the public's opinion of police, African American college males in this study also suggested they do not trust law enforcement organizations. Furthermore, consistent with previous research, data from this study unveiled that participants' direct and indirect experiences with racism produced psychological stress for African American college males (Hardwood et al., 2012; Solorzano et al., 2000). In particular, participants expressed that the continuous witnessing of oppression against Black males by police officers and White citizens triggered feelings of "helplessness", "hopelessness," "anxiousness," and "weariness"; these symptoms closely aligned with mundane extreme environmental stress and racial battle fatigue (Smith et al., 2007; Smith et al., 2011). Although scholars (Carroll, 1998; Pierce, 1981) have examined the psychological and physiological consequences of racism for people of color, few have considered how highly publicized incidents of violence toward Black men have affected men of color in the higher education pipeline (Cureton, 2003; Love, 2013). Henceforth, this study has drawn attention to the effects of this phenomenon. In addition, illustrated how internalized oppression onsets after directly or indirectly experiencing discrimination (Hardiman et al., 2007).

Chainless Imprisonment of the Black Educated Man

The Black college males discussed the confounding effects of belonging to several social groups. Participants alleged obtaining a college degree was critically important to their personal and professional success in a society "designed to fail" Black men. However, although dominant

society perceives educational attainment to be a great equalizer, being in college did not preclude participants from experiencing social inequalities. After holding all other identities constant, participants reported that their race and gender identities were the most pervasive factors influencing their interactions with police organizations, which parallels previous research (Smith et al., 2007; Smith et al., 2011). This phenomenon illuminates how intersectionality operates; most often, people have multiple, overlapping identities that confer privilege and oppression in various contexts (Adams, 2007; Andersen & Collins, 2013b). Ironically, although the African American college males are in a privileged setting -- college -- their racial and gender identities coupled with systemic oppression superseded this factor and adversely affected their lived experiences.

Participants in this study also had conflicted feelings regarding the role of educational attainment in their interactions with police groups. Specifically, five of out of nine participants indicated that being in college did not matter, claiming they were still bound to have negative interactions with campus police and local law enforcement due to their racial and gender identities. This finding is consistent with previous research (Birzer & Madhi, 2006; Smith et al., 2011) demonstrating that Black men with varying levels of education worry about encountering police. Contrarily, four of nine participants reported that being in college led them to have positive outcomes with law enforcement groups, which suggests that African American males perceive being in college places them at an advantage. However, the later view held by participants also demonstrates how dominant ideologies, including meritocracy and color-blindness, have infiltrated African American college males' belief systems, causing them to believe that racial discrimination is no longer a societal problem (Andersen & Collins, 2013a;

Collins, 2015b). These beliefs also aid in masking social inequalities affecting marginalized populations.

Further, prior studies have typically focused on the interplay of race, gender, and class while exploring citizens' perceptions of police groups, but have rarely included the educational attainment factor in their analyses (Dottolo & Stewart, 2008; Weitzer & Tuch, 2004; Wu et al., 2009). Mbuba (2010) was one of few scholars examining the role of educational attainment on college students' attitudes towards police. Similar to this study, Mbuba (2010) found that higher education was not a salient factor influencing students of color perceptions of police; however, this study illustrated that African American males perceived being in college prevented them from having negative encounters with police. Moreover, findings from this study revealed that students across majors and age (e.g., 19 to 25) generally had negative perceptions and experiences with campus police as well as those who were involved in fraternities and campus-wide student organizations. Mbuba (2010) only examined the perspectives of criminal justice and non-criminal justice majors and traditional aged students; in addition did not consider student involvement in his exploration.

Unlike dominant racial groups, Black people are burdened with historical stereotyping, including being perceived as criminals, thugs, and uneducated. Most often, members of society unconsciously ascribe these characteristics to Black males regardless of their personal and professional success. These conceptual categories associated with Blackness permit Whites to maintain their power with ultimate protection from the law (Harris, 1993). Although in an environment deemed as advantaged by societal standards, race and gender are the primary criteria of evaluation for these men.

Police officers' race and gender identities were additional factors complicating participants lived experiences with law enforcement on and off campus. In contrast to previous claims that mostly White male officers target African American males, participants in this study implied that they had negative encounters with officers from different racial and gender groups (Cohn, 2015; Goodman & Baker, 2014). More concretely, participants extended the conversation on policing from the Black and White and female and male binaries. For African American college males in this study, Black, White, and Hispanic in addition to male and female officers on and off campus abused their authority and stereotyped them. While deconstructing this specific finding on how police officers, irrespective of race and gender, marginalized Black college males, functions of whiteness became evident. Specifically, as the dominate racial group, White officers have innate privileges while officers of color accumulate whiteness after completing the police academy (Ladson-Billings, 1998); thus, with protection from the law, officers belonging to dominant and less dominant racial groups have power to discriminate against African American men who deviate from White standards and norms (Bell, 1997; Harris, 1993, 1995).

On the contrary, participants expressed that they occasionally interacted with "courteous" and respectful police officers on and off-campus. Specifically, one participant reported having positive outcomes with local law enforcement whereas four students claimed to have positive experiences with campus police. In essence, participants formulated positive opinions of campus police after they appeared to be helpful during a perceived crisis or protected them. This finding echoes previous research on college students' judgments regarding the legitimacy of campus police; college students evaluate campus police based on their competence and job performance

and use these criteria as a framework to form their opinions (Jacobsen et al., 2015; Wada et al., 2010).

However, in most studies (Hollister et al., 2014; Wada et al., 2010; Vinciguerra & Magane, 2011) on college students' perceptions of campus police, is difficult to assess African American college males' authentic views or the context in which their attitudes emerged given their data collection method. In contrast to these studies, this research inquiry focused explicitly on African American college men and allowed participants to elaborate on the conditions that led to their encounter with a police officer. While discoursing their realities with police groups, the African American college males presented incongruent stories and contradicted their positive affirmations of police officers. For example, several participants stated that when they wore professional clothing, police officers respected them; whereas when they wore apparel reflective of their culture, police officers stereotyped and racially profiled them in social settings on and off-campus (Guess, 2006; Ladson-Billings, 1998). These outcomes mirror previous studies where African American men claimed that their clothing, environments, and behaviors heightened local police suspicions of them (Birzer & Smith-Madhi, 2006; Brunson, 2007). Reflecting on the notion of whiteness, in essence, when African American males did not pose a threat to the campus environment and conformed to White standards of dress, they had positive experiences. Furthermore, it is possible, that the African Americans unintentionally conformed to White standards to mitigate negative outcomes with law enforcement.

Additional Findings

In this study, a few findings were unique and relevant to the further development on policing in higher education and broader community. Specifically, one participant expressed that police officers delivered micro-aggressions based on his perceived sexual orientation and gender norms. While another participant stated his religious identity incited negative encounters with

local law enforcement. Studies exploring citizens' perceptions and experiences with police organizations have rarely focused on these social identities (Rosenbaum et al., 2005; Smith et al., 2007; Warren, 2011). Therefore, this study illustrated that race, gender, and class are not the only factors shaping citizens' outcomes with police organizations. Additionally, this finding suggests that in addition to racism, homophobia and religious oppression may be an issue permeating campus infrastructures and law enforcement systems. In addition, males that do not conform to expected gender norms may also endure discrimination as police officers hold assumptions regarding masculinity and femininity standards.

Whereas past research (Shuck et al., 2008; Wu et al., 2009) has indicated that social class is a pervasive factor influencing the public's attitudes and interactions with police organizations, this study also revealed that this social identity structures Black college males' attitudes and encounters with police groups. Few scholars have explored this variable in the campus police literature (Jacobsen et al., 2015; Mbuba, 2010; Wada et al., 2010). Specifically, one participant postulated that social class in addition to other identities influenced his experiences with local police; henceforth, unconsciously aligning his views with theory of intersectionality, yet alluding to the complexities of individuals realities with oppression and privilege (Hardiman et al., 2010). While another participant claimed that class was a primary predictor of involuntary police encounters; thus, reflecting a color-blind perspective. Several scholars (Anderson & Collins, 2014a; Gallagher, 2013) have contended that color-blind ideologies are detrimental to people of color as they engender a discourse on social issues that ignores racism and allows advantaged groups to maintain oppression. Furthermore, within an educational context, color-blind epistemologies may discount students of color experiences and ignore policies, procedures, and practices that sustain racism. Unfortunately, across the literature, many researchers (Cureton,

2003; Harper et al., 2009; Swim et al., 2003) have learned from their studies that students of color continuously battle racism in social and academic spaces on campus; therefore, race still matters in the 21st century.

Implications for Counseling, Student Personnel Services, and Law Enforcement

Across educational sectors, teachers, administrators, and mentors of African American males are searching for best practices and strategies to improve their academic and social success (Harper et al., 2009; Harper & Harris, 2012; Love, 2013). Unfortunately, various economic, social, political, and environmental barriers prevent African American men from matriculating, persisting, and graduating at the same levels as their White and female counterparts in postsecondary settings (Love; U. S. Department of Education, 2012). Although findings from phenomenological inquirers are not generalizable, the current study unveiled some key findings that stakeholders can consider to assist this population. In collaboration with participants, I have identified implications in the areas of training, research, programming, and advocacy for professionals in counseling, student personnel services, and law enforcement; the subsequent sections focus on these implications.

Conduct Assessment of African American College Males' Perceptions and Experiences

Most of the African American college males in this study never discussed their interactions with campus police and local law enforcement prior to this study. While interviewing participants, I learned that many of the participants encountered police organizations before and during college. Hence, one recommendation is for counselors and student personnel administrators to collect data on students' experiences with campus police on an annual basis. When individuals are able to tell their truths regarding their realities with law

enforcement, understandings will emerge that may potentially lead to transformations between police and communities of color.

According to the National Association for Student Personnel Administrators (NASPA) and Association for College Personnel Administrators (ACPA) Professional Competency Areas for Student Affairs (Eanes et al., 2015), professionals should be competent in multiple methodologies, conduct assessments to evaluate the campus climate and effectively use data to inform their practices. Furthermore, the American Counseling Association (ACA) Advocacy Competencies state (Lewis et al., 2003) that counselors must learn how to collect data and prepare reports to evoke systemic changes. Essentially, counselors and student personnel administrators must increase awareness regarding Black males and other marginalized populations experiences with police groups. Failing to collect this data prohibits campus police and local law enforcement agencies from making informed decisions that may improve their practices.

Currently, many colleges and universities assess students' perceptions and attitudes through campus climate surveys. Some of the surveys are general while others are formatted to focus exclusively on specific areas (e.g., racial climate or academics) [Cureton, 2003; Hardwood et al., 2012] or historically marginalized populations (e.g., Asian American students, LGBTQ communities, nonreligious students) to better understand their unique challenges and needs (Garvey, Taylor, & Rankin, 2015; Johnston & Yeung, 2014; Rokenbauch, Mayhew, & Bowman, 2015). Henceforth, counselors and student affairs administrators should utilize the campus climate survey as a framework to assess students' attitudes, perceptions, and outcomes with campus police and local law enforcement groups that support the college. More concretely, surveys should ask questions pertaining to demographics beyond race and gender (i.e., class,

sexual orientation, religion, student leader/non-student leader, etc.), voluntary and involuntary police stops, and perceived incidents of bias-based policing. Subsequently, counselors and student affairs professionals must generate reports to reveal discrepancies, if any, across demographic groups. In essence, this information will help professionals identify their challenges, strengths, and areas of growth in this functional area.

Further, in addition to surveys, professionals should consider collecting qualitative data to obtain in-depth information regarding students' lived experiences. Specifically, individual interviews or focus groups are viable options to consider; interview questions should solicit information regarding students' interactions with campus police and local law enforcement; in addition, prompt students to provide strategies that could improve relationships between law enforcement and communities of color. Furthermore, counselors and student personnel administrators may consider evaluating how interactions with campus police affect students' psychological and emotional well-being based on participants' responses in this study. As a long-term measure, colleges and universities should consider formalizing an advisory group representative of the student population to keep them informed. According to the President's Task Force on the 21st Century Policing, advisory groups can provide feedback on policing and ongoing recommendations to the police officers (Community Oriented Policing Services Office, 2015). Lastly, local law enforcement and campus police can organized open forums and town hall meetings where students and the local community discuss how they experience policing; further, police officers can express how they experience various sub-populations of the larger community. Essentially, collecting data formally and informally will help police officers determine how they work effectively with African Americans or galvanize them to develop culturally relevant and effective interventions to better relationships with this population.

Increase Support for African American Males

Most of the African American males in this study stated that police misconduct reports propagated by the media as well as unwarranted and negative encounters with police organizations produced psychological stress. Participants reported feeling "anxious," "helplessness," and "anger" in many instances. Previous research has found that perceived and actual gendered racism affects African American men stress levels (Smith et al., 2007; Smith et al., 2011) in addition to their social and academic success (Cureton, 2003; McCabe, 2009). Considering the negative psychological effects associated with racism, counselors can consider offering group therapy for African American college males that have had negative encounters with police groups or post national police brutality incidents. The literature on group work has indicated it is a viable therapeutic option for marginalized populations, including African American males (Bailey & Bradbury-Bailey, 2010; Delgado-Romero & Wu, 2010; Shin, Rogers, Stanciu, Silas, Brown-Smythe, & Austin, 2010).

Given that African Americans are often resistant to counseling and psychological services due to social stigmas, fear of judgment, and mistrust of counselors, practitioners can mitigate their concerns by openly discussing these barriers (Comstock et al., 2008; Samuel, 2015). Many scholars (Comstock et al., 2008; Samuel, 2015) acknowledged that having an open and honest dialogue with culturally diverse clients promotes trustworthiness and strengthens the therapeutic alliance. Essentially, this group work should give each member of the population an opportunity to share their stories to illuminate differences and similarities across the group (Delgado & Stefancic, 2006). Additionally, group facilitators should integrate a social justice framework to give this population space to reflect and name their experiences with racism, genderism, and other forms of oppression (Hays, Arredondo, Gladding, & Toporek, 2010; Singh

& Salazar, 2010). By naming their realities with oppression, participants will become more aware of how oppression manifests in society. In essence, through groups, counselors can help this population address their fears and frustrations regarding police and other entities (Bailey & Bradbury-Bailey, 2008). Yosso (2005) contended that when communities of color are able to engage in collective discourse regarding their lived experiences, this process empowers the group while revealing to stakeholders the oppressive structures that prevail in their life.

Advocacy for African American College Males

A few of the African American college males in this study expressed that they wanted support in combatting police brutality and other societal injustices on and off campus. Therefore, another implication of this study is for counselors and student personnel professionals to recognize that counseling and social justice advocacy are inextricably connected; in addition, engage in practical experiences to sharpen their advocacy skills with this population (Lewis et al., 2003). The Multicultural Social Justice Counseling (MSJC) Competencies (Ratts, Singh, Nassar-McMillan, Butler, & McCullough, 2015) provides a framework on how counselors can integrate social justice into their professional practice, while the ACPA and NASPA Competencies (Eanes et al., 2015) outlines comprehensive guidelines for student affairs professionals in resolving issues of oppression, power, and privilege. Whereas the ACA Advocacy Competencies (Lewis et al.), offers guidelines on how to address inequitable conditions that impinge upon clients' life at multiple levels. Collectively, these three models can guide counselors and student personnel administrators through social justice advocacy.

To build a more socially just environment for African American college males, counselors and student personnel administrators must first teach students self-advocacy skills. Teaching students self-advocacy skills aligns with ACA Advocacy Competencies (Lewis et al.,

2003) and involves social justice advocates assisting students in developing and carrying out action plans targeting economic, political, or social inequalities that affect them. Specifically, this self-advocacy training can teach students the history of social activism to give context to the purpose and evolution of this phenomenon; in addition, help students to conceptualize their roles as activists and the power they have in creating change (Taha, Hastings, and Minei, 2015). In addition, the self-advocacy training should provide direction to students on how to voice their concerns to various stakeholders; how to navigate through various systems at the collegiate and community level; and how to mitigate responses that reflect systemic or internalized oppression (Adams, 2007; Lewis et al., 2003). Learning self-advocacy skills will empower Black college males and give them a sense of self-agency over their own affairs; in addition, teach them how to be engaged citizens (Chaebong, 2012).

Advocacy for African American college males should also occur at the community level. Crethar and colleagues (2008) argued that when counselors intervene only at the individual level, they aid in perpetuating social injustices. Therefore, counselors and student personnel administrators must strengthened alliances with the community and other educational stakeholders to resolve issues affecting African American college males. More concretely, given the momentum centered on community-based policing, counselors and student affairs professionals can collaborate with law enforcement in their areas to facilitate multicultural competency trainings (Community Oriented Policing Services Office, 2015). The two groups can draw on their professional expertise to conduct trainings specifically focusing on race and racism. While police officers should possess culturally responsive skills enabling them to work with various populations, race-related trainings are critically important given the long-standing strained relationship between police officers and communities of color (Mentel, 2012).

Racial diversity and ally training for law enforcement. Presently, the Community Oriented Policing Services Office (U.S. Department of Justice, Community Oriented Policing Services, n.d.), who functions under the auspices of the U.S. Department of Justice, offers training sessions focusing on ethics and promoting fair and impartial policing training. Whereas, the International Association of Chiefs of Police (n.d.), a professional organization supporting law enforcement at all levels through programs and various initiatives, provides training in the areas of leadership, management, supervision, and administration. Henceforth, few training options currently exists from the core law enforcement entities guiding the profession regarding areas of race and other social identities, but components of the broad diversity trainings (International Association of Chiefs of Police, n.d.; U.S. Department of Justice, Office of Community Policing, n.d.) provide a frame of reference. Additionally, the President's Task Force on Community Policing in the 21st Century (Community Oriented Policing Services, 2015) created a guidebook with action steps for law enforcement and communities they serve to consider to improve the relationships between the two groups. An area of this document describes recommendations on diversity and training that can guide the specialized trainings on racial diversity.

Considering the current training modules and recommendations from the President's Task Force on Community Policing in the 21st Century (Community Oriented Policing Services, 2015), the racial diversity training for campus police and local law enforcement should focus on the following areas: (1) understanding biases and recognizing the effects of biases on perceptions and actions; (2) "procedural justice and de-escalation of force" (Community Oriented Policing Services, 2015, p. 20); and (3) culturally responsive skills on how to communicate and interact with various races — especially those involved in alleged crimes. Although diversity training

alone will not guarantee behavioral change, ideally, the goal of training is to ensure officers engage in morally just behaviors while protecting the civil liberties of humanity.

Lastly, the ACA Competencies (Lewis et al., 2003) require counselors and student personnel administrators to advocate for marginalized populations at the systems level. Students cannot tackle injustices alone; therefore, will benefit from allies who can work in and beyond their spheres of influence to dismantle policies and practices that sustain oppression within the institution. Thus, professionals must consider the aforementioned data collection strategies, collect data, and share this information with stakeholders on and off campus.

Facilitate Student Development Programs

Several participants reported that they did not know their legal rights as citizens nor how to interact with police. As such, one consideration is for student affairs educators to organize educational programs that will inform students of their legal rights, which is ultimately important to their identities as emerging adults. These programs can be held in collaboration with campus police, local law enforcement, political science faculty, and other individuals with expertise in these subjects and occur in the form of town hall meetings, classroom lecture, or conferences. Regardless of the format, these programs will essentially promote dialogue between students of color and law enforcement, which may enhance students' understanding of officers' duties in addition to expanding officers' awareness of students' concerns. Presently, police organizations are currently working to establish effective partnerships with the community to reduce crime, to maintain social order, and to increase citizens' trust; thus involving the police in campus programming can transform relationships between students of color and police officers (Gill, Weisburd, Telep, Vitter, & Bennett, 2014).

Enhance Accountability Measures

The final implication focuses on efforts to enhance police accountability. In this study, the African American males expressed that the criminal justice and campus police systems have failed to hold officers accountable for misconduct. In addition, at the national level, a centralized system housing police misconduct incidents does not exists; thus making this phenomenon ambiguous and difficult to assess (Johnson et al., 2014; Richardson, 2015). In particular, colleges and universities should develop a hate crime policy and establish a protocol for addressing bias-based police incidents (U.S. Department of Justice, 2000). Currently, several colleges and universities have established an infrastructure where students can report bias-related situations; however, many students may not be aware of this service or types of incidents that they can report (Hamilton College, n.d.; Marymount Manhattan College, n.d.; Vassar College, n.d.). As such, counselors and student personnel administrators should inform students of behaviors that violate standards of the campus community and reporting procedures for bias-related incidents; these professionals should consider facilitating presentations regarding this content during new student orientation, in residence halls or other central campus locations.

To promote fairness and justice in law enforcement agencies, the United States Department of Justice should create a centralized reporting system where citizens can report bias-based incidents involving law enforcement groups. Therefore, participants will have a place to voice their concerns, and this system would facilitate more accurate statistics pertaining to police misconduct. In addition, Silver (2014), a professor at the St. Thomas University School of Law in Miami, suggested that a bi-partisan committee should appoint independent prosecutors to oversee allegations of police misconduct; he claimed that the current infrastructures gives local persecutors too much power and is a conflict of interest. Most recently, the Presidential Task

Force convened and suggested that police officers need training on how to engage various members of the community; specifically, they highlighted that police officers need training on "engaging community members in nonthreatening ways and better communication skills" (Swarts, 2015; para 8). Collectively, these efforts may increase police accountability.

In essence, stakeholders across the educational pipeline should consider these implications while working to make their campuses more inclusive and welcoming for African Americans. In addition, law enforcement agencies could possibly use these strategies to improve relations between African American males and police officers and dismantle the culture of mistrust that exists between the groups. Although speaking and acting against social inequalities may engender personal and professional risks, individuals have to believe that the common good is worth the risks.

Limitations of Study

While this study has contributed to the counseling, student affairs, campus police and local law enforcement literature by highlighting African American college males' attitudes and experiences with these groups, several limitations exists. The goal of phenomenological inquirers in addition to other qualitative approaches is transferability --- demonstrating that findings are applicable to other settings (Lincoln & Guba, 1994). Given this context, one limitation of this study involves the homogeneous sample (Hays & Singh, 2012). Specifically seven out of nine of participants came from the same type of institution; in addition, most participants were not from the state of Georgia. Therefore, the findings are most transferable to African American males enrolled in public-universities where majority of the population is of color and to individuals residing in the southeastern United States.

Moreover, recruitment strategies pose another limitation. For this study, I recruited participants involved in Black-oriented student organizations, thus this study excluded the voices of Black males not involved in co-curricular activities. Involved and non-involved students may have differential experiences with police organizations; therefore, including both groups of students would have offered more insight regarding African American college males' lived experiences with police organizations.

Finally, my biases as a researcher presented another limitation. Many scholars claim that researcher's bias is a common problem in qualitative approaches as the investigator has worldviews and assumptions that may influence data collection and analysis (Kline, 2008; Yeh & Inman, 2007). As a social justice advocate, I wrestled emotionally with the recent police brutality cases involving Black men and police officers. Further, as I interviewed participants, their reports of negative experiences with police organizations triggered responses such as fear and frustration. I attempted to account for my views and positionalities by using a reflexive journal, rich-thick descriptions, and member checking of the transcriptions; in addition, I used a peer research team to code transcriptions. Furthermore, I triangulated the data by using a photo elicitation method where participants provided visual images of their views towards campus police and local law enforcement; this additional evidence helped to support the findings from the interview data.

Recommendations for Future Research

In general, research regarding African American college males' opinions and outcomes with campus police and local law enforcement is limited. However, currently, many scholars (Harper et al., 2009, 2012; Smith et al., 2011; Watson et al., 2015) have focused their attention on this population given their relatively low college enrollment, persistence, and graduation

rates. Thus, as stakeholders continue to focus on the environmental barriers that stifle this population's academic and social success, findings from this study warrants additional exploration of their lived realities with campus police and local law enforcement.

More specifically, this study pointed out that Black college men, irrespective of institutional type, perceived that campus police and local law enforcement placed them under increased surveillance as well as stereotyped them based on their racial and gender identities. Thus, a future study may consider examining differences across race by exploring Black and White college males' attitudes and interactions with police groups. Comparing and contrasting experiences of Black and White males will highlight discrepancies, if any, and draw attention to their differential outcomes with officers. Stakeholders can use this information to transform campus police departments and campus culture.

Further, several participants focused on the Black females' encounters with law enforcement and insinuated that this population also has negative experiences with police organizations. Unfortunately, police misconduct against women of color is not a new phenomenon; recently, the media has highlighted incidents where police officers allegedly victimized women of color (Blay, 2015; Chapin, 2015; Cherry, 2015). To date, few scholars have considered college women of color attitudes and outcomes with campus police and local law enforcement (Mbuba, 2010; Wada et al., 2010). Therefore, additional research should examine the experiences of women of color to amplify their realities with various police organizations. Drawing attention to this population will provide insight on their unique outcomes and help educational stakeholders to support them in ways that will benefit their specific group.

Findings from this research inquiry also revealed most participants perceived that educational attainment had no bearing on their outcomes with police organizations. In essence, this finding challenges the myth of meritocracy as society considers educational attainment a great equalizer. However, for marginalized populations, being in college does not exempt them from experiencing prejudice and discrimination as made evident by findings from this study. Additional empirical research should focus on Black men's views and interactions with police organizations with varying levels of education (e.g., high school diploma, two-year degree, four-year degree). This information will illuminate if increasing levels of education affect Black males' attitudes and outcomes with police organizations; in addition, enhance awareness regarding college educated men's realities with police groups given that most attention is given to youth from disadvantaged backgrounds.

Many of the participants reported that the recent police misconduct cases in the United States affected their perceptions of police groups; essentially, participants declared that local law enforcement were unjust and unfair based on their interactions with men of color. Therefore, I recommend further inquiry into the impact of notorious police brutality cases on African American college men. Specifically, additional research should focus on the psychological and emotional affects associated with these incidents as scholars across the literature have claimed that accumulated experiences with racism causes stress (Jernigan et al., 2015). For college administrators, this information will help them assess how this national, societal issue is impacting their students and identify ways to support them.

Although less common to the dominant literature on policing, two participants mentioned that their religious and perceived sexual orientation identities influenced their interactions with local law enforcement and campus police, respectively. Specifically, one of the participants

identified with a member of a less dominant religious group, Islam, and alleged that his racial, gender, and religious identities collectively shaped his outcomes with local law enforcement. Therefore, while considering the social stigmas associated with less dominant religious groups in society, I suggest future studies exploring the interplay of this social identity on individual's encounters with police officers. The second participant expressed that a campus police officer delivered microaggressions based on his perceived sexual orientation; however, after hearing the participant's complete narrative regarding this experience, gender non-conforming standards also influenced his encountered. Henceforth, additional research should focus on law enforcement treatment of gay, bisexual, transgender, and gender nonconforming populations who also identify with other historically marginalized populations (i.e., Black, Hispanic).

Finally, although the phenomenological and CRT theoretical lens allowed the researcher to analyze the individual and collective outcomes of the group while linking these realities to systems of oppression, researchers should consider other research methodologies and theoretical frameworks. Specifically, a quantitative investigation would permit the researcher to expand the scope of the study in terms of participants, which will provide a broader overview of African American males' attitudes and contacts with the various police groups (Creswell, 2014). Further, additional data will assist social justice advocates in making a stronger case when communicating student related concerns to stakeholders in their settings. In addition, many of the participants in this study offered strategies on how to improve students' strained relationships with police officers. Hence, participatory action research will be an appropriate tradition for future inquiries; this research tradition will empower students and give them direct input on how to transform problems in their settings (Hays & Singh, 2012).

Chapter Summary

Although this study added to the literature on policing, researchers need to direct more attention to this area. Limited information exists regarding African American college males' attitudes and outcomes with campus police and local law enforcement; in addition, few to no researchers have examined the phenomena post the national surge of police brutality incidents in the United States.

Examining the views and lived experiences of African American college males with police organizations from a phenomenological research tradition and CRT framework unveiled many findings that contribute to present day literature. The themes highlighted both the positive and negative aspects of African American college males' realities with law enforcement groups. The findings suggests that counselors and student personnel administrators can facilitate better relationships between African American college males and law enforcement groups by inviting these groups to assist with campus programs; organizing therapy groups for African American males post direct and indirect police misconduct experiences; and educating students on their legal rights as citizens. Further, these professionals can facilitate diversity trainings for law enforcement to improve their cultural competency skills.

Critical race theory asserts that racism is permanent and endemic to society. Many advantaged and disadvantaged groups hold a colorblind perspective -- thinking that race does not matter. However, race and racism continues to structure the lives of people of color at every educational level, made evident by participants' stories in this study. The African American college males in this study have attempted to overcome their racially subordinate status by obtaining a higher education degree. Unfortunately, racial stereotyping can infiltrate every system and adversely affect individuals' attitudes and behaviors at every level in an organization.

Rather than remaining hopeless about these outcomes, the African American college males have reminded society that they are resilient. Despite policies and practices that attempt to relegate them to a subordinate status, they persist to achieve the one thing that matters to them--- a higher education degree.

Epilogue

I am not an African American male, but an African American mother, aunt, student affairs practitioner and rising social justice scholar. Thus, I felt compelled to study this topic amid the insurgence of police brutality cases in the United States. The thought of losing my child, nieces, nephews, or students to excessive police force lingers and remains a salient concern in my life; mass media continuously reminds me that Black and Brown bodies do not matter. Thanks to technology and ubiquitous frustration from citizens regarding law enforcement's abuse of their social power, a political movement is transcending this nation to protect Black and Brown, male and female bodies from police. However, more work is yet to be done.

On a daily basis, I critically reflected on how I could assist in eviscerating police brutality, a system of social control that continuously plagues communities of color. In particularly, I yearned to work within my sphere of influence to uncover if African American males on college campuses were encountering the same injustices with law enforcement as other citizens of color. Although I work in a system designed to mobilize people through the social ranks, I have recognized from years of experience that as microcosms of larger society, colleges and universities are breeding grounds for various forms of injustices.

While listening to participants' stories, a state of shock subsumed me as they validated my speculations that they were not exempt from experiencing bias-based policing. A part of me believed that Black college males were at-risk of having negative encounters with police officers; however, my optimism prevented me from totally believing that this was the truth. I made every attempt to understand the essences of the Black males' perspectives and lived realities with police groups. I even attempted to quantify their stories to document the number of

positive and negative contacts they had with campus police and local law enforcement; however, I removed this information because that was not the intent of this inquiry.

This study has enhanced my awareness of African American males' experiences with racism and other forms of oppression in higher education; as a result, I will continue advocating on behalf of African American males as well as other marginalized groups at colleges and universities. I hope that counselors, student affairs administrators, and law enforcement are able to make meaning of this information. In addition, utilize the data to facilitate dialogue and movements that foster critical consciousness and action to better support African American college males on their campuses and in society.

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APPENDIX A

Recruitment Email to Professionals

Dear Colleague,

Currently, I am conducting an approved study by the Institutional Review Board at The University of Georgia to explore African American college men perceptions of campus police and local law enforcement. African American college students' perceptions and interactions with law enforcement on and off campus is an under researched area. Given the wave of police brutality incidents that have occurred in the United States, research in this area is timely and relatively important. Ultimately, as the researcher, I aim to add to the literature by providing the platform for African American college males to voice their stories and lived experiences with law enforcement on and off campus.

Your contact information was acquired through the Georgia's Diversity Consortium database. Given your direct contact with students from diverse backgrounds and positions in the areas of diversity, multiculturalism, and social justice, it is possible that students have discussed law enforcement issues with you or other staff members. I am looking for participants that meet the following criteria:

Identify as African American male

- 18 years of age or older
- Currently enrolled in college (part-time or full-time)
- Campus police agency present on campus
- Has had direct or vicarious experience with campus police and local law enforcement

If you know of students that meet this criteria or maybe interested in this study, please have them contact me directly at lcantey@uga.edu or 404-304-4022. I have attached a flyer that you can share with students that you serve. Also, consider using the following script while discussing the study:

Dear Student,

A doctoral student, Lakiesa Rawlinson, at the University of Georgia is conducting a study exploring African American college males' perceptions and experiences with campus police and local law enforcement. Given the wave of police brutality incidents that have occurred in the United States, the researcher believes that inquiries in this area are timely and relatively important. Ultimately, the researcher aims to add to the literature by providing the platform for African American college males to voice their stories and lived experiences with law enforcement on and off campus.

The researcher is looking for participants that meet the following criteria:

- *Identify as African American male*
- *18 years of age or older*
- *Currently enrolled in college (part-time or full-time)*
- *Campus police agency present on campus*
- *Has had direct or vicarious experiences (i.e., heard stories about family members, friends, etc. involvement with police) with campus police and local law enforcement while in college*

***Each participant that successfully completes the study will be given a $10.00 monetary incentive**. Also, the researcher recognizes that for some students, their involvement or vicarious experiences with campus police and local law enforcement maybe a sensitive issue. The researcher is bound by confidentiality and will only divulge your information to the research team who are also bound by confidentiality. To further protect participant's identity, each participant will be given a pseudonym; this pseudonym will be used during the interview, transcription of data, and research report. Please contact the researcher, Lakiesa Rawlinson, at lcantey@uga.edu or at 404-304-4022 if interested.*

If you have additional questions, please contact me using the aforementioned information. Thanks again for your assistance.

Sincerely,

Lakiesa C. Rawlinson

Lakiesa C. Rawlinson, M.Ed.
My pronouns are: her, hers, and she
Doctoral Candidate, Counseling and Student Personnel Services
Department of Counseling and Human Development Services
The University of Georgia
Email: lcantey@uga.edu
Phone: 404-304-4022 (c)

APPENDIX B

Recruitment Email to Students

Dear Student,

My name is Lakiesa Rawlinson, and I am conducting a study to explore African American college men perceptions of campus police and local law enforcement. African American college students' perceptions and interactions with law enforcement on and off campus is an under researched area. Given the wave of police brutality incidents that have occurred in the United States, research in this area is timely and relatively important. Ultimately, as the researcher, I aim to add to the literature by providing the platform for African American college males to voice their stories and lived experiences with law enforcement on and off campus. The primary contact for this study is Lakiesa C. Rawlinson, lcantey@uga.edu.

Your contact information was acquired through your institution's website. Given that your student organization is a predominately African American organization and the researcher is focusing on this population for their study, you were considered a source that could help recruit students that have had direct or vicarious experiences with campus police and local law enforcement. I am looking for participants that meet the following criteria:

- Identify as African American male
- 18 years of age or older
- Currently enrolled in college (part-time or full-time)
- Campus police agency present on campus
- Has had direct or vicarious experiences (i.e., heard stories about family members, friends, etc. involvement with police) with campus police and local law enforcement while in college

If you are interested in participating in this study or know of someone that maybe interested, please contact me at lcantey@uga.edu or 404-304-4022. **Each participant will receive $10.00 and will commit approximately 45 minutes to 60 minutes of their time to this project**. Also, please forward this message to members of your organization:

Dear Peers,

A doctoral student, Lakiesa Rawlinson, at the University of Georgia is conducting a study exploring African American college males' perceptions and experiences with campus police and local law enforcement. Given the wave of police brutality incidents that have occurred in the United States, the researcher believes that inquiries in this area are timely and relatively important. Ultimately, the researcher aims to add to the literature by providing the platform for African American college males to voice their stories and lived experiences with law enforcement on and off campus.

The researcher is looking for participants that meet the following criteria:

- *Identify as African American male*
- *18 years of age or older*
- *Currently enrolled in college (part-time or full-time)*
- *Campus police agency present on campus*
- *Has had direct or vicarious experiences (i.e., heard stories about family members, friends, etc. involvement with police) with campus police and local law enforcement while in college*

Each participant that successfully completes the study will be given a $10.00 monetary incentive and will commit approximately 45 to 60 minutes of their time to this project*. Also, the researcher recognizes that for some students, their involvement or vicarious experiences with campus police and local law enforcement maybe a sensitive issue. The researcher is bound by confidentiality and will only divulge your information to the research team who are also bound by confidentiality. However, in the event that you share information regarding your involvement in illegal matters, the researcher will have to share this information with law enforcement. To further protect participants' identity, each participant will be given a pseudonym; this pseudonym will be used during the interview, transcription of data, and research report. Please contact the researcher, Lakiesa Rawlinson, at lcantey@uga.edu. or at 404-304-4022 if interested.*

If you have additional questions, please contact me using the aforementioned information.

Thanks again for your assistance.

Sincerely,

Lakiesa Cantey Rawlinson

Lakiesa C. Rawlinson, M.Ed.
My pronouns are: her, hers, and she
Doctoral Candidate, Counseling and Student Personnel Services
Department of Counseling and Human Development Services
The University of Georgia
Email: lcantey@uga.edu
Phone: 404-304-4022 (c)

APPENDIX C

Recruitment Flyer

APPENDIX D

Consent Form

Dear Participant,

I am a graduate student under the direction of professor, Dr. Natoya Haskins, in the Department of Counseling and Psychological Services at The University of Georgia. I invite you to participate in a research study, entitled "African American College Males' Perceptions of Campus Police and Local Law Enforcement." The purpose of this study is to understand African American college males' experiences and attitudes toward law enforcement on and off campus. Research on African American college males' outcomes with campus police and local law enforcement is rare; therefore, as the researcher I hope to add to the literature regarding this phenomena. Ultimately, the researcher would like to share information from this study with higher education faculty, staff, and administrators to better support you during your collegiate experience. The researcher recognizes that your time is valuable; therefore, each participant will receive a $10.00 monetary incentive for participating in this study.

Study Criteria:
To participate in this study, participants must meet the following criteria: (a) 18 years of age or older; (b) identify as African American male; (c) enrolled in college part-time or full-time; (d) has had direct or vicarious experiences with police; and (e) campus police department on campus.

Study Procedures:
Participants in this study will be asked to do the following:

- Complete the Interviewee Demographic Questionnaire to confirm age, academic classification, employment status, socioeconomic status, sexual orientation, religion and if you meet the study's criteria.
- Meet with researcher for a 45 to 60 minute, face to face or Skype interview.
- Review interview transcription for accuracy.
- Complete the Photo Elicitation Release Form.
- Take or find two existing photos that represent your perceptions of campus police and local law enforcement. Specifically, one photo should depict perception of campus police and the other photo should represent perception of local law enforcement. Photos will be emailed to the researcher prior to the actual interview.
- Discuss your photos during the interview.
- Respond to follow-up questions posed by the researcher.
- The total estimated time commitment for this study is 1 hour and 30 minutes to 2 hours, which is contingent upon individual interviews, photo discussion, and follow-up questions.

- Participation in this study is voluntary, and you may choose not to participate or to stop at any time. If you decide to stop or withdraw from the study, the information/data collected up to the point of your withdrawal will be kept as part of the study and may continue to be analyzed.

Audio Recording:
This interview will be recorded utilizing an audio recording device. Recording the interview will help the researcher to remember statements that you provided during the interview process; in addition, to ensure the researcher accurately represents your position. After your interview has been transcribed, the audio recording will be stored in a file folder on the researcher's computer; this file folder will be protected by an encrypted password. This audio recording will be discarded after the dissertation has been written and approved.

Please provide initials below if you agree to have this interview audio recorded or not. Unfortunately, you cannot participate in this study even if you are not willing to have the interview recorded.

_____I do not want to have this interview recorded.
_____I am willing to have this interview recorded.

Confidentiality:
Each participant will create a pseudonym or will be assigned one to maintain confidentiality. The pseudonym will be linked to individual identifiable information. The research team will use this pseudonym during the audio-recorded interviews, for collected photos, and data analysis. Although the results of this study may be published, your name or any identifying information will not be used. The interview recordings and photos will be electronically stored and protected by an encrypted password -- only the research team will have access to this password and information. After the data collection process has been completed, the audio recordings will be transcribed, analyzed then demolished. Your individual identifiable information will be kept for three to six months during data analysis and then destroyed after the dissertation manuscript has been written. Individual identifiable information will not be shared with others, unless required by the law.

Due to the nature of internet communication, confidentiality cannot be guaranteed when email or other modes of technology are used to submit photographs. Therefore, participants can choose to communicate solely through face-to-face or phone with researcher; in addition, hand deliver photos.

Risks and discomforts:
There are some risks associated with this study. At the social level, as a participant, you may feel a sense of embarrassment while sharing information regarding your direct or vicarious experiences with campus police or local law enforcement. In the event that you feel a sense of embarrassment, please inform the researcher. The researcher will stop the research process to give you a break and to process your feelings; in addition, the researcher will give you the option to end the data collection process. Furthermore, if you need additional support, you can refer to Counseling and Psychological Services.

At the legal level, there may a risk if you choose to share information regarding illegal matters. Participants should consider the implications of sharing information regarding their involvement in illegal matters. Although the researcher is bound my confidentiality, the researcher will have to breach the confidentiality clause in the event that you share illegal information. The researcher must adhere to the professional code of ethics established by the American Counseling Association and NASPA Student Affairs Administrators in Higher Education; therefore, must report illegal information to law enforcement which may led to a criminal investigation.

Lastly, as a participant, you may feel discomfort. In the event that you feel discomfort, you can skip a question or stop the data collection process. Additionally, if you need additional support or become distressed, you can refer to Counseling and Psychological Services at your institution.

Taking part is voluntary:
Your involvement in the study is voluntary, and you may choose not to participate or to stop at any time without penalty or loss of benefits to which you are otherwise entitled.

If you have any questions:
Please feel free to call me at 404-304-4022 or email at lcantey@uga.edu. Additionally, you can contact my faculty advisor, Dr. Natoya Haskins at natoyahaskins@uga.edu. Questions or concerns about your rights as a research participant should be directed to The Chairperson, University of Georgia Institutional Review Board, 609 Boyd GSRC, Athens, Georgia 30602; telephone (706) 542-3199; email address irb@uga.edu.

By signing and returning this consent form in the envelope provided or electronically, you are agreeing to participate in the above described research project.

Research Subject's Consent to Participate in Research:
To voluntarily agree to take part in this study, you must sign on the line below. Your signature below indicates that you have read or had read to you this entire consent form, and have had all of your questions answered.

_____	_____	_____
Name of Researcher	Signature	Date
_____	_____	_____
Name of Participant	Signature	Date

Please sign both copies, keep one and return one to the researcher. Thank you for your consideration!

Sincerely,
Lakiesa Cantey Rawlinson
Lakiesa Cantey Rawlinson
Doctoral Candidate, The University of Georgia

APPENDIX E

Photo Elicitation Release Form

You are invited to provide two photos regarding your perceptions of campus police and local law enforcement. These photos will help the researcher, Lakiesa Cantey Rawlinson, to gain insight regarding your attitudes toward law enforcement on and campus and to support findings from the semi-structured interviews.

Confidentiality:
Although the submitted photos may be published, the participant's name and identifying information will not be used. The participant's assigned pseudonym will be used to label each photo. If you submit a photo with images of yourself, then the researcher will refrain from publishing this photo. If you decide to stop or withdraw from the study, the information/data collected up to this point will be kept as part of the study and may continue to be analyzed.

Photo Procedures:
1) Take or find one photo that represents your perception of campus police with a personal camera. Write a brief caption for photo utilizing your own words.
2) Take or find one photo that represents your perception of local law enforcement with personal camera. Write brief caption for photo utilizing your own words
3) Submit both photos to researcher via email. Participants can also provide hard copies of photos.
4) Discuss photos and captions during semi-structured interview.

Rights and Responsibilities:
The participant waives any right that they may have to review or approve how the submitted photos were utilized and analyzed in the dissertation manuscript. The researcher can utilize these photos as necessary without publication limitations; in addition, can use photos in conjunction with other publications of the dissertation manuscript.

Research Subject's Consent to Participate in Research:
I certify that I am over 18 years of age, fully comprehend the language used in this document, and authorize to execute this agreement.

I have read the above information and have received answers to any questions I asked.

By signing this photo elicitation release form, I hereby grant the primary researcher absolute right to utilized and/or publish the submitted photos for the purposes of the research study, African American College Male's Perceptions of Campus Police and Local Law Enforcement.

I consent to providing two photos for the study.

_____	_____	_____
Name of Researcher	Signature	Date
_____	_____	_____
Name of Participant	Signature	Date

APPENDIX F

Interviewee Demographic Form

Name: _____ Phone Number:_____
Email Address:_____

Race/Ethnicity (check all that apply)
___Black/African American
___White/Caucasian
___Hispanic/Latino
___Asian/Pacific Islander
___ Native American
Other:_____

Gender: _____

Age:
___ 18-24
___ 25-34
___35-44
___45-54
___55 or older

Academic Classification:
___ Freshman
___ Sophomore
___ Junior
___ Senior
___ Graduate
Other: _____

Employment:

___ Unemployed
___ Part-time employment (less than 40 hours per week)
___ Full-time employment (more than 4o hours per week)

Socioeconomic Class:

____ Upper Class
____ Upper Middle Class
____ Middle Class
____ Lower Middle Class
____ Lower Class
____ I prefer not to respond

Religion: _____

Sexual Orientation:

___ Heterosexual
___ Lesbian
___ Gay
___ Bisexual
___ I prefer not to respond

Are there other social identities that you would like to share?
_____
_____
_____

Is Campus Police on your campus?
___ Yes
___ No

Law Enforcement Interactions (check all that apply):

___ Interacted with campus police

___Interacted with local law enforcement

___ Know of others or has heard about others interactions with campus police

___ Know of others or has heard about others interactions with local law enforcement

APPENDIX G

Photo Elicitation Instructions

The purpose of this photo elicitation exercise is for you to illustrate visually your perceptions of campus police and local law enforcement. Additionally, these photos will provide another outlet for you to voice your opinions while providing additional evidence to stakeholders in your setting regarding your experiences. I hope that your photos will draw attention to your institutions' strengths and areas of improvement as it relates to students' interactions with campus police and local law enforcement. Before taking the photos, reflect on your direct and vicarious experiences with campus police and local law enforcement and the meaning that you ascribe to these phenomena. After reflecting on these experiences, take two photos or find two photos that meet this criteria: (a) one picture representing your attitudes toward campus police and (b) one picture representing your attitudes toward local law enforcement. Once you have taken the photos or found two photos, please provide a brief caption utilizing your own words. The photos can be of yourself, environment, artwork, signs, words, or quotes. Some photos will be included in the dissertation manuscript; therefore, it is imperative that you complete the Photo Release Form. After taking the photos, save them in jpeg format, and submit to lcantey@uga.edu. See example below regarding my perspective of motherhood:

Caption: My life, My World, My Sunshine, My Everything

Photo Elicitation Follow-Up Questions

1. How does this photo illustrate your perception of campus police?
2. How does this photo illustrate your perception of local law enforcement?
3. What does this photo mean to you?
4. Elaborate on your photo caption.

APPENDIX H

Semi-Structured Interview Protocol

Thank you for agreeing to participate in the study that will explore your perceptions and experiences with campus police and local law enforcement. As a doctoral student in the Counseling and Student Personnel Services Program at the University of Georgia, I am very interested in understanding how the recent racialized police incidents have influenced African American college males as well as understanding your general attitudes towards law enforcement on and off campus. The researcher recognizes that this topic may be sensitive and will trigger a range of responses; therefore, at any point of time that you need a break or decide that you no longer want to participate in the study, please inform the researcher.

As a participant in this research study, you will commit approximately 45 minutes of your time. Please note that your participation is voluntary and you can terminate the interview process at any point. Additionally, your responses will be confidential and each participant will be given a pseudonym. Furthermore, you will have the opportunity to review my analyses of this interview prior to publication.

Interview Questions

1. What is your perception of campus police?
2. What are some factors (i.e., family, friends, media, direct experiences, or vicarious experiences) that inform your views toward campus police?
3. When do you see and interact with campus police? Please elaborate on those interactions.
4. How have race and other factors (i.e., gender, class, behavior, etc.) influenced your interactions with campus police?

5. What is your perception of local law enforcement?
6. What are some factors (i.e., family, friends, media, direct experiences, or vicarious experiences) that inform your views toward local law enforcement?
7. When do you see and interact with local law enforcement? Elaborate on those experiences.
8. How has race and other factors influenced your interactions with local law enforcement?
9. How have the recent, high-profile cases involving the police and communities of color influenced your perception of law enforcement on and off campus?
10. What are some ways that Student Affairs/higher education administrators and staff can support students that have had direct or vicarious experiences with police brutality?

APPENDIX I

Contact Summary Sheet

Interviewer:

Interviewee:

Contact Date:

Today's Date:

1. What kind of discrepancies did you note in the interviewee's responses?
2. Anything else that stuck out as salient, interesting or important about the contact?
3. How does this compare to other data collection?

APPENDIX J

A Priori Code Book

Code	Meaning	Direct Quotes From Participants
Multiple Identities	Identifying as a Black male, in addition to possessing other social identities (i.e., class, religion, and sexual orientation) influences the way that law enforcement [campus and local] perceives and interacts with Black college males.	"[Uhm…] I just feel like as Black men we have to be more careful with where we are at, what times of day we are somewhere, and stuff like that [Chris]" "Another thing with my race, I am Islamic-that is another social identity that kind of, can be, shape police perceptions of me and cause them to interact with me differently than someone who is not...We were dressed accordingly, so they knew it. We were going to a social gathering at a park, and we were like parked on the street-there was a large gathering. And you could tell, like, they were not pleased to have to deal with us. It was vivid. Like I don't know if it was the Black thing, the religion or a combination of both. I think it was. And it was White police officers of course, and they were just displease-it was a displeasure for them [Xavier]
Discrimination	Both campus and local law enforcement irrespective of the officers' race and gender, discriminate against Black college males. Black college males are targeted and criminalized by law enforcement on and off campus.	"From what I've heard, I mean, they'll pull over like, you know, anyone that they feel is doing wrong. But, a lot of the time, the vast majority of the time, it's Black guys. Every now and then Black females, but most of the time Black guys and then the cops are like White people, White males so…" [Chris] "It was racial profiling. I think that is all local law enforcement is-like-they hear like-one or two crimes committed by Black people and they think that all crimes are committed by Black people. So [pause] they just go after us." [Alex]
Oppression	At the individual level, direct and vicarious experiences with law enforcement causes psychological distress (i.e., feelings of helplessness, fear, anxiety, frustration, etc.). At the institutional level, the entire criminal justice system is unjust and designed for Black men to fail.	"Cause we kind of develop this helplessness to police officers. Its' like we are almost learning, I am almost learning to be helpless if I haven't already" [Bruno] "So, I think, it's like a trickle down system, so from the top down, you know, that kind of aided in shaping my views of, you know,

		local law enforcement-that and the fact that I realized long ago that this country is set-up for Black people to fail and local law enforcement is one of the ways that they do that." [Chris]
Meritocracy	Obtaining a college degree is one way for Black males to be successful. Having a college degree may shape the way that local law enforcement perceive Black college males; however, it does not guarantee that one will have a positive experience with campus and local law enforcement.	"But, I don't even tell them [local law enforcement] that I am in college. Because I am Black so I mean, Whether I am in college or not, they probably don't care." [Malcolm] "Actually, I think being able to speak well, being able to articulate yourself, and being a college student does knock off a notch when you speak with police" [Xavier]
Stereotype	Campus police and local law enforcement, regardless of their race and gender, stereotype Black males based on appearance (i.e. dreadlocks, attire, speech), race, gender, religion, and sexual orientation.	"Based on how you dress. I think police officers automatically consider you a target." [Alex] "I feel like, I wasn't, we weren't given the benefit of the doubt Because of our appearance. So, that just goes back to the criminality of a Black man-you know." [Bruno]
Interest Convergence	Law enforcement groups sustain the system of subordination because of the monetary and psychological benefits. In particular, local law enforcement is corrupt and seek to make money from racially biased policing; as such, they stop, ticket, and arrest Black college males more than other populations.	"But, yeah, so, when I say money hungry, that's why because they- probation for that to me is unnecessary and to have to pay probation fees on top of the ticket that you already have-it's just-they just set people up for failure." [OJ] "Is there money involved? Is it a protection against your facility? I feel like police officers have a certain type of privilege when it comes down to certain crimes or certain things that they commit or whatever." [Alex]
Harassment	Campus police harass college students in their social counter spaces whereas local law enforcement harass college students in spaces (i.e., apartments, gas stations, etc.) near campus.	"But they have attitudes. They just harass us for no reason. It's just-I think it is us being Black males that make it a bad interaction." [Jay] Like, sometimes I don't even want to go home because, it's like, like you get pulled over for nothing. [Mike]
Just	Occasionally, campus police and local law enforcement are just and moral; however, at times, they make unwarranted stops and hyper-surveil Black college men.	"And he was very courteous too. He said, you know, "there is nothing major. "I don't want to scare you, but just letting you know

		that your tags are expired and get it taken care of." [OJ] "They pulled me over for that. And then the speeding thing. He said I was speeding. I didn't believe I was." [Malcolm]
Power/Privilege	Law enforcement rank themselves higher than citizens on the social hierarchy, thus, believing that they have the innate right to seize, bully, and dehumanize individuals. Not only do White officers target Black college men, but officers of other races also exert their power and authority with Black college men.	I would say bully is the best way to describe them. They are just really looking for somebody to pick [Jay] "They weren't hearing me. [Uhm…]. They ended up repossessing my car after like pretty much just tearing it up. Like my back seat still don't have back right-you know. They just pretty much went through my car when all I didn't have just was proof of registration. And I had insurance and everything. They just repossessed my car and all that [uhm…]" [Malcolm]

APPENDIX K

Themes and Definitions

Theme	Definition	Direct Quote
Lawless System Structured to Subordinate Black Men	Students conceptualized campus police and local law enforcement as the same. Participants perceived that law enforcement groups "hated" Black males and exerted their social power to subordinate Black men. In addition, participants' direct experiences and recent police brutality incidents were the primary factors shaping their views.	"Especially right now, in this current time, I feel like the local law [uhm…] enforcement, another authoritarianism [authoritative entity], I feel like they are using their badge to an advantage to hinder certain race-races -- especially African American males and females, now." (Alex, student from Hall University) So Eric Garner was just standing outside. Apparently they said he was just selling cigarettes. But, if somebody is saying that they can't breathe and it is like 10 of y'all, then there is really nothing that he could do (Mike, a student from Hall University)
Chainless Imprisonment of the Black Educated Man	The most salient identities for participants in this study were their race, gender, and educational identities. Most participants believed that being in college did not preclude them from having negative experiences with law enforcement groups. While some used their college degree as "capital" while interacting with law enforcement groups. Participants acknowledged that conforming to White standards of dress and behavior protected them from having negative experiences with law enforcement groups	So, I think just because you go to college. I don't think your interactions are going to be different (Mike, a student from Hall University) I think me Being a Black male really gives me a negative interaction with campus police (Jay, a student from Lee University) Actually, actually I do think [ah…] honestly I think being able to speak well-being able to articulate yourself- and being a college student does knock off a notch when you speak with police. (Xavier, a student from Hall University

APPENDIX L

Excerpts from Reflexive Journal

May 11, 2015

Police brutality is a trending topic in the United States. Some argue that the phenomenon has been an ongoing issues and that technology and the media are the reasons why these issues are at the forefront. Regardless of the various arguments that may exist, police brutality is an inhumane act in which one exerts their authority and control to suppress another individual. I believe that the role of law enforcement is to serve and protect as well as to maintain social order; unfortunately, many police officers abuse their power and privileges resulting in culture of mistrust between citizens and police.

Although the topic of police brutality may not be a popular topic in higher education, I believe it is a relevant area worthy of discussion. Our college campuses are microcosms of the society; thus, the same systems of oppression that exists in these settings are more than likely to prevail at institutions in higher educations. Thus, I chose to explore police interactions with African American male college students to demonstrate the complexity of this national issue.

June 9, 2015

This police brutality issue is getting out of control. Not only are police targeting adults, but also police are attacking and mistreating children of color. Recently, several videos surfaced showing police interactions with Black teenagers at a pool party in Galveston, TX. In the video, a police officer used excessive force with a Black teenage girl that was 15 years old. After watching this video, I was appalled and an overwhelming sense of anger consumed me. I cried as

I watched the video. As a mother, I instantly thought about my child. I ponder about my own reactions if my child were involved in a similar situation. What would I do?

The incident in Galveston, TX further galvanized my interests and commitment to examining police brutality at the higher educational level. These insane, inhumane acts by law enforcement must stop. How many black and brown people must die before the government regulates law enforcement behavior?

October 15, 2015

On Sunday, October 11, a male police officer stopped me for running a red light in downtown Atlanta. I felt that the stop was unjust because traffic was extremely congested and the police blocked every major street due to a city-wide event. While attempting to ask a female officer if I could turn down a side street as the previous two vehicles before me had done, the light turned red and the female officer signaled me to keep going; as a result, I ran the red light and a male officer stopped me.

While waiting on the male officer to come to my vehicle, I felt an immediate sense of anger and fear. My heart started beating fast, and I was furious; in my opinion, this stop was unwarranted. As soon as the Black male police officer arrived to my vehicle and asked for my license, I attempted to explain what had happened. In response, this officer became very defensive and loud with me. Therefore, I became slightly loud to reiterate my story; unfortunately, the cop remarked that I would have to explain my story to the judge. The officer stated that he was going to let me go, however, because I argued with him, I deserved a traffic ticket. At that moment, I got quiet because I knew if I continued telling "my story" that I would be arrested.

Immediately, I started to cry and became furious that the officer did not want to hear my story. It was unfair that the male police officer gave me a traffic ticket; the police officers directing traffic were unable to control the traffic and could not communicate effectively with drivers. I felt the police officer had violated my rights as an American citizen. I also began to reflect on Sandra Bland and all the other African Americans that had intense encounters with law enforcement; however, their interactions resulted in death. I did not want to become another Sandra Bland because I have a family; however, I needed to experience this moment. How can I talk about police misconduct and police brutality without experiencing this injustice? My perspective will be slightly flawed without such an authentic moment in which I felt that the police officer violated my right to tell "my story."

In an attempt to analyze this situation, the police encounter was not attributed to race like other well-known incidents. Granted, I did run a red light; however, the manner in which the officer interacted with me was unfair. From my perspective, as a female, I believe I threatened his masculinity; the officer did not expect me to stand up for myself. Thus, he felt that he had to prove a point. Also, I acknowledge, that my intense involvement with police misconduct literature led me to "defend" myself. If this stop occurred prior to the national incidents, I probably would have remained silent. Personally, I am tired of police officers abusing their authority and acting inhumane with the citizens – enough is enough.