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The citizen police academy : rational myths, legitimization, and emotion work : the effects of emotion on acceptance of rational myths.

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THE CITIZEN POLICE ACADEMY:
RATIONAL MYTHS, LEGITIMIZATION, AND EMOTION WORK
THE EFFECTS OF EMOTION ON ACCEPTANCE OF RATIONAL MYTHS

By

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B.S., Eastern Kentucky University, 2003
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ABSTRACT

THE CITIZEN POLICE ACADEMY:
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The citizen police academy (CPA) is an example of how police departments around the United States are bridging the gap between the police and the community in which they work. The operation and curriculum of the citizen police academy are open to examination by police managers and community-relations officers and the public. This work adds to the existing literature on citizen police academies, community oriented policing, and institutional organizational theories by providing an in-depth qualitative look at participants' experiences with a citizen police academy and addresses why police agencies adopt these groups into their outreach programming. This work does that through the proposal of a new theoretical framework, *The COPS Contradiction*. The theory provides explanatory insight into the adoption of potentially irrational rational myths by CPA participants about the police, and how emotional labor impacts the ability of participants to see the myth's irrationality. The theory is potentially applicable to other organizations that desire to understand rational myth adoption by its participants.

The dissertation is divided into five chapters covering a discussion of the current literature, applicable theories, the methods used in data collection, findings, and

discussion. Chapter One provides a review of the existing literature regarding community policing, volunteers in policing, and citizen police academies. Chapter two introduces the theoretical frameworks that emerged from the data, including social identity theory and ephemeral roles, institutional theories and Anderson's Imagined Community, and emotional labor. Chapter Three provides an explanation and rationale for the data collection methods used. Chapter Four presents the findings thematically, using the narratives of the participants and researcher's observations to tell the story of the CPA experience. Lastly, Chapter Five is a consideration of the findings as they relate to the creation of a new theory, *The COPS Contradiction*, which attempts to explain how the effects of emotional labor impact the adoption of rational myths.

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CHAPTER I

REVIEW OF THE TOPICAL LITERATURE

The citizen police academy (CPA) is an example of how police departments around the country are bridging the gap between the police and the community in which they work. The operation and curriculum of the citizen police academy are open to examination by police managers and community-relations officers. This research examines the reasons police agencies need the citizen police academies, what strategies the police use to support that need, and in what ways the participants accept what the police tell them.

The current literature situates the citizen police academy as a program created under the community policing movement. Though minimal, the current literature does an adequate job of defining both the goals of the CPA and the sponsoring police agency in adopting the CPA. The literature also does an adequate job of explaining what types of people participate in the CPA and what their attitudes are about the police. It is implied in the current research that the police continue to use the CPA because it is successful in building community support.

These are important findings about CPAs, but what is missing is an explicit examination of what makes the police continue to adopt the CPA. There are no examinations of the organizational mechanisms used by the police that make the CPA successful in building community support or why the police desire this support. This research uses qualitative research methods to examine these questions through the lenses

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of organizational theory and emotional labor. By viewing the experience of a participant through these lenses, there can be a better understanding of why the police agency would adopt a citizen police academy program for their agency, an understanding of why the police desire this support and why citizens participate.

This chapter consists of a review of the extant literature relevant to the present study: community policing, volunteers in policing, and the citizen police academy.

Community Policing

Sir Robert Peel, known as the father of modern day policing, founded policing on the principal of citizen involvement and proactive policing (Maffe et al. 1999). Since the 1980s, police agencies have adopted various styles of community oriented policing (COP) models (Palmiotto, 2002). The driving force behind community oriented policing is partnership building between the police department and the citizens they serve. These partnerships are a way of developing trust in a bi-directional manner. On one hand, it teaches citizens about the police, and on the other, it teaches the police about citizen perceptions of the police. Specifically, Maguire and Katz (2002) argue that community-policing serves to provide a forum for the community, provides an education by the police to citizens about crime, puts in place a complaint mechanism for the community, and provides a way for the police to report their rates of success. In Kelling's (1996) work on change in police agencies toward community policing, he identified three motivations behind these changes. First, minority citizens were frustrated by the lack of sensitivity by the police for their community norms and values. Second, various research studies of police efficiency such as "research about preventative patrol, rapid response to calls for service, and investigative work – the three mainstays of police tactics – was

uniformly discouraging." (Kelling, 1996 p. 138) Third, patrol officers wanted better

methods of citizen interaction to improve morale; they had become frustrated with their

traditional methods of response. Other research (Trojanowicz, 1998) pointed to:

> (1) The isolation of officers in police cars; (2) the narrowing of the police mission to crime fighting: (3) an over-reliance on the scientific approach to management that stressed effectiveness; (4) increased reliance on high-tech gadgetry instead of human interaction; (5) insulation of police, administration from community input and accountability; (6) a long-standing concern about police violation of human rights; and (7) failed attempts by the police to reach the community, such as PCR, crime prevention, and team-policing units (Trojanowicz, 1998, p. 53).

Some examples of community policing are the use of volunteers in policing, police

department sponsored sports teams, citizen police academies, highway motorist

assistance vehicles, and community-watch liaison officers.

Maguire and Katz (2002) point out that community policing suggests reforms to

three groups associated with the police. First, citizens are urged to become more co-

productive with the police in terms of the services they help the police provide like

neighborhood watches and serving on advisory councils. Second, patrol officers are

directed to work closely with communities in a problem solving approach to policing as

opposed to strictly being reactionary. Third, police managers are required to adopt a new

managerial approach. Instead of controlling their employees—the front line officers –

directly, they are encouraged to provide them with more freedom and resources to engage

in community policing. Last, police organizations must implement organization-wide

changes to the structures within the agency to support the idea of community policing.

All of the programs that fall under the broad category of community oriented

policing rely heavily on being proactive and involving the community by increasing

interaction with the police (Dicker, 1998). The types of programs, which fall under COP, are usually quite successful and are often an expansion of existing services the police agency already operates (Dicker, 1998). In Dicker's (1998) work on the resistance of the police to community oriented policing, he found that COP is increasing rapidly around the United States. He also notes that because of the rapid implementation of these programs, many police officers are skeptical of its success and efficacy, thus generating little support among officers, particularly among the lower-level, front-line officers. Maguire and Katz (2002) agree, citing work by Bayley (1988, p. 225) that refers to community policing as a "trendy phase." In contrast, 63% of community partners said they feel like the police should be involved in their community meetings (Dicker, 1998). Similarly situated in the community-policing field, Jordan (2000) conducted surveys among one hundred eight police agencies that use CPAs and all but five agreed that a citizen police academy is a type of community-oriented policing. The reasons varied as to why they believed this, but the most commonly held answer was that it improved relationships and partnerships, that they expected citizens to become more involved in the community, and they were used to educate the citizens about the police department.

Volunteers in Policing

Due to declining budgets, police agencies have begun to use volunteers in almost all areas of the agency, from Neighborhood Emergency Teams, Parade Watch, Citizen Patrols and a dozen other such programs in various designs; these volunteers can save hundreds of thousands of dollars out of a police budget that would otherwise have been spent on paid employees (Crayson, 2009). Crayson (2009) presents several case studies of police agencies that employ dozens of volunteers in various jobs throughout the

agency and found in most cases the benefits of volunteers outweighed the limitations of their work. Most of these volunteers found the job they were doing rewarding and recommended it to friends and relatives as a way of learning about the police agency. In a similar study published by the Volunteers in Police Service (VIPS) it was found that many agencies around the country have begun to implement citizen police academies, teen academies, and cultural academies. These are aimed at increasing interaction between the police and citizens while giving an air of transparency into a normally very secretive world and helping to bridge the "us" versus "them" mentality.

A recent study by Gultekin (2009) looked at the level of citizen involvement with law enforcement and its impact on the agency's efficiency and effectiveness. Efficiency, in this study, was defined as "maximizing output for a given quantity of supply or producing a given amount of output with the least amount of inputs" (Gultekin, 2009: 103). He defines effectiveness as the "police agency's ability to meet the demands from owners of the government – the citizens" (Gultekin, 2009: 105). Through the use of coproduction theory, which suggests that citizen participation in government has benefits for these organizations, he attempts to discover if citizen involvement assists the police in accomplishing organizational effectiveness by reducing crime rates and increasing clearance rates. What he found, generally, was that increased citizen involvement led to higher crime rates and an increase in case clearance rates. This is what he called a decrease in efficiency and an increase in effectiveness.

The Citizen Police Academy

The citizen police academy or "Police Night School' as it was once called, was developed in England by the Devon and Cornwall Constabulary in Middlemoor, Exeter

in 1977 (Cohn, 1996). The first CPA in the United States was developed by the Orlando, Florida police department in 1985, and was quite successful in building support and interest in the police department. This success began to spread throughout the United States encouraging other police departments to develop their own CPAs. By 2003, sixty-nine percent of small and medium sized police departments had citizen police academies, and 86 percent of large police departments had them as part of their plan to increase police-community relationships (Raffel, 2003).

The purpose of the citizen police academy is two-fold; first, it is to "create better informed citizens, expose citizens to entry-level police training with the intention of providing citizens with the insight into the rationale behind police actions, so that citizens can become ambassadors for the police department" (Palmiotto, 2002). In other words, it is used to enhance the image of the police to the public (Cohn, 1996). And secondly, it fosters a sense of goodwill (Bonello, 2002), whereby the citizens come into contact with the police through positive, controlled interactions. Schafer and Bonello (2001) argue that citizens who are better informed about policing tend to be more sympathetic and supportive of the police department. Maffe (1999) argues that it makes the job of the police more effective.

Much of the prior research is anecdotal or quantitative via pre-test/post-test methods, and generally focuses on the positive outcomes of the CPA (Cohn, 1996; Brewster, et al., 2005). Cohn points out that the citizen-police relationship can develop goodwill between the two groups, which can lead to citizens having a deeper understanding of the police. The citizens can then return as ambassadors to their communities and convince others of the importance of this relationship (Brewster, et al.,

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2005). Brewster and associates' research indicates an increased positive view of the police and a greater likelihood of cooperation with the police. Jordan (2000) points out that 43 percent of CPA coordinators who responded to his survey indicated that the educational aspect of the CPA for the citizens is most important. Bonello discusses the extent to which the CPA curriculum aligns with the goals of community-oriented policing. (Jordan, 2000; Bonello, 2002). And, Aryani's work says the CPA is a method of crime prevention (Aryani, 2000). Almost all of the current research identifies it as part of the community-oriented police model (Aryani, 2000; Cohn 1996; Bonello, 2002). According to Aryani's work conducted on CPAs, the average CPA lasted about 11 weeks (and up to as many as 13 weeks), with each session lasting about 3 hours, with an average of 24 participants. The primary goal of a CPA is to educate the public, establish positive relations with citizen groups, and increase appreciation for the police (Cohen, 1996). They develop into a social group, where members share a common social identification (Turner, 1956). This may also allows the CPA to law the critical foundation of trust that is often lacking in support of police actions (Maffe, 1999).

Police agencies recruit members of the CPA in various ways. The most common way people find out about the CPA is through word-of-mouth from prior participants. Other methods of recruitment include the CPA coordinator (usually the officer in charge of the CPA) going to various community events, churches, citizen groups, and public speaking engagements in order to solicit more participants. After members are recruited, they typically go through a background screening process to eliminate criminals who potentially could benefit from knowledge of police procedures and practices (Palmiotto, 2002).

The CPA uses an educational component to deliver their curriculum. The police use both classroom and hands-on activities over a period of many weeks. During the citizen police academy, citizens learn about criminal law; active shooter incidents; recruitment and training of new officers; patrol procedures; narcotics and VICE investigations; K-9, bike patrol and mounted patrol; emergency response; communications; internal affairs; media and public relations; accident reconstruction; criminal investigations; crime scene processing; family abuse and juvenile procedures; community services; crime stoppers; defensive tactics and response to resistance; firearms; tactical traffic stops; and others. It is not uncommon for the participants in these programs to do mock building searches, conduct a crime scene investigation, and do a "ride along" with a police officer for a patrol shift. The ride along, according to Maffe (1999), may give a better understanding of law enforcement practices in an atmosphere of mutual trust. In some cases, the participants are allowed to don police attire and conduct mock raids and other police maneuvers (Bumphus, 1999). This curriculum is "intended to help participants understand the logic and rationale that motivate police behavior in common situations" (Shafer, 2001) such as traffic stops, use of force situations, and domestic violence cases. At the conclusion of the CPA, the police department hopes the "citizen students will represent the police department and form the nucleus of the CPA alumni program" (Aryani, 2000). The function of the alumni association is to support the police in any way the organization feels appropriate. In many instances, support comes in the form of money – the organization creates grants for units within the police department – but in other cases it is community outreach and education.

Police agencies report great success with the citizen police academies. In almost every piece of literature, the police agencies report that participants overwhelmingly became more involved with the police in terms of neighborhood watch programs (Jordan, 2000), increased their already positive view of the police (Jordan, 2000), and increased their understanding of police decisions related to arrests and use of force (Palmiotto, 2002). In many cases, the citizens return to their communities and become proponents of the police, able to defend and explain the behavior of the police to others in the community. Interestingly, Palmiotto (2002) and Shafer and Bonello (2001) argue that while participants were likely to have a positive view of the police at the end of the CPA, these views are not much different than the view they held of the police prior to the CPA. In Shafer and Bonello's (2001) work, they found that for the Lansing Police department, 81 percent of participants viewed the police department as "very positive" at the end of their experience. In this same study, Shafer and Bonello found that 52 percent had changed their views on police use of force. In both studies the views of the participants became more positive.

Research by Maffe and associates (1999) suggests several tips for agencies wishing to add a citizen police academy to their organization. They suggest seeking the support of the media, or even running a separate academy for them. They suggest that the CPA take place in police facilities, and that it should be hands-on utilizing ride alongs, and by providing "plenty of police-citizen interaction" (Maffe, 1999: 80). Lastly, they suggest having leaders of the community participate to promote the exchange of ideas and a better understanding of the police.

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There are some drawbacks to the CPA. Greenburg (1984) points out that officers tend to "let it all hang out" in terms of content delivery to participants, thus including details that may be inappropriate or unnecessary to disclose. Some officers tend to use this time as a time to tell war stories, rather than providing concrete information that participants can take away and use (Cohn, 1996). In contrast, some officers believe that law enforcement procedures and policies should not be open to the public, thus leading to a resistance on the part of some officers and administrators to participate in the CPA (Maffe, 1999). Additionally, one of the big problems is that CPAs are typically very large which hinders the ability to increase group cohesion and fruitful discussion. Agencies tend to cap their classes at about thirty but they are hesitant to keep participants from attending. Additionally, this leads to a few participants taking over the meetings with mundane questions related to personal involvements with the police; this takes much time away from the overall group discussion and is frustrating to other members. Lastly, some police agencies may lack the resources to fund a CPA (Maffe, 1999).

Jordan (2000) points out that while minority members of the community are less likely to trust the police, people of color are not given high priority in CPA recruitment, nor are they proportionately represented in the membership. Similarly, Bumphus and associates (1999) found that younger citizens and minority groups are the most vocal critics of the police and also represent fairly low levels of participation in the organization. They suggest this could be due to how and where the CPA is advertised to recruit participants. Those who do not like the police or have a felony background are not likely to sign-up to spend nearly 40 hours in close contact with the police, and are unlikely to be accepted in the first place. Shafer and Bonello (2001) suggest agencies

reconsider their exclusion of citizens based on their previous criminal convictions; those who have committed petty offenses or offenses some time ago could bring an important perspective to the CPA. Layden (2004) recommends that police agencies expand their programs by widening the participant pool. He suggests including junior and senior high school students in the public schools so to incorporate a larger range of ethnic and income groups.

Finally, once citizens graduate, they lose their connection to the police department, which both the participants and the police highly desire. One way to combat this is to encourage agencies to develop alumni associations that help with police training and represent the police at civic events (Layden, 2004). The CPA and alumni association, according to Layden (2004), can be a forum through which citizens become aware of their role in maintaining order in society. Another way to retain some participants of the CPA after graduation is to suggest they become part of a citizen review board, officer shooting review board, or as a department volunteer (Maffe, 1999.)

The literature does an adequate job of situating the citizen police academy within the context of community policing programs. It describes how they set a precedent for its success and adoption among police agencies to derive a tremendous amount of support for the police. However, the literature does not address the CPA from a personal, community or organizational perspective, specifically addressing its persistence among police agencies and the mechanisms through which it garners success and legitimacy for the police.

To better understand this process, an examination of the CPA through its participants' adoption of personal identities and as a form of community that facilitates

these identities could explain the increased level of commitment to the police after their completion of the program. This examination could also lead to an understanding about participants' subsequent acceptance of membership into the alumni association.

An examination of the structure and goals of the police agency and of the CPA from the perspective of organizational myths and legitimacy could explain the desire for the police to continue to use the CPA to build support. Organizational theories might uncover an explanation of how the structure and design of the CPA maximize its usefulness among police departments.

Finally, using emotion work to analyze and dismantle the feelings and emotions evident during the CPA by both the participants and the police instructors may give insight in to the organization's existence as a form of community. It may also lead to an understanding of how the dramatization by police instructors promotes institutional legitimacy.

CHAPTER II

REVIEW OF APPLICABLE THEORETICAL FRAMEWORKS

The previous research on citizen police academies generally focuses on its use as a form of community oriented policing. The literature commonly examines how the CPA was successful in building support for the sponsoring police agency. This chapter will examine how social identity theory, institutional organizational theory, and theory on emotion work might be able to explain the mechanisms in place at both the individual and institutional level that could have an affect on the successful outcomes mentioned in prior research.

Social Identity Theory

Symbolic Interaction. Blumer's (1969) work in symbolic interactionism suggests that people act toward things and others on the basis of the meanings that the things have for them. He posits that human interaction is important for the making of meaning. These meanings are derived from the social interaction one has with others. Then, these meanings are interpreted by a process which helps the person make sense of them. Social acts are enmeshed in an interpretation process. In practical terms, sociologists rely on social position, status demands, social roles, norms, values and group affiliation to provide explanations of their understandings of the world. This is a fluid process done in all social institutions and networks and is being constantly renegotiated. Blumer defines human groups as consisting of human beings engaged in action, where individuals may act in concert with one another, alone, or as representatives of some organization. And

the life of the group grows and develops as individuals interact with one another and with other groups to develop an understanding of their meanings and roles.

Within these groups, Blumer (1969) identifies the nature of objects; these can be physical objects, social objects or abstract objects. These objects give us a picture of the environment in which people act. The meaning ascribed to these objects is interpreted depending on one's position in a group. These objects become important to the members of the group in terms of what they represent to others. Because of interaction and ritual, the objects take a sacred position in the lives of the members of the group. With regard to the citizen police academy, Blumer's research on groups points out that an organization is "the framework inside of which social action takes place" (87) and that changes in the organization are "the product of the activity of acting units not 'forces'" (87). For the CPA, this means that the organization becomes a way for the police to construct a participant's definition of policing – a framework through which the public views their job.

Social Identity Theory. Blumer's work gave rise to social identity theory (SIT). Developed by the work of Tajfel and Turner (1982), SIT claims people tend to classify themselves and others into various social categories such as organizations, gender, age etc. Each of these categories are defined by prototypical characteristics that each of the members believes (stereotypes). This social classification allows individuals to define themselves in the social environment (Ashforth, 1989). Therefore, individuals tend to choose activities and support institutions embodying these identities.

As a new member of an organization, the participant may have an idea about what the organization does, what their role and function are in the organization, and what their

relationship to the organization is. However, they are unsure about their own statuses and are often concerned with building a self-definition in the organization (Ashforth, 1989). This is a process of conformity that Hogg (2003) and Turner (1982) discuss throughout their research on how social identities are established. Through symbolic interactions, newcomers begin to understand the organizational schema, and then immerse themselves in the organizational experience –they feel committed through self-categorization. The newcomers gauge the reactions of others to understand where they are situated; they start to internalize the organizational values and beliefs. Once a person internalizes the beliefs of the group, they adopt the behaviors and attitudes of the other members, otherwise known as their identity becoming salient (Hogg, 1996). A salient social identity is one that is "activated" in particular situations to increase the influence of one's membership in that group. This activation serves as a self-verification process by which people identify a certain behavior and a certain category where that behavior belongs, which helps to reinforce a person's group membership. Turner argues that an activated social identity is one of the most powerful forces driving intergroup interaction because it provides an emotional anchor for people when trying to understand life's events.

Commitment. Once people become involved in something they do not want to leave, they want see what more there is, and what is up next. They have a sense of "institutional awe" whereby the organization has a tremendous mystery surrounding their work and decision-making processes and participants have a "need for meaning" which is satisfied by their participation (Jetten, 2002). Kanter (1968) calls this level of identification "commitment." She defines commitment as the willingness of social actors to give their energy and loyalty to a social system. Commitment is increased when one

benefits materially from rewards such as money, labor, goods, favors, or prestige (Burke & Reitzes, 1991). Participants can experience several levels of commitment, such as, "instrumental commitment" (food, goods, services), "affective commitment" (positive feelings, gratification), and "moral commitment" (positive self-worth and self-esteem).

Ephemeral Roles. While social identity theory can explain the participation of a large number of group members, there is another perspective that is particularly helpful in explaining those members of the group who do not fit completely inside the boundaries of social identity theory. In Zurcher's study where the theory of Ephemeral Roles was developed, he investigated disaster work crews (1968); later, he and others (Steele, 1973, Bradley & Schroeder, 2009) applied Ephemeral Roles to voluntary associations, poker players, leisure sports, and naval reservists. Ephemeral role theory ties in closely with the work of Turner (1982) on role taking and with Hogg's (2003) and others' view of social identity theory in terms of how a person's role changes with their environment.

An ephemeral role is a temporary or ancillary position-related behavior pattern chosen by the enactor to satisfy social-psychological needs that are incompletely satisfied by the more dominant and lasting roles a person enacts in everyday life positions (Zurcher, 1970). Research by Neumeyer and Neumeyer (1958) calls this the divergence between what a person does and what a person would like to do. It fills both psychological functions (general learning, catharsis, recreation, identity generation) and social functions (affiliation, separation from dominant roles, socialization and status) for the person. A person may join an organization because they lack satisfaction in their everyday job as say, a banker, and maybe they always wanted to be a police officer or firefighter. The ephemeral role created by participation allows for the fulfillment of needs

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not met by dominate roles, allowing the actor to escape from the routine social dynamics of their everyday life (Bradley & Schroeder, 2009).

In the context of the citizen police academy, participants join upon the recommendation of their friends or the CPA coordinator, and while they may already have a positive predisposition to the police, they become entrenched in the symbolism of the police – the representation of power and mystic. They want to be part of a group that provides them rewards in some way. The CPA does this through reinforcement of their previously held beliefs and through education. They are drawn into activities and stories and adopt the dominant views of the police and become deeply committed. Brewster and associates (2005) found that CPA participants would be significantly more likely to provide police with information, do fundraising, volunteer work, write letters to the editor defending the police and explain or defend police actions to others. By participating in the CPA curriculum, participants can escape their normal lives and experience the excitement and thrill of law enforcement, while maintaining a safe distance from any real threats.

Institutional Theory/Imagined Community

Organizations are social systems whose structure is created by the wider social, cultural and symbolic systems in which they are located (Donaldson, 1995). DiMaggio and Powell (1983) suggest powerful (institutional) forces outside of the organization influence internal structures and practices through the processes of mimicry, professional socialization, and/or compliance. Additionally, "organizations tend to model themselves after similar organizations in their field that they perceive to be more legitimate or successful" (DiMaggio and Powell, 1983: 152). This homogenization is known as

mimetic isomorphism, "a constraining process that forces one unit in a population to resemble other units that face the same set of environmental conditions" (DiMaggio and Powell, 1983: 149). Using mimetic isomorphism and adopting structures and practices of the similar organization can help an organization increase its legitimacy; the process is often advanced by the acceptance of the organization's ideas by select groups in society such as the state and professions (DiMaggio and Powell, 1983). The notion described here implies that the organization's structure may not be related to how the actual work is coordinated or controlled. However, this idea provides an explanation as to why organizations look similar in formation to one another, and yet, how they become decoupled from practice. In order for the organization to survive, it needs public legitimacy. In order to build legitimacy, organizations structure similarly to others in order to conform to the cultural myths and symbols that made the former organization successful (Thornton, et. Al., 2012). In other words, an organization can achieve success by "decoupling their external parts from the internal activities of their technical core" (Thornton, et. Al. 2012: 22-23).

Thornton, Ocasio, and Lounsbury (2012) developed the institutional logics perspective as a way to analyze "the interrelationships among institutions, individuals, and organizations in social systems" (Thornton, et al., 2012: 2). They define institutions as:

> The socially constructed, historical patterns of cultural symbols and material practices, including assumptions, values, and beliefs, by which individuals and organizations provide meaning to their daily activity, organize time and space, and reproduce their lives and experiences.

The institutional logics perspective is supported by four assumptions about institutions. First, the institution has embedded within it the "interests, identities,

values, and assumptions of individuals" (6). Second, the institution has to contain both material (structures and practices) and symbolic elements (ideation and meaning). Third, institutions are historically contingent. Fourth, institutions operate at multiple levels of analysis in which actors are nested – individual, organizational, field and societal.

Crank (2003) suggests that institutions are carried by formal organizations, which is the central form of authority, and give meaning to the institution though normal daily life. Those institutions are also carried by individuals and give meaning to their individual constructions of identity. He proposes three elements that all institutionalized organizations have. First, "the organization, in its behavior and structure, reflects the values in its institutional environment. According to this element, institutionalized organizations are first and foremost in the service of their constituencies. Hence, complexity in the institutional environment is mirrored as organizational complexity" (Crank, 2003, 187). The second element is, "to preserve positive relations with their constituencies, institutionalized organizations loosely couple formal practices with actual behavior. Complexity of constituent relations is dealt with by loosely coupling the formal position or goals of the agency to the concrete day-to-day working world of the officers" (Crank, 2003, 188). Lastly, Crank (2003) says, a "logic of good faith pervades organizational practices, impeding critical evaluation and supervision. Organizational members believe in the essential rightness of what they do" (Crank, 2003, 188).

Rational Myths and Legitimacy. A "rational myth" (Meyer & Rowan, 1977) is the external image the organization wishes to project. Loose coupling is the way in which an organization attempts to align this external image of the organization with what

the organization actually internally accomplishes. To maintain the appearance of conformity organizations loosely couple their structure and their activities using myths. Meyer and Rowan (1977) write that these myths maintain two key properties. First, "they are rationalized and impersonal prescriptions that identify various social purposes as technical ones" (343) and describe the rule-like way on how to further the rationality. Second, they are "highly institutionalized" (344) and are beyond the discretion of any one member of the organization. According to Meyer and Rowan, these myths are rarely adopted as part of a search for efficiency, but more indicative of myths and ceremonies that are not entirely connected with real activities. These pretended adoptions of rules and activities only serve to comply with the expectations of outsiders. Additionally, work by Selznick (1957) and Pfeffer (1981) suggests adoption for symbolic value might link the myth to the culture of the organization, thus building membership solidarity in support of the goals of the organization.

Weber (1978) is credited for bringing the idea of legitimacy into sociology. He viewed legitimacy as the alignment of an organization with social laws and norms of society. Habermas (1979; 178) defines legitimacy as, "a political order's worthiness to be recognized." Deephouse and Suchman (2008) argue that legitimacy is dichotomous; it is non-rival, meaning the absence of negative problems is more important than the presence of positive achievements. Legitimacy is also homogenizing, "producing herd-like conformity along whichever dimensions the prevailing rational myths establish as legitimacy-defining" (Deephouse & Suchman in Organizational Institutionalism: 60-61). While Meyer and Rowan (1977) did not specifically address legitimacy, they say that legitimacy could be derived from 'rational effectiveness', which is used to protect the

organization from "immediate sanctions for variations in technical performance" (Meyer & Rowan, 1977: 349, 351)

In Boiral's (2007) work on how rational myths are integrated, transformed, and created by organizations to resolve various contradictions, he examined how the ISO 14001 standard was adopted ceremonially by industries as a rational myth to satisfy corporate pressure for greener production standards. The ISO 14001 standard establishes a set of criteria for an Environmental Management System (EMS). It maps a framework that an organization can follow to set up an effective EMS. The ISO 14001 standard tended to be adopted more for social legitimacy than for efficiency (128). The adoption of rational myths can be accomplished through language games (Boiral, 2007). "These language games help to artificially homogenize viewpoints and offer a more rational appearance to the practices within an organization" (129). This process helps to reinforce a more coherent image of the organization thereby increasing the support of its stakeholders.

Similarly, Bayma's (2012) work on the shaping of the environment of the public perception of zoos using the rational myth of conservation and increased captive breeding of endangered species is the primary function of the zoo; realistically, however, zoos are still very much in the business of displaying exotic animals to the public. The dissonance between their stated function of conservation and their overt function of displaying animals is addressed through loose coupling. Bayma describes a three-step process in which captive breeding became a rational myth. In broader terms, this process is: (1) Link the organization with a socially approved goal, (2) stakeholders, like the government and the public, accept this identification, and the organization emphasizes

the need for this identification internally, (3) establish the technical knowledge to implement the identification.

Crank (2003) argues that police agencies are institutionalized organizations like those discussed by Meyer and Rowan (1977). He suggests the community policing movement is a re-legitimating strategy that created the myth of "community" (189) and the myth of "the watchman" (189). The rational myth building process used by police agencies encourages them to make the public aware of the dramatic nature of a small portion of police work – but ascribes this excitement to all levels of policing (Manning, 1978). "In an effort to gain the public's confidence in their ability, and to insure thereby the solidarity of their mandate, the police have encouraged the public to continue thinking of them and their work in idealized terms, terms, that is, which grossly exaggerate the actual work done by police" (Manning, 1978: 11). This has created a growing appetite for even more dramatic details and crime prevention strategies, and has become the measure by which the police are successful. These "institutionalized products, services, techniques, policies and programs function as powerful myths, and many organizations adopt them ceremonially" (Meyer and Rowan, 1977: 340). According to Crank (2003), community oriented policing is a myth that exists in a highly elaborated institutional environment and has been successful in gaining legitimacy and the gathering resources it needs to succeed (Meyer and Rowan, 1977). The police agency needs the community oriented policing programs to create rational myths, or "strategies [that] assist [the] organization within the society in managing its appearance and in controlling the behavior of its audience. Creating the appearance of controlling [crime] is only a

temporizing policy; it is not the basis for a sound, honorable mandate" (Manning, 1978: pp. 9-10).

In the context of policing agencies, research has shown that only a small portion of their work is related to law enforcement. Instead, most involves community service, crime prevention, and order maintenance (Crank & Langworthy, 1992). Bumphus and associates write that the CPA allows "[the police to] project an unrealistic portrayal of what officers do and nurture citizen support by emphasizing the more exciting and dangerous aspects of the job" (1999; 77). In a meta-analysis of research on police workloads by Kappeler and Potter (2004), only about 10 to 20 percent of calls to the police matched the public's perceptions about what the police do.

By emphasizing the exciting parts, citizens who had reviewed the CPA curriculum beforehand were most excited about the activities that involved hands-on demonstrations while were least excited about criminal law and procedure (Raffel, 2005). The agencies propagate these rational myths about community oriented policing by playing language games (Boiral, 2007) such as "partnership," "relationship," "communication," "cooperation," and others (Jordan, 2000), then encourage participants in the CPA to ride-along with officers so they may develop a better understanding about what the police do (Bumphus et al, 1999). The police face a significant issue – a legitimacy crisis: the rationalized myths they have created based upon what the citizens think they do does not embrace an efficient resolution for the organization. That is, they cannot rationally communicate the actual work they do without the risk of losing legitimacy with their stakeholders. And, they cannot do their work as they present it because it is inefficient. This legitimation crisis is addressed "through ceremonial

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displays of legitimacy, that is, by incorporating into their organizational structure or displaying in formalized activities broad institutional myths" (Crank and Langworthy, 1992: 360). Crank and Langworthy (1992) argue that when a police department looks and acts like a police department should, that is, conforming to institutionally accepted norms, they become legitimate. As Meyer and Rowan (1977) suggest, decoupling is a way for the organization to deal with these contradictions. Oliver (1997) found that decoupling is critical for the success of an organization, especially when the organization depends highly on its constituents. The police, by adopting community oriented policing, and specifically the CPA, possibly use these initiatives to decouple or loosely-couple the projected goals of the agency from its internal procedures.

Imagined Community. Benedict Anderson's (1983) book on imagined communities describes how nations create cultural belonging for the citizens they control. While his focus falls squarely in the literature on nationalism, others (Fine & Scott, 2011; Fine & Holyfield, 1996; Miller & Mayher, 2005) have adapted his theory to apply to sports fans, micro-communities, and voluntary organizations. Fine and Scott (2011) coined the term "wispy community" to describe "the social ties that exist within evanescent, limited micro-publics—worlds of action that are temporary, limited in time and space, and have the potential of being displaced by more insistent identities" (Fine & Scott, 2011, p. 1319).

These communities are meant to be pleasurable for the participant and may provide a sense of identity, though this identity is not meant to be permanent or ascribed. They are entered into voluntarily based on the interest of the individual, and their level of

commitment to them is dependent upon their available free time. According to Fine and

Scott (2011):

> Wispy communities are expected to generate a surplus of fun, embedded
> in the memories of participants, creating sharable stories. The glasses of
> participants become rose-colored as they view their world from within the
> transitory wispy community. Although fun is the approved goal and result
> of the activity, separation from everyday life and routine identities bolsters
> the affective release necessary for enjoyment of the organized sociability
> at hand (Fine & Scott, 2011, p. 1323).

The imagined wispy community has focused gatherings (Goffman, 1961) where

participants form a type of club with organized meetings. These meetings have an

expectation of an organized routine where participants can develop gossip networks, rely

on stories, jokes and narratives for their shared experiences, and create local language or

jargon (Fine & Scott, 2011). For their existence to continue, they must develop rituals

and routines and develop a core of individuals to carry on the desired level of continuity

and provide a source of identification (Miller & Mayher, 2005). They must also develop

a plan for recruitment of new members; to do this, they must appeal to the larger

population by developing a system of beliefs and viewpoints (Fine, 1989). The group

must support the participants emotionally. As Miller and Mayher (2005) point out, "the

emotional arousal that comes from watching sports helps people fight boredom and pull

themselves out of their deadening routines by surrendering to the 'emotional contagion'"

(2005, p. 19). The stronger this bond, the more loyalty one has to their imagined

community (Miller& Mayher, 2005).

Imagined communities, in the context described here, are attractive to individuals

in part because they develop group cohesion; this cohesiveness can be enhanced through

the development of trust. People participate because they receive benefits that outweigh

the costs of participating (Fine & Holyfield, 1996). Fine and Holyfield (1996) examined

leisure groups that involve some measure of risk. Their research studies the interplay

between trust and secrecy, "which often combine to create social integration, to stabilize

leisure organization, and to provide a basis of communal allegiance (Fine and Holyfield,

1996, p. 24).

Trust is the belief that a person or collectivity will perform actions, which are

helpful to the individual, establishing a relationship of cooperation (Gambetta, 1998).

When information is received from an "organizationally validated source" (Fine &

Holyfield, 1996), that source is transformed into a personal acquaintance. Once this

relationship is established, trust is secured. Simmel (1950) claimed that confidence is one

of the most important forces of group life. Confidence is developed through trust in the

group and individuals; it emerges from the objectification of culture and from the growth

of specialized knowledge, which requires us to depend on others for information (Fine

and Holyfield, 1996). Fine and Holyfield (1996) observe that the trust placed in others in

the organization allows them to see the dangerous world as manageable and routine.

Members then depend on the organization to supply him or her with protective

information that is sheltered from those on the outside who have no right or competence

to know (Fine and Holyfield, 1996).

Finally, Fine and Holyfield (1996) argue that a group must generate trust so

members of the group who are facing danger are willing to leave those life and death

decisions in the hands of others. The group must also develop a pattern of interaction

that creates confidence that each of the members of the group support each other.

The citizen police academy is tantamount in many ways to the imagined community that Anderson (1983) talked about and to the wispy community that Fine and Scott (2011) describe. The CPA lasts only a short time, usually from ten to thirteen weeks (Palmiotto, 2002). The meetings are rooted in stories (Cohen, 1996, Raffel, 2005) where the officers give details of events that have taken place or lecture on law or procedure. Some participants share the language of the police and use similar local language, such as the use of codes or phrases used uniquely by police; this language helps to promote a sense of community between the citizens and the police. The CPA has developed an alumni association which are a core of individuals who which to carry on the organization (Aryani, 2000, Cohen, 1996). Participants are supported emotionally by the dramatic stories and by their participation in ride-alongs with officers and through hands-on activities such as building searches or traffic stops (Cohen, 1996). The stories officers often tell relate to the dangerous aspects of the job, thus generating trust among the officers that they can handle life and death situations and the citizens have nothing to fear, similar to the research conducted by Fine and Holyfield (1996) where there was some level of risk involved with the organization. The police present the CPA as a way of promoting cooperation between the citizens and the police. The identities that are developed during the CPA are carried back to the communities where the participants become a nucleus of support for the police (Cohen, 19996; Aryani, 2000, Raffel, 2005).

Emotional Labor

Hochschild (1983) tells us that emotion works as a messenger from the self; it gives us an instant report on the connection between what we are seeing and what we had expected to see, and tells us what we feel ready to do about it (xvii). In other words,

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emotion locates the position of the viewer. In her work, she details how flight attendants learn to use emotion to benefit both the individual and the company for which they work. Emotional labor "requires one to induce or suppress feeling in order to sustain the outward countenance that produces the proper state of mind in others" (p. 7). Feeling rules are standards by which a person knows when and how to express a particular emotion and it establishes a sense of obligation that governs emotional exchanges. Hochschild describes two ways in which we manage feeling. First, we do surface acting; this is the purposeful body language we use to show how we are supposed to feel. This is an expression of the face of the individual and is only acting. Second, we do deep acting; this is a display of emotion that is a result of working on feelings and making them appear real. We do this in one of two ways, either by directly exhorting feeling or through the use of a trained imagination. When engaged in deep acting, we set a personal stage, not for the audience, but to assist us in believing what we are imagining.

According to Hochschild (1983) emotional labor occurs only in jobs that require personal contact with the public, where the production of a state of mind of others or when monitored by a supervisor through training, and where they maintain a degree of control over the emotional activities (156). Police work involves preforming extensive amounts of emotional labor to be successful, as an officer must be able to not only control their own emotions but the emotional displays of citizens (Martin, 1999). Hochschild (1983) describes how some employees are required to manage feelings in order to affect others in desired ways. Occupations and organizations "create myths, stage-manage events like awards ceremonies…and use occasions like police funerals to ritually handle emotion, support collective identity, and reinforce organizational values

and bonds" (Martin, 1999 p. 113). These displays are shaped by the employer through their selection of individuals, training, and rituals and designed around the immediate situation.

In her work on police and emotional labor, Martin (1999) points out, "There is a wide gap between the work that the police actually do and the public image of policing, which is associated with crime fighting and stereotyped as masculine" (115). Most police work is boring, dirty and insignificant, as most of the daily calls involve a request for service or order maintenance. Usually, these interactions are when people are at their worst, as victims or are injured or helpless (Martin, 1999).   This combination of work tasks and "unpredictable threats to their safety" (Martin, 1999; 115) allowed Skolnick (1966) to coin the term "working personality." This personality is characterized by feelings of suspicion and isolation of and from the public. Every call the police go on requires them to decide if they should use an aggressive response or a more neutral conflict management response. These feelings have developed a system of emotional self-management that Martin observes keeps officers in control of their behavior so they will not stand out to their colleagues.

The norms of the police agency, as well as the informal culture of the individuals therein require that police officers limit their expression of emotion (Martin, 1999). "Even talking about pain, guilt, or fear is rare since officers may be viewed as weak or inadequate" (Martin, 1999; 116). Officers do emotional labor in every encounter with citizens, and in the backstage interactions with fellow officers. As Hochschild points out, emotion work is important for both men and women, yet it is women who do more emotion managing than men. Women have sensitivity to nonverbal communication that

men are less able to interpret (Martin, 1999). In policing, the gender of the officer

dictates the expected behaviors of the actors, thus creating an emotional management

problem for female officers (Martin, 1999).

Neither the rise of community policing nor the growing number of women police

officers has led to a discussion of the emotional part of their work (Martin, 1999). Police

agencies often manage their officers' emotions, through personnel selection, supervision,

rewards, and ritual or ceremony. Martin (1999) describes several mechanisms for coping

with emotion in police work. The ritual of a police funeral reminds officers of their

vulnerability and their isolation from the public. The informal police culture allows for

the coping of emotion through on the job humor and social activity. While female police

officers have fewer issues with expressing their emotion, male officers find more comfort

in expressing their emotions to women (Martin, 1999). Joking about a tragic event

allows officers to avoid the notion that they are vulnerable, and attempts to lessen the

harshness of the event. Often times, emotional tensions are relieved through a collective

coping strategy, thereby reinforcing group solidarity. This social aspect of coping allows

for dispersion of the emotion.

Institutions and organizations benefit from emotion management. According to

Hochschild (1983), institutions arrange their front stages; they guide the way we see and

what we are likely to feel spontaneously (50). Within these organizations and

institutions, the elements of acting are taken away from the individuals and are replaced

by institutional mechanisms. The formal rules that prop up these institutions set limits to

the emotional possibilities of access to information, which is done by enforcing a

hierarchy of secrets (53); those at the bottom are not allowed to access this information,

those at the top can. By using social emotion management, organizations are able to get all of the individuals aligned in their displays of emotion, thereby convening the appropriate emotional feeling to its audience. It is, therefore, possible that emotion work is used in the context of the CPA for the police to elicit feelings from participants that mimic the feelings of the police, allowing the participants to feel sympathetic toward the officers.

Summary

Using social identity theory to understand the experience of the participant provides insight into the level of fascination, commitment, and promotion of the CPA. These theories explain how the participants use the CPA to develop an identity in relation to the police. Then, when they return to the community, these theories help to explain why the participants promote, defend, and brag about the police to their friends, co-workers, and neighbors. This builds a sense of community and trust with the police and a deep personal identity.

Analysis of the CPA using organization theory adds that the organization is a community through which the participants build trust and confidence in the police. The police, through stories and language, support this sense of community. The participants who have adopted the feelings and emotions of the police develop the core membership used to drive participation and recruitment. The police engage the participants in dramatic, hands-on activities to give them a view of the dangerous nature of their jobs. These theories also suggest the police develop rational myths about the nature of their jobs and then use the CPA to promote these myths which, in turn, aid the police in gaining additional legitimacy from the community for their work.

A look at emotional labor by the police adds to the understanding about how the police work in undesirable settings and are able to establish a sense of stability in those situations. Gleaning an understanding of how this emotional labor is used in the positive, promotional setting of a CPA potentially provides greater insight into why CPAs exist and how the CPA influences the perceptions of the participants.

CHAPTER III

METHODS

The current project is a study of citizen police academy participants and how their

acceptance of rational myths (created by the police) is impacted by the degree to which

the officers engage in emotion work during the course of the citizen police academy. This

study uses participant observation and interviews to understand, from the perspective of a

participant, a citizen police academy. The primary contribution to the literature of the

current study lies in the theoretically informed examination of how participants'

acceptance of rational myths was influenced by the level of emotion work done by the

police.

I chose this particular CPA because they have earned prestigious recognition for

several years by a national organization for their work as a CPA due to their level of

involvement in the community and their commitment to their sponsoring police agency;

this CPA has been considered the standard against which all other CPAs should be

measured. The sponsoring police agency has approximately 550 sworn police officers

and is located in a midsized city located in the mid-southern region. The city's

population, according to the 2013 Census data, is approximately 300,000 residents, of

which, 78.6 percent white, 14.9 percent black, and 6.9 percent Hispanic. The city is 50.9

percent female.

From August of 2013 until November of 2013, I attended a class of the Citizen

Police Academy during each of its twelve weeks of instruction and activities. Each of the

meetings, with the exception of week four, was held at the police training and roll call center. The meetings took place in the upstairs training room of the actual police academy. The walls of the room were adorned with police recruit class photos, the police agency's mission and goals, the police recruit class motto, and various awards and notices prudent to police officers. Additionally, CPA awards, citizen awards, and other certificates dotted the rear wall of the training room. Each class met on a Tuesday night, as Thursday nights were reserved for the "upper level" CPA classes (called "Master's" and "PhD classes") for those who had completed the "basic CPA class," and Wednesday night was not selected as it seemed to have low attendance due to various church services throughout the city. Five of the classes began at 6pm (weeks 1, 4, 5, 8, 12) and seven classes began at 6:30pm (weeks 2, 3, 6, 7, 9, 10, 11). The schedule indicated the classes would last about three hours, but some nights the classes lasted as long as four or five hours. The classes followed the following curriculum: Week 1, welcome and orientation; week 2, DUI/accident reconstruction; week 3, driving training; week 4, SWAT/bomb robot (cookout); week 5, building search; week 6, traffic stops; week 7, crime scene investigation; week 8, 911 center/robbery; week 9, narcotics/VICE; week 10, response to resistance; week 11, internal affairs; week 12, graduation.

Generally, each class began with a potluck style dinner where participants signed-up to bring a dish to share with the group. This was often an informal time to speak with the officers who presented that night as well as with other officers who stopped by to eat. After about twenty or thirty minutes of eating and socializing, the class would begin. Each class consisted primarily of a lecture-based class supported by a Power Point style presentation on a large screen at the front of the room. Some of the classes had hands-on

activities for the participants, though participation was not required. After about one hour, participants were given a ten to fifteen minute break to use the restroom, smoke, stretch their legs, or refill their beverages. At the end of the class, some participants would gather their food dishes and leave; others would congregate around the officers and continue to engage them in discussion or story telling.

The population of this CPA group was fairly homogeneous in terms of race and gender but varied by age. There were 67 participants ranging in ages from 18 to 82, with the mean age being 50.65. There were 21 (31 percent) white males, 37 (55 percent) white females, one African-American male (.014 percent), three African-American Females (.04 percent), three Latino females (.04 percent), and two Latino males (.02 percent). These participants resided in 12 of the 16 zip codes located within the county of the police department's jurisdiction. There were six participants who resided outside of the county. The population of this CPA is not representative of the county in which it is situated. The number of non-white participants is significantly underrepresented.

Data Collection

Entrée. This research began by doing observations of citizen police academy meetings. I was able to gain entrée to the meetings overtly through a previous professional relationship with the CPA police coordinator who became my "sponsor" into the organization. I submitted a request to the Chief of Police for the department involved and was approved for unlimited access to the CPA. Although the meetings are widely publicized among CPA members, they are not generally known about outside of current or prior membership with the organization. My sponsor introduced me as her friend, and without question, people began to engage me in conversation. Additionally, I began my

observations of the new class of CPA participants. During the introductions at the first meeting, I indicated that I taught in the social sciences at the local community college and that, "I wanted to learn more about the police and the CPA."

Initially, I began by making "unfocused observations" (Jorgensen, 1989) of the general features of the setting. I was able to observe unobtrusively in the back of the room during classes which were primarily lecture based, each lasting generally about three to three and one-half hours. During each of these meetings, jottings were taken of what was going on around me; it was not a suspicious action, as others in the room were also taking notes on the meeting, and then the jottings were constructed into comprehensive field notes. These more "focused observations" (Jorgenson, 1989) began to uncover specific matters of interest. Shortly after the meetings, the notes were typed and reviewed for emergent themes (Jorgenson, 1989). These identified themes were highlighted for use in developing questions in an in-depth interview protocol setting.

My role during the observations began as a marginal member and transitioned to that of Adler and Adler's (1987) description of an active member role. Jorgenson (1989) points out that while being an observer on the margins, it is nearly impossible not to become involved with the people you are observing. By becoming more involved, it allowed me to observe in a way what "people normally say and do even when an outside observer is not present" (Jorgenson, 1989) and to gain an increased level of trust and acceptance among the other participants (Adler & Adler, 1987). It also allowed me to see what people actually do, as opposed to what they say they do.

I participated in the CPA for the entire twelve weeks of the session, and at the end, I was able to disengage naturally. I graduated from the course with the other

participants and received a certificate of completion in a ceremony from the chief of police.

Identity Management

An issue with which I had to contend during the course of this research was my multiple identities as a graduate school student and researcher, a police officer that had taught the CPA in a nearby community, and a professor of criminal justice at a local community college. I felt that disclosing my identity, specifically as a police officer, would alter the assumptions held about me by the other participants. As Gagné and Tewksbury (1997) point out, the foundations upon which the researched and researcher is based relies largely on the perceptions and interpretations that each hold of the other. At the onset of the observation, I presented myself as "marginal member" (Stack, 1974; Hafley and Tewksbury, 1996 as cited in Gagné and Tewksbury, 1997), that is, playing on my membership in the community but ignorant to the specific points of life in the CPA.

As Gagné and Tewksbury point out, "those who conduct research in communities where they already have a significant degree of familiarity and involvement are most likely to encounter identity-based dilemmas" (Gagné & Tewksbury, 1997). Over time, participants began to ask me about why I was attending the CPA; my standard answer of learning more about the CPA and police seemed to no longer suffice. Many assumed I wanted to going into law enforcement as a career and was using the CPA as a method of networking. I then assumed the role of community college professor who, by teaching in the social sciences, was interested in the police community.

I frequently found it stressful to manage multiple identities. Gagné and Tewksbury (1997) presented the idea that in some cases, researchers must present

different identities to different audiences all while maintaining their professional identities. On several occasions, the officers who were presenting topics at the CPA were officers with whom I had previously worked as a fellow police officer from a neighboring community. They became immediately suspicious of my participation in the CPA. To these police officers, I explained my "real" reason for being at the CPA, which was to study the participants and to enhance the understanding of this community. I asked that the officers keep my identity as a police officer secret. Also during this class, two of the participants were students in my classes at the local community college who were interested in becoming police officers. They too knew my real identity and agreed to keep it secret. Because other participants could observe these interactions, I had to be cautious about the cues that I gave off during my interactions with other participants.

As time went on, my role shifted from marginal or peripheral member to an active membership role (Adler & Adler, 1987). This was not on my own accord, but through "situational necessity" (Adler & Adler, 1987). That is, by maintaining a peripheral membership role, I ran the risk of appearing awkwardly absent from what the rest of the group was doing. Additionally, this method of immersion appears to be more naturally occurring of the way in which people become involved in groups through normal social interaction (Adler & Adler, 1987).

At the conclusion of this CPA, I was able to disengage through the natural process of graduating with the class. During the meeting prior to graduation, I presented myself to the class to solicit interviews. I told the group that in addition to my role as a community college professor, I was also a graduate student, and that while participating in the CPA, I thought that the CPA would make for an excellent research study and

needed their assistance in voluntarily participating in an interview. I passed around sheets of paper for people to sign up; I had thirty sign up agreeing to be interviewed about their experiences.

Ethical Considerations

The University of Louisville Institutional Review Board approved this study. By using participant observation and interviews, I ran the risk that my subjects would discover that I was conducting research, which would alter their behaviors. It was also possible they would recognize me as an outsider and change their behaviors. For the observations in the current study, identity disclosure was not much of a concern because I joined the CPA in an active participant role (Adler & Adler, 1987). I took a more central position in the setting by participating in the activities, bringing food, and conversing with the other participants. This way, I did not feel obligated to reveal my background in law enforcement and as a citizen police academy instructor at a nearby police agency to the participants. Previous participants are welcome to return at any time, thereby making it impossible to know each person's identity. During the interview stage of this study, verbal informed consent was obtained from the participants. Identifying data was not asked, but any such data learned during the course of the interview was altered after transcription to protect the identities of the participants. All the names were replaced with pseudonyms. After the interviews were transcribed, the audio files were deleted. During the interviews, I also chose not to reveal my past; I felt that revealing that fact would substantially change the responses the participants gave to various questions.

This multi-method study used participant observation and individual interviews to collect data. I used participant observation first to collect some of the data for this study

because it "entails an attitude of detachment toward society that permits the sociologist to observe the conduct of self and others, to understand the mechanisms of social processes, and to comprehend and explain why both actors and processes are as they are" (Vidich, 1955). Because of the nature of the data sought for this study, participant observation (Jorgenson, 1989) was especially appropriate for focusing on generating theoretical interpretations. The theoretical interpretations are important to uncover, but especially important for revealing the realities people use to make sense of their daily lives (Jorgenson, 1989).

In-Depth Interviews. Based on the information obtained during the observations and in order to ensure similarity in the interviews, a semi-structured interview protocol was created with specific open-ended and follow-up questions for each interview subject (Appendix A). The interview protocol intended to be in-depth and evolved during the collection of data as participants' responses allowed me to refine or expand the questions. In general, topics included demographics, impressions of their CPA participation, other civic involvement, crime victimization, opinions of the police, level of involvement in the CPA, motivations for participation, feelings derived from CPA participation, community impact of the CPA, police agency benefits of the CPA, personal identity as a CPA member, and about how police use force. Routinely, unscripted questions were asked in order to more fully understand a comment or statement that was made, or to delve deeper into a specific thought.

From March 2014 to June 2014, twenty-four semi-structured, individual in-depth, face-to-face interviews were conducted with the CPA members, which equated to approximately 22 hours of face-to-face interaction with the participants. The interviews

were voluntary and there was no remuneration provided. Inclusion criteria were that the person was a participant in a CPA class, and that they had attended more than half of the classes. The format of these interviews followed that of Gillham (2002). My purpose was to obtain information and understanding of relevant issues and specific questions of the research project. Each of the interviews was digitally recorded with the consent of the interview subject and lasted from thirty minutes to one hour. After each of the interviews, the recordings were transcribed into a document for later processing. I interviewed participants until I reached theoretical saturation, meaning that most of the data I was collecting was similar to that which I had already collected, and that I was not getting new data (Glaser & Strauss, 1967). By using in-depth interviews, I can learn about people's interior experiences, and what they perceived and how they interpreted their perceptions (Weiss, 1994). Depth of meaning is central to insight and understanding of the participant (Gillham, 2000). This method also allows for me to tailor my questions to each participant asking them to particularize specific incidents, thus gaining a more in-depth understanding (Weiss, 1994). There are some drawbacks to interviewing. Some of them are that interviews are very time-consuming; they should not be used if there are large numbers of people, or if those people are widely dispersed; if all questions are closed questions; and if research aims are factual and summary in character (Gillham, 2000).

Interview Setting. Participants agreed to meet with me at a specified time and place of their choosing to be interviewed. Twenty-one of the interviews occurred at a public library nearest the participant's work or home. Generally, the interviews took place in a private study room when available (twenty of the cases); in two cases, the

interviews took place at an out-of-the-way table in the library. Two of the interviews were conducted at a participant's home because of mobility issues. One interview was conducted at a participant's place of employment due to a scheduling conflict.

Sample

In other studies of CPAs (Brewster, et al, 2005; Bumphus el al, 1999, Jordan, 2000), the researchers have samples similar in demographics to this study. In Brewster's (2005) study of Harrisonburg participants, 58 percent were male, 42 percent were female, 88 percent were Caucasian, 4.4 percent were African-American, and 5.5 percent were Hispanic, with an average age of 34. In his study of Richmond participants, 31 percent were male, 69 percent were female, 21 percent were Caucasian, 79 percent were African-American, with an average age of 58. In Bumphus's (1999) study, the average age was 42 years old and 54 percent male (race was not indicated). In Jordan's (2000) work based on 79 responding police agencies, there were even numbers of males and females but senior citizens were overrepresented when compared to the census data. African-Americans were underrepresented in 45 CPAs while 22 of the CPAs reported no African-American participants.

The goal for my study was 25 interview participants. While this was less than half of the total participants, I felt I could obtain a fairly representative sample of participants with this number. Additionally, I felt it would be nearly impossible to contact all participants for interviews. A precedent for small sample size in qualitative work is found in previous literature (Creswell, 1998; Guest, Bunce, & Johnson, 2006; Morse, 1994). Morse (1994) recommends that for grounded theory studies, the researcher should utilize at least 35 participants, while Creswell suggests using 20 to 30 participants

is adequate in developing themes. Initially, the sampling was purposive and aimed at being representative; however, I only was able to obtain eight participants this way. Next, I employed nonprobability sampling; I used this method because of schedules and commitments of the participants. At the conclusion of the CPA, participants became a difficult to reach population (Davidson & Layder, 1994), as most of the participants return to their lives. I provided a scheduling website for interested persons to schedule an interview date, time, and location. I was able to gain another ten participants this way. Via snowball sampling of referrals from previous participants, I acquired an additional six participants.

I have 24 participants in my interview sample. The participants range in age from 19 to 71, with the mean age being 46.89. There are seven white males (29 percent), eleven white females (45 percent), two African-American males (.08 percent), two African-American females (.08 percent), one Latino female (.04 percent), and one Latino male (.04 percent). While I make no claims of representativeness, this study was able to draw its participants directly from the population studied. The result of this study are not intended to be generalized to the population of all citizen police academies at-large, but rather is intended to provide a thorough consideration of the experiences of the participants of this study.

Data Analysis

After the initial observations were conducted, thematic and conceptual notes were developed from my jottings to help me understand and categorize the information being collected. I used this data to develop an in-depth interview protocol.

After the interviews were completed and the digital recordings transcribed, I analyzed the data using an analytic, inductive process where both open and focused coding were used to aid in the develop of emergent themes (Jorgensen, 1989). The constant comparative method was employed. Blumer's (1954) notion of sensitizing concepts indicates that these concepts give the researcher an initial idea about what questions to ask during the research. I relied on some previous research literature to provide some concepts; however, many of the concepts observed and discovered had no basis in the current limited research literature on citizen police academies. Analysis of the research on community policing, citizen police academies, and volunteers in policing provided a starting point.

My initial coding was done line-by-line to establish themes and patterns related to participants' experiences in the CPA. I then utilized incident-by-incident coding to make comparisons within and between cases and to develop conceptual codes. These thematic and conceptual codes were developed with representative quotes to begin uncovering the findings. Each transcript was listened to at least twice to gain an understanding of the context through which each quote was situated. Analysis of the data proceeded using several sensitizing concepts: social identity theory, institutional theory related to the creation and persistence of rational myths, and on how emotional labor is conducted.

CHAPTER IV

FINDINGS

This study was conceptualized and designed to understand the mechanisms of the citizen police academy. First, this study sought to understand why citizens participated in the citizen police academy. Second, this study was conceptualized to gain an understanding of why the police sought to include the citizen police academy in their community oriented police model. The inductive design of this study served as a way to derive theories that could serve to understand the goals of the study. Therefore, the observations drove the development of the interview questions, which in turn allowed the previously discussed theoretical frameworks to emerge. Because of the tightly woven nature of social identity, community, emotion work, and institutional theories, this chapter is divided into questions that demonstrate these frameworks in the data. First, why do the police need the CPA? Second, what strategies do the police use to support that need. Third, do the participants accept what the police present to them?

I found evidence of participants creating social identities throughout their involvement in the citizen police academy. In my initial coding, from participant observations, I noted the repeated reference to objects of affection of the CPA like t-shirts, jewelry, bumper stickers and coffee mugs. The data revealed a high level of commitment by the participants and identities derived from their interactions with the police. This understanding emerged from the work of Blumer (1969) and Tajfel and Turner (1982) on symbolic interaction and social identity theory. Based on participants'

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comments on the level of satisfaction and personal fulfillment they had during the CPA, Zurcher's (1968) work on ephemeral roles emerged and was included as an explanation.

As I began to explore the data, I discovered that particular questions pointed toward specific theoretical frameworks (a complete copy of the draft interview protocol is provided in Appendix A). The questions, which emerged as supportive of social identity theory, commitment, and ephemeral roles, were those related to involvement in other civic organizations and how involvement in this CPA began for the participant. I also asked questions about their relationships with other members of the group (also for imagined communities), why they continued to come to the meetings, what feelings they felt while participating, and what the CPA did for them in terms of satisfaction. After seeing bumper stickers on many of the cars and participants ordering t-shirts and other memorabilia, I inquired about how participants identified themselves as CPA members, about what memorabilia they purchased or owned, and about what these items meant to them. I also asked them how they portrayed themselves as CPA members to friends, to outsiders, and to the police with whom they have come in contact.

Based on the structure of the citizen police academy relative to the police agency and the nature of the curriculum being presented to the citizens compared to the actual activities of police officers, I thought this study would be incomplete without a discussion of the institutional relationship between the institution of policing and the CPA organization, and the participants' activities that occurred as a result of the curriculum. What emerged from the data was evidence of Meyer and Rowan's (1977) idea of rational myths. This theoretical framework appeared repeatedly in the thematic notes I created during analysis of the observations conducted during the initial stages of this study. The

founders of institutional theory based conclusions in their research on large, for-profit corporations. It is understandable for these corporations to want to gain legitimacy and to be successful; however, the police do not require additional legitimacy to function. Their use of rational myths, as Crank (2003) points out, is to gain compliance and support from the community. This CPA has more than 5000 graduates (many of whom belong to the alumni association) since its inception, which equates to about 1.6% of the city's population being exposed to this academy. This CPA organization, and CPAs in general, fit neatly in Fine and Scott's (2011) definition of a wispy community, which is based largely on Anderson's (1983) notion of an Imagined Community. As such, exploration of this milieu allows me to expand upon the idea of the wispy community. Some examples of other wispy communities such as sports fans and other stand-alone voluntary organizations are different than the CPA, which is predicated on the principles of the sponsoring police organization. Without with police agency support, the CPA would cease to exist, similar to the existence of sports fans without a team. However, the police agency is a branch of the government, which does not require support from the community to exist. On the other hand, the police do need the community to provide them with operational legitimacy. This makes the CPA as a wispy community unique. I considered participants' inclusion of their level of enjoyment and the level at which they recommended or shared about the CPA to their friends and family as part of this discussion.

The questions that supported the use of institutional theory, specifically rational myths, legitimacy, and the imagined or wispy community related to the participants' sense of belonging. Though many of the notions for these theories originated from

observations of the police who were involved in teaching and interacting with the group,

I was able to use participants' responses to gauge how they perceived those interactions. I

asked some of the following questions: What the CPA did for the community and about

the services it provided, if any? What did the word "educate" mean to CPA members? I

queried about the role of the participant was after they completed the CPA, and if there

was any expectation from the police about what that role is? I questioned the participants

about conversations they had with the police; specifically I wanted to know what the

officers' opinions were of CPA, as understood by the participants (this was also helpful

for emotion work). Finally, I probed about police use of force or "response to resistance."

I asked participants to define excessive force, and how often they think it occurs and

when it was justifiable.

Supported by the repeated comments, written propaganda, and personal

interactions observed throughout the CPA, I turned to Hochschild's (1983) work on

emotional labor and Martin's (1999) clarification of this idea related to the police.

During the initial observations, I made note of instances when the police officers engaged

in a great deal of emotional labor. I noticed officers routinely displayed emotions

incongruent with typical expectations especially related to their gender. There has been

significant exploration of how the police deal with emotion and how and when they

display emotion. What is missing, however, is an exploration of how the police might

use this emotion in a non-threatening setting, like the CPA. It is understandable that the

police direct a significant amount of emotion in times of confrontation in order to bring

closure and stability to a situation. The level of emotion displayed during the CPA by the

police to the citizens suggests that the police use it to build support and trust for their rational myths.

To gain an understanding of how emotional labor was used by the police, my most significant data developed out of the observation period and personal communications with the CPA coordinator. However, I wanted to understand how the participants saw what I thought to be emotion at work by the police. The following questions supported the emotional labor theoretical frameworks. I began by asking about the opinions the participants had about the police prior to, and at the conclusion of the CPA. I queried the participants on how they were treated by the police, both during the meetings and during any hands-on or training activities and about any special treatment received by the participants by the police. I followed up by inquiring about the feelings the participants had during the meetings. Specifically, I wanted to know what emotions the stories the officers told aroused in them, and about how these stories and activities changed their opinions of the police. To protect the identity of the participants, pseudonyms have been used throughout this chapter replacing the actual names of the participants.

Why do the police need the CPA?

Based on my observations and interviews, I developed the notion that the police need the CPA to build support for their policies and procedures from outside of the organization. The police know, in some cases, that their policies and procedures are questioned by the public and therefore need the public to support their use. The police also need the CPA to provide the appearance of transparency. By opening the doors of the training facility to the CPA participants and allowing participants to ride along with

officers, it gives the public a sense of police transparency. Additionally, the police do not actually perform, consistently, all of the actions the media portrays of them. Yet, this view of the police is what pervades society through the media in a way that sets the police up for de-legitimization if they do not conform to this norm. As such, they need the CPA to perform as a source of legitimization. If the CPA is an organization that is created by the institution of policing for these reasons, then it can be expected that support will come. For the CPA to be considered as an organization within the institution of policing, it must have in it certain elements. First, the institution must have the interests, identities, values and assumptions of individuals embedded in it. The CPA would fail to exist if it was not for the dedication, commitment, and values brought to it by its individual members. Participants' involvement in both the CPA and its parent alumni association foster the birth of social identities to those that participate. Second, it has to contain both material and symbolic elements. Materially, the CPA is structured similarly to the actual police academy, thus providing a pathway for instruction of the curriculum. The CPA has many symbolic elements. Aside from the tangible items of affection the members hold on to, the CPA creates meaning for jobs the police do, and it builds substantial ideation for the support of the police. Third, it must be historically contingent. Considering the context of the creation of the CPA, the community policing movement is a strong focus for police agencies, which is supported by prior research on community oriented policing. Fourth, it should operate at multiple levels of analysis in which actors are nested. The CPA can be viewed from multiple levels. For instance, there are individuals that participate as well as instruct within the organization. From the organizational level, the CPA is situation in a position in which we can study its ability to

promote legitimacy for the police; the actors at this level are police administrators. Lastly, from the societal level, the police operate under the authority of the government and can be seen to operate from its constituency – the public.

Through the series of classes, the police utilize the CPA as a way to inform citizens about what their expected roles are within the group. The police tell participants what to expect in terms of content. That is, the role of the police is exciting and dangerous all the time. The CPA depends on establishing a relationship of trust and secrets between the police and participants, meaning that the participants see the police as an expert source on all of the topics they present, thereby leaving no room to question their actions. For example, the way that response to resistance, traffic stops, and other parts of the curriculum are taught during the CPA leaves little room for the participants to question the effectiveness or efficiency of those practices.

Police Strategies for Support

The police officers involved in the CPA employed various strategies in order to support their desire to have the CPA associated with their police agency. First, the police appear to have utilized a great deal of emotional labor during their presentations to the participants. At the beginning of the CPA, officers seemed to engage in language games and surface acting to begin eliciting similar reactions from the participants; later in the CPA, officers appeared to be engaging in deep acting to further draw participants in to sharing similar feelings as them. The participants perceived the emotions by the officers to be real and they supported and mimicked those emotions during the interviews. The emotion work by the officers set the stage for the police who began to produce rational myths. These myths surrounded the idea of the level of excitement and danger the police

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face each day. Myth production happened throughout the CPA, particularly during presentations on high-speed pursuits, armed arrests, and building searches in the first few weeks of the academy. Finally, the police allowed the participants to ride along for a shift with an officer. This experience is a way for the participant to see the excitement and danger they learned about in the CPA classes.

Emotion work by the police. During the CPA, the police officers seemed to be engaged in a great deal of emotional labor; some of this emotion has been seen in many other areas of inquiry. This section will address additional ways in which the police performed emotion during the CPA. At the first meeting of the CPA, I was riding the elevator up with the supervisor of the CPA police coordinator. He said to me, "You don't know what you are getting yourself into, but you will love every minute of it." As I was getting situated, I noticed on the white board at the front of the room the word "best" was written next to almost everything, examples include "Best CPA [Class]!" and "Best Chief of Police." Before introductions began, the CPA coordinator said, "You are the best, we love all of you, welcome to our family, welcome to our home!" As the chief of police began to speak, he said, "Welcome to our family." Similar phrasing was used consistently throughout the CPA classes and events. During the second week, the officer presenting said, "I'm going to let you in on another little secret," referring to how fast you had to be going in order to be ticketed for speeding. During the DUI class, the police instructor asked, "Do you trust me? Raise your hand if you trust me." Everyone in the room raised their hands. To reiterate the notion of family, during the SWAT team demonstration class, the CPA participants were introduced to one of the officer's children who had a serious illness for which he was being treated, and the mother of the child, a police

officer, said, "You are part of our family, we couldn't do our jobs without you." Almost every officer that spoke to the group made a point to say how wonderful the CPA was, and how thankful the police department was that the participants were there. Julie recalls that during the classes the officers made mention of how valuable the CPA is, explaining, "I mean, that's one thing they always say is how valuable this is and how they appreciate it. Now, whether that's just blowing smoke or it's for real…it appears to be for real." If there were a holiday during the CPA class, that too was celebrated. I heard former members talking about Mother's Day and Valentines Day celebrations where cards and flowers were distributed. Each of these events and phrases – language games – helped to make the participants feel welcomed.

During several of the following weeks, officers would share stories about being involved in shootings, seeing dead bodies, and their involvement in other tragic events. Officers would get visibly angry, some would cry, some would scream. This display of emotion gave a sense of realness to their stories. The amount of affection shown by the officers toward the participants helped the officers gain the respect and admiration of the participants. Between meetings, the CPA coordinator sent out frequent e-mails regarding upcoming events in which participants could engage. In each of those e-mails, phrases like "you are the best," "thank you for all you do for us," "we love you," "we miss you and can't wait to see you," and other similar statements. During the interviews, participants were asked if they thought the emotions the officers were displaying were authentic. Participants said they liked that the police were honest with them and that they showed emotion and shared how they felt, as it made the academy seem realistic and comfortable.

Brenda said the level of emotion she observed made her feel like the officers were committed to the CPA and that they were being honest:

> And I think that they come there with the intent of being honest with us and telling it like it is. I think they really do. There are times they say, you know, there are emotions coming from them, there are officers who have welled up with tears, you know, telling their story or relating accident investigations or crime scenes and things to the extent that they can and again that to me, speaks to their commitment and to their emotional connection and their really strong desire to do the right thing.

Brittany, a 24-year-old banker, agrees with Brenda, saying, "I like how [the police are] honest with you." Participants also felt a level of comfort with the officers, a humanizing effect. Rosemary says, "So it's really brought about a comfort level you know? It's replaced this ridiculous fear with a more realization." This humanizing effect was particularly noticeable to Dan; he said that citizens do not always see the police as humans, but that the CPA has helped him to understand they are just like everyone else:

> You know, uh, you know my eyes are a little bit more open and, uh, course I knew what was involved and and what they'd do you know, basically. Uh, but, you also find out that they're just like everybody else, you know? Um, they are good people and uh they've got families, and they've got issues, and they've, you know, like us? So, you know, sometimes you know, you don't see a police officer that way. And, you know, more down to earth, um, you know you can and you can get to know them on a first name basis and that sort of thing.

Almost all of the participants, when asked about the genuineness of their encounters with the police, said they felt they were real. Susan recalls, "…and the speakers are very energetic and seem genuinely pleased that you are there and they are pleased to be there and we just learn something every week." Julie agreed, saying, "I love to hear the stories of the officers. I mean, you can tell they get excited about it…"

In some cases, the participants paid particular attention to the gender and how that was related to the officer's emotion. When I asked about the female CPA coordinator,

Dan noted, "yea, she's wonderful, I mean you know, you know and you expect the police officer to be more rugged and she's like one of us so it's it's perfect for what she does, you know, with the CPA." Lamar recalled the night that two female officers came and spoke to the CPA; he was surprised by their story because they had to fight men, which is unexpected work for females:

> So the night that two female officers came in and talked about getting into a fight you could hear a pin drop. Because that's something nobody ever assumes happens to female police officers. That's why I was saying, "That was great." That 30-minutes just on being a female officer in the streets and getting into fights, that took us years beyond where we have been because the didn't know that. They assume nice car and everything's nice in place you know? Now they know, sometimes you get in fights and you don't always win.

In some cases, officers are prohibited from showing emotion, like during calls and during funerals. One participant, Barbara had opportunity to be involved with the training of the officers for a fallen officer's funeral. She said that it was difficult for the officers to practice that, especially since right before that training, one of the department's officers was shot and killed. Barbara recalled:

> Because, as they are standing there, with the fallen officer, they are not allowed to show any kind of emotion, they are there to guard the body. And it doesn't matter if the widow, the wife, the mother, anybody says anything, they are not to answer, they are not to react to anything, and so, they were ever gonna [react] they needed to do it with us, not with a real family, so there was banging on the casket, there was screaming, there was everything in the world, and the officers just stood there, and the hard part is, that we had to do it over and over and over and over again, as they would bring in more people.

Every week at the CPA meetings and in e-mails sent by the CPA coordinator, the officers spoke frequently about how much they care for, respected, and appreciated the participants taking part in the CPA. Police officers deal with a lot of emotion during their careers; generally, this emotion is during times of stress. Officers deal with emotion

differently and they present them differently to different audiences. The emotion

displayed by the officers during the CPA reinforces a sense of commitment by the

officers to be there, adds a sense of sincerity and humanity to their stories, and has a

humanizing effect of the officers. The participants are constantly bombarded with

positive emotions that make them feel welcomed and wanted and they are showered with

negative emotions during stories of tragedy and sadness. These emotions set the stage for

the police to build myths about their jobs.

   Producing rational myths. Consider the following section about how the police

used emotion work and created rational myths; I will focus on two areas where myth

production was observed. The images created by the presenters of *high-speed pursuits*,

and in the practice of making *armed arrests* lead participants to believe that the job of the

police is always dangerous, exciting, and effective. I will first look at how the police set

up rational myths through various examples from the observation period. Then, I will

give examples from the interviews about how those myths were adopted by the

participants. The CPA provided an avenue for the police to create these images about

what their jobs entail by giving dramatic details about rare events that reinforced these

ideas to its participants. I am not saying the jobs of police officers are not dangerous, nor

am I advocating complacency about officer safety. Myth creation began even prior to

citizens signing up for the CPA and continued through almost each week in some form. I

noted a Facebook post by the police department that read:

> Ride high speed in a police cruiser, execute an "armed" building search,
> get a true look at CSI and learn secrets about the [Town] police. You can
> do all of this as a member of the Citizen Police academy. Sign up today
> here: [hyperlink].

After this introduction paragraph, there was a link to the application for the CPA and a paragraph about the purpose and curriculum of the program.

The first day of the citizen police academy was introductory in nature; the chief of police made a few remarks and then a representative of each of the major bureaus of the police department, usually an Assistant Police Chief, gave a short introduction about what tasks are performed in each of their areas of responsibility. That night, I found a place to sit near the back of the room. On the table in front of me was a welcome package. There was a small card that said, "Welcome to Cop School 101," and a small calendar with a magnet on the back. The front of the calendar says, "Citizen Police Academy: The best kept secret in [Town]." The coordinator of the CPA, a 33-year veteran police officer that is assigned to the community services division of the police department, then greeted everyone. She said, "You are in cop school 101, you will get a chance to see our new bomb robot and take photos with the SWAT team at the next meeting!"

Each of the commanders of the various bureaus of the police department presented to the group about the area under their supervision and some of them reinforced the myths that were introduced in the Facebook post. For example, the commander of the detective bureau described his section as "just like CSI," then went on to say that there would be no mention of drug cases during the CPA because those types of cases "have to have a lot of silence and confidentiality." He ended his remarks by saying, "You will be able to live as the police the next twelve weeks, enjoy the ride!"

During the fourth meeting, the participants were required to meet at the police firing range for demonstrations by the SWAT team and the "bomb squad." When I

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arrived, I noted that the bomb squad robot was displayed near the gated entrance to the firing range and participants were taking photos with the robot. In the middle of the firing range, the SWAT vehicle was parked alongside a late model car in disrepair.

The coordinator of the bomb squad was introduced and began his presentation by saying, "If you see these people pulling down your road, you need to get in your bathtub and cover up!" The officer introduced members of the team as "those guys who know how to cut the red wire," referencing a typical scene in a Hollywood style movie where the actor is faced with the dilemma of cutting the red wire or the blue wire to defuse a bomb seconds before it explodes. There was a brief demonstration of the bomb robot, where the officer remotely detonated a pipe bomb.

Next, the SWAT team was introduced as an "elite" team of officers; each officer was wearing their SWAT uniform, which is much more armored than a typical police uniform. These officers lined up near the SWAT vehicle and the group was told that the team would perform a "Hollywood style" demonstration. The SWAT team moved into their positions, and as they did, the coordinator said, "When [this vehicle] shows up at your door, your perspective changes." The SWAT officers then performed an "extraction" of an individual from the old car that was parked on the range. Finally, the SWAT team performed a building search of a nearby training building; the participants were warned that this would be, "quick, loud, and in your face!" The officer told participants that in future weeks, they too would be able to perform a building search. The SWAT officers set off a very loud flash bang, causing the group to jump. There was a lot of screaming and yelling by the officers performing the demonstration and finally the officers appeared from the training building stating, "man in custody, code 1." ("Code

1" is police terminology for "arrest made.") At the end of the meeting, many of the participants were taking photos with the officers, trying on the uniforms, and climbing in the SWAT vehicle. The CPA coordinator said, "Take your pictures with the SWAT team, use those pictures on Christmas Cards, your enemies won't mess with you anymore."

During the first four weeks of the CPA, the participants are inundated with experiences and images of very dramatic police situations. They are led to believe that these types of situations happen often for the police. This is how the development of rational myths began for these participants. It was reinforced during the subsequent classes of the CPA.

High-speed pursuits. The way in which high-speed pursuits and traffic stops were presented helped the police to build a myth that all police work is as dangerous as these endeavors. During weeks three and six, the same pair of officers taught the CPA classes on "driving and traffic enforcement" and "traffic stops." During this section of the CPA, the citizens had the opportunity to ride in a police car on the driving track at very high speeds. The class began with the instructors telling the class that the news business is "limited" in what it knows about the police and that the public does not "learn about the '*real*' police from TV." The instructors then showed several police pursuit videos from YouTube, two of the videos showed officers getting shot. The tone in the officer's voice was very loud and very serious; he was almost to the point of screaming. He talked about how he was involved in a pursuit that killed a family; many of the CPA participants were crying and visibly upset. After a short break, the group proceeded to the driving track where officers had set up traffic cones on a flat, asphalt course.

Once everyone had gathered, the CPA coordinator assigned groups of people to various officers for a turn riding in the car. The first officer turned the lights and siren on and a middle-aged Caucasian lady, who was a participant, was hanging out of the back window screaming, "I didn't do it officer, I didn't do it!" This elicited laughter from the group observing her. Participants rode around the track at 30 or 40 miles per hour and the officers wove in and out of traffic cones and slammed on the brakes. One officer said, "ah, the smell of brakes in the evening…" As the participants began to gather again after taking their turn, one participant said, "That was fun, I want to go again!" Participants begged the officers to take them over and over; one woman said, "let's pretend to chase someone!" Many of the participants were taking photos and videos of the happenings to show their friends and family. The participants were asked not to post their videos and photos on social media accounts. At the end of the session, the instructors gathered everyone around and ended by saying, "We are not flawless, please remember that about the police."

Week six was about "traffic stops" and included the same two officers from the "high-speed pursuit" session. One officer began the session by showing a video of an officer getting killed on a traffic stop. The officer said, "This is life and death for us!" He began a second video of a police officer being shot by a suspect after a pursuit and the officer returned fire at the suspect. As the video played, participants were shouting, "Ram him," and "Shoot him." At the end of the video, the suspect died, the participants clapped, some participants were saying "Great," and "Good Job!" The officer presenting said that officers have a "sixth sense, it helps us to determine a lot of things." He showed a third video of an officer being shot and said, "that officer is choking on his own blood."

Participants were silent. He concluded the lecture that evening by saying, "If anyone tells you from here on…you tell them the police don't have to stop you where the violation happened. You now know why we do what we do." He then showed another video of an officer being killed while conducting a traffic stop.

During these two classes, participants were bombarded with images of the police being involved in very dramatic, intense, high-stress, highly emotional situations where ultimately, in four of the videos shown, the officer died. These images and videos seriously impacted the participants' view of the jobs of the police, and reinforced the rational myth that the jobs of the police are always dangerous. Fred recalled feeling very scared when watching those videos:

> The last lecture about traffic stops and the very explicit videos that was
> shown was maybe I guess the word might be concern for the safety of the
> officers not knowing every time they stop somebody what they can expect,
> kind of like, the fear of the unknown. Because some of that stuff was
> really really scary.

I asked Fred to describe the videos. He said, "Murder, shoot, killing the cops. Killing the officer, they showed at least 2, maybe 3 where the officer was shot and died on the scene." When Sharrita responded to those same videos, she said, "You get so caught up in the excitement of it. I liked all of that. It just gives you an affiliation of their life is in danger…but when they're on business, it's business." While most all participants had a strong reaction to those videos, almost all mentioned in some way how the scenes in the videos were "everyday life" for the officers, and that by learning about what they have to go through on a day-to-day basis was helpful. Most said these particular classes changed their perceptions of the police. Lois, whose nephew was a police officer in this police

department and was shot in the face while conducting a traffic stop (he survived), had a

very strong reaction:

> That affected me to where I had to look away because of [my nephew].
> Because of him getting shot at a traffic stop, the guy coming up behind
> him was not even involved that was just against the uniform. The traffic
> stop, that one was very hard one for me, because it was close to my heart.
> I come back, still in awe of everything they do and I'm very proud of
> them.

Armed Arrests. The police continued the myth building process during the

building search exercise. In the fifth week of the academy, the participants were

introduced to the K-9 unit and the process of conducting a building search that they had

seen during a SWAT team demo during the second week of the academy. After a couple

of demonstrations by the police K-9 handlers, the participants were given a brief lecture

on how to conduct a building search. It was a very technical discussion by the officers in

which the officers were teaching the participants how to "stack-up" to enter a building.

This terminology means how the officers align with each other for protection during a

search. The officers also described the "fatal funnel" of entering a room through a

doorway that does not provide the officer the ability to visually see the entire room. The

officers told the participants, "We want you to feel what we feel," and instructed them to

deal with any situations they encounter as they thought the police should. The

participants got into groups of three or four people, and were assigned a building to

search. The participants were provided with a bulletproof vest, training firearm, and

flashlight. They were given a scenario like this one:

> You are an officer on patrol and your dispatcher has told you that there is
> gunfire at a local school. You and your fellow officers respond to the
> school and learn that there is at least one gunman and possibly a hostage.

The group was then sent into the building where other officers were located to help guide them. All of the lights were turned off and the participants could hear yelling and shots being fired upstairs. As the group traversed the stairwell, there were more shots fired. Once the group reached the top of the stairs, there was a long hallway with several doors on both sides and a room at the end. The group progressed down the hallway checking each door as they were instructed during the lecture. Each had their firearm and flashlight pointed forward. Then, a man appears in the doorway and says, "Who the fuck are you?" the participants respond, "Police! Show us your hands!" The man takes a few steps forward and pulls a gun, "killing" the group of participants.

Immediately after this scenario, the officers wanted to "debrief" the group. The officer that played the bad guy immediately apologized for cursing, saying that he gets very worked up in these scenarios. The officers told the group what they did wrong and how they could have done better in order to survive. The group then returned to the classroom so the next group could go. They were asked not to talk about the incident. During the night, I participated with four groups; the group was killed in three of the scenarios. These scenarios provided participants with a "real-life" example of what the police deal with on a "day-to-day" basis. The members internalized these feelings and several mentioned the impact during the interviews.

Fred's group did not die during the scenario they performed. He recalled thinking he did the scenario pretty well until the officers told them they did awful. He relived the story by telling me:

> We did not die. I think we got lucky. The thing about it was, we went in
> there, and I really got into it. I really did. I was role-playing. But I didn't
> do it consciously, I mean, I just went in and I was doing it. I was the
> police officer and then when it was all over and we started talking about it,

I thought we did pretty good. Well, we did awful, just terrible, so there you are going down the hall and all of you has got your gun pointed at the person in front of you, you know? That kind of thing and then when we found the guy hiding behind the door and asked him his name or asked him what he was doing. He says he's the janitor, and has he got an ID? He says no he doesn't have any ID, da da da da da. We did have the foresight to pretend to handcuff him and then we found out the correct procedure was to take him out of the building and come back in, we didn't know that. Until the day I die, because every now and then I still mention it to [my wife], the guy says, "You didn't search him for weapons." And I says, "Well he was just wearing a t-shirt." And the guy with [my wife] and he turns around and puts his hand in his seat and he has a gun. And so every now and then I look at [my wife] and say, "We didn't search him." And had we been in a similar kind of situation for real, there's a good chance we were going to be shot because we didn't search him, so..

Fred's experience of the realization that the police have to keep so many things in mind when doing their job was a consistent point by many of the participants. Rosemary's experience was similar to that of Fred's but, she recalled thinking about the equipment, and how she put herself in the position of the officers' way of thinking about a situation. When I asked her about the feelings she got during the building search, she said:

Just the realization of some of the things. I picked up a gun and was like, "Gosh, this is heavy." Of course, it's obvious I don't go walking around with pistols that often, But, I'm like, "Wow." And then putting on the vest – that thing is heavy to wear around. And just to learn – what I would say about the building search – to learn by doing. [The police] always have to be on guard. They really have little opportunity to let down their defense because you could walk up to someone and think that they're just a drunk and they could be having a gun in their back pocket and have malicious intent.

These scenarios are designed by the police for the participants to lose. While talking with one officer, he said, "Yea we design these so everyone dies, it's almost a no-win situation for you guys." These activities continued to build the idea that the police are constantly bombarded with bad people who are out to kill them and that the job of the police is constantly dangerous. These scenarios also reinforced the idea that officers

must always be cognizant of those around them, and should expect the worst from anyone at any time. It represented their jobs as exciting and dramatic and conjured the idea of the embattled crime fighter. The presenting officers of the CPA created the image the public sees about the police, what their jobs are, what their role is, and how they do their jobs. When the participants rode along, they found that the police engage in a lot of less exciting tasks like paperwork and mundane calls for service.

  The Police Ride-Along Program. The police ride along program is a way for any citizen to partner up with a police officer and ride as a passenger in the police vehicle for an entire shift. The citizen can go on calls with the officers, enter people's homes, and listen in on police conversations. The goal of this program is to give participants and citizens a view into the world of policing – to see what really happens during a shift. Citizens are restricted to three ride alongs per calendar year and can chose the day and time they wish to participate. Beginning in the fourth week, participants of the citizen police academy were first encouraged by the CPA coordinator to ride along with an officer. After this week, liability waiver forms were distributed often throughout the CPA program. For logistical reasons for the police, participants were required to schedule their ride along two weeks in advance, thereby making the first ride along experiences in approximately week six of the CPA. Over half of the participants I interviewed, thirteen in all, had participated in a ride along; three of them specifically mentioned wanting to do a ride along, but had not signed up; the other eight had either had no interest in doing a ride along either because they were scared, or because they felt they would be in the way of the officer or would potentially be a burden.

All of the participants enjoyed their ride along experience, but most noticed a lack of excitement. Megan, a Caucasian 49-year-old banker said, "It was fine. Um, there was one call that came in on the radio took up a big chunk of the evening…" She went on to describe the incident about an alleged drunk driver, whom they searched for and found. Likewise, Chester, a Caucasian 71-year-old retired government worker, described his experience with the ride along as a slow night where there was also not much excitement:

> [The ride along] didn't change my perception, I learned a lot about how two particular officers approached their job and their community relations. It was during a shift were there wasn't a lot of action. So it was basically following up on burglary calls basically that kind of thing. So we weren't doing 90 miles an hour down [the road] or anything like that.

Chester concluded that some calls were best handled with him left in the car while the officer investigated, while others he was allowed to follow more closely with the officer. Similarly, Fred, a Caucasian, 71-year old former computer programmer, selected to ride on a Saturday morning thinking that it would be a slow day; he wanted to get to know the officer better. During this particular shift, Fred observed the officer on thirteen calls for service, which he and the officer considered "kind of busy." Fred recalled:

> And I learned, we didn't arrest anybody so I didn't have an opportunity to go through that part of it. A couple of calls were mundane, cars broken into…The officer you know, took all of the information da da da da da, and found out all the paperwork involved with any kind of call. Because then you have to type into his computer and go through the whole thing.

Fred went on to describe a few of the other calls he observed, but concluded by saying, "I kind of thought the police were there to do a specific thing and my encounters with the police I thought they were pretty much doing what they were supposed to be doing…" Miguel's ride along was very similar to those of the other participants. He too got to see

a lot of paperwork from the police, but he also got the opportunity to see the jail. He

remembered how bad he thought the paperwork was:

> Yea, and I go to see how were like, they actually went down and how they
> arrested him and they took him to jail, I saw all the paper work those guys
> had to do for every single each little thing, like, we also had a call from
> this car that he drove by and one of the cars that was parked and he ended
> up hitting his mirror and he did a whole bunch of paperwork over that
> mirror. I guess mirrors are a lot of work on paper work man. That's
> horrible.

Most participants agreed that it changed their opinion of the police for the better, or gave

them a better understanding of how scared they must feel. An example of this is from

Jessica, a Caucasian, 21-year-old retail worker. For her, the ride along dispelled some

myths about what the job of the police is:

> [My perception] changed because a lot of people think there's officers that
> ride around and pull people over for fun, but you see that that's like not
> what they do. They have certain things they need to get done. A lot of it
> is paperwork, and it's not really like, "How many tickets can I write?".

On the other hand, some participants did feel like they experienced some

excitement during the ride along, but some felt vulnerable. Brenda a Caucasian, 65-year-

old retired retail worker, recalled that her ride along was slow, but they had one call for

service where she felt like she experienced what the officers felt during all of their shifts.

She chose to ride along in the downtown district of the city because "it is very strange" to

her in terms of what activities take place there. Additionally, she chose to ride on second

shift, which runs from 4pm to midnight because she heard that that shift was most busy

for the officers. She recalled:

> And, you know, we were having a great little chat in the car and then a call
> comes through and then it's like, low and behold, we are going into a part
> of town that I'd never been into before, and we get there and there was a
> complaint about somebody had reported that they were approached in a
> very aggressive way by 6 or 7 individuals in a neighborhood…[the

officer] gets out of the car and he says and I'm like, "Do you want me to come?" and he says, "if you feel comfortable with that, yea, go ahead, come along." So I did and I mean there I am, standing on the street, facing what they face everyday. Did these kids have guns, did they, you know, were they waiting in ambush someplace, was this a set-up? I mean, they don't know that when they go out on the street and nor did I. It's really and eye-opening experience.

These similar feelings of vulnerability during the ride along were echoed by Bonny, a Caucasian, 42-year-old nurse. During her ride along, the officer asked her to remain in the car on a call in a neighborhood she felt unsure about; she recalls how she felt:

I mean, I'm just sitting there in the car and they say, "You wait until I make sure it's okay." You just sit there and you're like 'you know, what if someone from the passenger side just jumps out and starts shooting?' Which I know part of the population says, "Oh, that's not realistic, it doesn't really happen that often.." So, kind of just a little heightened by the unknown they deal with. You know it, but until you ride along and see it and sit right there. Not uninvested, not with a weapon, you feel a little vulnerable. It's a little intimidating.

Those who participated in ride alongs found them interesting, but with little of the excitement they expected to see. During the course of the classroom portion of the CPA, many of the presentations tended to describe only the most exciting portions of police work. This presentation style gave some participants a heightened expectation of what they would experience on their ride along. Those who had not yet participated in a ride along had specific criteria in selecting their ride along time. Melody, a Caucasian 56-year-old attorney, had yet to participate in a ride along, but remembered discussing with her classmates how they made their selection to ride along. She recalls that many of them wanted to select a night in which they thought the police would be the most busy, therefore seeing the most action. She said:

I am [going to do a ride along], I just haven't picked the right moment (laughing). The right shift, and the right day, it's like plan two weeks ahead and do I want do it at night. But I know people in the class who

have signed up for a night of the full moon and on the night of Friday the 13th, cause they want to see a lot of action, I'm not sure I want to see that much action.

In much the way Melody recalled how her classmates wish to choose their ride along times and locations, Dan, a Caucasian, 57-year-old IT professional said, "I'd like to do uh one of each, each shift, you know, a different zone and uh, I know there's some pretty rough areas of [Town], I'd definitely like to do that." When Latonya, a 47-year-old African American whose father spent 30 years in law enforcement, was asked about her expectation for the ride along, she said, "Oh goodness, to really see, to get a really really good look at the kinds of things they face just on an average shift, the danger, and the unknown, and how quickly they've got to be able to think on their feet, you know?"

The ride along experience provided, for the participants, some realization about what the police do during a shift. Many participants learned that the job might not be as exciting as they had hoped for, but gained a sense of how the officers felt during a shift – the emotions they had to deal with. Those who have yet to ride along have a sense that selecting certain areas of town, certain dates, or certain shifts would ensure they get the maximum police experience in terms of excitement. The ride alongs helped reinforce the emotion work already done by the police, and also helped participants see many of the mundane realities of police work.

Do the participants accept what the police present?

Participants described their involvement with the CPA in very positive ways leading them to become deeply committed to the organization. Most participants liked the police before they joined the CPA. They purchased and displayed memorabilia to demonstrate their support and cohesion with the police and other members of the group.

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They adopted thoughts and feelings similar to those of the police and began to use similar, specific language when speaking with officers. The participants' experienced all three levels of commitment as described by Burke and Reitzes (1991). Combined, these features created, for the participants, a social identity of which they are proud. For some participants, the CPA fulfilled an unmet desire to work in law enforcement. This ephemeral role provided excitement to the lives of these participants. The participants, by and large, accepted what the police presented to them as fact. The participants saw the police as experts in their field, thus leaving little to be questioned. The participants' impressions of the police changed to be more positive and many developed a social identity through the CPA and interactions with police. CPA participants have a high level of commitment to the organization, which creates a sense of community for the participants. Because their social identities are intertwined tightly with their sense of community, the participants then engage in impression maintenance on behalf of the police. The maintenance they provide in support of the police legitimizes everything taught to them in the CPA.

Initial impressions of the police. Participants came from a myriad of backgrounds and had various experiences with the police. Nineteen participants, before beginning the CPA, held a positive view of the institution of policing and possessed a healthy respect for the officers who represent that institution. The other participants were not as positively predisposed to like the police, including those who had a few minor run-ins with the police, but still yielded to their authority. These five participants had a negative or neutral opinion of the police before the start of the CPA.

Positive views of the police varied based on the participants' prior experiences with the police or with the environment in which the participant was raised. The dominant themes were respect for the police and for the difficult jobs they hold. Brenda, a 65-year-old Caucasian and retired retail worker described the way she felt about the police prior to joining the CPA:

> [I had] a great deal of respect, but a different kind of respect. I mean was brought up, you know, I would say pretty middle class, suburbs of [a large Midwestern city], my parents were, you know, very, how shall I say this? By the books kind of parents and so the police were somebody we respected, and, you know, we never did anything wrong, never had any tickets or any of that kind of stuff so I guess I had a good amount of respect for the police.

Brenda had never had a negative experience with the police; she attributed this to how her parents raised her in a very strict home. Similarly, Dan, a 57-year-old Caucasian and retired IT specialist with the federal government, believed the police should be elevated to the same level of respect as the military he said:

> Oh, I, um, yea, um, that's an easy one. Uh, I put them up there with um people that have served in the military. You don't find too many jobs that um you could lose your life, um, the fire department, the police department, um the armed forces, you know, that's what we do. And so, or, that's what I did and yeah I have a high regard uh for anybody who's willing to put their life on the line for other people. And, uh, you know, oh yea, I'm big on that.

Dan's prior experience of being in the military allowed him to relate the experiences of the police with those of military personnel.

On the other hand, some participants had no opinion of the police because they had had no prior contact with the police, either positive or negative. Jessica a 21-year-old Caucasian and retail sales associate said, "I just didn't know anything about them, I had no idea, I just thought they were people who wrote tickets and investigated crimes."

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Similarly, Susan, a 67-year-old Caucasian and retired nurse, said, "I don't really know what I thought about them too much. I just thought they were in a place of authority. I've always had a healthy respect for the police and just kind of afraid of them."

There were three participants who held a primarily negative view of the police prior the CPA. Miguel, a 20-year-old Latino who is a student and a freelance DJ, described a situation in which the police stopped him. Miguel was on the way home in a predominately Latino neighborhood when the police stopped the vehicle he was operating.

> I was just getting off work and I don't know I got pulled over and the next
> thing I knew there was a bunch of police on the street. Down here, down
> back behind me, knocked on my window and said, "Get out of the car!" I
> barely even put the thing in park when I got drugged out of the car.

The police indicated to him that his vehicle matched the description of a vehicle that was involved in a robbery that evening. When asked about how this influenced his opinion of the police, Miguel based his answer on the previous contact he had had with the police:

> Because like it ain't just the only times I've had trouble with them because
> it happens throughout life, you have to police bad so and so on. I guess
> you always see them as a bad person because they always get you for
> some stuff and try to act rude at times when you're trying to like do some
> things and explain to them what's goin' on and I guess they were
> authorized and so…everybody has to do their job, every had to do their
> thing so it happens I mean.

Miguel indicated that throughout his life, when the police had stopped him, he felt it was due to him being Latino. While he recognized the police have a job to do, he seemed suspicious about the authenticity of all of their interactions. Latonya, a 47-year-old African American and substitute teacher, also had a negative view of the police before attending the CPA. She, at the time of the interview, lived in a predominately African

American community and had two teenaged sons. She was also concerned about the way police pick the people with whom they interact:

> Sometimes I did feel like [the police] were just really interested in racial profiling due to the fact that once my sons became of age, very quickly, they become, not really victims, but they were involved in a racial profiling event. And it is one thing I used to tell them growing up, as black males, you do have to understand, [the police] are going to look at you differently, so you have to act differently in order to stay away from stereotypes and not get mixed up in some of the things that go on, especially in this community.

Latonya said in this case, which happened about eight months prior to the interview, her sons were sitting in a vehicle in front of a house the police suspected of belonging to a drug dealer, and her sons were detained, searched, and issued tickets for loitering and one was issued a citation for possession of drug paraphernalia. She stressed the importance of African American males understanding that the police view them differently and that they should not engage in any stereotypical behaviors that would draw the unwanted attention from the police.

Changing impressions of the police. At the conclusion of the CPA, twenty-three of the participants reported a greater or deeper respect for the police and a better understanding of the reasons why the police handle certain situations in a particular way. For Latonya, after the CPA, says she is convinced that, "[The police] are really not out to get you, they are really trying to help the community be safer." When asked to be more specific about this she said:

> Now, I believe the police really truly really trying to help now. They are really trying to look out for what our best interests is. Trying to look out for youths especially who don't seem to have that father figure, that male figure around to try to steer them in a different direction so that they don't get caught up in gangs and gun violence and drugs and things like that. So if they can be out in the community getting to know the community

members, especially the youth members, hopefully, they'll have a positive influence too just through that daily contact.

Latonya now believes that the police are not out to racially profile, but are there to help prevent kids in the community from becoming victims of gang and drug violence. The other participants echoed this sentiment as well. Jessica said, "I respect them a lot more and see what they do on a day-to-day basis is a lot different than what people who don't know them on that level would think." Susan's opinion also changed for the better, stating, "I'm very empathetic towards them, that's for sure. I never realized how much they do and how much they give. I think I respect them a lot more." Most participants indicated an increase in the amount of empathy they have toward the officers, and that empathy resulted from an increased understanding of the work in which the police engage.

In contrast, Miguel was the sole participant whose opinion of the police did not change. Miguel feels like the police have an interesting job, but for him, the way the police view him and they way they treat him during encounters will not change. When asked why his opinion remained negative he said:

> It's pretty cool what they do and stuff and, in a way, it really hasn't changed because it's still the same. Like I said, some cops just give the persona that they are really cool when you talk to them. And there's others that just give the persona that when you try to ask them a question they give you like a straight type order type answer.

He said officers present themselves differently to him than others; for some officers, they are friendly and approachable but for others, they are very direct in their exchanges. He thinks those presentations change after they find out he is a legal citizen.

Though each of the participants held a variety of opinions about the police, they all had a desire to learn more about them. They wanted some association with the police

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and the desire to define themselves through their support of the police. In order for the participants' social identity to become salient, they must conform to group behaviors and internalize the feelings and beliefs of the group. For members of the CPA, this is done through socialization and participation in meetings and events and through financial support in purchasing CPA memorabilia and adopting police vernacular.

Creating Identity

It was evident in both the observations and the interviews that the participants accepted what the police presented to them and that they created and adopted a social identity around their membership in the CPA and their association with the police. First, the participants adorned themselves with symbols of the police and the CPA to advertise their membership. Next, they committed a great deal of time and energy to the organization and perceived being rewarded through their participation. This created a sense of community among members of the CPA both with each other and with the police. Finally, the participants would use their social identities to defend the police and their policies and procedures.

Symbols. During each of the observations, I noted in the parking lot that many of the participants' vehicles had "Back the Blue" bumper stickers on them. I noticed many of the participants wore shirts and jackets with police badges and the words "Citizen Police Academy" embroidered around them. Additionally, each participant was issued an identification badge with a photo and their class information as well as the police logo and the CPA logo. Many participants clipped these badges to their outer clothing. At the first few meetings, I made this particular note:

There is an older white man selling what appears to be police badge
jewelry. Who is this guy selling jewelry? Why are they all police badges?
Where do the funds go? Who buys this jewelry?

Later, in a conversation with the man selling jewelry, he said, "I am a uh, former CPA

participant and own a local jewelry store, some of the participants asked me to make

necklaces and earrings and such, so I, uh, decided that I would donate some of the, uh,

proceeds, to uh, the CPAAA."

I learned that over the course of time, the design of the emblems embroidered on

the clothing changed from the official police badge of the sponsoring police department

with the words, "Citizen Police Academy" arched over it, to a separate logo made of a

shield with gold leaves around it. Inside the shield are the scales of justice and a key and

atop the shield it reads, "Citizen Police Academy." When Monica, a 47-year-old

Caucasian and family services administrator was asked about her CPA identification

badge, she told me a story about being accosted in a subway by a pan handler who, once

he saw the police badge on her shirt, apologized to her and went about his business. This

she believed was the reason for the design change. She said:

> I do [carry CPA identification], yea I do, I have something in my wallet,
> although a funny story. I had the CPA sweatshirt on, and I was down in
> Atlanta on a Sunday, and going to the subway, and pulling my suitcase
> behind me, and there was nobody around that time of the morning, and I
> got to the turnstile and I was foolish, I had my wallet out, and there was a
> panhandler guy on the other side of the turnstile and I thought, "crap, I
> gotta get to my train" and he's already seen me walk forward with my
> wallet in my hand, and I took out my coin and put my wallet away, and I
> had to go through, and he starts to pan handle me and he starts to talk me
> up and stuff and I say, "I'm not interested and I turn around, and I started
> to say something and he backed away, right away, and he said, "oh excuse
> me, I'm so sorry, I want you to know that I respect you and I respect you
> people and I'm not gonna give you any trouble at all." And I thought,
> "What the hell is going on?" He thought I was a police officer.

Even though the emblem changed, people still professed a desire to possess these items of affection, and wore them proudly. Lois, a 59-year-old Caucasian and finance administrator said, " [It] Makes me proud! I am very proud to be associated with the police. And I don't care who knows it." Similarly, Susan, a Caucasian and 67-year-old nurse, wanted the items she wore to be a form of advertisement for the CPA:

> I think they are a source of pride and that I did it and I'm happy with it and also hopefully a sense of advertisement so that somebody will say, "What does that mean? Are you police?" "No, but I went though the Citizen's Police Academy class" and tell them about it and hopefully get more people involved.

Wanda, a 50-year-old Caucasian and adult educator, feels like these items showed solidarity with the CPA organization:

> It's just part of it, um its not as strong as a Boy Scout's uniform, but it shows that I'm part of the organization and it's a fun thing. Yea, I'm CPA. And then of course this {holding up her CPA ID badge} is fabulous, because it gets me in the door (of the police department), I don't have to have someone let me in, I can do it myself, that's fun!

All of these participants were proud to display their affection, commitment, and membership to the CPA through the clothes and items they wore. Only one participant, Bonny, a Caucasian and 42-year-old registered nurse, failed to see any benefit to the ID badge. She said, "I do [have a badge] and I feel silly wearing it in class, I don't know why you have to wear it in class, but we have them and we're told not to wear them on ride alongs or on the tour, so I'm not sure why we even have them."

These items of affection helped participants to identify with other participants and with outsiders. They sparked conversations about the CPA, which lead to recruitment and provided a proud symbol, similar to that of the police uniform, which showed their solidarity with the police and other group members. These symbols helped to anchor

their social identities to the CPA organization. Another way the participants attempted to

anchor their social identity with the police was through the language they used when they

communicated with the officers, particularly is their use of police terminology. During

the observations, I noted on several occasions when overhearing a conversation between

the police and participants that the participants were using police codes. One such

conversation went like this:

> Participant: "Officer Mitchell, I want to pass on some information about a
> crime I think is going on with my neighbors."
> Officer: "Oh, what do you think is going on?"
> Participant: "I know my neighbor has a code 2 (warrant) for a 10-32
> (domestic). I hear them yelling and screaming all the time. What should I
> do?"
> Officer: "Well if you know the guy has a warrant, and you hear them
> fighting you should always call and let us check it out, we don't mind a bit
> to investigate."
> Participant: "I just don't want the perp to get away before you get there, I
> know if he runs you can taser him."
> Officer: "If they run we try to find them, sometimes you win, sometimes
> you lose."

Another place I saw language and feelings similar to those of the police were when the

participants were asked about police use of force in dealing with and arresting suspects;

many of their responses appeared to mimic the language of the officers who presented

during the classes, particularly in terms of the views regarding lawyers. In an interview

with Rocco, a Caucasian 58-year-old horseman and freelance author he said:

> There's an old saying in police work, "It's better to be judged by 12 than
> carried by 6." And it's very easy for a bunch of louts, a.k.a., lawyers to
> spend years or months arguing whether or not a police officer committed
> an excess of force at 3 in the morning when being attacked by a machete
> or whatever…

Rocco contended that often times use of force situations are taken out of context by the

lawyers representing the defendants. Similarly, Latonya corrected me when I asked about

use of force. When I asked her to define "use of force" she immediately said, "response to resistance?" I made comment in my field notes during the presentation by officers on forceful encounters with citizens that said, "hum, when did 'use of force' become 'response to resistance?' I guess this is the new [politically correct] way of saying 'we beat you up.'"

Lamar, a 58-year-old, African American and gardener said, "We understand the terminology and lingo from being there, but you can't do that (talk to the police) out in the community because [the citizens] wouldn't understand that."

By signing up to participate in the CPA, participants' previously held views about the police changed and became more positive, they adorned themselves with symbols of the group, and they began to share similar language and opinions with the police. Their social identities aligned with the police department became salient to their lives and to their participation with group activities – they now identified as being an important part of the group.

Commitment. Once participants' social identities were set, they became more involved; they desired to give more of their energy and time to the organization. The participants' level of involvement in the organization increased and was rewarded through gaining knowledge and prestige. This process of commitment and reward is divided into three types: *instrumental commitment*, *affective commitment*, and *moral commitment*.

Instrumental commitment. Instrumental commitment is the ability to provide food, goods, or services to the organization. Many of the CPA participants are committed to these endeavors. Similar to the jewelry maker mentioned previously, others commit to

the organization by providing food during the meetings and to the officers. Several times each year, the CPA hosted a themed event where members of the CPA provided food to coincide with the theme; examples included Italian food and Mexican food. Additionally, participants also helped park cars at an annual equestrian event, which helped raise funds to provide grants to the police department. These grants helped to provide equipment for the officers and other ancillary items.

While talking with Dan, a Caucasian a 57-year-old and IT specialist, about providing food at the Italian food event, he said, "It's a good thing, you feel like you are part of something special and um, you know, and you know how we did the [Italian food event] the other day and we fed all the police officers? It shows our appreciation for what they do." Chester, a Caucasian, 71-year-old and retired executive, spoke to the level of instrumental commitment by the members of the CPA to the police department:

> There are some very specific things that are associated with two of the
> units. The equine unit, they provide equipment, the other support that is
> requested whenever possible is the K-9 unit, they provide equipment and
> other support, and they actually provide gravestones for them. We
> sponsor a number of events, a couple to three events through the year to
> which officers and their families are invited, they are food events. We are
> in process a year from now we will be giving this department national
> exposure because we are doing a national convention. There's other stuff,
> there's Valentine' packages, I can't remember everything. There's a bunch
> of things that we have personal or group personally support for.

Affective Commitment. Affective commitment is the positive feelings and gratification that comes as a result of working with the organization. Participants described the positive feelings they got by taking part in the organization; making the police feel valued particularly gratified them. Participants also felt gratified when they learned something about the police. Lastly, some participants committed because of the valuable networking opportunities afforded them by attending the CPA meetings. The

ability to network helped them to work out other community issues. Brittany, a

Caucasian, 24-year-old banker, liked the feeling of gratification she received when being

more committed:

> Whether it's just being able to put in a good word for them and do
> some of the activities that the alumni association does like put on
> dinners for them, help them with whatever they might need,
> whether it's sponsoring fundraising for them anything like that. It
> makes me want to be involved, just to know they are appreciated
> because I feel like what they have to go through and they way
> they're still viewed in the community it's kind of crummy because
> they, I think they have one of the hardest jobs out there and the
> more I learn the more I want to. And I feel like it's hard for them
> more than anybody else.

Similarly, Lois, a Caucasian, 59-year-old finance manager said, "It's interesting. Every

week it's just something I look forward to. I can't wait to go because I know the

information I'm going to get is just going to be so not what my life's impression of the

police are." For Lois and Latonya, the educational and networking components of the

CPA provided them with a sense of gratification. Latonya said in her interview that she

was committed to the networking created by the CPA:

> I have been getting connected with so many valuable people in the
> community that I realize now that I don't have to try to do everything
> myself. There are so many other people out there in [the City] that have
> either the skills that I have or above or the different skills that I need to get
> things done that I perceive are important to the community so that's what
> motivates me because I've connected with many people wonderful people,
> it's unreal.

Moral Commitment. Moral commitments to an organization are those feelings by

participants of positive self-worth and self-esteem and that by participating with the

organization they are doing the right thing – they are supporting the "good guys."

Monica, a family services administrator indicated that she was doing the right thing,

because these officers are protecting her life everyday, she said:

> Cops are good guys, our cops are good guys! They put um, when you get
> to know them, when you get to spend time in their company, it's not some
> vague blue group, you know, they are human, they have wives and
> children and dogs and cats, they are tired, um they you know, sometimes
> alone in very dangerous situations, they tell us about dangerous situations,
> they are out there protecting us, "the good guys."

Monica liked knowing that she helped the officers with whom she feels she has grown

close, they are people who are in need of support. Chester was rewarded with a feeling

of positive self-worth, which reinforced his idea that he supported of a good group of

people. He said, "A surprising number of [the officers] come up, female or male officers,

and very quietly say, 'You have no idea how much we appreciate you guys.' Not a big

deal, but it's in a nutshell, that kind of thing that says, 'yeah there's a lot of

appreciation.'"

Participants became deeply involved in the CPA and some joined the alumni

association at the conclusion of their particular class. They committed to provide food,

goods, and services to both the CPA organization and the police. They were rewarded

with positive feelings about the organization and about the police, they felt a sense of

gratification for what they were doing, which was their reward. Lastly, participants felt

as though they were supporting a worthwhile organization and the police, who were

doing good things for the community in which they served.

Ephemeral Roles. The ephemeral role is adopted by a person when they wish to

embrace a social identity that fulfills some desire they have outside of their everyday life.

It can fulfill psychological functions such as general learning, catharsis, recreation,

identity generation and social functions, like affiliation, separation from dominant roles,

socialization and status. Only one participant I interviewed established his social identity

this way. Rocco is a Caucasian, 58-year-old horseman and freelance author of crime

novels about fraud investigations. In the interview with Rocco, he was dismayed about

not being able to do more ride alongs, what he called "patrolling" with the police. He

wanted to be able to do more of them, stating, "You can dress it up and make it sound

more pompous, but it's a complete contrast to what I do in my working life and I enjoy

being able to help people on the streets."   I asked him about what he enjoyed about this

particular job, he said:

> It's not a job, I am helping, I was helping the uniforms and I helped in
> whatever was necessary. Chase criminals, talk to perps after we arrested, I
> keep or hold them. If there was another guy running into buildings, I'd
> look for him, chasing them across parking lots and generally being
> helpful. The bad guys say "You see those mother fuckers over there? I
> know we're mother fuckers, but we're nice mother fuckers!" I can't get
> that in the real world. Or, you don't get that in the daytime world. That
> sort of thing really gives me a laugh, I enjoy it.

Rocco enjoyed feeling like he was part of police work, like he was helping the police and

was watching their backs. He contrasted his time with the police with his regular work.

He went on to talk about his experience with the ride alongs and how that experience

fulfilled a desire he is unable to meet in his everyday life:

> When you're out on patrol, it's just the two of you. And another thing I
> like about patrolling is – nobody on the street, and the officer I'm with –
> nobody we deal with knows or cares what I do in my normal world, which
> I find encouraging. Nor should they – care about what I do in my regular
> business. And I enjoy that. I enjoy the anonymity. When you're patrolling
> with officers, all they want is somebody to patrol the back and somebody
> they can trust. When you are doing 100 miles per hour, and the sirens are
> going, especially at night, and you can't see a damn thing, it's pretty darn
> good. It's a neat feeling, especially since I don't pay the insurance on the
> car.

Social identities vary between persons and differ depending on the circumstances

in which people chose to engage. Participants of the citizen police academy created their

social identities around the police for various reasons; some did it to fulfill excitement in

their daily lives, some did it to build a larger social network, and others did it to show support for the police. Regardless of the reasons given, CPA participants were highly satisfied, very supportive and understanding of the police, and committed to do more.

A sense of community

From an institutional perspective, the police agency is a formal societal institution by which the citizen police academy, an organization, is carried. The CPA possesses all the necessary elements to be classified as an organization within the institution of policing. In addition to its classification as an organization, the CPA creates a sense of community surrounding the police. Like sports fans, participants of the CPA acquire similar attributes in support and concern for the police.   Their social identities come together to bolster a sense of community among participants in support of the police organization. Some participants referred to themselves as "cheerleaders" or "ambassadors."

Citizen Police Academy as a Wispy Community. The idea of the wispy community first described by Fine and Scott (2011) lays forth the idea that organizations, and in this case the CPA, in their transitory nature allow participants to come together for a short time for fun and support. The participants' social identities, desire for enjoyment and separation from everyday life merge, thus creating a temporary community. Being part of this community is essential not only in solidifying social identities but is essential in allowing the organization to continue. I made note on one of the nights that the officers who were presenting that evening were distributing trading cards with their photos on one side and a short biography on the other; the officers said as they were distributing them,

"Make sure to collect them all." People began to chatter about how many cards they could collect and that they already had some cards for other officers.

Throughout the interviews, participants commented on how they felt as part of a community where the CPA supported the police. Monica said, "we are one of them, but they are also one of us, we are a family…" The structure of the CPA is a formal outline of courses with a particular curriculum assigned for each night. The courses provided for excitement and fun for the participants. Bonny talked about how the various topics assigned to different nights keeps her engaged, and how the courses are organized made time go by quickly for her. She said:

> I just find it very interesting. Every night is a new topic, and a different aspect, so you know, we did search the building, we've met the K-9 force, we've you know, can sign up for the ride along, so it's not redundant. When I first heard 6-10 [pm], I thought, "Oh, that's going to be a long night," but the night's over with before you know it!"

The wispy community requires there to be gatherings and an organized routine, as described by Bonny, it also gave participants a feeling of belonging to a group of people who shared similar feelings and who shared the same level of commitment in support of the CPA and the institution of policing. Brenda, the 64-year old retired retail worker, reinforced Monica's ideas about how belonging to the CPA had allowed her to meet new friends and enjoy the company of nice people. When asked about what motivated her to continue to participate in the CPA, she said:

> Well, first of all it's just a lot of fun, I mean it really is! And, of course, you know over the time, well even after my first class, you end up making good friends. I mean people that, you know, after one event we went out and had some drinks and just sat outside on one of the patios with 6 or 8 other people and just talked and learned about their families and how they came to [Town] and how they met and what they do and so, it develops a whole nother social aspect to it, which is certainly important to me anyhow…there are nice people who continue to remain involved for the

most part, are people that are passionate about it, which is true in any organization, are people who are passionate about it like myself who feel that, I'm like anything I do, I will continue to put into it, you know, what I'm getting out of it, and when that stops, I'll move on to something else.

Participants are committed to the CPA community until it stops and they move on to something else; Dan echoed the feelings of Brenda about continuing his commitment beyond the few weeks of classes. He said, "I love it, um, you know, I'm learning something all the time, um matter of fact, I want to join the alumni association, and be more involved." Likewise, Rocco said, "You can call us cheerleaders," when referring to how participants feel about their support of the police.

Wispy communities require constant recruitment because of their transitory nature. The CPA was no different. As each class ended, new participants were needed to populate the next class and to recruit future alumni members. Participants were encouraged by the police to recruit people for future classes and they hosted a "bring a friend" night where they asked you to bring someone to the CPA meeting. This form of recruitment brought potential new members into the meetings and provided exposure outside of the organization. In order to recruit people, you must appeal to their system of beliefs. I asked Lamar about what his role was as a participant after graduating from the CPA; he explained that for him, it's telling people how they will change, how they will become better citizens in their community through participation:

> I think if you come through the program and you are community minded, it encourages you to get out in the community more. You don't, you know, sit in your house and look at it behind the curtains anymore. You get out and your eyes open. What I tell people, "You go through the CPA," and I say this, "I guarantee you, you won't be the same person again because you learn something there."

He went on to tell me about how a person he recruited for the class was able to get a drug trafficking house in their neighborhood closed down by the police because of his participation in the CPA. By appealing to a person's sense of community and morality, he was able to recruit a person who made a difference in the community. A sense of community assists in reinforcing a person's social identity. For participants in the CPA, they felt as though they belong, they made a difference, and they were both supportive of the police and supported by the police.

Impression maintenance. Participants of the CPA internalized and adopted the rational myths created by the police during the academy helped to solidify the legitimacy of the police. Specifically, the police built legitimacy for their practices and policies through the CPA. Many of the participants expressed in their interviews that they had learned so much about the police, they saw them as humans and heroes, and they have dangerous jobs, so they would be willing to *defend the police* to others who are unknowing of their polices and practices. Some participants indicated that the CPA gave them a real view of what police work is like, unlike the sensationalized versions the *media* present in the news and television programs. Others thought that the CPA provided an education, and in the event they were on the *jury*, they might be more supportive of the police. Finally, a large number of the participants indicated they did not think excessive *use-of-force* was a problem within the sponsoring police agency. They indicated those events happen "other places." These are all ways in which the participants are legitimized what the police do, how they function, and how they learned to see them.

Defending the Police. Those participants that defended the police did so both directly to the officer and to others like friends, neighbors, and co-workers. Latonya was

leaving her neighborhood one day when she was stopped by a police officer. The officer

indicated he stopped her because he thought she did not have a seat belt on. Once the

officer saw that her seat belt on, he allowed her to go on her way. Latonya recalled that

particular traffic stop for me by saying:

> …Even since joining [the CPA] I got stopped by an officer, (name
> removed), I believe his name was, and he explained that he stopped me
> because he thought I didn't have a seatbelt on. And, you know, I told him,
> I said, "No problem. I understand you just want us to be safe, even though
> there is a seatbelt law, but still you are stopping people because you
> thought, 'hey, you're not driving safely, you're not protected." And when
> he saw that I had my seatbelt on, he was like, "I'm sorry I just couldn't see
> it because of the vehicle I have." But he's like, "but, that is all I wanted."

Other participants, like Julie said she would defend the police to others if the need arose.

She said, "If I hear someone talking about the police in a bad way, I'd say, 'Hey, until

you've walked in their shoes and you understand what they're doing, until you know

what it's like, don't be bad mouthing them."" When Barbara was asked about what she

would take back to her neighborhood and to her community about the CPA she, like

Julie, said she would defend the police because citizens do not understand policing:

> I would hope they would come out of here with some knowledge so they
> could say, "yea, you see that cop speeding down the street, you don't
> know that he's not on a call, just because he doesn't have his lights on,
> you don't really know what you are talking about. Back off a little bit." I
> mean yea, I would hope that they got the education that they can realize
> that there is a lot going on that they don't know about and be able to take
> it back to the neighborhood.

These participants, and others, have returned to their neighborhoods and espoused

to defend the police to those around them. They did this because they have a deeper

understanding of what the police do, and how they do it.

The Media vs. The Police. During various weeks of the CPA, officers would

make comments regarding how the police are similar to what you see on television, but

that you would not learn about what the "real" police do from television. In some cases, especially during the "crime scene class" officers stated, "This is not CSI," but later comment, "This is like what you see on television." Many officers showed clips from YouTube and evening news programs while reiterating the idea that these shows were different than real life. The participants indicated an understanding of how the media sensationalized crime and the police, but the police, in contrast, presented "real-life" police work.

Rosemary says she was amazed about the openness of the police officers that presented during the CPA. She said the classes provided an education, especially for those interested in going into law enforcement, "it gives them a good idea of what to expect." She continued to say:

> I see the CPA, in my particular group, to be informative, to bring education to the general public, a non-sensationalized education. Media sensationalizes a lot. The most important thing is the education and information. [The police] want an informed public. They don't want a public that has been tainted by the media to some degree.

Fred agreed with Rosemary to some degree. He thought the younger participants in the group were there to learn about what the police do and that the lectures and stories the police told are interesting details "about how things work," but is reminded that "This is not television, this is not CSI, you know?" Rocco too believed that the media depicts police work in a sensationalized way. He was attending the CPA to learn more about what the police "really" do so he could be more accurate in the books he authors about investigations. He thought the police get cynical about the public because the public does not understand what they do:

> Well, [the CPA] gives people an idea to see what life is like for police officers instead of having watched TV shows. TV – very few cop shows

mirror real life. Very few TV shows or movies mirror reality. The only two cop shows that really show what police work is like are, "Homicide: Life On the Street," about a homicide department in Baltimore, and then there was "Hill Street Blues" set in South Chicago. But none of the other – CSIs just {laughs} a fairy story, you know? CSI is not how it works. So most people have a very poor idea of what *real* cop work is like.

These participants viewed the media's presentation about the police differently than they view the police's presentation about themselves. The participants saw what they were being taught about the police as an education and accepted that what the police presented as legitimate.

Jury Duty. One of the stated objectives the detective made during the "crime scene class" of the CPA was that participants may one day be on a jury and that it was important for them to understand what the police do and how they do it. The idea he presented was that his class on working crime scenes would dispel myths and rumors and the "CSI television myths." At the end of the presentation, the detective said, "So, now when you get picked for a jury, you can know what we do." This idea of being a more responsible jury member came up during some of the interviews as well.

Melody, a family lawyer, said she thought the CPA was a smart idea for the police department to participate in because everyone involved were potential jurors, and by going through the class, they would have a more positive view of the police:

> You know, I think it does really great things, I wasn't so much aware until I took the class, it's a real good bridge between the community and the police department and I, being a lawyer, I'm thinking, this is very smart of the police department because all of these people out here are potential jurors and they are going to have a more favorable view of the police having gone though the class.

Rosemary defended the idea of how the CPA influences juries. She said that she had been on a jury and thought that it was her job to "present a very rational opinion" of

police work to the other juries. She said that being on a jury was hard because people disagree, but that now, "whenever I hear someone talking about juries and their decisions, I think it's our job as CPA to present the other side." Likewise, Susan implied that if she were ever on a jury again, she would be more empathetic to the police. She said, "One thing I wonder is if we would ever be on a jury again. It certainly would make you more empathetic to the police."

Use-Of-Force. Throughout the academy, officers would tell stories and show videos of officers in various circumstances that required the officer to use certain levels of force to bring a suspect into compliance or to defend the officer's life. During the class on "response to resistance," which was near the end of the CPA curriculum, the officer presenting started off the evening's class by saying, "Humans are part animals," and explained that we all have an instinct for self-preservation and protection. The officer went on to tell a story about using the Taser on a 12-year-old boy who had a fake gun, he said, "the police are right, if [these stories] ever come up – you are my ambassadors – go tell people that the police are correct." The officer detailed the police department's "response to resistance continuum" and then showed several videos of police officers involved in various altercations. During one of the videos of an officer performing a chokehold on a suspect (which is a violation of the force continuum), one participant shouts out, "hell, that wasn't aggressive enough!" to which several participants nodded in agreement.

During the interviews, participants' understanding of use-of-force and excessive use-of-force varied from, "there's no such thing as too much force," to defining excessive force as "beating the Jesus out of someone." A common theme among them, however,

was that excessive force was something that happened in other places, not at "their" police department. Bonny, a registered nurse said that she believed the police do not use enough force, and that if they would use more their jobs would be safer because people would be more intimidated by their presence. When asked about how often she thought it occurred in town:

> No, And, I don't think it occurs enough. And I don't see it as excessive, again, I have an officer that's been shot and he can't taste for the rest of his life and he's ridiculed for shooting a guy, how dare that police officer shoot that guy! Are you kidding me? He was shot first. People don't run unless they are doing something wrong. Let's just call a spade a spade.

Similarly, Rocco felt like the amount of excessive force is "exaggerated by the media" to which he responded, "Frankly, I think the perps have far too many rights, they don't have any lefts." He went on to say that force is "often justifiable" and that it is easy for those who are not the police to understand because they don't have to make "a split-second decision" because they are "not at risk." Similarly, Chester thought that a claim of excessive force was too often used but that he recognized that force is a matter of matching force to force:

> My sense is that if discipline is followed, and I have every reason to believe that it is, there is no such thing as excessive force. That excessive force has become a convenient tool for loss or whatever, but in terms of reality, my expectation is that these guys, our guys, officers are matching force to force, not escalating, not doing anything excessive, but at some point if things continued to escalate, of course they are going to have to do something physical.

Most everyone defined excessive force as someone being handcuffed and then being beaten by the police. Miguel defined it as "Beating the shit out of you, you know what I mean? Excessive authority." When asked how often he thought that excessive force occurred he said, "I would say a lot. I guess more frequently than I guess a lot of people

would think." However, most agreed that it did not happen by the police department sponsoring the CPA; Jessica says it happens, "In bigger cities, I would say yes, but not in [this town]." Likewise, Susan said, "Here in [town]? I was just telling my husband the other day; I have never heard a negative comment about the police [here]." However, some participants seemed to misunderstand how the police define excessive force or did not know what it meant. When Latonya was asked to define excessive force as being stopped by the police and being harassed, she said, "Excessive force would be, I feel like, if they really are just picking with you and they really just trying to find a reason to ticket you or take you to jail."

Regardless of their views on use-of-force, participants found it to be a legitimate part of police work and would allow the police, if not unlimited force, a considerable amount more than was explained to them during the response to resistance class during the CPA. Likewise, participants found ways of legitimizing police policies and practices, either by defending the police actions, by disavowing the media's portrayal of the police, by participating in jury duty or by excusing potential excessive uses of force. Such opinions run counter to previous research on the topic in this particular jurisdiction (Littrell, 2012).

Participants create a social identity though the CPA that fulfills various needs for them, and shows their support for the police to others. Participants begin the CPA with thoughts and feelings about the police, which are generally positive. They start to learn about the police and their responsibilities. They begin to collect memorabilia with the CPA or police emblems on them; these items hold a strong significance for the participants and help them to create a connection to other members. Next, the

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participants commit deeply to the CPA, they bring food, and they provide support both to the CPA organization and the police agency, where they are rewarded for their involvement. Participants then participate in a ride along with the police, they see what the police do, and they follow the officers to calls and feel the emotions the police feel from day to day. Participants realize that the police don't do exactly what they purport to do during the CPA classes; they realize there is not as much excitement as they had hoped for or that had be described to them. By the end of the CPA, the participants have a deeper appreciation and respect for the police.

Throughout the CPA, the police, both through surface acting and deep acting, inundated the participants with positive and negative emotions. The emotional labor by the police allowed them to create emotions in the participants. The participants in turn felt excited, or scared, happy or sad, and a range of other emotions that the police had created for them. The emotional connection created, supports the participants' social identities, allowed them to accept the rational myths created by the police, supported their feelings as members in the wispy community, and in turn, created legitimacy for police policy and practices. This expands on Hoschild's (1983) concept of emotional labor through the addition of the idea of community. In Hoschild's work, she primarily focused on how workers used emotional labor to establish cooperation. This study suggests an additional component of community building of those subjected to longer, more involved interactions – in contrast to the shorter, less involved interactions with the flight attendants and bill collectors in Hoschild's (1983) work.

In order to prevent a legitimacy crisis, the police appear to create rational myths to decouple their actual practices from their expected practices. The police officers

presenting during the academy created rational myths about the police. The myths were

supported by their various demonstrations and story telling, especially in the areas of

pursuits and making arrests. The police created the myth that their jobs are always

dangerous and always exciting. They did this, apparently, to garner legitimacy. Parts of

the participants' social identities connect them closely to the police. Because of this, the

participants felt as though they were part of the wispy community with the police, which

led to the participants legitimizing the functions of the police by defending their actions,

disavowing sensationalized media depictions of the police, participating as jurors, and

excusing the police to almost unlimited levels of force in connection with their jobs.

Because of the social identities they create, and the high level of commitment they

provide CPA participants feel as though they belong to a wispy community of supporters

of the police. Participants had a great deal of fun during the CPA where they shared

stories and made memories. Members of this community adopted the language and

feelings of the police, they recruited new members to the organization, and they provided

support to both the police and the CPA. The lenses with which those participants viewed

the world become colored in the favor of the police.

CHAPTER V

DISCUSSION

The community oriented policing literature includes some discussion of how and why the citizen police academy fits into that framework. The citizen police academy literature, though minimal, provides a sufficient review of the opinions of participants before and after their experiences with the CPA. The present study contributes to the extant literature by aiming to overcome the lack of substantive literature on citizen police academies by suggesting an alternative theoretical framework for contextualizing the goals and activities of CPAs. It also explores qualitative experiences of participants in the CPA. Institutional theory assumes that when an organization or institution creates a rational myth to decouple its formal practices from its stated practices, it does so in order to prevent a legitimacy crisis. If the organization's constituency lifts the veil of the rational myth and sees that its actual practices are different from those displayed, the myth fails and the organization faces the loss of legitimacy. However, institutional theory has no substantial way of explaining how an organization's legitimacy survives in the face of evidence that suggests to the constituents that the rational myth is false. This study addresses this issue by using emotional labor as a means for participants to overcome the dismissal of rational myths, and adopt them ceremonially.

Participants in this study, like other studies, largely held positive initial impressions of the police prior to their participation in the CPA. At the conclusion of the CPA, almost all participants indicated they had a deeper, more meaningful level of

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respect for the police. The police encouraged the participants to purchase memorabilia to support the CPA and the police; all of the participants purchased or possessed one or more of these items. These symbolic items provided ways for the participants to show their support, their membership, and provided a mechanism for recruitment for the organization. Participants experienced multiple levels of commitment for the CPA and felt a genuine connection with the officers and the sponsoring department. The participants' social identities as CPA members were salient in their lives, and for one participant, the CPA represented an ephemeral role that allowed an escape from his everyday life. Many of the participants felt as though they were part of a community of supporters. Thirteen participants participated in the police department's ride along program where they were able to see how the police work first-hand. Most of the participants who completed a ride along did not see any excitement or danger in their shifts, though most all of them indicated that the ride along allowed them to understand the dangerousness of police work. The police, through their presentations and discussions on *high-speed pursuits*, *armed arrests,* and other topics, were able to construct rational myths about how the police operate that survived despite direct evidence from ride alongs that police officers' jobs are generally unexciting. Some of the officers indicated that the jobs of the police on television were different than the jobs they did as police officers in real life. The participants appeared to have adopted these myths and used their positions as members of the CPA community to legitimize police policies and practices, evidenced by their ability to *defend the police*, disregard sensationalized *media* representations of the police, use their knowledge as part of their membership or potential membership on a *jury,* and their position on police *use-of-force* policies.

The COPS Contradiction

The creation and naming of this theoretical framework, was established from the

responses of participants who mentioned watching crime shows as a response to

questions about why they joined the citizen police academy. "I like all crime shows,

especially COPS!" said Rosemary, which echoed the sentiment of many of the other

participants who indicated they too watched police shows like "CSI," "Hillstreet Blues,"

and others. These participants believed that depiction of the police presented in these

types of shows is what they will experience in the CPA. Kappeler and Potter (2004)

point out in their research on myths and policing that these shows promote the view that

police work is exciting and dangerous:

> Television shows like *Cops* reinforce the notion that police work is
> dangerous and exciting; camera crews more selectively from call to call,
> filming unique activities. The image is projected that police officers – our
> most visible symbols of justice – are under siege by drug-dealing kingpins,
> youth gangs, occupational stress, and even their own police departments.
> Yet, in the face of all these obstacles police do a remarkable job at
> protecting us and fighting crime.

However, research by Greene and Klockars (1991) reported, "our data shows that the

average police officer spent about one hour per week responding to reports of crime in

progress [and when] officers arrive, they often find that what was described a crime in

progress was…not a crime or that the perpetrator was gone" (283). Clearly, police work,

although exciting and dangerous at times, is dominated by tedious and mundane

activities. If the public is exposed to the realities of policing that are in contrast to

depictions of policing on television programs, a legitimacy crisis for the police is likely.

In order to maintain legitimacy, police must promote the rational myth of policing as

ubiquitously exciting and dangerous. The *COPS contradiction* conceptualizes the

difficult task of establishing and maintaining police legitimacy even when the public is confronted with evidence of the often-mundane reality of day-to-day police work. The CPA is one essential avenue for building rational myths about policing through the use of emotion work and maintaining the myths through the building of CPA communities and related identities.

The *COPS contradiction* framework theorizes the ways in which the police presented the nature of their jobs in CPA activities as exciting and dangerous, consistent with expectations of CPA participants developed through television and news programming, but at the same time insisted that policing is different than is presented on television. There is clearly a dilemma for police organizations, where the police need the public to internalize the dramatized image of policing to maintain legitimacy but also recognize that the realities of policing often do not match media depictions. Thus, the term *COPS* was selected carefully for the naming of this framework because it represents the contradiction between the expectations of participants in the CPA and the realities of policing witnessed during their ride along experiences. Even though the participants should see this contradiction, this theory suggests the emotional labor performed by the officers involved with the CPA creates a context in which the participants so strongly internalize the rational myths of policing that evidence to the contrary is discounted and dismissed. The timing of the introduction of the ride-along is important in building rational myths; in the first four weeks of the academy, the police bombarded the participants with emotion, and in the following two weeks, the participants engaged in hands-on activities like the building search and pursuit driving. In week four, the police began to suggest participants do a ride-along. If the police were to allow the participants

to ride along too soon, the participants may see through the rational myths constructed by the police, thereby threatening the legitimacy of the police agency. Although the motives of the CPA administrators cannot be definitively identified in the current study, it appears that no participant could ride along with a patrol officer until about week six, thus giving the CPA ample time to institute rational myths of policing in the minds of the participants before they are exposed to many of the mundane realities of police work.

This study describes the factors present in the CPA that allow for the successful production of rational myths related to the function of police. Additionally this study describes, through the words of the participants, how they view the police and their jobs after completing the CPA. Lastly, this study describes the emotional labor of the police; this labor gives rise to similar emotional feelings in the participants. *The COPS contradiction* is predicated on three factors: The ability of the police to build rational myths, the lack of evidence to support those myths, and the eventual adoption and legitimization of those myths. *The COPS contradiction* attempts to explains the impact emotional labor has on developing and sustaining rational myths thus expanding upon the literature on emotion work beyond one-on-one interactions to the control of one, more powerful group, by another.

Through participation in the citizen police academy, participants were able to learn directly from the police. This had several advantages for the participant; first, it allowed participants direct access to frontline police officers that were on the streets everyday fighting crime. This provided the participants a way to ask questions and listen to stories about what the police do on a daily basis. For example, Rosemary said, "It gives them a good idea of what to expect," when referring to participants who wanted to

get in law enforcement should expect from the CPA. Second, it allowed the participant

to become part of a community of supporters of the police. This community, through

which the participants volunteered, became part of the social identity of the participants.

For example, Latonya said, "I've been getting connected to so many valuable people in

the community", when describing what she gets out of participating. Likewise, Dan

recalled the CPA "being a good thing, feeling like you are part of something special."

Third, it provided an opportunity for the participants to ride along with a police officer.

During the ride along, participants saw first hand that the tasks officers actually engage in

centered largely around order maintenance activities and paperwork. For example, Fred

said, "and [I] found out all of the paperwork involved in any type of call."

Not only were there benefits for the participant, there were benefits for the police.

First, the police were in control of the curriculum. They controlled what topics,

incidents, details, and other information they wanted to pass along to the participants.

The ability to control the flow of information was "intended to help participants

understand the logic and rationale that motivate police behavior in common situations"

(Shafer, 2001). Second, the police controlled the emotions of the participants through

emotional labor. Generally, police use emotional labor during times of unrest to affect

the emotions of those around them; however, during the CPA, the police used abundant

emotional labor to build a sense of community and support for the organization. Third,

the police had the ability to dispel myths about what their jobs entail. With a captive

audience, the police could show how their role is different than the role depicted by the

media. For example, a few of the officers made sure to tell the participants that they

would not learn about the "real" police from television, or that CSI was not "real" police

work, even though these images of police work are necessary to build and sustain legitimacy for the police. These benefits are why the police adopt the citizen police academy as part of their community oriented policing program.

In the context of *the COPS contradiction*, it suggests the participants had every available piece of evidence they needed, in light of their ride along experience, to debunk the rational myths the police produced; yet, it suggests the participants unquestionably adopted these myths, thereby allowing the myths to persist. The difference between police institutions where rational myths persist and other institutions where the rational myths do not persist, thus causing the institution to fail, include a sense of community and a salient social identity created through emotional labor in the context of CPA organizations. This suggests why the police desire the support of CPA participants: the police are in control of an unending supply of supporters who become ambassadors in the community and recruit more participants.

Applications for the Theory

It is not only in the context of policing that this theory can be useful in explaining the adoption of rational myths that should be seen as false—the tenets of the theory can find potential in other areas as well. The production of rational myths by organizations is important, particularly if they desire to maintain some legitimate standing with their stakeholders. *The COPS contradiction*, or the underlying idea, has the potential to be applied to other organizations like citizen fire academies, the military reserves, and public zoos. These are all areas where the *COPS contradiction* could explain some of the attitudes, behaviors, and activities of the organizations and participants. For example, a relative newcomer to the community of firefighter supporters is the citizen fire academy.

In the interview with Monica, I discovered that she had participated in a citizens fire academy. I asked her to compare it to the CPA and she said it was essentially the exact same thing, except more exciting. She said:

> Um. Some of the activities in the fire classes were more exciting. Smaller classes, you got to do stuff like climb a 100ft area ladder, drag, um a mannequin out of a burning building, um drag hoses off the truck and put out a fire…

Under *the COPS contradiction,* it is possible to imagine that firefighters, like police, do not actually engage in these activities as much as they represent that they do and that participants would adopt these rational myths as legitimate and ignore the fact that these are rare events due to some level of emotional labor by the instructors of the citizen fire academy. Likewise, it seems that those in the military reserves join with the expectation of fun and excitement while protecting their country. Here, it is possible to see that while the espoused function of the reservist is to protect the country, their real duties come for one month in the summer and two days a month. If ever deployed, it is generally on a domestic mission for security or service to a community in need; only occasionally are military reserves deployed internationally. However, military reservists are likely to describe their role as protecting the country from enemies. The *COPS contradiction* highlights the amount of emotional labor the recruits likely encounter in basic training that influences their ability to see what their "real" job as a military reservist entails and rather continue to espouse the expected role of protector.

The theory also has implications for the public zoo community. In Bayma's (2012) work on public zoos, the research points out that espoused mission of the zoo is conservation, yet the actual function of the zoo is to display exotic animals. When visitors come to the zoo, they experience little conservation and a lot of displaying of

animals. The *COPS contradiction* could lead to an explanation of how those visitors of zoos, bombarded by emotional labor of zoo workers, ignore the lack of obvious conservation efforts in favor displaying animals, yet continue to champion the zoo's efforts on conservation.

Contributions to Literature

The primary contribution to the literature from this study is the introduction of *The COPS contradiction*, an explanatory theory of the impact of emotional labor by the police on the adoption of rational myths by participants in the CPA that has the potential to be applied to other groups. A second important contribution from this study is the suggestion that CPAs appear to be effective in building support and legitimacy for the sponsoring police agency, thereby making the CPA an important program implementation for police management. Additionally, a minor contribution is some new data that suggest the police use community oriented policing programs to not only garner support for their policies and practices, but that they do it to potentially impact juries of criminal trials at which they would testify about evidence collection and other procedural events. Lastly, this study brings a depth of data never before used in understanding participants' experiences with the CPA.

Future Research

Several considerations for potential future research exist. The primary consideration is the potential to use this theory to explore other populations. An investigation regarding the relationship between former members of the citizen police academy and their participation on juries might yield evidence of intense police support by these participants on juries. Furthermore, no research has been done to explore this

idea in other citizen police academies. A more expansive study inclusive of many CPAs is needed to either reinforce the findings from the current study on one specific CPA and police organization. It is possible, however, that other CPA programs and police organizations operate differently than the one described in the current study, and if that is the case, the reasons for differential approaches to CPA programming should be studied. Lastly, an independent look at how emotional labor affects the specific attitudes of participants in regards to use-of-force would benefit future research. Participants in this study seemed to grant the police as this agency a higher level of force than they would for officers in other places. This may be due to the perceived connection between the participants of the CPA and the police officers in this agency. Other future research could include interviews with the CPA coordinator, police officer instructors, and police administrators to understand how and why the CPA is structured the way it is presented, how officers are selected, and what the officers are told about how they should teach each class.

Limitations of the Current Study

The findings of this study should be considered in light of the limitations of the study. The sample was small, although a rationale for the potential to obtain theoretical saturation has been provided. The findings are limited to one citizen police academy belonging to one police department, thus are not generalizable to all CPAs or all police agencies. More research would be needed to examine the extent to which the findings of this study are occurring in other locations. The interviews are reliant on the participants' recollection and interpretation of what the police said and may reflect social desirability bias. To the extent possible, however, I attempted to minimize this bias by comparing the

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participants' accounts of activities with the observations I made during the CPA. Nevertheless, social desirability bias cannot be completely discounted.

While it is clear that officers used emotional recall and displayed high levels of emotion during their presentations, it is not completely clear on whether this was always emotional labor – meaning the officer's emotion was performed with a purpose. In some instances, I noted in my observations that officer's emotions immediately deescalated after their presentations in their interactions with participants; in other instances, I had no opportunity to observe the officers and their behaviors following the presentations. The immediate changes in emotion I observed suggest that the presenting offers were performing emotional labor. However, it would be beneficial to interview the officers who taught the CPA to determine what they are told when selected to present to the organization to better gauge the sincerity and motivations of such emotional displays.

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APPENDIX A

DRAFT INTERVIEW PROTOCOL

A. Background Information
    a. Introduction to the research I'm conducting, my name etc. – Confidentiality
    b. What is your occupation?
    c. What was your CPA class number and year?
    d. What did you like best about your CPA class?
    e. What did you like least about your CPA class?
    f. Are you involved in other civic groups?
    g. Have you been a victim of any crime?
        i. If you want to discuss it, what crime were you involved in?
        ii. If so, why come to the CPA? What was your expectation beforehand?
    h. Before you started the CPA what was your opinion of the police?
    i. What is your opinion of the police now?
        i. If there is a change, was that as a result of the CPA?

B. How did you become involved in the CPA?
    a. Did someone invite you? Did you see it on TV? Invite from an officer?
    b. Did you ever have a desire to go into law enforcement?
        i. What does the term "closet cop" mean to you?
    c. Do you have family members who are in law enforcement?
        i. If so, where do they work?
    d. Before becoming involved, what did you know about the CPA?
        i. What do they do?
        ii. What function, if any, do they serve?

C. What motivates you to continue coming to CPA?
    a. What does the CPA do for you?
        i. What is your relationship with other CPA members?
            1. Can you call on them?
            2. "Brotherhood" of sorts?
        ii. What is your relationship with the officers?
    b. Describe the feelings you get by participating in the CPA.
    c. Would you recommend the CPA to friends and family?
    d. Have you observed any "bad blood" or people quit from CPA?
        i. If so, why did they leave? What happened?
        ii. If not, have you heard of people leaving? Why?

D. What does the CPA do for the community? If anything.
- a. What services do they provide to the community?
  - i. What does the word "educate" mean to CPA members?
- b. Are they visible in the community?
  - i. If so, how?
  - ii. If not, Could they be?
- c. What is your role as a CPA member after going through this class?
  - i. What is the expectation?
  - ii. What do police officers expect you to do during a situation?
    1. Have they ever come to you with specific questions or observations?

E. In conversations you've had with police officers, what do they say is their opinion of the CPA?
- a. If they say they are good, why?
- b. If they say they are bad, why?

F. What does the CPA do for the police department?
- a. What services do you as a CPA member provide to the department?
  - i. To the officers?
- b. When involved in training exercises, what is the role of the CPA?
  - i. How are you treated by the police officers?
- c. What is your impression about what the department gets from the CPA?

G. What do the police department and officers do for the CPA?
- a. Time commitment?

H. How do you identify yourself as a CPA member?
- a. Do you have an ID badge?
- b. Do you have a bumper sticker or other identifying items on your vehicle?
- c. Do you own any CPA jewelry?
  - i. If so, what?
- d. Do you own any CPA clothing?
  - i. If so, what?
    1. When do you wear this clothing?
- e. What do all of these things mean to you? (Clothing, ID badge, etc)

I. What are your interactions like with the police after they find out you are a CPA member?
- a. How did they find out you were a CPA member?
- b. What special treatment have you received as a CPA member, if any?
  - i. Getting out of tickets.
  - ii. Being granted access to places.
  - iii. Getting privileged information about a police activity (crime in the area etc).

J. When I say "police use of force" what comes to mind?
   a. What is excessive force?
   b. How often do you think it occurs?
   c. Is some force justifiable?
K. Is there anything that we've talked about that you found most important or you want to say more about?
L. Is there anything that I didn't ask you about that you feel are important in regards to CPA?
M. Do you have any other questions or comments or feelings about anything we've discussed today?

If these questions are not getting responses I could phrase the questions as more open ended, for example. "I found out about the CPA when…." Or "I joined the CPA because…." This way they are not such pointed questions and may make the subject more relaxed. I will spend a period of time with each question making sure the response is that of the question I'm asking. I noticed that during my focus group some questions didn't get answered directly because of the group dynamic, those questions have been added here.

CURRICULUM VITA

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Assist. Professor of Sociology & Social and Criminal Justice, Georgetown College
                                                                    2014-Present
Responsible for teaching a 4/4 load in sociology or criminal justice. Class sizes range from 8-28 students. Tasked with developing courses, writing syllabi, maintain online class presence, writing exams, lecturing. Responsible for maintaining office hours, developing professional student relationships. Responsible for promoting and developing the new social and criminal justice program.

Criminal Justice Instructor & Program Coordinator, Bluegrass Community & Technical College
                                                                    2011 - 2014
Responsible for the day-to-day operations of the criminal justice program and works collaboratively with the faculty, division chairperson, and the chief academic officer, chief business officer, chief student services officer, and chief community and economic development officer. Assists in the planning and effectiveness evaluation, development, and implementation of goals for institutional effectiveness. Promote effective teaching and learning environment. Maintain program advisory committee. Recruitment and retention of qualified part-time faculty. Prepare institutional reports on student learning outcomes and

goals for student's success. Recruiting and retention of students in the program. Maintain area website with current information. Scheduling and preparation of courses offered under criminal justice program. Assigned 40+ students for advising. Maintain a four-course teaching load and office hours for student conferences. Class sizes range from 25-34. Also taught online courses during the summer.

Adjunct Faculty, Sociology Department, Georgetown College   2009-2010
Responsible for teaching one, three-hour class per semester in criminal justice (sociology) field, courses include Juvenile Delinquency, Criminology, and The Criminal Justice System. Class sizes range from 8-20 students. Tasked with developing course, writing syllabi, maintain online class site (Moodle, Blackboard etc.), writing exams, grading assignments, and lecturing. In addition to these tasks, developing professor-student relationships, answer student questions, be available for office hours, guide students on writing assignments, and motivate students to learn and develop their academic careers. (Part-Time Only)

TEACHING EXPERIENCE

Georgetown College (2014-Present)
Cultural Diversity
Introduction to Criminal and Social Justice
Criminological Theory

Bluegrass Community and Technical College (2011-2014)
Intro to Criminal Justice
Intro to Law Enforcement
Criminal Procedures
Criminal Law
Criminal Investigations
Juvenile Delinquency
Criminology
Issues and Ethics in Criminal Justice
Internship in Criminal Justice
Community Corrections: Probation & Parole
Introduction to Corrections
Modern Social Problems

Georgetown College (2009-2010)
Juvenile Delinquency
Criminolog

RELATED PROFESSIONAL EXPERIENCE

Part-Time Deputy Sheriff, Scott County Sheriff's Office   2011 - present
> Responsible for patrolling and responding to calls for service in Scott County.
> Investigate potential crimes and questions potential suspects. Serves court
> process. Appear in court to present case information. Work on average 16 hours
> per month.

Police Officer II, City of Georgetown Police Department   2008 – 2011
> Responsible for patrolling and responding to calls for service in the City of
> Georgetown. Investigate potential crimes, question individuals considered
> suspects in criminal activity. Complete all State and Department Forms to legal
> and standardized methods and submit them to supervisor. Appear in court and
> present information to State and Defense Attorneys on cases and investigation.
> Maintain 40 hours of training yearly to keep certified as a police officer in
> Kentucky.

Detective, City of Georgetown Police Department   2006 - 2008
> Responsible for investigating felony crimes, interviewing/interrogating subjects
> who are suspected in criminal activity. Analyze crime scene information and
> recognize items that could be potential evidence of a crime or suspect. Complete
> all State and Department forms to legal and standardized methods and submit to
> supervisor. Appear in Court and make presentations to Grand Juries on
> information pertaining to investigated cases. Keep Current on 40 hours of In-
> service as required by state law.

Police Officer II, City of Georgetown Police Department   2004 - 2006
> Responsible for patrolling and responding to calls for service in the City of
> Georgetown. Investigate potential crimes, question individuals considered
> suspects in criminal activity. Complete all State and Department Forms to legal
> and standardized methods and submit them to supervisor. Appear in court and
> present information to State and Defense Attorneys on cases and investigation.
> Maintain 40 hours of training yearly to keep certified as a police officer in
> Kentucky.

SERVICE

Elected Chairperson   KCTCS Criminal Justice Curriculum Committee

Advisory Board   Law & Justice Village at Elkhorn Crossing School

Board of Directors   Georgetown Child Development Center – President (2015)

Board of Directors   Blue Grass Crime Stoppers

Board of Directors   Georgetown Main Street, Inc. – Organization Committee
Chairperson

CONFERENCE PRESENTATIONS

2015   National Citizen Police Academy Association, Lexington, KY: "Discovering the Police Through a Citizen Police Academy Participant." (Spring 2015)

2015   Southern Sociological Society, New Orleans, LA: "Discovering the Police Through a Citizen Police Academy Participant." (Spring 2015)

2012   North Central Sociological Association, Pittsburgh: "Who Police's the Police? A Look at Civilian Oversight"

2011   Midwest Sociological Association, St. Louis: "Use of Force by Police, A Comparison of Whites and Non-Whites Citizen Reports."

PROFESSIONAL DEVELOPMENT AND CERTIFICATIONS

2014   Crime Scene Drawing and Measurement, Richmond, KY, December 2014

2013   Computer Crimes Investigations, Richmond, KY, April 2013

2012   Legal Update, Search & Seizure, KRS Updates, Richmond, KY, September 2012

2011   Robbery and Sexual Assault Investigation, Louisville, KY, June 2011

2011   Commercial Motor Vehicle Awareness/Crash Reporting, March 2011

2010   Spanish for Law Enforcement: Level I, II, III, Richmond, KY, 2010

2010   Railroad Grade Crossing Investigation, Louisville, KY, October 2010

2009   Collision Reconstruction Update, Richmond, KY, June 2009

2008   Criminal Investigations II, Kentucky Department of Criminal Justice Training, Louisville, KY, October 2008

2007   FBI Image Scan Training, Regional Computer Forensics Lab, Louisville, KY, April 2007

2007   Basic and Advanced Training: Reid Technique of Interviewing and Interrogation, April 2007

2007   Basic Investigators School, Kentucky Department of Criminal Justice Training, Richmond, KY, September 2007

2006   Multijurisdictional Counterdrug Task Force Training, Florence, KY, February 2006

2006   DEA Basic Narcotics Investigator School, Richmond, KY, 2006

2005   Collision Reconstruction Levels 1-3, KY Department of Criminal Justice Training, Richmond, KY, May 2005

2004   Certified Police Officer, Kentucky Department of Criminal Justice Training, Richmond, KY, May 2004

PROFESSIONAL MEMBERSHIPS

American Society of Criminology
American Sociological Association
North Central Sociological Association
Southern Sociological Society
Fraternal Order of Police