Summer 8-9-2017

Decoding NOPD's Thin Blue Line

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Decoding NOPD's Thin Blue Line

A Dissertation

Submitted to the Graduate Faculty of the
University of New Orleans
in partial fulfillment of the
requirements for the degree of

Doctor of Philosophy
In
Urban Studies

by

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August 2017

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

I wish to thank my committee members would have guided, mentored, and given me encouragement throughout this multi-year process. I entered the Urban Studies Ph.D. program never having taken an Urban Studies course. My interest has always been in Criminology. The combination of Urban Studies and Criminology has given me a far greater understanding of both disciplines. Urban Studies is demanding, and without the support of Dr. Pamela Jenkins, my success would have been uncertain. She spent countless hours mentoring several other students and me even after she retired.

I am just as certain that without Dr. Bethany Stich I would not have completed the program. She was instrumental in mentoring me through both comprehensive exams and guiding me through the research process. She made time for me in her busy schedule while acting as the Chair of the department and the Director, of the UNO Transportation Institute. She is amazing. Dr. John Kiefer was the Marine always a calming influence and motivator, “Semper Fi.” After watching Dr. Scott Silverii defend his dissertation many years ago, he has been a constant inspiration and motivator. I would be remiss without acknowledging Delinda Swanson and David Lambour for all the support throughout this process.

I would never have gone back to college without the support of my incredible wife, Gail Harrington. Her support and that of my two daughters Morgan and Devan Harrington keep me focused during the many times I just wanted to quit. Their confidence in me never wavered. I know my father, William Raleigh Harrington and my sister, Vivian Lee Bjornsen, are smiling for me in Heaven. I love you both. I know my mother, Vivian Wilson, is happy her sixty-year old son finally finished college. I love you all. God has blessed me with these extraordinary people.

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Abstract

The New Orleans Police Department history dates back to the 1800's. Since its inception, the department has been pledged by misconduct, low morale, and low public opinion. This research used Akers Social Structure, and Social learning theory or SSSL to understand the socialization process of the department and determine if the process could attribute for misconduct, the blue wall of silence, and the thin blue line.

A case study was conducted in which twenty former NOPD officers on the department from 1979 to 2004 were interviewed. They were only identified by race, gender, and the number of years on the police department. The interviews were transcribed coded and two themes emerged: "Journey to Blue" and "Cop's Eyes."

Journey to Blue, was the transformation process to become a police officer. The steps involved the hiring process, the police academy, field training officers (FTO), mentors, and the early years on the department. Cop's Eyes was the process of seeing the world as a police officer. It was determined training, experience, and social integrity were integral parts of being able to see the world as a cop. Cop's Eyes became the way an officer sees the world both on and off-duty, they were not able to turn it on or off. Further, it was determined, socialization changes throughout decades, socialization influences policy violations, and officers rarely if ever see corruption. The academy was the beginning of the development of cop's eyes, and field training officers were the primary source of socialization both good and bad.

Keywords: New Orleans Police Department; Socialization; Cop's Eyes; Symbolic Assailant; Working Personality; Social Learning

Chapter 1: Introduction

"The challenges confronting the New Orleans Police Department (NOPD) are serious, systemic, wide-ranging, and deeply rooted" (Perez, 2011, p.2).

The history of the NOPD illustrates why the Department of Justice (DOJ), Civil Rights Division, found reasonable cause to state that there are "patterns or practices of unconstitutional conduct and/or violation of federal law" (Perez, 2011, p.2). The resulting investigation by DOJ forced the City of New Orleans and its police department into a federal consent decree (Perez, 2011, p.2). A consent decree is a negotiated agreement as the result of a lawsuit filed by DOJ alleging an agency is engaged in illegal patterns and practices of an unconstitutional nature (Agnes, 1999, p.310).

Research Purpose and Significance

This research explores the allegations of misconduct within the NOPD, determine how these deeply rooted patterns and practices occur; how they began; how this process may be mediated; and, why these patterns and practices persist despite the implementation of a Police Officer Standard of Training (POST), a certified training academy using a nationally recognized field training program. In a letter dated March 16, 2011 to the Mayor of New Orleans, the Department of Justice placed the city on notice that they were investigating the New Orleans Police Department. In the document, the Department of Justice found reasonable cause to believe that there are the following patterns or practices of unconstitutional conduct and/ or violation of federal law:

- "Use of excessive force;
- Unconstitutional stops, searches, and arrest;

- Biased policing;
- Racial, ethnic and LGBT discrimination;
- National origin discrimination- systemic failure to provide effective policing services to persons with limited English proficiency; and
- Gender-based policing-systemic failure to investigate sexual assaults and domestic violence" (Perez, 2011p. 2).

This research covers the time period from 1976 to 2005 during which time several major NOPD corruption cases emerged. The most egregious of these officers charged included a police officer who murdered another police officer in the commission of an armed robbery, and a police officer who had a woman killed after she filed an internal affairs complaint against him.

During this period NOPD hired Antoinette Franks. Franks was a rookie New Orleans police officer who murdered three people in 1995. One of the three persons killed by Franks was a police officer, Ronald Williams. A sister of the two other victims watched as Franks executed her brother and sister. Nine months after the murders were committed Franks was sentenced to death (Filosa, 2008).

New Orleans police officer Len Davis was sentenced to death in federal court after only 30 minutes of deliberation by a jury. Davis was found guilty of planning the execution of Kim Groves. Groves, a mother of three children, filed an internal affairs complaint against Davis. Davis hired Paul Hardy whom he had developed a relationship with in the lower 9th Ward. Davis would give Hardy warning of impending narcotics raids (Varney, 1996).

The purpose of this research is to understand if the socialization process of the New Orleans Police Department is in part responsible for misconduct and/or corruption. For example, this research asks, how does the police academy change you as a person? At what point in time do you feel other officers accept you? When do you develop a working personality? When and where does misconduct occur? By looking at social structure / learning theories along with various policing concepts, can we better understand and prevent misconduct through socialization?

The essence of the police role in maintaining order is to reinforce the informal control mechanisms in the community itself (Caldero & Crank, 2004). From the time of Sir Robert Peel as the Home Secretary in England who created the London Metropolitan police force in 1829 (Monkkonen, 2004, p.37), the police have been tasked with maintaining order and control which is dictated by community standards (the public). If the police operate outside of the community standards, they begin a cycle of mistrust and resentment by the community they have sworn to protect. Cities such as Cincinnati, Los Angeles, along with New Orleans have seen this lack of trust and resentment in the community. The incidents of corruption, the murder of its citizens by police officers, armed robberies, and rapes by police officers place them outside of the standards they have sworn to uphold and at odds with the community.

This study examines the relationship between police socialization and police misconduct in an urban setting. “Police misconduct can be defined as a wrongdoing committed by a police officer. This wrongdoing can be a criminal act or a violation of departmental policies and procedures. Misconduct can be unethical or amoral and yet

not be considered illegal" (Lersch, 2002 p.231). It also examines how the socialization process can be used to change police culture.

The pre-Katrina actions of the NOPD were the catalysts leading to the Department of Justice Civil Rights Division's investigation, which was requested by the Mayor of New Orleans, Mitch Landrieu. In addition to reviews of police departments by the Department of Justice, there has been a movement in the African American population called "Black Lives Matter." The campaign is calling into question the use of force by police. The next chapters are crucial in understanding the development of the NOPD socialization processes. It does not examine the actions of the NOPD post-Katrina due to the disruption of the normal operations and/or processes of the department.

Figure 1. Origins of Modern Policing

The introduction focuses on three aspects of the proposed study – policing, social process theories and concepts, and the histrionic development of the New Orleans Police Department. This literature review is an "initial foray to build a study bank of previously completed qualitative studies, to help the researcher in considering the topic, method, and source of evidence for a new study" (Yin, 2011, p.64).

Origins of Modern Policing

The first modern police force was created in London in 1829. The Metropolitan Police Act was a result of the government's inability to deal with riots, crime, and disorder. Troops kept order; local militias were used for local problems; spies were used to tracking down those who were suspected of disaffection and county parishes, and smaller towns were able to use constables and the local watch and ward to keep order (Gaines & Kappeler, 2011, p.64).

Sir Robert Peel is responsible for introducing "The Metropolitan Police Act (MPA) of 1829" into Parliament. The Peelian reform was based upon twelve principals:

- Police must be stable, efficient, and organized along military lines.
- The police must be under government control.
- The absence of crime will best prove the efficiency of the police.
- The distribution of crime news is essential.
- The deployment of police strength by both time and area is essential.
- No quality is more indispensable to a police officer than a perfect command of temper' a quiet, determined manner has more effect than violent action.
- Good appearance commands respect
- The securing in and training of proper persons are at the root of efficiency.
- Public security demands that every police officer is given a number.
- Police headquarters should be centrally located and easily accessible to the people.

- Police officers should be hired on a probationary basis.
- Police records are necessary to the best distribution of police strength.

Even though Peel was never a member of the police force, he is known as the founder of modern policing due to his influence in getting the MPA passed. These principals still guide modern police operations (Gaines & Kappeler, 2011, p.65).

In the United States in the 1800s, increasing urbanization and industrialization resulted in increased urban problems, such as an increase in crime, discrimination, and poverty. Riots took place in Boston in 1834, 1835, and 1837. One result of the riots in Boston was the creation of their police department in 1838 (Walker & Katz, 2011, p.27). New York became the first uniformed police department in 1853, followed by Boston in 1854. By the beginning of the Civil War, Chicago, New Orleans, Cincinnati, Baltimore, and Newark had their police departments, all of which followed the Peelian principals (Dempsey & Forst, 2005, p.13).

The New Orleans Police Department, along with most American police forces, is a quasi-military organization, which is defined as an organization like the military along structures of strict authority and reporting relations (Dempsey, 2008, p.533). This quasi-military type of organization features specific rule systems, complex division of labor, and high specialization.

The gatekeeper for these agencies is the police academy. It is in the academy that the process begins of fostering a mentality of us vs. them (Officer versus anyone, not an officer). Police recruits undergo intensive training like a military boot camp that attempts to strip them of their civilian status and foster the organizations “esprit de corps.” Police officers from the time they enter the police academy must be able to

submit to hierarchal authority, the organization's values, beliefs, perspectives, and standards of behavior. Peer support groups make it easier to adjust to the intense training fostering solidarity and strengthening the relationship with other recruits and police officers (Chappell & Kaduce, 2009, p.190). Additionally, three eras of policing are crucial in understanding the development of policing from the time of Sir Robert Peel until today.

The three eras of policing in the United States.

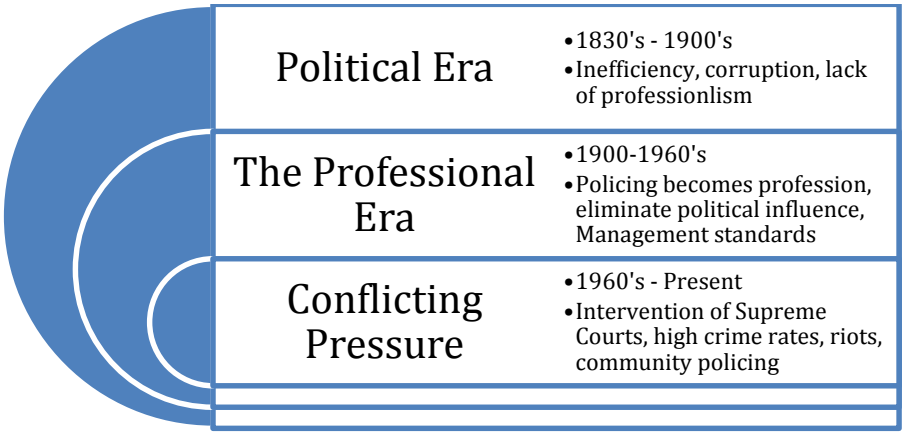

Figure 2. The Three Eras of Policing in the United States (Walker & Katz, 2008)

The political era (1830's – 1900's).

The political era occurred because of the close ties between the police and local political leaders. Politics influenced every aspect of American policing; there were no standards for police officers. Men with criminal records could be hired as officers. There was no formal training, and police jobs were considered a form of patronage to local politicians. Officers could be fired at will, and at times almost an entire police department could be fired after an election (Walker & Katz, 2008, p.29).

Officers during this era in many urban centers were responsible for large patrol areas on foot, and some areas had no officers. Other than contacting an officer in

person there was no other way for citizens to summon the police. Officers could evade work by spending their time in barber shops or bars. Supervisors also patrolled on foot making it almost impossible to keep track of officers under their command. From the diary of a patrol officer in Boston in 1895 he wrote, “he spent most of his time on patrol responding to little problems, disputes, minor property crimes. Little time was dedicated to major crimes such as murder, rape, and/or robbery. He solved most of the problems informally acting as a local magistrate. He was reactive and a problem solver” (Walker & Katz, 2008, p.31).

The impact of police in this era is debated by researchers. Urban cities during this time did become more orderly, some say because of police, but others think it was the natural adaptation to urban life. Marxist’s during this period considered the cops tools to be used to reign in labor unions. Due to corruption, even back then and the massive disorganization of the police department led to reforms that are still occurring today (Walker & Katz, 2008, p.33-34).

The professional era (1900’s – 1960).

August Vollmer is considered the father of professional policing in the United States. He advocated for higher education for police officers and organized the first college-level courses at the University of California. Vollmer served as police chief for Berkeley, CA from 1905 to 1932. In 1931 he wrote the “Wickersham Commission Report” which set the standard for modern police management and standards for hiring police officers (Walker & Katz, 2008, p.34).

Policing changed at a fast pace in the early 20th century with the introduction of mobile police units, telephones, and radios (Johnson, Wolf & Jones, 2008, p.291).

Patrol vehicles allowed patrol coverage to become more efficient and effective. The trend of placing officers in patrol units continued until 1960 by which time very few urban departments used foot patrols. The unintended consequence was that it removed officers from the street and decreased the officer-citizen contact. The police became isolated from the public (because they were in vehicles) and became more like an occupying army to minorities particularly (Walker & Katz, 2008, p.38).

The era of conflicting pressure (1960 to present).

The 1960s were a troubling time for policing in the United States. Numerous social problems permeated this decade. Racial inequality and the Vietnam War lead to demonstrations and riots. High crime rates were reported throughout the country. The Supreme Court decided in case after case to protect arrested person from oppressive police practices. These cases included: Miranda v. Arizona, which required the police to advise arrested subject of their constitutional rights. Mapp v. Ohio who applied the exclusionary rule to all states (evidence obtained illegally could not be used); and Escobedo v. Illinois which defined the right to counsel during a police interrogation (Dempsey & Forst, 2008, p.21-22). Commissions like the Kerner were formed to help determine the causes of unrest in the central cities. This was similar to what is occurring today in towns like Cincinnati, Ferguson, and Baltimore. The Kerner Commission is also known as the National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders and was formed as a result of nationwide riots. Many were the result of confrontations between the police and people living in African American communities. Civil Rights leaders demanded more minority officers be hired. The commission pointed out that by having patrol officers in vehicles, police officers were isolated from the community. Police departments

throughout the country began special police-community relation units (Dempsey & Forst, 2008, p. 43). As an example, New Orleans formed the Urban Squad. The premise was it allow officers to patrol on foot and get to know the community.

The Commission's study concluded that the police spent only a small part of their time enforcing the law, and there was a need for higher recruitment standards, more training, and better management and supervision, along with additional controls over police discretion (Dempsey & Forst, 2008, p.43).

Today, the police are confronted with the "Black Live Matter Movement" and other groups that monitor and challenge modern urban policing. In an editorial in the New York Times dated, September 3, 2015, the Board attacks detractors of the "Black Lives Matter" movement and makes a supporting argument for the movement. "The Republican Party and its acolytes in the news media are trying to demonize the protest movement that has sprung up in response to the all-too-common police killing of unarmed African-Americans across the country" (Editorial Board, 2016). Bias or not the fact is that there have been killings of unarmed African Americans by the police. Under previous presidents, if local police departments do not address the issue, the Federal Government has used consent decrees. However, the use of consent decrees has not yet been determined by President Trump's administration as the U.S. Attorney General; Jeff Sessions appears to be pulling back on their use.

The Theoretical Framework

Social process theories.

Social process theories are also known as interactionist perspectives that, "depend on the process of interaction between individuals and society for their

explanatory power." Five of the theories reviewed for this research are social learning, social structure, labeling, social control, and dramaturgy. This study in part employs these ideas and concepts to determine what if any role they play in the socialization and misconduct of members of the New Orleans Police Department.

As an example, social learning theory suggests that a police officer develops favorable or unfavorable behavior based upon his/ her peer group. Police subculture may facilitate deviant behavior as being normal (Chappell & Piquero, 2004). When looking at deviant behavior, some researchers see "social learning theory as the primary process linking social structure to individual behavior. Its main proposition is that variations in the social structure, culture, and locations of people and groups in the social system explain variations in crime rates, principally through their influence on differences among individuals" (Akers, 1998, p.322). Crucial to the development of a police officer is the police academy and field training. Recruits are trained to think of themselves as no longer part of mainstream society but are held to different standards. What that standard is and how it is interpreted is dependent on the recruit's indoctrination into the department. This process is one of the areas that will be explored.

Social structure theory "is any observable pattern in social activities, and empirical researchers, for example, have referred to statistical in distributions of occupations and employment as disclosing the social structure of society. Also, recurring pattern of social behavior; or more specifically, to the ordered interrelationships between the different elements of a social system or society" (Scott, 2014, p.737). In other words, "emphasizes relationships among social institutions and

describe the types of behavior that tend to characterize groups of people" (Schmalleger, 2006, p.G-12).

Social structure is a term used in sociology, and the other social sciences to refer to relationships or bonds between groups of individuals (e.g. societies). Whereas 'structure' refers to 'the macro,' ' refers to 'the micro.' In a general sense, the term can refer to:

- entities or groups in definite relation to each other,
- relatively enduring patterns of behavior and relationship within a society, or
- social institutions and norms becoming embedded into social systems in such a way that they shape the behavior of actors within those social systems (Abercrombie, 2000, p.326-327).

Akers used social learning theory and social structure theory to create SSSL or social structure and social learning theory. Akers primary purpose of this theory is to explain crime, in fact, he calls it "the theory of crime" (Schmalleger, 2006, p.248). One of the criticisms of social learning theories is that does not account for a person's free will but takes a deterministic view of human behavior. Social learning theory like Behaviorism states that "social learning theory is nomological in its outlook and holds the similarities between people to be more important than the differences" (Sammons, 2017, p.2).

Politics of policing: Service or crime control.

There is no accepted theory of policing, according to Manning (1994); there are however numerous metaphors, papers, textbooks and research on the subject. He

suggests that policing can be managed like any other service agency. It has a product "crime control," and the market for its services, strategies, and tactics by which to achieve its market share. Police are service providers who provide for community needs (Manning, 1994, p.674).

Recent literature from the Police Foundation and the Kennedy School of Government emphasizes police as "managers" who can meet public demands and provide "service" instead of crime control. This is a flawed outlook of police roles. It is assumed that "command governance, adequate supervision, and training, coupled with organizational rules will produce disciplined, prudent, and well-managed police. The capacity of command to control officers largely via 'top down management' is assumed. Police are to be service providers persevering life and meeting community needs" (Manning, 1994, p.64).

Manning notes that Skolnick states, "this managerial metaphor introduces new tensions between the public rhetoric of policing and its private, backstage, operational side." Conflicts arise between the public and the police as the public views the police as service providers. While the decisions and priorities made by individual officers might conflict with not only the public but police management (Manning, 1994, p.675).

Manning (1994) lists several structural contradictions inherent in American policing. First, the police symbolized the state. They are mandated to protect equally and enforce the law. However, they are accused of selectively implementing the law against some segments of society. Second, "They symbolized their activities as being based on social consensus and as serving society as a moral whole, but in arrogating to themselves the 'higher' moral ground, the police have also diminished the basis on

which they claim a right to legitimacy as the principal agency of social control." The use of force instead of the threat of force, in fact, lowers the police on the hierarchy of control agencies. With the application of force primarily applied to the lower class, the prestige of the police is lowered (Manning, 1994, p.112). Third, the police are often faced with conditions that do not require the enforcement of laws to maintain public order. This results in the police feeling obligated to act once a complaint is received, even though it may be unnecessary. Fourth, they are forced maintain order with few guidelines, while also being required to maintain each individual's rights. Structurally the police must "exercise a discretion vaguely defined in the law" (Manning, 1994, p.112). Manning (1980) states, the police use of force, "problem implies that legalistic attempts to control the use of force, and even the development of departmental guidelines, are likely to fail, and the occupational controls will be the most powerful" (Manning, 1980, p.135)

Social Process Concepts

Working personality.

An important concept in this research is based the "police officers working personality." While conducting field research with two police departments as a participant-observer, Skolnick could watch and recorded patrolmen and detective's interaction with the public. The idea of working personality is most highly developed with the uniformed street or beat cop. This working personality differs from the military because all cops start at the beat cop level. One cannot join the police department as a lieutenant whereas one can join as an officer in the military (Skolnick, 2011, p.40).

The public sometimes perceives police officers as unfriendly, and/or stand-offish. This perception can be partly explained by exploring the working personality concept. Skolnick (2010) states:

> The process by which a police officer's personality is developed is that it contains two principal variables, danger, and authority. Danger seems to make police officers especially attentive to signs indicating a potential for violence and law breaking. The result is most officers are highly suspicious of people often isolate themselves from the segment of society they deem symbolically dangerous. Finally, danger undermines the judicious use of application of authority. (p.41)

Skolnick's (2010) field research revealed two additional concepts: the police are required to enforce puritanical morality laws, such as traffic violations and drunk in public. Second, police "do not normally subscribe to codes of puritanical morality and as a result are usually liable to the charge of hypocrisy" (ibid, p.41).

Blue wall of silence.

The wall of silence is a part of the police sub-culture which protects police officers from outsiders, to include ranking officers that are conducting investigations into wrongdoing by officers. This barrier to the investigation is referred to as the wall of silence (Dempsey, 2008, p.148). According to Perez and Moore rationalization for police, misconduct is like the technique criminals use to justify the criminal acts they commit. They state that the neutralization techniques used by police officers fall into four categories, denial of responsibility, injury, the victim, and appeal to higher loyalty (Perez & Moore, 2013, p.210).

Manning's research on police violence as it pertains to police culture states, "internal procedures for investigation of police shootings are thought of as arbitrary justice by officers. They are uncertain about whether there will be an investigation in other than perfunctory fashion and by whom. What charges could they face within any

internal hearing? Whether they will be allowed a lawyer, what their intermediate status will be" (Manning, 1980, p.142). Confronted with these realities (as seen by them), officers tend to view internal affairs/or investigators as police versus investigators. Hence, the Blue Wall of Silence exists.

Police officers think that any investigatory hearing on violence is ambiguous and that allegation of wrongdoing is just an inconvenient part of the job. The more problematic the area an officer is assigned to work in, the greater the chances of an internal investigation. Accordingly, in Manning's view, the violence, necessitates rules of secrecy, loyalty, and internal orientation of the officer with respect to self-esteem evaluations (Manning, 1980, p.143). Manning in this instance is referring to police shootings, but in fact, is speaking of police use of force. He goes on to say, in some units such as narcotics or SWAT, shootings are considered more than a part of the job, and is, rather, a visible expectation of performance. A failure to shoot is symbolically viewed as a major delict or a moral collapse (Manning, 1980, p.143). Manning's research articulated that the Blue Wall of Silence was a barrier police officers used to protect themselves not only from Internal Affairs investigations but from ranking officers. They developed a sense of loyalty, and rules of secrecy to shield themselves from outsiders.

Histrionic Development of the New Orleans Police Department

NOPD 1805 to 1900.

The New Orleans Police Department can trace its roots back to 1805 when it initiated a military-style armed and uniformed police force. In 1836, the department

dropped the uniforms, and no longer was armed but began a day and night patrol. The force maintained a unified civilian chain of command nine years before New York City.

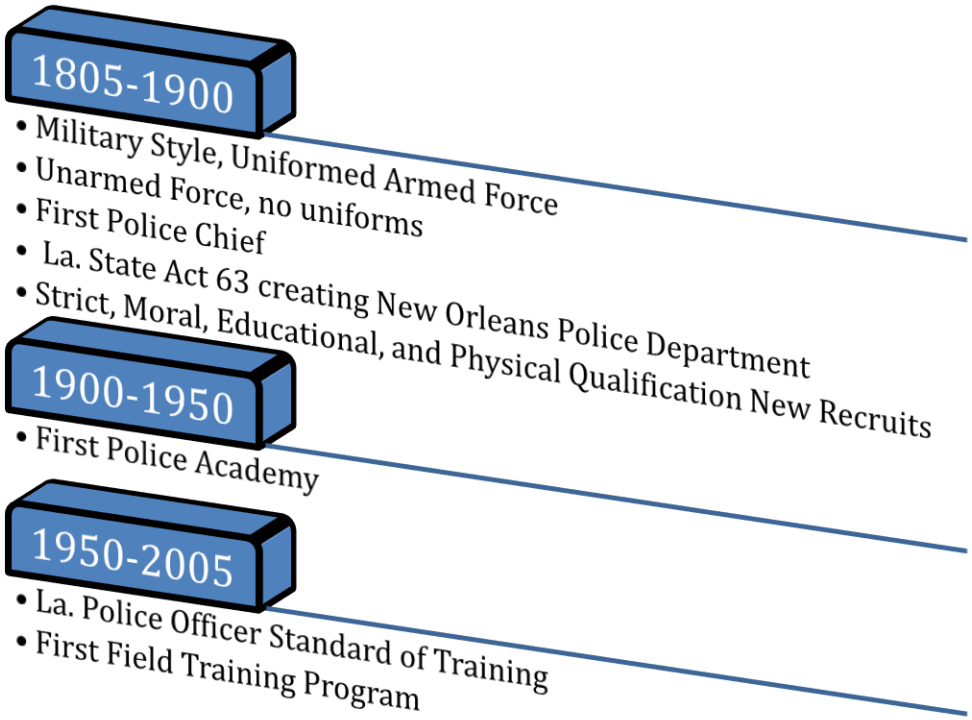

Figure 3. Histrionic Development of the New Orleans Police Department

New Orleans was not recognized for forming the first uniformed police department in the United States because the Louisiana State Legislature partitioned New Orleans into three separate municipalities, ending the jurisdiction as a single unified structure or city. It was this division that lost New Orleans the status of having the first police force in the United States (Rousey, 1996, p.6).

In 1851, the three municipalities were chartered into a single municipality under Mayor A.D. Crossman. In 1852, Mayor Crossman appointed the first chief of police John Youenes. The Mayor remained the head of the department with the ability to appoint

officers, make regulations, and exercise control over the department. State of Louisiana Act 63 of 1888 created the organized New Orleans Police Department that exists today. This Act placed the police force under the Mayor and a Board of unsalaried Commissioners. Members of the police department until this time were looked upon as a part of the political party in office and rarely remaining on the department at the end of each administration (Bellamy, 1900, p.33).

From 1857 to 1860, New Orleans was the 5th largest city in the United States and was considered one of the most violent cities. There were 225 homicides in the city, a rate of 35 per 100,000 (Ross, 2013, p.85). During the latter years of the 19th century as a comparison of violence, the murder rate in New Orleans was six time that of Philadelphia, which was of comparable size (Ross, 2013, p. 187). The Attorney General complained, “The police (NOPD) were ineffective, witnesses were afraid to testify, too many people were exempted from jury duty, the criminal courts were dysfunctional for many reasons, and the prosecutor’s office was grossly understaffed and overworked. The conviction rate was only 21.5% in homicide cases” (Ross, 2013, p.85).

Police training during this time was non-existent. In 1853, Chief Stephen O’Leary lectured the men on the responsibilities of their jobs. He also discouraged the men from brutality, and religious and national prejudices (Rousey, 1996, p.125). By the 1870’s, police commanders provided on the job training and drill. Patrolmen received instruction in techniques of policing, and their appearance was inspected (Rousey, 1996, p.131).

The city’s history and the department’s legacy of violence and misconduct were well documented. This includes: “a patrolman shooting a man in the head that he believed was trifling with his wife,” a detective who drew his weapon on a militia captain

without identifying himself and thus, lost his job. However, He was reinstated and again drew his weapon, this time on a butcher, and yet was not disciplined. Two patrolmen were arrested in 1856 for beating and shooting a citizen. “When a police officer was accused of wrongdoing, his supervisors suspended him temporarily, and if the charges were serious, his case would be heard before the Board of Police until 1856. After 1856, the Mayor heard the cases.” The amount of suspensions totaled two or three patrolmen per year (Rousey, 1996, p.94).

Workforce shortages and low pay plagued the police department from its inception. The budget for the police department in 1877 was $250,000, and by 1888, it had decreased to $171,000 though the city had experienced a slight increase in population. In 1877, the city council decreased the salary for police officers to hire more officers. The number of officers in 1877 was 400 but fell to 230 in 1887. The low wages for police officers were a constant complaint by the public. The low wages made it difficult to attract good men to the department, so the state passed Act 63.

Louisiana Act 63 of 1888 was one of the earliest attempts to transform the department into a professional organization. The Board of Commissioners set the first hiring standards which included completing an application and passing a physical examination. By 1889, newly appointed Chief of Police Hennessy instituted strict moral, educational, and physical qualifications for all new applicants (Bellamy, 1900, p.41).

Public opinion and trust of members of the department were dismal. In 1880, the “Times” paper in New Orleans wrote,

“The police department could recruit a good man only when he was out of work, and as soon as he finds something else to do, he resigns. The consequence is the force

is being constantly changed and, as a rule, only those who have some sinister purpose in view, or whose services, for various reasons, are not in demand remain."

A patrolman in New York, Boston, and San Francisco made twice as much as their New Orleans counterparts (Rousey, 1996, p.164).

The violence in the city from 1897 to 1899 correlated with the number of patrolmen who died or were seriously injured. The New Orleans police pension fund listed that eleven members of the police force died while on duty. Eight members were shot and killed in the line of duty: one fell from a horse, one was killed by a falling tree, and one died from injuries received from a fall (Bellamy, 1900, p.89). Rousey stated that seven patrolmen died from 1854 to 1860 but only lists how four of the patrolmen died: two stab wounds, one gunshot, and one from wounds received in the riots of 1860. His research showed that eight patrolmen were shot during this time but survived, and seven were stabbed and survived (Rousey, 1996, p.182).

NOPD 1900 to 1950.

Nationally during this era, training of police officers began to occur. The Pennsylvania State Police conducted a training academy for its troopers as early as 1906. Detroit training academy opened in 1911 followed a few years later by New York City police academy. A personnel survey conducted by Professor David G. Monroe of Northwestern University in 1931 showed that no city with a population of under 10,000 had any hiring standards or any training for new officers. Of 383 cities with populations over 10,000, only about 20 percent had any amount of training. The State of Louisiana did not institute a "Police Officer Standard of Training (POST)" until 1975 (LCLE, 2014).

The New Orleans Police Department's first academy class took place in 1946. Once officers graduated from the academy, some were assigned to work with an experienced police officer, and others began working as police officers in various positions throughout the department such as district patrolmen, traffic unit or the special operations unit.

NOPD 1950 to 2005.

The New Orleans police department has always been a para-military organization with a hierarchal rank structure. It was not until this era that field training was the norm in the United States. The first formal "Field Training Officer," (FTO) program in the country was initiated by the San Jose, CA police department in 1973. The San Jose model FTO program received national recognition by the International Association of Chiefs of Police, and in 1974, the California State Legislature adopted Penal Code Section 832.3 governing the standards of field training. The San Jose model was established as that standard (Kaminsky. 2002, p.ix).

Even with formal hiring standards, police academies, and field training programs, there remains police misconduct today. The New Orleans Police Department in the 1970's was under a consent decree for hiring and promotional practices. The department today has been placed under a federal consent decree for its enforcement actions.

Years of misconduct and corruption perpetrated on minorities by police are the primary catalysts in conducting this research. The goal, however, is to determine why it occurs, and how it has led to federal oversight, specifically within the New Orleans Police Department, but perhaps more importantly, how can it be remediated.

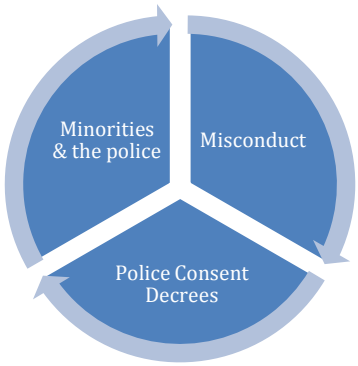

Figure 4. Major Issues in Policing: Misconduct, Federal Consent Decrees & Minorities

Major Issues in Policing

Police misconduct and corruption.

This research explores the various forms of misconduct. Misconduct in the context of this research is defined as “willfully improper behavior.” The most common form of misconduct by police is the use of physical force. Police misconduct consists of two types; “Procedural, when it refers to police violate police department rules and regulation; Criminal when it refers to police who violate state and federal laws. The most common forms are excessive use of physical or deadly force, discriminatory arrest, physical or verbal harassment, and selective enforcement of the law” (Lehman, & Phelps, 2008).

Police corruption is the abuse of police authority for personal gain. Corruption may involve profit, or another type of material benefit gained illegally as a consequence of the officer’s authority. For as long as there have been police, there has been police corruption. Corruption is one of the oldest and most persistent problems in American policing. Historians have found evidence of bribery in the earliest years of colonial America. Herman Goldstein suggests “corruption is only one form of misconduct or

deviant behavior by police" (Walker & Katz, 2008, p.425). There are varied definitions of corruption and misconduct.

Typical forms of corruption include bribery, extortion, and selling drugs. The term also refers to patterns of misconduct within a given police department or special unit, especially when offenses are repeated with the acquiescence of supervisors or through failure to correct them (Lehman, & Phelps, 2008). It is crucial to understand the types of misconduct occurring in the main urban centers of the United States and their suspected causes.

New York City has the largest police force in the country has had its share of misconduct and corruption within its ranks and is the starting point in next section of this research.

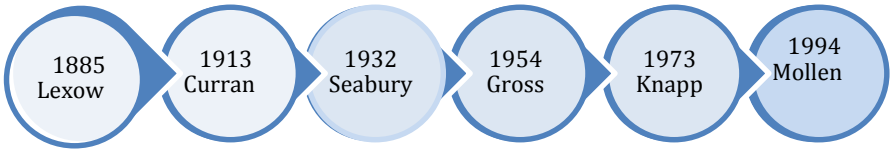

Figure 5. New York Police Commissions (Walker & Katz, 2008)

The New York City police department (NYPD) is the largest department in the United States with about 36,000 officers (Dempsey & Forst, 2004, p.42). Commissions on the corruption of the NYPD date back to 1885: the Lexow Commission. In fact, from 1913 to 1994, police corruption investigations have occurred about every twenty years (Walker & Katz, 2008, p.440). As stated, NYPD is not alone in corruption investigations. The four largest police departments in the country, employing one out of every six officers in the United States have had major corruption investigations.

The departments and the number of officer employed are, NYPD-36,000; Chicago PD- 13,500; Los Angeles PD- 9,300, and Houston PD- 5,300 (Dempsey & Forth, 2004, p.43). The following sections discuss each in turn.

Department	Year	Event	Possible Reason for Corruption
New York	2006	Mafia Cops- convicted of 8 gangland slayings, leaking confidential information	Personal Gain
Chicago	2002	SOS- violating civil rights, put out hit on another officer, and unlawful seizure of drugs and cash (Source: Chicago Tribune)	Personal Gain
Los Angeles	2000	Rampart Scandal- Officers covered up crimes, planted evidence, committed perjury.	Noble Cause /Personal Gain
Philadelphia	2006	Elite Narcotics Squad- roughing up suspects, pocketing cash, lying on reports	Noble Cause / Personal Gain
Houston	2012 2015	Ticket Fixing- for overtime Ticket Fixing-overtime	Personal Gain

Figure 6. Major City Corruption Timeline

NYPD's Mafia cops.

A good example of the widespread urban corruption is the case of Louis Eppolito, age 60 & Stephen Caracappa, age 67, NYPD detectives both of which were sentenced to life in prison without parole on Friday, March 6, 2009. Eppolito and Caracappa were known as the "Mafia cops." They were found guilty of "participating in or aiding eight murders, two attempted murders and one murder conspiracy, as well as witness tampering, witness retaliation, obstruction of justice, money laundering and drug charges." The former detectives were paid "$4,000.00 a month by the Mafia and were personally paid $65,000.00 by Lucchese crime family underboss Anthony 'Gaspipe' Casso for killing another mobster during a phony traffic stop" (Stevens, 2009).

Chicago's special operations section (SOS).

There have been more recent incidents of misconduct in Chicago PD, but the heinous actions committed by these former officers are in line with what occurred in New Orleans. In 2007, the U.S. Attorney's Office in Cook County began a 4-year probe into what would be one of the worst misconduct scandals in Chicago PD's history. Four officers plead guilty to stealing hundreds of thousands of dollars in cash. Officer Jerome Finnigan's SOS team was disbanded in 2007. Finnigan, age 48, and Herrera, age 33, searched a drug dealer's residence and stole $86,000 in cash. Finnigan and other officers in the unit took $450,000 in cash that they found during an illegal search of a suspect's home. In 2007, Finnigan allegedly plotted to hire a hit man to murder a police officer whom he believed was cooperating with the investigators in the probe of his robberies. DelBosque and Olsen are accused of testifying falsely in court about the alleged drug bust. They testified they spotted a suspect drop a bag containing two bricks of cocaine and the suspect did not have any drugs at the time of the arrest. The incident was caught on camera. Once the scandal broke, seven other officers pleaded guilty to wrongdoing and received reduced sentences for cooperating with the federal probe (Heinzmann & Sweeney, 2011).

LAPD Rampart division.

In many ways, the Rampart scandal of the Los Angeles Police Department shows the depth of corruption in a single geographic space. The Rampart scandal was the worst corruption case in LAPD history. The Rampart Division was located in an area of Los Angeles that was densely populated and was considered a high crime zone, with a significant amount of gang activity. The LAPD formed a Community Resources

against Street Hoodlum unit (CRASH) to combat gang activity in the 1990s. The unit, it was believed, was largely responsible for decreasing murders from 170 in the 1960s to 33 in 1999 (Caldero & Crank, 2004, p.116).

The investigation of the unit determined members be responsible for setting up gang members by planting drugs and guns on them, subjecting them to violent beating as well shooting them. The unit also recruited gang member to sell drugs. Officer Rafael Perez worked out a plea deal for a 5-year sentence in exchange for testifying against officers in the unit. Perez stated, “An organized criminal subculture thrived inside the LAPD where a secret fraternity of anti-gang officers and supervisors committed crimes and celebrated shooting by awarding plaques to officers who wounded and killed people” (Caldero & Crank, 2004, p.117).

Philadelphia’s elite narcotics squad.

Philadelphia is another large urban center that has seen grievous cases of corruption committed by police officers against its minority citizens. Six Philadelphia police officers were found not guilty on all counts in a narcotics corruption case that took place between 2006 and 2010. The officers were charged with racketeering, roughing up drug suspects, pocketing seized cash, and lying on police reports. An officer who pleaded guilty to official corruption had been working with federal prosecutors to build a case against these officers. The officer's defense was that the government built its case around twenty drug dealers and one corrupt cop looking for leniency (Tawa & Chowdhury, 2015).

“Over 15 days of testimony, government witnesses testified that squad members ran roughshod over their rights, physically abused them and pocketed money that

should have been seized as evidence. However, from the start, the defense team had accused prosecutors of unquestioningly accepting the word of drug dealers". In the end, two of the most disturbing allegations lodged against the officers were not corroborated by senior members of the department (Roebuck, 2015).

Houston police department's ticket scandal.

The corruption perpetrated by Houston's officers cost the city a million dollars. More than 6,000 speeding tickets were dismissed by Houston Police Chief Charles McClelland in 2015. Four Houston officers have been charged with falsifying citations to earn overtime pay and for testifying in court. In 2012, four other Houston officers were found to have been doing the same thing for years, netting one million in overtime pay. Not one of the officers was fired. In fact, the Texas Observer listed several other behavior problems in which officers kept their jobs. Detective Ryan Chandler was disciplined in April of 2015 for failing to investigate more than two dozen homicides, including the shooting death of an 11-month old girl, properly. The police chief can fire a bad cop, but he cannot make sure he stays fired. In 2008, Officer Cynthia Marino lied under oath about a controlled drug buy, got fired, and was reinstated by an arbitrator (DePrang, 2015).

In summary, misconduct and corruption have plagued policing from its origins in the United States, whether it is the Houston Ticket fixing scandal, Rodney King in Los Angeles, SOS cops in Chicago or NOPD in 1853. As policing has evolved, so has the way it is handled. Today, the Federal Government is using Consent Decree's not only to force police compliance but to hold cities responsible for their policing practices.

Chapter 2: Literature Review

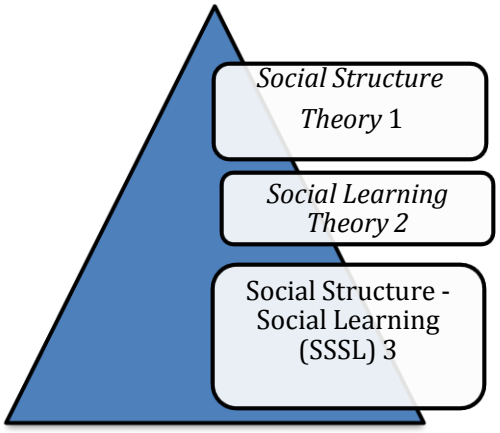

Figure 7. Theory Development Pyramid

Social process theories, also known as interactionist perspectives, “depend on the process of interaction between individuals and society for their explanatory power.” There are five of these theories, social learning, social structure, labeling or societal reaction, social control, and dramaturgy theories. The two relevant theories used in this research are a combination of Social structure with social learning theories (Schmalleger, 2006, p.246). Social learning theory states that all behavior is learned. Social norms, values and patterns of behaviors are products of the social environment and not innate characteristics. Akers combined social learning theory with social structure theory to form the social structure-social learning model (Schmalleger, 2006, p. 248).

The theories and concept being explored in this research are the Social Structure Theory, Social Learning Theory and Social Structure-Social Learning theory (SSSL), all of which re-enforce the working personality theory. Social Structure theory refers to any recurring pattern of social behavior; or the ordered interrelationships between the different elements of a social system or society. Social learning theory posits that

individuals can learn appropriate interpersonal behaviors by observing role models exhibiting the behaviors. Research shows that this vicarious learning is effective when the role models are perceived as similar to the audience (i.e., the people in the scenarios appear to be realistic), and the role models are reinforced for producing the appropriate behaviors (Knouse, Smith, Alvin & Patricia, 1994, p.3).

Social Structure Theory

There are three theories associated with social structure theory; social disorganization, strain, and social structure perspective. Social disorganization theory is an urban area suffering from a break in commerce, schools, and family's systems. Typically, this includes high unemployment, above-average school dropout rates, deteriorated housing, low\ income levels, and a significant number of single family households. People living in these areas experience high crime rates, conflict, and despair, and as a result may suffer antisocial behaviors (Siegel, 2006, p.182).

Strain theory suggests that conflict arises between people's goals and their means to achieve them. Siegel states, "Most people in the United States desire wealth, material possessions, power, prestige, and other life comforts. Members of the lower class are unable to achieve these symbols of success through conventional means". Thus, they can choose to remain in this situation or achieve the goals through other ways such as theft, violence and/or drug trafficking" (Siegel, 2006, p.183).

Social structure perspective is a combination of disorganization and strain. Due to social isolation, these areas develop an independent subculture that maintains its set of value and beliefs which are in conflict with conventional norms. Deviant or criminal

behavior is in fact conformity to the subculture. This generational passing of sub-culture values and beliefs is called cultural transmission (Siegel, 2006, p.183).

Social Learning Theory

Social learning theory posits, “All behavior is learned in much the same way and that crime, like other forms of behavior, is also learned. It places emphasis on the role of communication and socialization in the acquisition of learned patterns of criminal behavior and the values that support that behavior” (Schmalleger, 2006, p.246). Social learning theory as with social structure theory is not a single theory. It is “rather a family of theories that attempt to explain behavior primarily regarding learning and learning regarding the behaviorist credo, the law of effect. Consequently, it is discussions of morality are distinguished from their cognitive-developmental and psychoanalytic counterparts by the motivational role it assigns to rewards.” These awards are social approval, needs or aversions. Moral development or socialization is understood to be the acquisition of someone else’s norms, either the norms of parents or society (Wren, 1982, p.409).

Wren states, "to the extent that social learning theory comprehends this change, it does so regarding the Law of effect. Which in the present context declares that a moral agent comes to adopt the morality that he does because its adoption has resulted in more reinforcing events.” Of importance to this research is “morality means a socially endorsed pattern of behaviors, with additional connotations of altruism ranging from mere noninterference to sacrificing one’s life for others (Wren, 1982, p.409).

Social learning theory posits that individuals can learn appropriate interpersonal behaviors by observing role models exhibiting the behaviors. Research shows that this

vicarious learning is effective when the role models are perceived as similar to the audience (i.e., the people in the scenarios appear to be realistic), and the role models are reinforced for producing the appropriate behaviors (Knouse, Smith, Alvin & Patricia, 1994, p.3). “Most human behavior is learned observationally through modeling: from observing other one forms an idea of how new behaviors are performed; and on later occasions, this coded information serves as a guide for action (Bandura, 1977, p.22). Modeling for police officers in the academy, FTO program or as a police officer is extremely important part of their development as it allows the recruit to learn from example what to do, generally with the benefit of learning by others errors.

Social learning theory is not a single theory but “rather a family of theories that attempt to explain behavior primarily regarding learning and learning in terms of the behaviorist credo, the law of effect. Consequently, it is discussions of morality are distinguished from their cognitive-developmental and psychoanalytic counterparts by the motivational role it assigns to rewards. These awards are social approval, needs or aversions. Moral development or socialization is understood to be the acquisition of someone else’s norms, either the norms of parents or society as a whole” (Wren, 1982, p.409).

Akers lists four major concepts of Social Learning Theory: Differential Association which Akers takes directly from Sutherland’s theory; Definitions; Differential Reinforcement; and Imitation. (Frailing & Harper, 2013, p. 105). These four concepts explain how behavior, conforming or deviant is learned and maintained. Differential Association states, “the group with which one is in greatest contact provides the context in with social learning takes place” (Akers and Sellers, 2009). It refers to a direct and

indirect association with others who engage in and support different types of behavior. The second type is labeled as Definitions which are “attitudes or meanings that are attached to specific behaviors.” There are two types, general and specific. General Definitions are “attitudes and beliefs from religious or moral sources that favor conventional behavior. Specific Definitions center on certain actions- theft is wrong under all circumstances, but occasional drug use is fine” (Frailing & Harper, 2013, p.105). The third concept of social learning theory is Differential Reinforcement. This concept refers to,” the rewards and punishments that follow or are expected to follow certain behaviors” (Akers & Sellers, 2009). Akers suggests, “What constitutes a reward or punishment may vary from person to person.” The last concept is Imitation. “Imitation is more important in the initial acquisition of certain behavior but appears to play a role in maintaining it, as well” (Frailing & Harper, 2013, p.105).

Social learning theory will be the first theory used to understand the development of working personality. It “views that human behavior is modeled through observation of social interactions, either directly from observing those who are close and from intimate contact. Interactions that are rewarded are copied, while those that are punished are avoided” (Siegel, 2006, p.646). Social learning theory will be used to explore how the development of the code of silence or the blue wall of silence is achieved and how the rationalization of misconduct can permeate through so many officers.

Modeling is one aspect of Social learning theory, according to Bandura, “Social learning theory distinguishes between acquisition and performance because people do not enact everything they learn. They are more likely to adopt modeled behavior if it results in outcomes they value than if it has unrewarding or punishing effects” (Bandura,

1977, p.28). Floridia and Hollinger tested this theory when they conducted a study titled, “Social Learning theory and the training of retail loss prevention officers.” Using Akers research on social learning theory they contend, “individuals imitate the behavior and actions of others based on observing individuals the observer admires and respects, especially if those being observed are being rewarded for the behavior” (Floridia, Hollinger, 2016, p.3). Akers further finds that individuals are likely to contain the behavior as long as it receives positive rewards over negative, social rewards. “Social and non-social rewards or intrinsic rewards that produce internal physiological feedback (one feels an increase in self-worth) are the most effective” (Floridia & Hollinger, 2016, p.3). Modeling is an important aspect in training police officers both in the academy and in the FTO program.

They stated, studies applying social learning theory perspective to the training of police officers demonstrated the importance of field training officers. “One of the first studies on police training revealed the importance of the field training officer. The FTO has consistently been shown to be the first person a recruit is exposed to, and subsequently, the individual a recruit comes to rely on the most. He tells you, how to survive on the job, how to walk, how to stand, and how to speak and to think, and what to say and see” (Floridia & Hollinger, 2016, p.3).

Social Structure-Social Learning Theory (SSSL)

Akers combined the Social Structure and Social Learning theories to develop the Social Structure-Social Learning model. He notes the criminogenic effects of social structures are mediated by social learning variables. Social Structure-Social Learning occurs as social learning connects socio-culture environments to individual behaviors.

In Tittle's, Antonaccio, and Botchkovars research on European Cities they explain, "Importantly the SSSL argument contends that the social-cultural environment is an important indirect cause of individual behavior, operating through the process of social learning, it predicts no conditional contextual effects on the social learning process itself. Thus, though the content of social learning may vary from place to place, permitting an explanation of variations in aggregate amounts of individual criminal involvement across those contexts (that is, variation in rates of crime), social learning variables themselves as theorized operate in substantially similar ways everywhere. Thus, for instances, similar amounts of reinforcement should produce similar amounts of whatever behavior is being reinforced, no matter where the reinforcement occurs" (Tittle, Antonaccio, & Botchkovar, 2012).

Akers (2006) summary of social structure and social learning theory (SSSL) consisted of seven principles:

1. Deviant behavior is learned according to the principles of operant conditioning. Operant conditioning is a learning process that involves an increase or decrease in the likelihood of some behavior as a result of the consequences.
2. Deviant behavior is learned both in non-social situations that are reinforcing or discrimination and through social interaction in which behavior of others is reinforcing or discriminating for such behavior.
3. The principal part of the learning of deviant behavior occurs in those groups that comprise or control the individual's major source of reinforcements.

4. The learning of deviant behavior, including specific techniques, attitudes, and avoidance procedures, is a function of the effective and available reinforces and the existing reinforcement contingencies.
5. The specific class of behavior learned and its frequency of occurrence are a function of the effective and available reinforces and the deviant or non-deviant directions of the norms, rules, and definitions that in the past have accompanied the reinforcement.
6. The probability that a person will commit deviant behavior is increased in the presence of normative statements, definitions, and verbalizations that, in the process of differential reinforcement of such behavior over conforming behavior, have acquired discriminative value.
7. The strength of deviant behavior is a direct function of the amount, frequency, and probability of its reinforcement. The modalities of association with deviant patterns are important insofar as they affect the source, amount, and scheduling of reinforcement (Schmalleger, 2006, p.248). Schmalleger's definition of Deviant Behavior is "Human activity that violates social norms" (p.G-4).

This research will test Akers combination of Social Structure and Social Learning Theories to form SSSL's seven principals to see if it can help explain the socialization process involved in becoming a New Orleans Police Officer and, if so, how this process can lead to the systematic corruption identified in the consent decree.

Research Question

Since the inception of policing in the 1800's, there has been a socialization process of becoming a police officer. The thin blue line shows officers are proud members of the department and the true protectors of society (More & Miller, 2007, p.207). This occurs regardless of the year, the area of the United States, what tools were available, or training. The same can be said for misconduct and corruption. New Orleans from 1805 to present day has not been an exception.

The history of policing and how officers have developed into what they are today is important in understanding how officers are socialized and how some are complaint free their entire careers while other have problems. Having this understanding and looking at this process through a theoretical framework, the following questions arise.

1. What is the socialization process of becoming a New Orleans Police Officer?
    a. Is the socialization process essential to the development of an officer's working personality and the blue wall of silence?
    b. Is there a predominant factor or aspect of the socialization process?
    c. What part does mentoring and / or modeling play in the process of the development of an officer's working personality and the development of the blue wall of silence?
2. Does the socialization process play a part in misconduct?
3. What is the thin blue line and what role does it play in socialization?
4. What changes can be made to make the department better?

Chapter 3: Research Methods

Qualitative Research

The purpose of this research is to understand the perception of misconduct within the New Orleans Police Department. The study will involve qualitative interviews with twenty former, New Orleans Police Officers. This research is the first of its kind because the researcher has known and worked with most of the interviewees for years and has a high degree of confidence that due to this relationship with the interviewees, they will give truthful answers. Additionally, all the participants will be advised it will be confidential and only identified by Officer 1, 2, 3, etc. only, increasing the researcher confidence in receiving truthful answers.

By gathering qualitative data, a view from the officer's perspective of the socialization process of becoming a New Orleans Police Officer is provided. Understanding this socialization process will better help researchers to understand how this process may foster the perception of corruption within the organization. Moreover, if misconduct is endemic and systemic in the police department, this research seeks to determine how and why that organization's dynamics of corruption have existed, despite changes in police and city administrations.

I attempt to identify the primary catalysts for corrupt practices and whether it is police work in general or the individual officers that were prone to corruption before joining the police department. Finally, I seek to surface how we might ameliorate training to negate possible aspects that might lead an officer to be more susceptible to misconduct, vice, and corruption.

Case Study

Case study methodology is a type of design in qualitative research that may be an object of study, as well as a product of inquiry. Case study research is a qualitative approach in which the investigator explores a real-life, contemporary bounded system (a) case or multiple bounded systems (cases) over time, through detail, in-depth data collection involving multiple sources of information and reports a case description and case themes (Creswell, 2013, p.97).

In this research, interviews are conducted to determine the how the socialization of becoming a police officer may be partially responsible for the misconduct that occurred over the past thirty years involving officers within the New Orleans Police Department. These interviews are semi-structured and use open-ended questions. Creswell states, open-ended questions are general and focused on understanding your central phenomenon in the study (Creswell, 2013, p.163). This open-ended kind of responses allow the researcher to identify codes and themes for description, analysis, and interpretation of the phenomenon of socialization.

Data

Twenty former New Orleans Police Officers who have been employed by the New Orleans Police Department anytime between 1981 and 2005 are used in this research. The interviewees are not identified by name but by the time of service and an anonymous Officer # identifier. The interviewees were provided with the completed University of New Orleans forms (Adult) Informed Consent Form; Confidentiality Statement and survey questions. The interviewees were given a choice of allowing the interview to be audio recorded, and the audio tape returned to them once they are used,

or if the researcher took handwritten notes, then the notes were given to them once they have been used. If the interviewees do not want either audio tapes or notes to be taken, then the researcher listened and composed the interview from memory (If the interviewee did not want the audio tape or notes, they would be destroyed by the researcher as appropriate). All documents and recording are secured in a locked cabinet at the University of New Orleans Police Department.

During the interview, the background and purpose as stated in this document were read to the interviewees. The interviewees were advised that the researcher is doing research as a graduate student and not as a police officer. They were then instructed not inform the researcher of any crimes that have been committed and not adjudicated.

Sampling

Snowball sampling was employed in this research. This typology of sampling strategies is a non-probability sampling method, often used in field research, whereby each person interviewed may be asked to suggest additional people for interviewing (Creswell 2013, p.193). Trust is paramount in this research; therefore, one officer recommending another is more likely to elicit greater cooperation and trust. Each officer was requested to provide an additional person for interviewing.

Preliminary Analysis

A holistic content analysis of the data was used in this research. Content analysis is the study of recorded human communications. The content analysis is suited to the study of communications and to answering the question of who says what, to whom,

why, how and with what effect? In this research, the communications were the interviews of twenty former NOPD officers.

The analysis of the interviews involves five steps. First, the complete interview is read through to get a sense of the whole. Then, the natural “meaning units” of the text, as they are expressed by the subjects, are determined by the researcher. Third, the theme that dominates a natural meaning unit is restated by the researcher as simply as possible, thematizing the statements from the subject’s viewpoint as understood by the investigator. The fourth step consists of interrogating the meaning units regarding the specific purpose of the study. In the fifth step, the essential, non-redundant themes of the entire interview are tied together into a descriptive statement (Kvale & Brinkmann, 2009, p.206).

Once step one is completed, the researcher coded the interviews in step two. Creswell explains, “coding involves aggregating the text or visual data into small categories of information, seeking evidence for the code from different databases being used in a study, and then assigning a label to the code” (Creswell, 2013 p.98). The coding process used in this research organized the data by bracketing chunks (or text) and writing a word representing a category in the margins. Then taking text data segmenting sentences (or paragraphs) into categories, and labeling those categories with a term, often a term based on the actual language of the participant (called an in vivo term). The codes developed in this research were based on emerging information collected from the interviews (Creswell, 2014, p.198).

Steps three, four and five involve the themes that dominate a natural meaning unit, is restated by the researcher as simply as possible, thematizing the statements

from the subject's viewpoint as understood by the investigator. In this step, the information is coded. (Creswell, 2014, p. 186). These codes develop into common ideas or themes that are broad units of information that consist of several aggregated sub-themes aggregated. The data was interpreted by the researcher as to how it relates to theoretical perspectives in SSSL theory.

Validity and Reliability

Creswell states, his "framework for thinking about validation in qualitative research is to suggest that researchers employ accepted strategies to document the "accuracy" of their studies. He calls this his "validation strategies" (Creswell, 2009, p.250).

Two validation strategies are used in this research. The first is clarifying researcher bias from the outset of the study. The researcher was a member of the NOPD for twenty-seven (27) years and knows most of the former members of the NOPD that will be interviewed for this research. The advantage to this is that the researcher is likely to be given more truthful answers to questions than a non-police officer or a police officer who is not acquainted with the interviewees. Furthermore, the researcher was the assistant commander of the police academy and the commanding officer of the field training program for over three years and knows the socialization process and the types of misconduct that occurred on the NOPD. The second is peer review and debriefing. Interviews were recorded using an Olympus WS-802 digital voice recorder. The researcher and one paid assistant completed verbatim transcriptions. Two of the interviewees did not want to be recorded and submitted correspondence which was included in the coded data.

Finally, data were coded using the coding program Quirkos. The data was then hand coded hand-coded in the margins of the transcription. Once completed, the data was re-coded a third time to develop sub-themes. The data was continuously checked against the original Quirkos data to avoid coding drift and errors.

Reliability perspective in this research focused on the intercoder agreement. After transcription of three (3) interviews, the researcher developed a codebook of codes with the independent coder. An 80% agreement of codes and themes was used in the research. The first set of transcripts resulted in a 90% agreement; the second set was 86%, and the final set was a 94% agreement with a coder who was trained in qualitative coding processes. Since this is a dissertation, there was oversight of the study at every stage by the committee, assuring a deep level of accountability and regular auditing of the data, findings, and conclusions.

Role of the Researcher

Being a retired NOPD officer with over twenty-five years of experience the researcher is considered a participant observer of the conduct of NOPD. This enhances the researcher's ability to view the object of study from the inside thereby gaining access to data only available to insiders. On the other hand, it is precisely this intimacy of the participant observer with the object studied that potentially distorts the data by introducing bias. During the study, the participant observer took great care to ensure construct and internal validity; and to minimize research bias using techniques such as data triangulation for achieving convergent validity.

Study Significance and Limitations

The research has significance for police administrators, academic researchers and policy makers. It will be the timeliest collection of qualitative data addressing misconduct and/or corruption issues in the New Orleans Police Department within the last three decades. Furthermore, it will also be the only collection of data gathered and analyzed by a person who would be considered within the Blue Wall of Silence.

Institutional Review Board (IRB)

All necessary steps were taken to meet all requirements as mandated by the Institutional Review Board (IRB) affiliated with the University of New Orleans. All necessary documentation was completed and sent to this entity for review and consultation before any actual research commenced. The IRB received all information regarding efforts to first protect the rights of the participants of this study, the method whereby consent was being secured, and a review regarding the extent of any risk, which may have existed to the participants of this study. Informed consent forms were employed containing the standard components concerning the protection of the participants. Other aspects of the informed consent, such as the guarantee of confidentiality to the participant, the freedom at any time to withdraw, benefits of the research and all other vital information concerning elements of risk to the participant were be noted within the form.

Chapter 4: Findings and Themes

Socialization is “the process by which we learn to become members of society, both by internalizing the norms and values of society, and also by learning to perform our social roles (as a worker, friend, citizen, and so forth)” (Scott, 2009, p.710). This research uses SSSL theory to explain how the transition from a civilian to a police officer changes an individual’s norms and values along with their perceived or actual role in society. Previous SSSL theory studies focused on a criminal subculture; the phenomenon is called deviant behavior or human behavior that violates the social norms (Schmalleger, 2006, p.G-4). This research advances the theory in two ways: first, it uses SSSL theory to explain how misconduct occurs using Akers seven principles (deviant behavior); second, it uses the seven principals to explain how the changes occur in a person when they no longer consider themselves a civilian but a police officer. In this process, the officer forms a prosocial bond with an organization, NOPD. A prosocial bond is defined as “A bond between the individual and the social group that strengthens the likelihood of conformity. Prosocial bonds are characterized by the attachment to conventional social institutions, values, and belief (Prosocial behavior).

The police officers interviewed in this research express how prosocial behavior is used to explain misconduct but also how cops learn to think, act, and conduct themselves which in this research is called a cop’s eyes. The interviewees, although retired, clearly still view themselves as “the police” and not as a civilian. This research advances SSSL theory by suggesting the police subculture fits both in the deviant behavior category but also into the profile for pro-social behavior theory, which thereby

can be interpreted to deviant behavior and help explain how police misconduct continues to exist within NOPD.

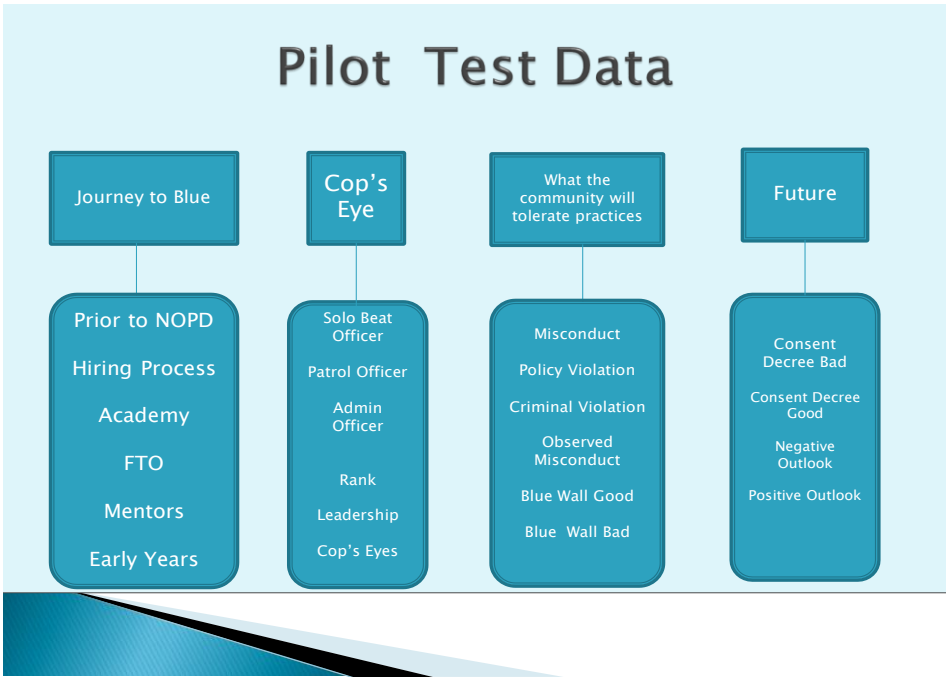

Figure 8. Data Analysis: Coding to Themes and Sub-themes

This section focuses on the analysis of the data, from creating codes to building themes. A pilot test was conducted to refine the questions used in this research, and to help develop codes and themes. "In case study research, Yin (2009) recommends a pilot test to refine data collection plans and develop relevant lines of questions" (Creswell, 2007, p.165). The analysis of the data was used to form codes to build themes, which represents the heart of qualitative data analysis according to Creswell (Creswell 2013, p.184). Initially, four themes were developed, and one thousand thirty-three coding events. The researcher used coding software to develop the two themes identified in this research: Journey to Blue and Cop's Eyes. The first theme includes three hundred and sixty coding events from which five sub-themes emerged: Hiring, Academy, FTO, Mentors, and Early Years. In theme two, two hundred and forty-nine

statements were reviewed which developed into three sub-themes: Training, Experience, and Skill Sets.

In order to understand the data captured in the themes and how the researcher's embedded status can best advance social learning theory, the following narrative is provided. It is intended as an inside look into how the blue wall of silence and working personalities are developed and how a researcher on the "inside" can get a unique perspective that is not currently integrated into previous SSSL research.

I joined the police department in 1979 as a reserve officer going to the reserved Academy on Navarre Ave. One of my friends had been a reserve officer for years and talked me into joining by telling me stories of his time on the job. After a few years as a reserve officer, I went to the police academy, which was on Moss Street. It was a lot more physically challenging and required longer work hours. Once I completed the police academy, I was assigned to the fourth district. Even though I had already served a reserve officer, the first day in the district was as if I had never been an officer at all. There were some good-humored jokes, but it was really all business. For example, after the shift briefing, everyone stood and was inspected by the sergeants. They checked your uniform and ammunition to ensure you had department issued rounds and the cleanliness of your weapon (which at that time was a wheel gun/revolver).

In the first few minutes as a solo beat officer, I understood what the thin blue line was and how the blue wall of silence should be taken seriously. I drove two blocks from the station and was flagged down by a white female who advised me that she had been in a car accident and the person that hit her was drunk. As luck would have it the rain

was so heavy that I couldn't see fifty feet to the other vehicle. I called in the location of the accident and advised the dispatcher I would write the report.

I obtained the information needed from the female and walked to the other driver. As I approached, I could smell the alcohol emanating from that driver. I advised him that he was under arrest for driving while intoxicated (DWI) and that I needed to search him prior to placing him in the back of my vehicle. His reply was "you are not going to arrest me," and he started walking back to his vehicle. I walked after him, and when I got within arms distance, he turned and hit me in the chest. I immediately called for assistance as I struggled with him. He began hitting me, and I took out my slapjack (which was authorized at that time), and we began trading blows. I was finally able to grab him and get him on the ground, but I was unable to handcuff him. I could hear the sirens of the police vehicles responding to my call for assistance. I knew they were there within minutes, but at the time it seemed like it took forever for backup to arrive. We were both pretty beat up my shirt was torn off my pants were torn, and my slap jack was broken into pieces. I was given a few minutes to go home and change my uniform and return back to work.

From this experience, I learned three important facts. One, I understood how the police were the thin blue line protecting people from bad things from happening to them. Second, I understood that I would never want the police to respond very slowly to my call for assistance or not respond at all which I believed would happen if I ever chose to violate the blue wall of silence. Third, I knew I was an NOPD officer no longer just Tom Harrington; and, I was going to respond as fast as possible to any call for assistance. Though the previous story is not part of the coded research, it does provide an

explanation on how an embedded researcher can understand and uncover data that an outsider could not. In this particular instance, the case under investigation is a closed unit protected by the “brotherhood of the blue.” The following theme: Journey to Blue is an analysis of how that “brotherhood” is formed based on the data collected.

Journey to Blue

“Journey to Blue” is a transition period from being a civilian to becoming a police officer. By coding the interviews, five sub-themes emerged. The first is the hiring process. The next two themes involved the training processes involved in becoming a police officer, the academy, and field training. The fourth theme in this section is Mentors, and the fifth is the early years on the police force. The themes of; hiring and training, first year, and accepted practices are explained by social structure theory, along with the concepts of the blue wall of silence and working personality. (Schmalleger, 2006, p.243).

Hiring

For some, the motivation to join the police department was the beginning of the socialization process. Some were raised in a police family or had a close relative who was in the police department. Others had no familial evaluation but were influenced to join by the officers whom they met while working off-duty security details or had public service aspirations.

Motivation to Join.

For many NOPD officers policing is a family tradition. For example, as listed in the NOPD album dated 1984 to 1994, there are over one hundred families listed. In this

researcher's academy class, there were at least five members who had relatives already on the job. A retired veteran of twenty-nine years stated:

> I always wanted to be a police officer since I was around 12 or 13 years old. My grandfather was a policeman, my brother-in-law was a policeman, and I had a couple of cousins. So, based on that and being around police friends of the family, that kind of pushed me towards the NOPD. (Officer 13)

"Social learning theory posits that individuals can learn appropriate interpersonal behaviors by observing role models exhibiting the behaviors" (Knouse, Smith, Alvin & Patricia, 1994, p.3). In this case, social learning is clearly prosocial as exemplified by the bonding of an officer to the NOPD based on familial relations. For example, a veteran officer of twenty-nine years discusses how he learned the "norms" of NOPD by stating, "My grandfather was a policeman, so the thought occurred to me that maybe I want to follow in his footsteps" (Officer 6) and a twenty-five-year member of the department stated, "I had an in-law uncle who was a police captain, so my perception was pretty good. I didn't think anything bad of the police. I didn't really know anybody other than him" (Officer 14).

However, familial relationships are not the only precursor. Indeed the literature notes, "a person's location in the social structure as defined by age, gender, ethnicity place of residence, and so on is seen as a major determinate of how that person is socialized and what he or she will learn" (Schmalleger, 2006, p.243) and Akers states, "the principal part of the learning of deviant behavior (pro-social) occurs in those groups that comprise or control the individual's major source of reinforcements" (Schmalleger, 2006, p.243). Therefore, the motivation to join a sub-cultural group is dominated by exposure to a series of factors which include: familial association (discussed above), the

perception of the NOPD (negative and positive), and the acquaintance of officers working paid details (extra “official” enforcement paid by an outside/private entity).

Perception data was varied and includes basic employment goals, organizational perceptions, and public service aspirations; this sub-theme is exemplified by a statement by a Black Male veteran of twenty-six years:

> I was not looking to make it a career. I was just looking to do something a little different. I did not have a family or responsibility, no bills” or this from a twenty-eight-year veteran who stated, “I always thought that the New Orleans Police Department was top-notch and professional because my father was a police officer. I thought that I was going to help the world and I also wanted gainful employment. (Officer 17)

Similarly, another interviewee with twenty-nine years experience who joined based on the positive perception of policing as a public service stated, “I was lily white before joining the department; I was raised in a middle-class white neighborhood and sheltered from the kinds of horrors human beings inflicted on themselves and others” (Officer 6).

In this researcher’s case, I thought it would be a fun and exciting job where each day would be a different adventure. I remembered being warned by my family that I didn’t want to get stopped by the police in New Orleans, that they would just as soon kick your ass and bring you to jail. To me, the jail was a very scary place. I remember being more afraid of the police than what I would find on the street. If it had not been for a close friends encouragement, it is doubtful that I would have joined the department.

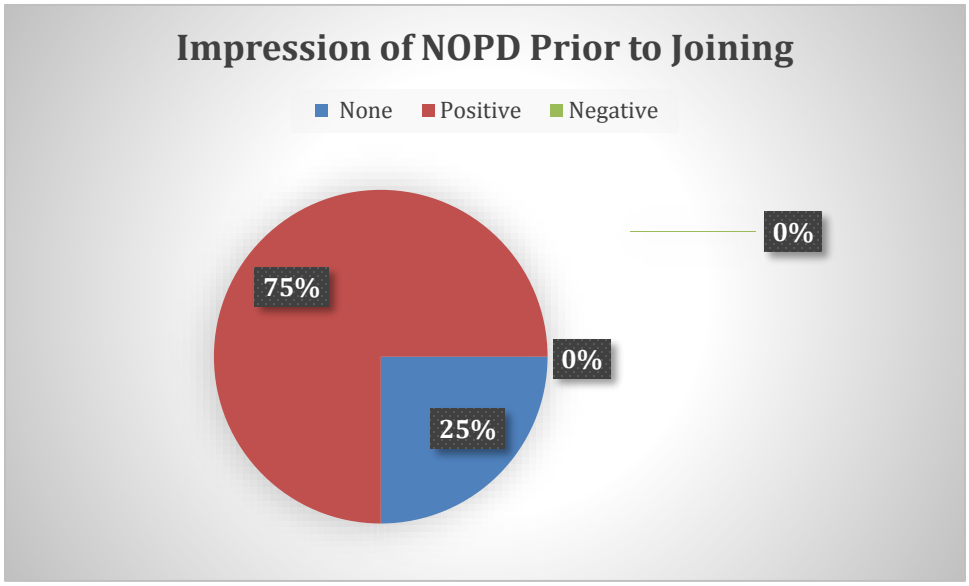

Figure 9. Impressions of NOPD

Besides familial relations or general perceptions of the NOPD, many of the officers encountered police officers working other jobs, colloquially known as details, which. The New Orleans Police Department has historically underpaid its officers in relation to other urban areas. As stated in a Times-Picayune (1888), “The police department could recruit a good man only when he was out of work, and as soon as he finds something else to do, he resigns. (p.22).” The time frame the interviewees were on the job and this research covers are 1976 through 2005 during which the pay was so low almost all NOPD officers worked extra duty as security for private entities.

Several of the interviewees clearly stated, “they were impressed with officers working paid details” which lead them to consider joining the department. The difference with officers working for the city and officers working paid details is that paid detail officers remained in that location for hours giving them time to socialize with the population at that site. Private duty work or details were and are part of the socialization

process of the NOPD. Many of the officers interviewed met police officers working paid details prior to joining the department who influenced them to join the police department. A veteran of thirty years states:

> I worked in a service station before I became a policeman, and there was a policeman who used to come in there every day. He was in the urban squad, and we got to be friends, just talking. He was the one who said, you ought to try it out, and if you don't like it, move on. I thought about it. Hey, this is pretty good, but it was from a reserve perspective. I wound up saying, hey, you know what? I'll give it a shot. (Officer 15)

A veteran of the department with fifteen years' experience discusses how police officers were an asset in recruiting police officers. He remembered being impressed with the officer and interested in policing after he got to know him,

> I talked to police, where I worked. The policemen came in and ate. I was a manager at a pizza place and one, in particular, we used to talk to all the time. He was a nice guy, and we used to joke around. I decided to find out about the police department because they were hiring. I never expected to get hired. I just went and took the test, and I wanted to learn a little bit more about them. One thing led to the other. (Officer 16)

The above discussion explains how Social Structure and Social Learning theoretical perspectives play a part in understanding how the socialization process operates in the decision to join the police department. SSSL can help explain the process of social bonding, within the organization.

Civil Service Indoctrination.

Without prior exposure to or perception of personal or familial "role models," as discussed in 1.1a, socialization for officers begins during the hiring process. This process is similar to that of joining the U.S. military and invokes a strong sense of camaraderie. For both, the first step is testing, which occurs in a common setting. The medical, psychological and fitness tests are all part of the selection process for the

military and the police department. They are a timed and structured process in which the recruit does not have control over any part of the process and must follow strict rules and regulations.

When looking for the dynamics involved in the transformation of a high school student to a combat soldier, the first place to start is boot camp. Boot Camp for police officers is the police academy. Social Structure and Social learning theory explain, “Criminal behavior is learned both in nonsocial situations that are reinforcing or discriminative and through that social interaction in which the behavior of other persons is reinforcing or discriminative for criminal (or not) behavior.” Ackers further explains, “The principal part of the learning of criminal behavior occurs in those groups which comprise the individuals’ major source of reinforcements.” (Schmalleger 2006, p.243).

For the armed forces, the drill instructor brings the change from civilian to soldier, and for police recruits, the first true mentors that affect identity change are the academy instructors. I still can see my drill instructors faces, and know each’s name after forty years just as I could for the academy instructors. After thirty-five years I remember each one of them as if I graduated a couple of weeks ago. In fact, for most of my life I worked out daily because I remember my drill instructor saying “after all this training and working out we gave you these great bodies, and what are you going to do? Walk right out of here order pizza and chocolate cake, and ruin all this work. You’ll have these fat guts in no time.” It was the same for the police academy.

The correlation or similarities of joining the Marines and the police department became kind of a Deja Vu process. An African American officer of twenty-three years stated:

> I'd also been a US Marine, so one of the things I liked about it was the camaraderie and the brotherhood of the police department. I was very attracted to it way back when. (Officer 9)

While a twenty-nine- year veteran stated:

> We had the written test; then we had the physical agility test, then the psychological test and then I think they conducted a background check and an interview at that time. Of course, all of that was subsequent to the paper application we did at City Hall. (Officer 11).

The researcher's experience of joining the Marine Corp and the police department followed similar patterns with the obvious differences being location and testing. The Marine Corp recruiter sent me to the Port of Embarkation for testing and a physical. NOPD sent me to City Hall and a doctor's office at East Jefferson. Both physicals were about the same very unpleasant. Officer 6 who as previously stated was a U.S. Marine stated:

> I had to take a written test, then, if you passed the written test, you had to take a physical. Then, there was a psychological, and I was kind of intimidated by all of it, but I was able to pass the initial tests without any problems. (Officer 6)

It was the introduction of a strict application of rules and regulations for the military and police department, and both processes were an introduction to high levels of stress.

Academy

Applying the first coat.

Every officer interviewed no matter how long they had been out of the academy remember most of the people who went through the academy with them including the Academy instructors; and everyone remembered their recruit class number (each class is numbered sequentially and has a cohort mentality that extends on into an alumni like mentality throughout an officer's career).

Stress and rewards.

As previously mentioned, the New Orleans police academy is a high-stress learning environment. In the several years, the researcher was assigned to the academy; there was not one class where someone failed to return after lunch due to the stress of the first hours. A recruit knows within the first hour what the academy will be like, as stated by a twenty-nine-year veteran:

> Several times (we were) daily reminded that we were whale shit. We were as low as you can get. We weren't even, in fact, they referred to us that if you're lucky, you become a PO1 (Police Officer) probationary. A police officer on probationary. Everybody in the street knew more than you did, don't forget that. If somebody on the street tells, you to do this or do that, just do it, ask questions later. (Officer 7)

As they progress both in the physical and academic requirements of the Academy, the stress level decreases somewhat. The instructors during different phases of the training begin the process of building the recruits' confidence. An interview with an officer with twenty-seven years on the job stated, "there's a time when you got into the academy, and you felt like, well I'm no longer civilian, I'm actually going to be a police officer" (Officer 11).

One of the rewards recruits gleaned from passing this initial crucible of training is the ability to wear their service's uniform. The uniform is a symbol of whom they have become and sets them apart from anyone who is not wearing the uniform. In policing, officers are taught the first use of force is "officer presence." A twenty-nine-year veteran stated: "It was regimented. We had to wear the uniforms. I was taking pride in the uniform to say I was actually going through the police academy (Officer 8)."

Illustration 1. New Orleans Police Department Symbols

Stress and symbolism.

In Louisiana, there are several police academies that allow recruits from multiple agencies to become police officers. In New Orleans, the police academy instills a sense in not only becoming a police officer but rather a New Orleans police officer. The NOPD academy teaches the history of the NOPD, why the badge is a "star and crescent" (worn by officers since 1855) and the significance of the uniform patch. The goal is to graduate officers who can understand the symbolism and can wear these items as a symbol of whom they have become. "You're not a civilian anymore. You're in a police academy. There's discipline. We expect more from you than we expect from civilians because you are the police, and most of the people came along with that" (Officer 11).

Prosocial bonding in the police academy can be partially attributed to the stress of making it through the academy. For some recruits, it's been years since they have had to study and for more than a few, it's the first time they have had to pass a physical fitness test. As Cordner and Scarborough explain, "For most urban police recruits, the first real contact with the police subculture occurs at the academy." Surrounded by forty to fifty contemporaries, the recruit is introduced to the harsh and often arbitrary discipline of the organization" (Cordner & Scarborough, 2010, p.244). The mantra at the beginning of the academy was "if you can't take the harassment in the police

academy how are you going to handle life and death situation on the street." After completing twenty-six years on the job, one veteran stated:

> I was nervous about being a police recruit. Again, I guess it stemmed from me being an average student, having an unsuccessful in the previous academic endeavor that I tried". "It was a nerve-wracking process for me because it's all I could think about. But I did okay. I passed everything, no problems. At the time, they were ranking students in the class. They told me I was in the Top Ten out of maybe thirty students in that particular class. (Officer 5)

While a twenty-five-year veteran stated:

> You had a lot of concerns. You were worried about making sure you passed and keeping up with your classmates, just general studies, training, and practicing type thing. It seemed like the training was pretty good at the time. (Officer 14)

Cordner and Scarborough (2010) suggest "the main result of such stress training is that the recruit knows it is his peer group rather than the brass which will support him and which he, in turn, must support" (p. 244). One officer with over thirty years of service observed:

> We would go out on Fridays after class because every Friday was a test. Every Friday you had a report writing, a test, or an accident written test, so every Friday was the big day you had to prepare for. After Friday, I'd tell most of us, probably 80 to 90% of us; we'd go out and have a few beers, or whatever, and caught up about the week, and everything. We did have study groups that we formed I remember I had maybe 4 or 5 people with me in a study group that we would prepare our big tests, and study the weekends leading up to the big test, and everything. I think we were pretty- tight knit, and out of my class, there might be 3 or 4 that are still on the job right now that are getting ready to retire. (Officer 19)

Another veteran of twenty years stated:

> It was fun. I really enjoyed the class. We had a very large class. I think we started out with like 50 people, and everybody in the class had a great time. We all hung together. The thing about being in the academy is that when you're in there with people whom you're basically meeting, the majority of the time you're basically meeting for the first time, you try to get

> to know them. You pick out the ones that, Hey, look, I don't want to be around them, but I'm cool with this one. I'm cool with that one, but as a whole, we all stuck together, and it was a great time for 18 weeks. (Officer 12)

This is where the blue wall of silence begins to become entrenched in the recruits. They become brothers and sisters. They learn to look out for one another against the system or the academy. Recruits during physical training will drop back with a slower recruit who is not running the mandatory runtime and run with the recruit urging them on. As more and more recruits complete the run, they will support the slowest officers. This “us against them” mindset develops an officer against the administration whereas the officers come to believe because of their academy experience that the rank or the administration is out to get the officers (aka, if the administration can get him/her than they can get me). Recruits’ professional activities begin to reflect what the academy instructors say about the administration the city.

Not all the recruits who attended the police academy found it challenging but the stress and social interaction bonded them to their classmates, as a twenty-seven-year veteran explained; “In the academy, it was boring to me. I had just finished four years of college the previous year.” When asked about social bonding he explained:

> The physical training was pretty rigorous. I enjoyed that, in fact, it was a challenge at times. But for the most part, I think they accomplished what they were trying to do, and that was to have us work our butts off in order to make us feel more part of a cohesive group, and for the most part, they got that accomplished. (Officer 20)

The academy drilled that if they couldn’t take the stress of the academy, they wouldn’t be able to handle the street. “The main result of such stress training was that the recruit soon learned that it was his peer group rather than the brass which would support him and which he, in turn, must support.”(Cordner and Scarborough, 2010,

p.244). A veteran of almost thirty years stated, “you had the feeling that you were embarking on a career which was a big team and everybody was looking out for you, of course, but you had to do your part and not question orders” (Officer 7). This was consistent with Cordner and Scarborough (2010) who found “the long hour, new friends and ordeal aspects of the recruit school serve to detach the newcomer from his old attitudes and acquaintances. In short, the academy impresses upon the recruit that he must now identify with a new group his fellow officers” (p. 244).

In Louisiana, the State requires a minimum of about nine weeks training to become a police officer. The New Orleans Police Department police academies, since the 1980s, have not been less than 13-weeks. The academy is structured to teach police recruits in the New Orleans police department their way; they have their procedures to write reports, tickets, answer the radio, or handle use of force incidents. In addition to the academics and physical fitness aspects, the academy recruits are exposed to scenarios they will face working the streets.

The scenarios are either events that involved a staff member or hypothetical scenarios used to explain information given to recruits. As an example, in explaining the difference between an aggravated battery and a battery the instructor would explain, if one person struck someone with a fist, it would be a battery if that same person struck a person with a bat it would be an aggravated battery. The scenarios are at times detailed, while others are simple. The purpose is to give recruits insight into what they are learning in the classroom and how it can be will apply on the street. A veteran of twenty-seven years explained:

> In other words, they may explain like criminal law, say something like probable cause and then try to explain what they meant, what the

> meaning of probable cause was and in doing that they would use a war story as an analogy to try to get the message over to everyone that was in the class. (Officer 20).

A result of this type of training both in the academy and in field training is the recruits begin to see the world through the eyes of the instructors or (field training officers) FTO's. This researcher recalls a lieutenant in the academy telling us about two police officers who were shot in their vehicle. One of the officers called a suspicious person over to their vehicle, and instead of getting out of the vehicle, they remained sitting and let the person approach the passenger side window. This person had just committed an armed robbery and shot both officers. Throughout my career, I would not remain sitting in my vehicle when someone approached no matter whom it was, even a mother holding a baby.

A twenty-year veteran stated:

> I remember street survival with, I don't want to say his name, but he drilled in our head about traffic stops and how to approach felony stops and how to handcuff properly, how to search properly and how to interview, interrogate. All those things and that really carried over into real life scenarios. (Officer 8)

Social bonding.

Social bonding is not just bonding to other recruits; it also binds the recruit to the organization (NOPD). The academy at first is the NOPD to the recruit, then the FTO is the organization, and finally, it's the district. Social bonding is different from officer to officer some the bonding begins in the academy some with the FTO and some once they are a solo beat officer. What is common is the processes that an officer goes through to become an NOPD officer. For most officers, this statement is true "the social bonding that takes place in the academy is the knife that cuts the bond connecting the

recruits to the world they lived in before joining the force" (Gaines & Kappeler, 2011, p. 119). As indicated in the previous sub-themes, the Academy is the birthplace of the "thin blue line." For New Orleans recruits, they are given scenarios about actual events in places that may one day work. In fact, some of the locations these recruits will work are the same places New Orleans officers patrolled in the 1800's.

Stress, whether caused by the academic challenges or the physical testing aspects of the police academy and field training, was a reality for all recruits but manifested itself differently for each officer. The strain and anxiety became binding factors for the recruits (for the rest of their lives). These pressures, combined with the strict discipline demanded by the instructors, led the recruits to develop strong bonds due to the common practice of meeting after the academy to study or just be together. They learned to depend on each other to get through each phase of the academy as a coping mechanism. This commoradie, as well as instructors explaining the repercussions of what being a "rat" (an officer who reported a fellow officer some sort of violation) on the department, might face, fostered the "blue wall of silence" growth.

The challenge for the police department has been the discrepancies between the espoused theory (the mental model of how the world works) and the theory of action (the model used). The recruit is "born" in the academy but "develops" into an officer during field training. This means the recruit's "success" is dependent on how closely aligned the academy instruction is to her/his FTO's theory of action. Harmon and Mayer (1986) found:

> When someone is asked how he would behave under certain circumstances, the answer he usually gives is how espoused theory of action for the situation. This is the theory of action to which he gives allegiance, and which, upon request, he communicates to others.

> However, the theory that governs his action is his theory-in-use, which may or may not be compatible with his espoused theory. Furthermore, the individual may or may not be aware of the incompatibility of the two theories" (p. 216).

The New Orleans police department is a traditionally structured organization (which is to say a "hierarchical") as are larger police departments (Cordner & Scarborough, 2010, p.108). Like the military's boot camps the academy is the entrance into the NOPD culture. They learn rules and the consequences for violating them; they learn a chain of command and what happens when you violate an order. Officers must understand that rules exist in order to ensure that they are accountable for their actions. "Absolute obedience to department rules, rigorous physical training, dull lectures devoted to various technical aspects of the organization and ritualistic concern for detail characterized the academy" (Cordner & Scarborough, 2010, p.244).

Identity Change.

Identity is commonly understood as the distinguishing character or personality of an individual. Change is understood as making different or altering. The socialization process from a civilian to a police officer is an identity change, a fundamental alteration of personal identity. The first day in the police academy is the day most officers can remember as the beginning of their identity change. However, it is when the recruit becomes independent of her/his FTO and advances to a solo beat officer that the identity change is completed. Once you are able to ride as a solo beat officer, you are the police. For example, an officer with twenty-seven years on the department stated, "you had the feeling that you were embarking on a career that it was a big team and everybody was looking out for you, of course, but you to do your part and not question orders. (Officer 11).

In peeling back the layer of years to determine how or if mentoring in the early (even in the academy) years of a police officer affects the development of the blue wall of silence and or what Skolnick called the “working personality.” By the time an officer completes the academy, FTO program, and becomes a solo beat officer they have not only developed a working personality but what this research labels a “cop’s eye” which will be discussed in more detail in the discussion of Theme 2. However, the indoctrination begins with the Academy and, so, the academy must ensure that whatever they teach or do they build the character, integrity, and a sense of justice into each recruit. Several of the officers interviewed explained how the change began with them. A white female with twenty years on NOPD stated:

> I had no clue, anything about police work. But the Academy taught me a lot of things besides just police work. It gave us values and understanding of things we would be dealing with as police officers, as opposed to any other career that you'd probably have. That was like one of the best experiences I had as a recruit in the police academy. I really enjoyed it. (Officer 4)

A white male with twenty-three years stated:

> You’re not a civilian anymore. You’re in a police academy. There’s discipline. We expect more from you than we expect from civilians because you are the police, and most of the people came along with that. (Officer 11)

An African American male with twenty-seven years stated:

> You have to adjust to the mindset now. The mindset now is you're a protector. Okay? Keep that in mind. You're there to protect people. You protect them from criminals. You protect them from harm. That includes harm from you (Officer 06).

The academy’s use of war stories to explain events that happened and how the officer(s) may or may not have been able to resolve a situation was consistent tactic.used as part of the recruits socialization process. It was a rare day not to have at

least one story. Ackers explained, “the principal part of the learning of deviant behavior occurs in the groups that comprise or control the individual’s major source of reinforcement” (Schmalleger,2006, p.243). War stories give civilians a look into how officers view the world from a police perspective. If the instructors, for instance, explain if you rat on another officer there will be the consequences in the field, it makes an impression on a recruit, especially if it is followed up by a war story in which such a real occurrence had dire consequences on the “ratting” officer.

Additionally, these stories told by the instructors or FTO’s represent commentaries on the performance of themselves and others. Manning (1992) states, “Culture is produced as an interlocking series of sensible meanings: performances taken to communicate to self and other meaning that are in turn shared with the audience affirming and confirming those responses” (p.74). The academy instructor telling of police stories are communicating to the recruits his or her sense of police culture, and as such, serve to integrate and facilitate them into the NOPD. Stories also serve to, “alienate, maintain social distance, and maintain ambiguity” (Manning, 1992, p.75). If these war stories teach an officer to be afraid of everyone they encounter on the street, that will be what the recruit begins to believe. If they teach it is acceptable for an officer to overreact because s/he is pumped up after a chase and might thereby punch a person - as long as it's only a few punches, and you don’t make it a habit then it is understandable so as long as they aren’t handcuffed – well then, that is what the recruit will believe. These scenarios are reinforced with “actual” officer war stories so that the recruits see these actions as not only acceptable but, also, expected. These war stories are just as important in the socialization process as learning the criminal

code or how to perform pursuit driving. Stories leave an impact on the recruits development and are socialization techniques of the “unspoken lessons” of law enforcement.

From the first day of the academy, recruits are taught to obey rules and regulations. There is strict enforcement by the academy staff throughout the academy experience. Understanding and obeying the rules and regulations become a key component of the socialization process. There is a progression from simple rules such as, when to sit and where to sit, what to wear. As a recruit goes through the academy, there are a lot more rules and regulations some that are life altering such as when how to save a life or even take a life. An African American veteran of twenty-six years states:

> Just remember that made an impression on me that this is another structured environment. There are rules and regulations. There are things you do not do. There are things you do, and there are things you do not do. If you violate, depending on the severity of the infraction, you might not be welcome. That just stuck with me. (Officer 5)

While a fifteen-year veteran stated,

> In simulated training, when they're doing a building search, I can remember one of the guys came out from behind these barrels and knocked me, a whole lot of noise, and came rushing at me, and I overreacted. I drew down, and I shot. In real life, I would have been charged. There was no reason to shoot them. That didn't get me thrown out of the academy, but it was a really bad thing to do, but it made me re-evaluate how you react in a situation. (Officer 16)

The academy is essential to the development of officers working personality. The instructors become the recruit’s mentors; they are the voice of the department telling them what they can do or not do. If the department’s instructors say there is a gray area in policing and, thereby, the department may accept certain behaviors, it then becomes a truth to the recruit. According to this

researcher's data, the importance of the academy instructors cannot be overstated; their teachings reflect the departments' ethics, morals, and practices.

Field Training Officer (FTO).

There are three important components for an FTO program, they are, selecting, training, and supervising the FTO. "Without an effective selection process that focuses on the characteristics essential to the job, the organization operates by "guess and by golly" (Kaminsky, 2002, p.17). Having spent years supervising NOPD's FTO program, Kaminsky's assessment that the selection of the FTO is the most important component of the program. Research has shown that new employees, in any line of work, are most influenced by what happens to them in the first six to twelve months of their employment (Kaminsky, 2002, p.ix).

Prior to the implantation of the San Jose program officers were assigned to ride with an experienced officer if the officer wanted a recruit or not. This was common practice from the inception of the New Orleans police department until the 1970's. Currently, the New Orleans FTO program is based on the San Jose model (developed in San Jose, CA.) which is recognized at the first formal training program and is used by seventy-five percent of the police departments in the United States (Kaminsky, 2002, p.ix).

Quotes surrounding officers' experiences with a field training officer (FTO) had the largest number of coding events. The data indicate that the FTO has the greatest impact on the development of a new officer and that some lessons learned by the recruit last over their entire career. The FTO section is sub-divided into four sub-themes. The first is perception. Perception not only covers the officers first days on the

job and how they began to see the world as a police officer but is also where the recruits learn to put the academy into practice. The second sub-theme is indoctrination. Indoctrination describes how the recruit is immersed in and learns the culture of the department. For the recruit, this includes the indoctrination into the district and or platoon in which they work. Third, is playing a part and fourth is in another world.

Perception.

A recruit is thrown into the world as an officer, a world they now believe to be dangerous because they were taught that it is at the academy. This is a belief that can be reinforced by her/his FTO. **"**The learning of deviant behavior (pro-social), including specific techniques, attitudes, and avoidance procedures, is a function of the effective and available reinforces and the existing reinforcement contingencies" (Schmalleger, 2006, p.248).

The ranking officer to whom the researcher was assigned as his first FTO complained about having to babysit the recruit (the researcher). Fortunately, it was good-natured fun, and the researcher soon learned his FTO was all business when it came to handling calls. The researcher knew, then as do all recruits, that everything they do will be evaluated by the FTO. A recruit's career as a police officer depends on what these FTO's observe and evaluate as it relates to the recruits job abilities.

For example, as this researcher walked to the police vehicle after roll call my predominant thoughts were of the street survival training we received in the academy. It was funny how a day ago, there were no threats, people were people, and they went about their business, and I went about mine with no second thoughts. Now, I am in uniform, and I am waiting for someone to try and kill me at any time. An officer with

twenty-seven years stated it the best, “and you walk into the sixth district and it was pretty easy to understand that you were in another world now and it didn’t take long to understand that you were in a dangerous world” (Officer 11). Furthermore, Officer 14 stated:

> More real world experience. More practical issues. In the academy, they're teaching you how to handcuff other recruits and other people. That person is not trying to get away from you because they committed a major felony or crime. They're not armed, and if they are armed, it's a fake pistol or knife or something. There's no real danger in the academy itself. When you're on the FTO program, you're out there actually dealing with individual suspects or whatever. There's a lot more danger. (Officer 14)

While in the academy it was the instructors, now in field training it was the FTO, but the concept is the same. If a recruit has an FTO that condones misconduct, that officer is likely to follow suit based on the reinforcement of such behaviors. However, if the recruit has a positive FTO experience, the likelihood of misconduct should/could be reduced. Without a skilled FTO who can balance what is taught in the academy with how to implement the lessons in practice, it is difficult for new officers to survive the first few months in the field. An officer with twenty-nine years stated:

> I kind of lucked out because the FTO I had was like me. He wasn't an aggressive police officer. He was a person that really cared about teaching young officers the right way to do things. He took the time to scrutinize my reports. He took the time, if I made a decision that wasn't the best decision, he would pull me on the side and make some adjustments. (Officer 8)

The NOPD forced senior officers to train recruits because they had no one else. These officers were not compensated for the extra work, and some just did not want to be responsible for a recruit. This made for a bad situation for both the recruit and the FTO. In an effort to minimize this risk, recruits should be exposed to multiple FTOs.

The San Jose model ensures recruits ride with three different FTO's. It gives them a chance to work with experienced officers and allows them to see how different officers handle some of the similar situations. If one of the FTOs is strong in one area and weaker in another it gives them a board perspective. One twenty-seven-year veteran recalls, "phase four I was riding with another female who, on the day watch, we did a lot of shopping. She showed me different beauty supply places" (Officer 7). This recruit not only learned to shop but where to eat and maybe a little about police work. The female recruit said:

> I rode with her a few nights, and it consisted of dropping from the station to The Hummingbird and hanging out talking to cab drivers and leaving, going on burglar alarms, whatever call we had. Then returning immediately to The Hummingbird at 804 St. Charles. (Officer 7)

Most of the officers interviewed had at least one FTO who took an active interest in them learning the job successfully.

Indoctrination.

Indoctrination is defined as instruction, especially in fundamentals or rudiments. It is through this process that pro-social conditioning can occur. For example,

> In the social learning view, results of one's own actions are not the sole source of knowledge. Information about the nature of things is frequently extracted from vicarious experience. In this mode of verification, observation of the effects produced by somebody else's actions provides the check on one's own thoughts" (Bandura, 1977, p.181).

This supports the third principle in Akers theory which states, "Deviant behavior (or in this case pro-social conditioning) is learned according to the principles of operant conditioning" (Schmalleger, 2006, G-4). This research found that recruits learn by observing the FTO's interactions while on patrol. In fact, my FTO would tell me, don't

talk, and don’t’ touch; just listen. This training philosophy gave me the opportunity think about the lesson taught in the academy and, then, be able to see how those lessons worked on the street. This is called operant conditioning, For example, the FTO should explain the reasons they knock on a door a certain way, or why they stand a certain way, and how they decide when to use a loud voice versus when they choose to use a calm voice. An officer with twenty-five years’ states, “One of my field training officers, actually. He was pretty good. He was interested in helping me along, trained me into getting the regular job. I was quite happy with my field training officer” (Officer 14).

Unfortunately, not all FTOs understands this conditioning. Therefore, in the initial phase of training in the San Jose model, the recruit only observes her/his FTO. This helps the recruit get comfortable being in uniform and in public while simultaneously decreasing any anxiety the recruits may have of leaving the academy and riding in a marked unit. This helps assuage the recruit’s concerned created by all the war stories told in the academy and helps assure her/him that all the bad possibilities s/he has learned about don't happen daily. A retired officer with twenty-nine years stated, “the first month was just observation, no driving, minimal contact with the radio, just watching. As I went to the second phase or the second FTO, I started to do some writing, some radio, and a little bit more interaction (Officer 13).

Indoctrination from lessons learned during training might become practices recruits follow for their entire career. A male officer who retired with twenty-seven years explains:

> Think there were subtle ways that he impacted my entire career from there on. He gave me the building blocks, just like the Academy does, and then he showed me the real world and a lot of it weren't as a police officer, I think, while I was on the FTO program (Officer 18).

Another officer with twenty-seven years talking about his FTO stated:

> He would make analogies between what you learned in the academy and what really happens on the street, but for the most part, he was one of those fellas who pretty much followed the book. He would follow the things that the academy had instructed us to do, and he would try to impress upon me that as long as you retain a professional attitude you can't get in trouble and I think that's a good thing he taught me" (Officer 20).

Modeling with an old time FTO was to, stand there and keep your mouth shut and do what you are told. "In actuality, learning is fostered by modeling and instruction as well as by informative feedback from one's own transactions with the environment" (Bandura, 1977, p.91). In the early stages of an officer's career modeling behavior occurs for two reasons; one to help the officer quickly become accustomed to working the street the officer will only ride with the FTO normally for twelve weeks before being able to ride alone. The second reason is to foster the values and ethics of the department. The danger here is that the officer's FTO may not teach or apply these departmental values and ethics. An African American officer with twenty-seven years stated:

> The field training officers were one, they were real, real strict on officer safety, they were big on integrity, and I probably need to explain that a little bit more, but they were also real big on being thorough and doing a good job. (Officer 11).

Another officer with twenty-five years stated:

> What they taught me was always to give everybody a fair opportunity and to remember that you meet 40-50 different people a day on calls during the course of an 8-hour shift, and you have to ... you can't remember all those faces. They have one to remember, and that's yours, so be forceful when you have to and use discretion when it's necessary" (Officer 12).

The officer further stated:

> The second one was really laid back, but he was more of a paper guy. He knew how to write reports. He knew. There wasn't a report he couldn't write. He always told me, "When in doubt, write it" (Officer 12)

A white male officer with twenty-seven years stated:

> He was very meticulous. He was also fun. I actually went through Mardi Gras with him at the end of my FTO period we wound up being partners during Mardi Gras. He showed me the ins and outs. I think he did a pretty good job. I really appreciated the things that he showed me and taught me. (Officer 18)

Some recruits lacked maturity in that they had never lived away from home or did not have any previous employment experience. This made it even more important that the FTO's teach officers to handle daily situations. A thirty-year veteran stated:

> As a young guy on the police department even though I'm training, and working with an FTO and everything, how can I settle somebody's domestic disputes? I don't know anything about being married, and having families, and doing stuff, but it all worked out fine. I had really good FTOs, and good training, I thought, in the academy. Enough to put me out on the streets at the time, so I was good with that. (Officer 19)

He went on to say:

> Here I am in the Fifth District. My first week I'm handling double shootings and stuff, and they have yet to even handle even shooting in the district that they were. They were like, Oh, how'd you handle this? How'd you do this? I'd say within my first, probably, 8 months I had probably handled everything under the sun. (Officer 19)

Some of the officers remembered FTO's that could have hurt their careers if they would have followed their examples. A fifteen-year veteran stated:

> My particular training officer was a guy who, he knew police work, but he wasn't eager to do police work. He was, his motto was, he wanted to do, his perfect day, as he would say, was a five-line trip sheet. You go 10-8, which means you go in service. You go 10-41 for a coffee break. You go 10-40 for lunch. 10-41 for a coffee break, and 10-7. If he could do that, he had a perfect day. Of course, that never happened, but that was his running joke. (Office 16)

One of the hazards of any FTO program is that the field training officer or a supervisor will judge and evaluate an officer based upon if he likes the recruit instead of the competence of the recruit. Kaminsky warns, “it is rare but nevertheless real occasion in which the recruit is recommended for termination more out of dislike than lack of competence” (Kaminsky, 2002, p. 10).

> When I was in the FTO training, the, one of the sergeants decided that really he didn't think that I should pass, that something had happened. I know at the time he just thought I was incompetent because, like I said, I didn't write too good of reports at the beginning. He would kick out, once I got off the FTO program, he would kick all my reports back for every little thing. He just had it where get rid of me. He was keeping a file documented. (Officer 16)

In summary, each FTO had something to teach no matter how trivial a lesson. The best were strict on safety, displayed to recruits how to interact with the public fairly, and taught skills such as report writing and investigation techniques. For better or for worse, all NOPD FTOs played a part in a recruit’s social bonding.

Playing a part.

The major source of reinforcement in the FTO program is the social bonding that takes place between the recruit and their FTO’s. Akers explains there are four components of the social bond: attachment, commitment, involvement, and belief”(Schmalleger, 2006, p.252). One of the questions explored in this research is “does the socialization process play a part in misconduct?” Akers suggests the answer

is yes due to the third principle of the SSSL theory, “The principal part of the learning of deviant (pro-social) behavior occurs in those groups that comprise or control the individual’s major source of reinforcements” (Schmalleger,2006, p.243). Hirschi’s theory of social bonding supplements this principle of social bonding. These theories are supported by this research. In addition to the third principle, all four components of social bonding are evident in the data from the officers interviewed. Attachment, as explained by Hirschi, is a person’s shared interest with others (Schmalleger, 2006, p. 252). In this case, the shared interest was the recruit becoming a police officer, but the shared interest also included what kind of police officer? Officer five explained:

> We would go on lunch breaks or whatever and go into restaurants, and it was like people were happy to see him when he walked in there. That made an impression on me. I wanted to be like that. (Officer 5)

While another officer with twenty-seven years explained:

> I think there were subtle ways that he impacted my entire career from there on. He gave me the building blocks, just like the Academy does, and then he showed me the real world and a lot of it weren't in a police officer, I think, while I was on the FTO program. (Officer 18)

There is a negative (deviant) side to each of these principals as explained by Officer 16:

> There was some of the old-time officers. If you didn't drink, they didn't talk to you. You were just totally shunned, which back then was when they first started taking, they were just starting to take the, making everybody take drug tests and tests, so it was changing, but prior to that, I mean, my FTO literally took me to a barroom one night. (Officer 16)

Commitment, as defined by Hirschi, was, “the amount of energy and effort put into activities with others” (Schmalleger, 2006, p.252). This is reinforced by this research as for where FTO’s with enthusiasm was rated much higher by the officers

interviewed. Comments included both the FTO's the energy as it related to teaching the recruits both academically and in fieldwork. As explained by a twenty-nine-year veteran:

> I kind of lucked out because the FTO I had was like me. He wasn't an aggressive police officer. He was a person that really cared about teaching young officers the right way to do things. He took the time to scrutinize my reports. He took the time, if I made a decision that wasn't the best decision, he would pull me on the side and make some adjustments. (Officer 8)

On the other hand, there were FTO's with little energy and the results were negative for the recruits as stated by a twenty-seven-year veteran,

> My particular FTO was afraid of me taking the initiative on things and sometimes when I took the initiative on things he would give me a bad mark even though the situation turned out to be exactly what I needed to do at the time. (Officer 20)

Involvement was "the amount of time spent with others in shared activities." The amount of time an FTO took with a recruit a lot of time was dependent on how fast the recruit was able to grasp what the FTO's caught on, but not always. The more time spent teaching an officer how to write a report on safety shaped how the recruits thought not only about the FTO but the department. Officer 12 stated:

> The two FTOs I had were different in some aspects, but in certain aspects, they were virtually the same. They were carbon copies of one another. What they taught me was to always give everybody a fair opportunity and to remember that you meet 40-50 different people a day on calls during the course of an 8-hour shift, and you have to ... you can't remember all those faces. They have one to remember, and that's yours, so be forceful when you have to and use discretion when it's necessary" (Officer 12).

The belief was in a shared value and moral system. This shared value and the moral system was generally manifested in a positive manner, but there was also a negative or deviant component. Positively, it is the shared belief that it was important to help new officers learn the job. On the other hand, the cynical shared value system is

best explained by a veteran officer of fifteen years “I also learned early on that the district people were considered the scum of the earth in the chain of command” (Officer16). This was usually the feedback received from FTO that had never gotten out of the districts to a specialized unit and had no desire to do so. There were officers who spent their entire career in the districts because “It's just the camaraderie that the guys had back then in the Fifth District. It was just a good group of guys. They had our backs” (Officer 18). This sense of camaraderie was expressed by a veteran of thirty years, “they might be on another platoon or another unit, but I felt comfortable enough to ask them. They were willing always to help and help me along” (Officer 15). An officer with twenty-three years explained how the shared value and moral systems evolve throughout his career. He stated, “I think that’s where, for me, that’s where a lot of the social bonds began. However, the bonds were just as strong out of the academy, but the nature of the bonds changed” (Officer 9).

In summary, part of socialization is learning or sharing a value system, and most were comments concerning this value system were positive unless the interviewee learned from a despondent FTO. As each recruit worked the street, they developed a system based on the new world of people they were exposed to, and though this system could alter over time, it was still behind the blue wall.

In another world.

FTO training is behavior-based training in which there is a one-way transfer of information. The training is, “rooted in andragogy, which promotes the mutual involvement of students and instructors in a learning process that stress analytical and conceptual skills in practical, problem-solving situations (Moore & Miller, 2007. P. 510).

As explained throughout sub-theme 1.3, during the FTO phase, the recruits begin to learn the reality of becoming an officer. As such, in almost all recruit classes, recruits drop out in the FTO program. This happens for a variety of reasons. Some have never been in a real fight or struck another person; some are unable to handle the sights and smell of traumatic crime scenes; some just can't handle the stress of a job that begins the minute you walk out of roll call to answer the radio. In a classic study of police subculture and an officer's first months on the job, Westley calls this experience "reality shock" (Walker & Katz, 2011, p.151). One officer with twenty-five years stated:

> Field training was pretty good. The first day of field training, well, I was assigned to the 4th District. I kind of went ballistic when they assigned me because I had never been over to the 4th District. I had never been over on the West Bank period. Now, I live there, so I've grown to love the West Bank, but my first day of field training I was involved with a homicide investigation. The very first day. Found a gentleman behind the old Fisher Housing Development in the weeds, been there a couple of days. That was my first field training report; a homicide." (Officer 12)

While the academy tries to simulate what occurs on the street, it can only give the recruit the academic aspect of being a police officer. There is no substitution for the practical training of riding in a police vehicle and answering calls for service with an FTO. An officer quickly finds out that the world is not as it is portrayed on cable programs. For instance, television does not accurately portray the need for officers to stay on bloody and repugnant crime scenes for hours while awaiting homicide detectives and the coroner's wagon; nor do they show the boring eight hours guarding a prisoner in the hospital; and they definitely do not show the long, tedious hours of report writing. However, report writing is one of the essential parts of an officer's duties. Everything must be written; you learn if it's not written, it didn't happen. A veteran of twenty-five years' states:

> In the academy, they're teaching you how to handcuff other recruits and other people. That person is not trying to get away from you because they committed a major felony or crime. They're not armed, and if they are armed, it's a fake pistol or knife or something. There's no real danger in the academy itself. When you're on the FTO program, you're out there actually dealing with individual suspects or whatever. There's a lot more danger" (Officer 14).

While another veteran of twenty-five years stated, "And you walk into the sixth district, and it was pretty easy to understand that you were in another world now and it didn't take long to understand that you were in a dangerous world" (Officer 11).

In the New Orleans Police Department, recruits learn fast that there are always calls waiting and the ranking officers are always under pressure to get the calls answered. Therefore, although FTO's should spend time teaching recruits how to write a report, the time is limited, the pressures on them render this activity a low priority. As explained by a thirty-year veteran:

> Here I am in the Fifth District. My first week I'm handling double shootings and stuff, and they have yet to even handle even shooting in the district that they were. They were like, Oh, how'd you handle this? How'd you do this? I'd say within my first, probably, 8 months I had probably handled everything under the sun" (Officer 19).

On the street, it's the FTO and the recruit, and whatever happens. The Academy is a building block not meant to teach you how to be a police officer but give you what you need to be able to go into field training. Some of the conflicts recruits must come to terms with occur when what is taught in the academy and what is taught by the FTO are inconsistent. For some of the better FTO's, there is no conflict, and the FTO is able to teach the recruit the different ways the recruit can use the lessons taught in the academy. For other FTOs that may not be as wise bring, they can bring a different,

conflicting experience to the recruit's training. As expressed by this twenty-nine-year veteran, "everything you learned in the Academy, forget about it. We're going to teach you everything you need to learn in the street" (Officer 13). A twenty-seven-year veteran stated:

> Field training was a little bit different because all of the stuff that you learned in the police academy, and I had a field training officer who told me forget all that crap this is how it is on the street. (Officer 11)

Criminal codes, signal codes, or defensive tactics don't change from the academy to the street. A successful FTO uses what is taught in the academy to help the recruit become a police officer. A twenty-five-year veteran stated, "there always has been a philosophy that you learn how to handle yourself as a policeman more in your field training program and with your time on the job than you actually do in the academy" (Officer14). The good field-training officers understand this, but some FTO's had left the impressions on the recruits that, "I think he knew the job but wasn't interested in teaching. And it wasn't that he was a bad teacher, he just wasn't interested in teaching" (Officer 9). While a twenty-five-year veteran explained:

> I remember one of my FTOs when I first came on, I got in the car, and he was disgruntled, because back then, unlike now, back in the day they'd give a sergeant's test every couple years. When you were on, you had to do your best and get going. One of my FTOs was on a sergeant's list and had been passed over because that's when they the consent decree back then and you had to make so many African Americans or so many females, or whatever it was. Anyway, he got passed over, so he was pretty disgruntled about it. (Officer 15)

The reality of the FTO program is that there are good FTO's and not so good ones. The FTO program must be tied to the academy so that the FTO's know what is being taught at the academy and why. Having been the commander of field training program and the assistant commander of the police academy, it became apparent that

when the FTO's attended recruit classes and helped with the practical application of lessons at the academy the feedback from the FTO's was positive. Several explained that the first day out of the academy recruits perform as if they had months of experience due in large part to this integrated approach and mentorship development.

Mentors.

Casting one's mettle.

In learning to cast one's mettle as an NOPD officer, several factors must first occur. The officer must have been socially bonded to the department, only other NOPD officers are able to help form the bond, and they must have been mentored. In Maslow's, "Hierarchy of Needs" he states, "physiological needs are people's most basic needs. Security which includes things such as job security of pensions. The next level is belonging. Everyone has the need to be socially accepted or belong to a group. Social bonding is an important human attribute" (Gaines & Kappeler, 2011, p.153). Each recruit must cast her/his own mettle. Social bonding is a large part of learning to do so. The most efficient way to do so it by being taken under the wing of an experienced mentor.

Mentors impart a sense of belonging to the NOPD. Only other NOPD officers can give this sense of belonging to the police department; it can come from no one else. This sense of belonging includes beliefs such as, when it comes to police work NOPD officers can handle just about any call that comes in; they can be put any place as a police officer and be just as good or better than the officers there; and no matter how bad the media attacks the department, the officers are still the police and still walk with a swagger.

Every NOPD officer has their own mentors chosen for specific and personal reasons. Mentors can be other officers, FTO's, sergeants or the rank for whom they worked for while in patrol or on a special assignment. The term mentoring also meant different things to different officers. In the context used in this research it means, to teach or coach over the long term to "cast one's mettle," in molding them into the officers. Mentors, in this case, were instrumental in the development of the officers working personality and ethos, as indicated many of the officers interviewed.

Only one officer stated he did not have a mentor, while some state that they had several. I had two in my career. One was the commander of the vice squad who helped shape my moral and ethical standards, mainly because I was afraid of what he would do if I stepped out of line. I remember him saying, "buck, don't let me catch you stealing, or messing with the whores, there is no gray area, it is black or white. If you go into the black, I will put you in jail myself." The other person I consider my mentor was the commander of the child abuse section during the four years I was assigned to the unit. He was an incredible person and police officer. The passion he had for the unit and the compassion he had for the victims and the detectives working for him was an inspiration to all of us. The child abuse unit is one of the most difficult units to be in for obvious reasons, but the Commander was always there to help us stay focused on the case. I would not have been able to stay in the unit for as long as I did if he wouldn't have taken me under his wing.

Under their wing.

How mentoring influences, the socialization of recruits in the development of the working personality and the blue wall of silence reflects a complex set of

interaction. Officers are influenced and shaped by their culture. Beliefs and values are transmitted from one generation of officers to the next in a learning process by which a cultural group teaches what behaviors are acceptable and unacceptable" (Gaines, & Kappeler, 2011, p. 525). Mentoring for most of the officers involved an officer who had experience working the street, was a great report writer, confident and effective in his interactions with people and was willing to take younger officers under their wing. As one interviewee stated, "It was really the senior officers in that little unit I was in. I think there was about ten of us, maybe eight or ten of us. Those were the guys that we looked up to" (Officer 15). Or a thirty-year veteran stated that during the first years on the job the experienced officers on the platoon would look out for the rookies, on scenes.

> When he would see, we do something, and it was like, "Hey, always be observant." You won't always have a partner, but you never know. Yeah, just through people correcting us after it's over like you do something ... Even as a rookie police officer, not even being trained anymore, when these senior guys back then would see you did something wrong, they would ... You would think about it, "This is what could've happened. This is what ... " I was lucky. (Officer 15).

This wasn't necessarily the case for all the officers though. As Akers SSSL theory principle four states, "the learning of deviant behavior including specific techniques, attitudes, and avoidance procedures, is a function of the effective and available reinforces and the existing reinforcement contingencies" (Schmalleger, 2006, p.252). When an FTO or rank doesn't care or doesn't check to see if the recruits are doing what the job requires, it is detrimental not only to the department and public but the officers you work with daily. When an FTO provides the recruit with a short-cut method of doing required tasks, inevitability

some officers follow their example. For some, this example lasts throughout their careers. It becomes apparent very fast even to the newest recruits who the non-desirable FTOs are. The problem is that no one is willing to inform the rank officers who are thereby unable to take corrective action. This does not just apply just to deviant behavior; it can also be true for pro-social behavior. Mentors set in place standards, ethics, and practices most of those interviewed believed lasted throughout their careers. Most of the officers interviewed stated they had positive mentors who helped them develop habits that made them better officers in a variety of circumstances. A fifteen-year veteran stated:

> He took me under his wing, and he showed me how to do police work. We were constantly going from call to call, but my FTO's goal was to take your time and don't overwork. Get off on time. This guy, he liked doing police work. He went out there, and he didn't mind handling calls. He'd handle a lot of calls. It wasn't uncommon for us to have 20 calls in a day to compare with four or five for my FTO. He taught me a lot. (Officer 16).

A twenty-six-year veteran stated:

> If I was having any issues with any report writing or anything on scenes that I felt like I needed help with, I could go to them and ask questions or I could feel free to ask if I could I have done this better or if there is there a different way to do this or was everything handled correctly. So it was an open line of communication. (Officer 10)

While a twenty-five-year veteran stated:

> How to handle people on the street, as far as dealing with individuals. When I started law enforcement, I was in the era of the racial problems and stuff like that. I had a lot of people that would talk to you about basically the proper way to talk to people, "you respect them, they respect you" type stuff.” (Officer 14).

This type of mentoring passed from officer to officer throughout the years. This is one of the ways officers developed their idea of a symbolic assailant. A symbolic assailant is a person who, because of his or her characteristics, police believe is

likely to be a criminal. An officer with twenty-seven years explains how a mentor helped him look for symbolic assailants by identifying certain behaviors:

> He believed there was crime going on and we would make a stop. He would tell me how to stop people. He would always show me more than my FTO officer did. He looked for certain behaviors of the local criminals which I would have to be wary of and always keep my eyes moving, above just looking at someone's hands or something like that but judging the body language and whether or not they were going to run, they were going to fight or they were going to submit. I learned a lot from him on that and I learned how to write a police report, meaning that I learned all the formal things on how you write a police report and how they wanted them chronological and all that other stuff that needs to be done but he taught me how to write a report so I could testify to it in court. He showed me a lot. (Officer 20)

While an officer with twenty-six years explained:

> Everybody's dangerous. He says, "You don't put yourself in a position to get hurt. I remember him telling me, keep your body bladed (meaning that the officer should position her/his body in such a way that their 'gun side' is not exposed). I remember him telling me, keep your hands up and your chin down because they hit you on the button, you're gone, and now he's got your gun. I just remembered that. I used to do stuff like shine my flashlight under cars, to see if I would get a shadow if somebody was hiding behind a car. I would do the same thing with trees" (Officer 5).

In summary, mentoring can be instrumental in the development of life-long working personality traits both positive and negative based upon the mentorship that is provided.

The eleven reasons.

Kaminsky develops a number of reasons for an FTO program such as standardized instruction, career path exposure, retention, and training. In his eleven reasons, he explains:

> When one looks around and spots an employee who does not carry his or her load, who is an organizational deviate, or who does just enough to get by, he or she has found what may be the best reason to implement a field training and evaluation program of al. (Kaminsky, 2002, p.7)

It also shows how the process of rotating the officers through various FTOs allowed for them to understand who was “goldbricking.” Officers know who the good FTOs are and how they are respected on their platoons. Mentoring by the FTO’s according to the officers interviewed was “instrumental in me being the type of officer that I was for the thirty some odd years that I was on the job” (Officer 13). There are three quotes about FTOs as mentors that further show how important the FTOs were to the officers interviewed. A veteran officer of twenty-six years explained how he tried to emulate his FTO to become a professional:

> He was a people person. We would go on lunch breaks or whatever and go into restaurants, and it was like people were happy to see him when he walked in there. That made an impression on me. I wanted to be like that. I wanted to be seen that way. It's just to me that he tried to exemplify the principles of professional law enforcement and what was expected of him. (Officer 5)

The FTO’s as mentors helped these officers to develop their working personalities as explained by a veteran of twenty-seven years:

> As much as I knew, he said you could never know enough about civil law. You can never know enough and act accordingly and act professionally. He did a great job. He showed me compassion when it needed to be even though he had his own prejudices on certain subjects but he was a good guy. (Officer 20)

And a veteran with twenty-nine years:

> He was a big impact on my ability to be a better police officer, to learn how to actually handle investigations. I would always say, as I moved up into the ranks, that he was instrumental in me being the type of officer that I was for the 30-some odd years that I was on the job” (Officer 13).

In summary, Kaminsky gave eleven reasons for police departments to develop a professional FTO program. The eleventh reason was to avoid organizational deviants.

The interviewees expressed several examples how the FTO program worked to avoid overexposure to organizational deviants and, how that allowed them to develop into a more effective officer. For example, they helped them develop into long-term officers; it taught them how to work with the public, and it showed them how to be a professional. Thus, these interviews support Akers fifth principal of the SSSL theory in that their mentors (FTO's) could teach them lessons that lasted their entire careers.

Big brother.

Sergeants are the backbone of the police department, similar to the Navy chiefs who run the U.S. Navy. When officers need help, it is the sergeants who assist and guide them. The sergeants are on the road with the officers while the shift lieutenant is in the office as the go-between with the district administration. Not to say they don't work the street but usually, it is the officers that are calling the sergeants for help. Sergeants read and correct reports, check the trip sheet, and make the schedule. According to the interviewees, sergeants, who serve as the first line of supervisors, are expected to be mentors and counselors to the more junior officers.

This mentoring, training and counseling help bond the sergeants to the officers. It reinforces how officers are expected to perform their duties. As a twenty-two-year veteran of the department explained, the sergeant was always there for his men. He followed the guidance given to him by his sergeant and, thus, made rank in the department. Officer 1 stated, "He took care of his men like a big brother would care for his younger brothers. He didn't take crap from anyone and always stood up for his men to anyone! Just like a Marine" (Officer 1). He also counseled his officers with a positive, helpful attitude instead of always being an enforcer:

> So, when something like that happened, as I stated earlier, he would bring us to the side, in private and counsel us. He would explain what was done worn and how you could accomplish the same thing by doing it another way. (Officer 1)

The other mentoring aspect by sergeants was their ability to train the interviewees. A veteran officer of twenty-six years explained that one of his mentors taught him how to write reports as his statement below explains:

> There was this one Sergeant in particular, and he was really the only one that really gave me a hard time about my reports. After a while, he asked me to come to the burglary unit with him, he left the district and became one of the Sergeants in Burglary. There was another officer that was working with me in the task force who questioned him about why he asked me to come and not him. That Sergeant who gave me such a hard time about my reports, told him, "It's because he documents investigations, he writes good reports. (Officer 5)

He also explained how important it was for a sergeant to supervise officers in a capacity that would encourage professionalism and reward competency:

> It was gruff, the way he came across, but after becoming a Sergeant, and understanding how important it is to get your people informed, with messages and assignments at roll call, how quickly you need to get them in the field, because things are happening when the previous shift comes in, and during the time that you're in roll call and getting your gear, and stuff like that. You take too much time to get out there, first of all, you overwork your coworkers, and then second of all, whatever is happened, the situation is deteriorating, as far as preserving the scene, and taking care of victims, and things of that nature. I had some good mentors" (Officer 5).

In summary, sergeants are the backbone or Big Brothers of the NOPD. They are the first line supervisors that have the greatest interaction with the police officers. In addition to supervising patrol officers, the veterans interviewed stated sergeants were mentors in counseling when officers made mistakes and helped them prepare for advancement. Due to the close daily interaction with the sergeants and patrol officers, sergeants have a considerable amount of leverage or control over officers. It is also

easy to see how through socialization they were in a position to either defend the officers or not when the misconduct occurred. It is also clear to see how if the sergeants did not have the time or chose not to interact and, thus socialize, those officers under his command would be more likely to make poor judgments and then were also more likely to get away with it. It might take years.

However, misconduct will be caught if it is repeatedly done. This was the factor in the scandals in, New York, Chicago, Los Angeles, Philadelphia, and Houston. In fact, in the Los Angeles scandal, one of the key factors was that the sergeant's span of control was inappropriate. Because the sergeants were responsible for the supervision of too many officers, instances of misconduct were more likely to occur and, then when they did occur, were more likely to be overlooked. This continued until the misconduct reached such a critical mass as to finally be noticed and by then it was frequent enough to be considered a major scandal in the history of policing.

Ranking officers.

In the New Orleans Police Department, the relationship between officers and rank change over time. When I came to the police department, officers usually worked closely with the sergeants and rarely saw the lieutenants or the captain. This is primarily due to Comstat (Computer-Statistics) which is a police crime management system used to address crime trends, Under Comstat, district commanders would meet with the superintendent every week. These district commanders would then hold the captain accountable for the crime in their district, which then meant that the captain holds the lieutenants accountable and, then, the lieutenants hold the sergeants accountable. This didn’t mean the lieutenants and the captains did not know who each officer was in their

commands. It is just that with Comstat, only the sergeants, lieutenants, and captains would meet twice weekly to discuss the crime occurring in their district. The ranks of lieutenant and captain in the police districts were seen as non-approachable for some time (late 1980's and 1990's) depending on your assignment. However, through these interviews, it became apparent that the ranks of lieutenant and captain still played an important part in the molding of police officers. A veteran officer with thirty years when asked about mentoring stated that a lieutenant was his mentor and became the person he tried to emulate throughout his career, “He was a police lieutenant throughout his career. I always looked to him, and I always talked to him. He was always the guy that I would ... He just always seemed like an all right guy and always willing to help you” (Officer 15). While a veteran of twenty-six years stated:

> Later on, I worked in a very high-crime area of the city, and I believe in aggressive police work, professional, courteous but aggressive police. As a matter of fact, when I left the department I was on the task force. We were doing proactive stop and frisk, high crime areas, a lot of felony arrests, gun, and drugs. This captain and I got to be very, very close. (Officer 5)

One of the main issues in officer mentorship in the 1980’s was the lack of women ranking officers. There were a few sergeants, lieutenants, and a couple of captains. The few women ranking officers were able to help or mentor female officers. A veteran female officer with over twenty-five years states, “I had several females that were sergeants, lieutenants, and a captain that really helped guide me along, that I looked up to over my career” (Officer 14). By the late 1990’s the number of women officers increased in almost all ranks with the exceptions being Deputy Chief and Superintendent.

In summary, during the 1980's the lieutenants and captains in the police department usually did not interact daily with the officers. However, when they did interact, some became mentors to the officers throughout their careers indicating there is an inherent benefit to junior officers when mentorship can occur across all ranks.

That's where all policeman get in trouble.

Thought out the career of a law enforcement officer, the pushes and pulls for deviant behavior are present. This is particularly relevant because the strength of deviant behaviors is a direct function of the amount, frequency, and probability of its reinforcement. "The modalities of association with the deviant patterns are important insofar as they affect the source, amount, and scheduling of reinforcement" (Schmalleger, 2006, p.252). Not only did the interviewees explain how their mentors helped to keep them from getting in trouble, but they also spent an equal amount of time teaching them how others got into trouble in the first place, administratively and/or criminally. A veteran officer of twenty-six years states:

> But being a female in a very high-crime or active district, there were people who taught me very well and told me how to handle myself—to always be on the lookout for certain things and, you know, there would come a day when I was by myself and, sure enough, those things happened" (Officer 10).

Due to high crime and frequent calls, there were some areas of the city where rank mentorship was more difficult while at the same time more necessary. In these areas, there were additional opportunities for misconduct and, as previously discussed those acts of misconduct are more likely to be overlooked by an overworked rank. For example, the fifth district included the ninth ward of New Orleans. The fifth district was considered a high crime area. It

was so busy at times that an emergency call phoned in on Monday might not get answered by an officer until Tuesday.Mentors were important because the rank was handling so many calls themselves, an officer might not see a commanding officer for the entire shift. This is where long-term mentorship provided the support necessary to resist any temptation toward deviant behavior. One officer noted:

> “He was the guy that never, he didn't want to write a report, but if he wrote a report, he wrote it so that if it had to go to the Supreme Court, he wouldn't be embarrassed. He would go out and, like he used to call it, kill a lot of reports. He would go out and handle them as NAT (necessary action taken) instead of putting writing down because there's a lot of things that can be handled without reports, but they want reports on everything… He was a survivalist in a lot of ways. His goal was to go home. He's one of those guys that he loads his own ammo, he trained all the time, he's a gun enthusiast. I personally, I'm not a person who owned a lot of guns. I didn't go hunting. He taught me a little bit about guns, more than the academy taught me. He always believed in having a backup. He carried a second gun on him all the time” (Officer 16).

While another officer related how the old-timer’s advice was not to go to the French Quarter, the common terms where it was “a policeman’s graveyard.” The common reason was whores, booze, and money. Officer 15 explained:

> Another guy was (John Doe), but he was the guy that showed us what to do, how to do it. We worked in the French Quarter, so in the French Quarter, we were always told, "God, if you go to the French Quarter, that's where all the policemen get in trouble, and they get fired. You'll wind up in prison, and it's going to be bad." This guy said, "Hey, there's a bad reputation down here. There's a bunch of hustlers and problem children," talking about non-police. He showed us, "This is the way you do stuff. This is how you stay out of trouble. Don't get yourself caught up in something that you don't want to get caught up in.

“Most deviance when it first occurs is likely to be transitory. However transitory behavior can be stabilized through the labeling process” (Schmallager, 2011, p.255). What I have seen is where an officer goes into a bar with his partner, FTO or another

officer and has a beer and says one beer during a break is no big deal. He then brings him on the bar route and has one beer at each place. Akers suggests this is because "Throughout the person's career, the budding deviant increasing exhibits deviant behavior, not so much out of choice but, rather because his or her choices are restricted by society. Successful deviants must acquire the techniques and resources necessary to undertake the deviant act and must develop the mindset characteristic of others like them" (Schmalleger, 2006, p.256). Even though officers might not witness the deviance there are suspicions; alcohol breath, staying in a place be it a bar, strip joint, business most of the shift and being at these places again when off duty. If it occurs once, it likely won't be noticed. Principle seven of SSSL suggests that socialization plays a part in whether deviant behavior (or misconduct) becomes part of the everyday life of a police officer.

Early Years.

Transformation.

Transformation in this instance is not concerned with the shift from a civilian to a police officer as was discussed in 1.2e but, instead, with the transformation from being a recruit in an FTO program to being a beat officer. This sub-theme discusses the importance of decisions made by low-level public service workers (police officers in this case) in representing agency policy and, also, revisits how this phase of transformation is impacted again by socialization through a family connection.

Low-level bureaucrats are traditionally the first and most likely place that citizens interact with government. Thereby, Lipsky (2010) posits, "Public service workers currently occupy a critical position in American society" (p.3) which includes police

officers. He states that they are regarded as low-level workers, but the decisions they make can appear as official agency policy. Much of the interactions that take place between officers and the citizens they are sworn to protect happen in situations where the officer has a broad range of discretion. Lipsky explains why this is: “First, street-level bureaucrats often work in situations too complicated to reduce to programmatic formats. A policeman cannot carry around instructions on how to intervene with citizens. They would probably not go out on the street if such instructions were promulgated” (Lipsky, 2010, p.15).

While at the police academy, we had an old adage that states, “it's much easier train a new officer than breaking a trained officer of bad habits.” This being the case, then the “early years” of an officer’s career are crucial as it is the foundation for that of the seasoned officer's career. The “early years” in this context refers to the last phase of the FTO program and the first years as a solo beat officer. The solo beat officer is the uniformed cop in a police district whose discretion can be perceived by the public as the entire agency’s policy. Unfortunately, one of the difficulties that new police officers face is that their transition from recruit to officer takes place in such a short amount of time and in that brief period they are expected to get it right, from that first day on the street till their last. On their first day in the first few minutes on the street, they might be involved in a life or death situation for them or the citizens they serve. Smith explains why the officer’s transformation must occur instantly:

> Each policeman must, in a sense, determine the standard to be set in the area for which he is responsible. Immediate superiors may be able to impress upon him some of the lessons of experience, but for the most part, such experience must be his own…Thus he is a policy-forming police administrator in miniature, who operates beyond the scope of the usual devices for control” (Smith,1960, p.19).

Police discretion, one of the most highly contested part of police work, is also a product of socialization. Again, Aker's fifth principle illustrates how recruits and new officers are affected by their training, mentorship, and their reference group.

For some officers being raised in a police, family was the beginning of the socialization process. A retired officer who was a friend of many years once explained, "my uncle was a motorcycle officer, and when he would come to the house, the kids would have to stay by his motorcycle and listen for his number while he drank coffee with my mother in the house." After conducting all the interviews, there was a number of officers interviewed who were the next generation of police officers in their families. In reviewing the NOPD yearbook that covered the years 1984 to 1994, it was estimated about ten percent of the department came from police families or had a relative on the department.

Officers who have family members on the police department think that they have an advantage.

> I knew it was a good job, a rewarding job. I had friends that were police officers, friends' dads that were police officers, my uncle was a reserve police officer. So, I was kind of surrounded by people that work for the police department. (Officer 4)

Communication with family members who are in the police department helps them through the transition from the FTO program to a beat officer. Akers first principal of SSSL explains how pro-social learning happens according to the principles of operant conditioning. This is best illustrated by the following three quotes. "I think it was a lot easier for me to handle it than some of the newbies, fellow recruits that had never been exposed to police experience or a police family" (Officer 20), and "when discussing

events that officers encounter with cops who are family members there is bound to be a story of how they handled a similar situation, or they have heard a story from his uncle how he once handled the situation" (Officer 14), and, finally, "I always wanted to be a police officer since I was around 12 or 13 years old. My grandfather was a policeman, my brother-in-law was a policeman, and I had a couple of cousins. So, based on that and being around police friends of the family, that kind of pushed me towards the NOPD" (Officer 13).

The 1984-1994 NOPD commemorative album showed sixty-nine police families or one hundred and seventy members of the department. The data from those who were raised in a police family indicated they think it was an advantage. First, the police family does have an impact on socialization, the officers working, and it is a factor in misconduct (good or bad). It is an essential part of the blue wall of silence and the thin blue line.

Two important points are made by Skolnick in understanding what the "style of life" for a police officer during this transformation to a beat officer. First, Janowitz points out that the military profession is more than an occupation; it is a 'style of life' because the operational claims over one's daily existence extend well beyond official duties (Skolnick, 2011, p.40). Second, Janowitz points out that "the police unlike the military, draw no caste distinction in socialization, even though their order of ranked titles approximates the militaries" (Skolnick, 2011, p.40). Every police officer starts out as a beat officer or patrol officer. This is true with the NOPD; all officers start out in patrol, which means this research applies to everyone involved with NOPD. All NOPD officers live a "style of life" that incorporates police culture. Once it is developed, it is for their

lifetime. This was the case for all interviewees. The policing style of life incorporates all seven principals in the SSSL theory, along with the blue wall of silence and the thin blue line. Skolnick suggests that the "element of danger and authority seems to contribute to the solidarity of police officers" (Skolnick, 2011, p. 53). A veteran officer with twenty-seven years stated:

> In many ways, you were the control for what was going on in the streets, and if you're doing your job, certain things wouldn't happen. You learn really early on that you're not going to be able to stop everything that's going to happen, you can't protect every person that's out here, but you learn that you should be trying to do that and you should be trying to do a good job and you should be trying to be as thorough as you possibly can. (Officer 11).

The transformation includes the understanding of how an officer is expected to act, ethically and morally. For most officers, during this phase in their lives, the academy is still fresh in their minds, and they remember what they were taught, especially what would get them in trouble and what was expected of them. "When I started the word of a police officer was outstanding, and court cases were won just on an officer's testimony" (Officer 3). As the twenty-seven-year veteran stated:

> I think the biggest thing that they pushed on us, believe it or not, was courage and integrity. They were very, and that carried on into the districts, but they were very about integrity. That's why, I told you, it was such a problem for this one guy that was in the class. You could smell him, and it's like, you don't do that" (Officer 11)

One of the lessons taught in the academy was about truthfulness as explained by an officer with twenty-six years:

> I remember them saying that if at any time, it was determined that you were untruthful that your reputation as a police officer had been tarnished forever and that you were practically useless in that you might as well find another job. (Officer 5)

Reality check.

Socialization also plays a part in misconduct. If misconduct occurs, it becomes difficult for other officers to advise an authority because of the consequences officers faced from fellow officers. There is a blue wall of silence that permeates through the officer's workplace. The blue wall silence represents a reality for all officers in a department.

None of the officers interviewed knew of any criminal wrongdoing by an officer while they were in the patrol division as patrol officers other than what was general knowledge or that which made the news. No one stated they saw misconduct personally. This is consistent with my personal experience. I was told by all three of my FTO's there are three things you never do to another cop; you never mess with their family, their money, or rat (turn them in for any wrong doing).

What we all knew was that no one wanted to rat another officer out for minor violations of department policy or being a little too aggressive in a chase or fight. Firstly, no officer wants to open her/his locker and find a block of cheese, but more importantly, if an officer did rat it was very likely no other officers would accompany her/him on a call or to a crime scene. This translates to why it would take a while for patrol officers to trust someone new to the district or to trust a rookie. As stated by Officer 2 "nobody wants to even deal with you because he or she don't want to be responsible for you… You kind of have to learn on your own until you get in with the group, and they get to liking you" (Officer 2). This then becomes a component of the blue wall of silence.

> One of the big things about the integrity part was that there were things that you were not supposed to do. Like stealing. Things like that were not supposed to be done. I learned really quickly that they were done. But the

> other thing was that whatever you do as a police officer, you don't bring discredit down on the police department. (Officer 11)

Another issue that defines the work climate is the fear of being labeled a coward. A female veteran of twenty years expressed her view of danger on the job:

> Because I'm a policeman, this is my job to do this; I didn't really have a lot of fear because a lot of things I did, I think about it now and as far as safety is... But as policemen, it's our job; it comes with the job. (Officer 4).

Due to the danger involved in the job all officers have to know that when someone calls for help or is involved in a life or death situation, any officer who is aware of the situation may respond. One or two officers might be in danger due to their insufficient numbers for the moment but, hearing those sirens of other officers responding emboldens those officers to face the potential danger better. As a female veteran of thirty years sums up:

> It was most important to me to know that another officer would back me up in life threatening situations, and we would have each other's back. I think it was the defining moment when an officer would be accepted by other officers. (Officer 3)

For rookie officers, they are confronted with the challenge of learning the techniques and strategies of the job as well as learning the police culture. Just as with the public, they are held accountable to their fellow officers the minutes/he walks into the station from the first day. When the rookie hit the streets, they are confronted with a view of the world few ever see. As a veteran with twenty-nine years remembers:

> All of a sudden, now, I see a whole segment of the community that I had never interacted with before. People who had drug problems. People who had drinking problems. People who were committing crimes; both petty and not petty. Prostitutes and all the rest of that coming through the door. It was like, "Holy moly." (Officer 6)

Additionally, Skolnik does not address how continually seeing people become victims over and over again is just as much a factor in developing a police style of life and has nothing to do with other officers. For example:

> There was no outward change when dealing with people after I stopped being a civilian and looking at life differently. I know I thought (differently) to myself things like, “How could they have allowed themselves to be put in that position!”, or “What is wrong with this person?” (Officer 1)

This is part of the reality for all officers who join a law enforcement agency. Others including family and friends try to make the recruit aware of the problems, but it is the lived experience of everyday policing that develops the cop's eye.

Cops' Eyes

This research identified a second theme entitled “Cop’s Eyes.” This theme is defined as the way the officer sees the world and, then, how they react to it. As a way of explanation, the following scenario is provided. In deciding how to drive on an emergency call, an officer must decide if it is appropriate to use their lights and/or siren. A well-developed set of “cop’s eyes” would understand that as an officer is getting close to a residence with an alarm, it is advisable to turn off the lights and siren, so they do not warn the burglars they are right around the corner.

From a theoretical standpoint, to understand the “Cops Eyes” Skolnick likens police officers to three other professions, soldier’s due to the danger involved in the job, industrial workers in proving themselves efficient, and schoolteachers as authority figures. It is easy to see how Skolnick likens police officer to each of these professions; danger, efficiency, and authority are part of the police. What he does not say is that unlike all of these other professions, for police officers these responsibilities 24 hours a day, 7 days a week. There is no leaving the combat zone because the police officers

and their families live in the community. If you are inefficient or make a mistake, the officers and their families suffer by suspension or firing. Authority becomes part of an officer's makeup that is not easily turned off because it is tied to the dangerous aspect of the job from those first war stories in the academy through the FTO program and, then reinforced by daily exposure throughout an officer's career. Seeing the world through cops' eyes for some officers means seeing the world through their police lens anytime they are awake. Skolnick suggests that this then creates a situation in which officers, "tend to develop ways of looking at the world that is distinctive to themselves, cognitive lenses through which to see situations and events. The strength of the lenses may be weaker or stronger depending on certain conditions, but they are ground on a similar axis" (Skolnick, 2011, p.39).

The development and retention of "Cops' Eyes" are central to the findings and analysis of the interviews. SSSL sixth principle states, "The probability that a person will commit deviant behavior is an increase in the presence of normative statements, definitions, and verbalizations that, in the process of differential reinforcement of such behavior over conforming behavior, have acquired discriminative value" (Schmalleger, 2006, p. 252). This explains why going from a civilian to a cop changes the way a police officer views the world. Skolnick's research showed two major ways cops looked at the world First, the symbolic assailant, which is an example the way officers look at people and determine the level of danger. Working personality is the way officers think of themselves at work. This research suggests that a cop's view of the world changes, through training, mentoring, and experience. Their world view doesn't change whether on duty or not. The importance of seeing the world through a "cop's eyes" further

suggest training, experience, and skill sets that help to determine their characteristics on the job. How the FTOs help young officers understand what it was to have a “Cop’s Eye” when working the street is explained by a fifteen-year veteran:

> He was pretty good at seeing people's reaction, and I learned a lot just from, he'd tell me, "Look at that guy. See what he did." You start to pick up that sixth sense of, was that a normal reaction or is that a guy trying to hide something. We made a lot of good, with him, he showed me, made a lot of good arrests and got some guns. He was attuned to his surroundings and made me more aware of what to look for. He went a long way to helping me out.” (Officer 16)

From the point, they begin to believe they are no longer a civilian but a cop, they begin to see everything in their lives through a cop’s eye. They reach a point where they can’t separate their off-duty eyes, with the “Cop’s Eyes” the distinctive way in which cops perceive and respond to their environment. Just as in the movie “Blade Runner” when Rutger Hauer says’ “if only you could see what (the eyes that were made for him) your eyes have seen, the scenes he will see will become those “Cop’s eyes.”

Training.

Good with that.

For young officers coming on the job with no life experiences, mentoring and or modeling a veteran officer’s way of handling situations remains the key to the officer’s effectiveness on the street. As stated by Officer 19: “ When I was a young guy on the police department even though I'm training, and working with FTO, and everything how can I settle somebody's domestic disputes I don't know anything about being married, and having families, and doing stuff, but it all worked out. I had really good FTOs, and good training, enough to put me out on the streets at the time, so I was good with that”

(Officer 19). The problem occurs when the FTO or mentor does not handle the situation correctly. As Officer 18 states:

> I learned early on that there were good police officers and there were terrible police officers. I saw police officers who didn't know how to speak to people and learning from watching them; I decided I wasn't going to be one of those that his aggravation or his bad day wasn't going to manifest itself on the citizens that didn't know any better. (Officer 18)

This is how socialization manifests itself and can be seen either through the development of a good police officer or a bad police officer. As an example, when I came to the police department in the early 1980's my FTO taught me that the way to handle domestic violence situations was to go to the scene and advise both parties that if the police had to return to the residence, everyone was going to go to jail. The reasoning was that if you arrested the male, the female would, either fight you to keep him from going to jail or by the time you got to jail she would be there bonding him out of jail. It wasn't that my FTO was bad but he (and most of the experienced officers at that time) thought this was the best way to handle domestic situations.

Aker's theory, that "the strength of deviant behavior is a direct function of the amount, frequency, and probability of its reinforcement", is one explanation for the mishandling of calls for service by officers in the case of domestic violence during the periods prior to 1990, almost all domestic violence situations were handled in this manner. This reinforced the acceptability of this unofficial agency practice. Though many officers saw the flaw in handling domestic violence situations this way, it took years to change the practice. Much of the delay came from the belief that complaining about officers who encouraged this practice would be "ratting on other officers" and anyone who rats can't be trusted and would suffer the consequences. Therefore, junior

officers reinforced the faulty belief that that was the way domestic violence situations should be handled, and the officers “were good with that.”

Old school paying your dues.

Every generation of police officers during the time frame (1979 to 2005) of this research has worked for or with “Old School” officers. The ones who remind you that you have not paid your dues and you do not have enough time on the job to drive the new cars or work the day shift. These are the same old school officers who advised recruits what a rat was and what happens to rats and gave examples. They were the ones who advised junior offers that there are three things you don’t mess with another police officer over, his/her family, money, and his/her girlfriend/boyfriend. All the advice was not negative, however. After a period of time, officers began to see the wisdom of what some of the old timers had to say. As Officer 2 stated, “I still think that it takes a couple of years to learn totally how to handle traffic stops to where you are safe, how to back officers up.” What procedures to do on particular calls” (Officer 2).

These old school officers are also the mentors, the officers you call if you have a question instead of the rank. “It was a combination of watching all of the police officers that I worked with and observing the various traits each officer possessed” (Officer 3). The SSSL theory explains this as the principal part of the learning of deviant or pro-social behavior as it occurs in those groups that comprise or control the individual's major source of reinforcements” (Schmalleger, 2006, p. 252).

> You're not going to go to school and get taught by somebody that can't read. I think the problem now is that it's been going on for so long that some of the old-school officers that knew instinctively how to go into a bar and stop a fight almost immediately without getting hurt, without hurting other people, are like dinosaurs or retired. You have new people coming

> out that are learning police work from books written by people that don't know what they're talking about. (Officer 7)

While a veteran officer with twenty-two years remembered:

> I knew that there were some guys that escalated situations when they didn't need to be escalated, and I learned from that. I learned from negative guys, and I learned from positive guys. I think I have to say I learned equally as much from both. “Negative police, I learned a lot of things how not to. (Officer 18)

Some of the lessons were taught in the police academy by the old timers who spent years on the street.

> One of the things they taught us in the academy was the 3 B's don't do them. Booze, bread, and broads. At this time, we were mostly male even though we had a few females in our academy class. They would tell us to stay away from alcohol, stay away from the funny money which people would always try to put in your pocket, I found out after I was on the job awhile. They would try to give you kickbacks in order to receive other favors later on. As far as ... and of course the females. Stay away from the prostitutes, stay away from the tow trucks, the private tow trucks. (Officer 20)

These were the officers who are the culture of the department, the words of wisdom. As one officer recounts, the best pieces of advice he received was to learn the rules, “I gained a sense of the rules over a period of time. Not having read everything in a book that was about a foot thick, the operations manual. Then I learned to go to it to protect myself” (Officer 18).

The old timers explained which officers would get you in trouble, either because of their temper, laziness, or just craziness. They also taught lessons on how to interact with the public. As an officer with twenty-seven years of experience stated:

> To treat people courteous. If you treat people discourteous, even if though they were discourteous to you, it was an ambiguous thing. I always treated everybody with respect, but then if somebody treated me with disrespect, I would take that in kind” (Officer 18).

And, ultimately, the old timers were the ones that taught you how to deal with criminals, “There's kind of an old saying that if the charges fit you go through with it, and if not you move on and come back and catch him the next time” (Officer 14). Society expects the police to decrease crime and they expect the police to catch the bad guy, but they expect the police to do it constitutionally. Unfortunately, there aren’t always enough old timers to go around, and this dearth of mentorship, social construction, and cultural preservation can lead to misconduct.

Shock and dismay.

Having old timers to help an officer along the way most of the time is ideal. The problem comes in when there are few old timers. Hiring cycles within NOPD could at times cause for a mass exodus of veteran officers. As an example, in the late 1980s and early 1990s, the department hired 300 officers in one year. To reach the goal of 300 officers, the city held remedial English and Math classes to help officer pass the civil service test and lowered hiring standards. Generally, between every twenty-five to thirty years the department can expect to lose 300 officers. As a veteran officer with twenty-seven years stated:

> I was kind of shocked and dismayed to see I had field training officers that had like a year on the job in the third district. I could see this downward spiral where you get somebody fresh out of the academy being led by somebody that doesn't know any more than they do and then that passing on. There was no change in knowledge” (Officer 7).

If a recruit is being trained by an officer with less than two years, then the department is ineffective. Presently, the city is again facing the challenge of recruiting qualified police officers. “The department announced that the year (2016) would end with a total of 114 recruits hired, only 5 ahead of the 109 officers who departed”

(Perlstein, 2016, p.2). A retired officer and Fraternal Order of Police spokesman Donovan Livaccari stated, “We have seen time and time again the results of lowered standards when it comes to hiring. In the 90’s we saw horrific problems that resulted from lower standards in hiring, so we certainly don’t want to go back down that road” (Perlstein, 2016, p.2). A veteran officer of thirty years states:

> The misconduct I saw or heard about in the early years of my careers was nothing compared to the mid-1990’s when the department lowered its standards to join the police department. There were 2 major incidents of misconduct in the 90’s when one police officer shot her partner during a robbery, and the other was a police officer who was guarding drug shipments (this officer is on death row for murder). It was a time when I was embarrassed to put on the police uniform” (Officer 3).

The results of not having seasoned veterans who have a work ethic and a sense of public service to train the next round of recruits and junior officers lead to horrific results. This has left not only NOPD police officers in “shock and dismay” but the city’s residents and the nation. As discussed in the Introduction, most large-scale police scandals can be traced back to a problem in training, mentorship, and management (command and control).

Put simply, an FTO with one year on the job cannot teach a recruit about working on the street. As explained by an interviewee:

> A senior patrolman was really the person you went to, or after you got out of the FTO program, you went back to your FTO to ask for guidance or advice. Like I said in rare occasions, you talked to your sergeant, but that was about it” (Officer 14).

Akers 5th principal of SSSL states, the specific class of behavior learned depends on the frequency it occurs, available and effective reinforces, be it deviant or non-deviant directions of the norms, rules, and definitions that have accompanied the reinforcement. This cannot be accomplished without an experienced officer leading the way.

How to do things.

The challenges of policing in the modern era are articulated in SSSL theory. Since the learning of pro-social behavior occurs in groups that comprise or control the officer's major source of reinforcement, a new officer would incorporate a veteran's demeanor and approach to things. One interviewee explains it as follows:

> This one guy, in particular, took me to ride, I rode with him so he could, he basically taught me how to do things, how to cut corners and do it right. In other words, police work, there's a lot of discretion and a lot of things that you, like I said, if you did everything by the book, nothing would get done. This guy was extremely intelligent, and he had his own way of doing things. When the lieutenant wanted the backlog to get done, he'd ask him, and he'd kick into gear. (Officer 16)

While another describes it this way, "I always gravitated to police officers who I could learn from them good things. Their demeanor, their approach to things and I tried to incorporate them into my own" (Officer 18).

Both quotes illustrate how the socialization process is affected by both good and bad influences. War stories have been discussed in theme 1, but they do play a part in officers' actions, especially, new officers. For example, "You'd hear the stories about, this is what happened to me, and this is what happened to Joe over there who was telling me a story about what happened to him. Definitely helped us out" (Officer 7).

Furthermore, there are technical aspects of policing such as how to de-escalate situations and how to apply the law. A veteran of twenty-five years recounts how he was taught:

> How to handle people on the street, as far as dealing with individuals. When I started law enforcement, I was in the era of the racial problems and stuff like that. I had a lot of people that would talk to you about

> basically the proper way to talk to people, "you respect them, they respect you" type stuff" (Officer 14).

Or as a fifteen-year veteran explained:

> He was the guy that never, he didn't want to write a report, but if he wrote a report, he wrote it so that if it had to go to the Supreme Court, he wouldn't be embarrassed. He would go out and, like he used to call it, kill a lot of reports. He would go out, handle them, and NAT (necessary action taken) instead of putting, writing down, because there's a lot of things that can be handled without reports, but they want reports on everything. (Officer 16)

In other instances, officers expressed the technical aspect of socialization this way, “I had other people that would kind of focus more on making sure I knew about the law, how to follow the law, and how to make a determination, that kind of stuff” (Officer 14). While a veteran of twenty-eight years states how he was taught by a veteran officer who was interested in teaching him, “how to handle the streets doing narcotics work” but he was also there to ensure the case ended well by, he “was right there making sure the reports were done right” (Officer 17). As I was advised, “the case isn’t over till the paperwork is done.” But there were also the officers who teach other lessons as stated by Officer 12:

> These guys dealt with the housing developments on a daily basis, and they showed me how to deal with, how to look at the people in these housing developments not as underprivileged, poor, needy, but to look at them as people. The skills that they showed me were ... I carried them all the way up unto this point.

One of the goals of modern policing is to embrace community policing. As twenty-five years veteran states:

> When I started when we had downtime in between calls for service I mentioned my FTO's would take me to different little corner stores and little restaurants and introduce me to the owners of the establishments and employees, bartenders, waiters, waitresses and there was a sense of community. I knew the people I was working with or working for. You get a

> lot of cooperation from people when they know you on a first-name basis, and they feel friendly towards you. As time went on, there were some bad management decisions about administration like the FLSA, if you remember, when they changed the pay system we quit getting paid overtime directly" (Officer 2)

Veterans described a wide range of FTO and mentor behaviors, some. Some of these were positive, and the veterans were interested in emulating them and/or teaching them to other junior officers, other behaviors were deemed less useful or potentially even damaging. The interviewees indicated there were lessons some that did not meet the standards and ethics they strived to attain. Observing and understanding behaviors were all a part of them developing a cop's eyes.

Observing and understanding human behavior.

A characteristic of good policing is the ability to observe, understand sometimes predict human behavior. A police officer's complex job is to decide when to arrest by answering the question - will the behavior stop or continue when I leave? Good policing involves the development of the Cops' Eyes -- a way of looking a human behavior and making quick judgments about legality and safety. There are common calls that take up most of patrol officer's day. These calls include alarms, traffic accidents, domestic violence incidents, and public disturbances. There are only so many ways a police officer can interact with people: arrest or not arrest; write a ticket or not; fight or not; settle a dispute or let it escalate. As a veteran officer of twenty-seven years states:

> When I was on the night watch I used to pass by the grocery store; you know and ... I can't think of the name. I'd hear a lot of war stories from senior detectives. Oh, absolutely because being a cop, you're dealing with human nature and you have, people just have the same motivations. They're jealous, they're greedy, they're hungry or thirsty, and they cheat on their significant others. Their behavior doesn't really change. The faces do, the ages, races, you might have a black guy doing the same thing that a white guy did last week, a white woman, but the instances stay the

> same. Somebody feels, like we were talking about earlier, if a girlfriend put the boyfriend out and he feels like he's entitled to the TV he bought her for her birthday, he might feel justified in breaking into the house to take the TV back that she's no longer entitled. (Officer 7)

According to the veterans interviewed they believed a police officer's job is complex and involves the ability to observe and at times predict behaviors. They agreed this is best developed by handing hundreds if not thousands of the same type of calls; they believe the infraction doesn't change only the faces, ages, and races. This is all a part of developing a cop's eyes.

Experience.

Develop a sense.

Once officers develop a cop's eyes, it helps them determine what might be a potential problematic call for service. Skolnick states that police officers develop a perceptual shorthand to identify certain kinds of peoples labeled as symbolic assailants primarily because an officer's day is occupied continually with potential violence (Skolnick, 2011, p.42). The symbolic assailant according to Skolnick is how an officer determines from experience that a person might be a threat. The symbolic assailant is just one aspect of policing in an urban environment, but it is a good example of an officer's working personality, "Here we shall concentrate on analyzing certain outstanding elements in the police milieu, danger, authority, and efficiency as they combine to generate distinctive, cognitive and behavioral responses in the police: a 'Working Personality'" (Skolnick, 2011, p.39). As explained by a white female veteran of twenty-six years:

> You develop it over time, you can—we stop so many people in the middle of the night—even in the middle of the day, there's just mannerisms, there's body language, there's things that people do that you're alerted,

> your senses are up, and usually, every time it's right. They're gonna run, they're gonna take off, they're gonna drop the dope, you know, whatever, and you just become better and better and better at it the more you do it (Officer 10).

Skolnick's discussion of a working personality is somewhat correct, but it is only a partial description. A better way to explain it is the way cops see everything because their lives depend on it. Cops see everybody as a threat, if not to them, then to their loved ones. The old timers had a certain way of looking at the world; there are only two types of people in the world cops and assholes. If you are not a cop, then you are the other. Three veteran officers with combined eighty-seven years of experience stated:

> Over time I believe every police officer develops a sense of perceived danger. It's something that is acquired the longer someone does police work. I was at the point and still am that I am always watching people around me and noticing their movements for anything suspicious. (Officer 3).

> Hand position was always the important thing as well as eye movement. 'Rabbit' was telegraphed with eye motion and hand movement… Narcotics was challenging and dangerous at the same time. At times, I worked UC and was always plain clothes. Being constantly on the street you learned awareness. The Unit was very close, and we all helped each other. (Officer 17)

> I would just watch a situation for 10-15-20 seconds, and I would get legal justification to do what I wanted to do. You just have to be patient enough to let the individual give you a legal reason for you to intervene… the first few days seemed a little bit, can't say tense, but a little bit wary. After that, it was one. He grew up on the street, so the way he dealt with people was entirely different than me. He saw things. He saw actions that he had seen before that I had never been exposed to. Hand-to-hand buys and things like that. I didn't grow up with that. I didn't know what the hell that was. He did. I got to learn things by observing him, and he learned a lot from me because I could write a whole lot better than he could. Together we did things, and I wrote all the reports. (Officer 6)

As previously discussed, Skolnick likens police work to that of the military. If there is a comparison to soldiers, it would be the ones in Iraq. Not because of the

occupying force scenario but, because the same person you arrest for a violent crime you might meet in a grocery store. There is no way to tell the good guy from the bad until sometimes it's too late. As stated by Officer 17:

> I stumbled on a 64 (crime in progress) when the perp turned toward me with the gun, I immediately used the cars post and bladed (positioned) my body to gain cover as he fired. When the bullets hit my chest, they did so at an angle and only superficial penetration. If I had not seen the hand movement, I'd be dead.

Training and mentoring are two of the predominant factors in understanding the technical aspects of policing and police officers. Returning to the concept of symbolic assailants, knowing what to look for and when are technical skills honed through experience, and, thus need to be taught by veteran officers. For instance, two interviewees had the following to offer:

> Body language and movements and the way a person, if you're riding in a unit and you see a person, you pass them up, you're watching, he's looking at you, watching you. Then you look in the mirror and he's watching you, he's looking around, just his body movements sometimes and just different little things someone may do, just put that thought in the back of your head. It's something about the body movement with people that kind of puts something in the back that makes you think something is not right with this situation. (Officer 4)

> When you approach this individual, how many guns are there, "I said, "I don't know how many guns are there, the dispatcher didn't say, so I'm not going to take for granted that the subject is armed." He says, "If you don't ever remember anything else I tell you, know this, that every time you go on a call, there's at least one gun there. There's at least one gun." He says, "You know who has it. "(Officer 5)

In conclusion, the symbolic assailant skills gained exemplify the concept of a working personality which becomes part of a cop's eyes or a way they see the world. Be it hand gestures seen in a parking lot while a patrol officer is going grocery shopping with her/his family or hand gestures on the night watch while on patrol, they still see it;

there is no switch. This is what use to be called a 6th sense where an officer might hear something that is out of place and, thus, makes the hair on the back of his/her neck rise, or just simply noticing a person walking into the bank with a jacket and it's 80 degrees outside. An officer might not consciously understand what he is seeing, but realizes something is not right about this person.

In the 1980's I was working a paid detail at Jo Ellen Smith Hospital. I walked outside to check the parking lots to make sure no one was breaking into vehicles. I was standing by one of the large pillars next to the roadway which would obstruct anyone's view of me coming down the roadway. I was just standing there looking at the vehicle when I heard a jingling of what sounded like marbles. As I walked into the roadway, I observed a white male subject jogging in the roadway. When he observed me, he kind of stopped and looked at me, but I kept walking towards the parking lot. He kind of smiled and began to jog again. I had a feeling something was wrong with what just happened and turned on my police radio for the police district the hospital was located. I watched the white male jog to the levee and disappear. A few minutes after he was no longer in the site the signal for a high priority call came over the radio that the pharmacy at Jo Ellen Smith's professional building had been robbed by a white male wearing a jogging suit armed with a 9mm handgun. I ran to my vehicle and attempted to locate the individual but to no avail. I realized what the funny feeling or sense was once I was able to think the incident over. It was hot outside, and he was wearing a jogging suit. The sounds I heard were the rounds in the handgun, and I knew the sounds from running with a handgun and the rounds making the same sound. The white male stopped and looked at me with a look of fear and surprise. When he realized I did not know he had

would have thought about this fast enough, I would have stopped him and checked to see if he was carrying a concealed handgun. I did not and would not have stopped someone without probable cause to do so. As the interviewees stated, there is no way to tell the good from the bad.

Cops and robbers with rules.

NOPD officers are inundated with rules. The department manual is 5 inches thick, and for many years no two department members had the same manual mainly due to constant revisions. In the academy, recruits are given the laws and the department manual. However, there is another set of rules, the rules of the street. A recent incident demonstrated what is not acceptable on the street and the consequences. An NOLA.com article titled “Reserve OPSO deputy who kicked arrestee found guilty of malfeasance” (Daley, 2017, p.1). The headline was dated May 31, 2017. OPSO Deputy Van Ballard, a retired NOPD officer, was working as a reserve deputy. He arrived on the scene of two NOPD officers who were in the process of handcuffing a male for auto burglary. Van Ballard kicked the arrestee in the face during the process. The NOPD officers were wearing body cameras which recorded the incident and reported Van Ballard. Is this a sign the blue wall of silence has come to an end for NOPD or if there were nobody cameras would Van Ballard have been reported? As the judge stated, it was a lapse in judgment that could not be excused. I knew Van Ballard and believed him to be an outstanding officer; he was one of the best-dressed officers I knew and had not known him to be a brutal officer, he was by the book military. Officers are warned in the academy against committing such acts and most rank, if they knew a prisoner had been abused, there would be consequences. There were some officers

that were aggressive, but I did not know of anyone who kicked a handcuffed prisoner. A part of developing cop's eyes was how one treated prisoners. Depending on the officer's indoctrination, the district, platoon, and the rank were all factors in officer development. But there was no district that would allow officers to abuse the public, which included proactive officers. As Officer 8 explained:

> We became partners. We were working the night shift for 7, 8 years together. We were always trying to find new ways to make this neighborhood safe. We would do warnings together. Kind of be creative on how we would find bad guys. We were always very caring and cautious of protecting the rights of whoever we came in contact with. (Officer 8)

Misconduct is out of the ordinary. In reviewing the following two officer's statement, it is apparent that the experiences these veteran officers had been similar to my own. Officers try and make the community safe, arrest law violators, use the least amount of force to make an arrest, and bring the arrestee to jail.

> You handle a call. You'd apprehend somebody. You take that person who was harming other people off the streets, so they couldn't hurt anybody else for a while. That made me feel good about what I was doing. (Officer 6)

> People would call the police, as you know, not because they want to say hello, but because they have a problem. You were there to solve. As a problem solver, as a community oriented person, I fell right into the whole process. (Officer 8)

Most of the daily routine was just that routine. Officers went to roll call (shift briefing before going out on the street), got into their vehicles and began answering calls. A veteran of twenty-seven years stated:

> It was mostly rapes and armed robbery, but basically the same thing. The ways perpetrators are trying to escape. You could put that to use when you pull up on the scene of an armed robbery. They're similar, or burglary, for example, you could use that knowledge to assist in your investigation and hopefully capture the perpetrator. Rather than you have to go out and figure out on every call what should I do here (Officer 7).

In summary, no training, policy, rules, or mentoring given teaches a police officer to violate citizens' rights. Akers fifth principal is an example of what might have caused Van Ballard to kick the suspect, on the other hand, it also explains why the NOPD officers felt compelled to report Van Ballard to the rank.

Cop humor.

A retired homicide detective expressed the belief that the public thinks cops are insensitive because they see cops laughing at the scene of a murder or when talking about cases they worked. The third principle of SSL is a way of understanding why this occurs. As the homicide detective stated, you can do one of two things laugh or cry. The socialization of stress management through human may seem callous to those who are not police officers, but for the cops who have to work these terrible crime scenes, it is a crucial defense mechanism, a cultural norm outside the mainstream or citizen codes of behavior. A thirty-year veteran explained how he used humor is able to de-escalate tension when his partner became stressed:

> If we have something on the side, and I see you're about to lose it because you're getting stressed out I'm going to crack a joke and make you laugh to make you realize, "Hey, this is our job. We have to get through it. Let's knock off whatever else." Not that there's humor in police work, but I always try to find something to make somebody smile, and realize, "Hey, this isn't my life. We're affecting somebody else's life, and let's control it the best way we can with compassion and everything, but realize we'll help them get through whatever crises that they're going through, but we have other things to do also. This isn't our lives" (Officer 19).

In conclusion, these themes cover three areas, Develop a Sense, Cops Robbers and Rules, and Cop Humor. When working the street cops develop a sense of awareness that can't be turned on and off. Cops are never given permission to violate

anyone's rights. Experience has shown that cops use humor as a way of dealing with stress.

Fearing for the worst hoping for the best.

Every time an officer is in public, it's an opportunity to face violence. What other professional goes to work every day carrying a gun and wearing a bulletproof vest and is not in a combat zone? The training you received in the academy does not hide the danger, in fact, they try and highlight the danger to see if they can get you to leave. One of the films we watched in the academy was the "Onion Field." The film was about two police officers who stopped a vehicle. The driver of the vehicle ended up pointing a gun at one of the officers, while the other officer had a gun pointed at the driver. The standoff ended when the officer who had the gun pointed at him convinced his partner to put his gun down. They were taken to an onion field where one of the officers was shot and killed while the other got away. With my first partner, we talked about the film and what we would do if we were ever faced with that situation.

Films depicting the danger for officers were common at the Academy. The purpose of the films was to impress upon the recruit not to be complacent. It was also a part of the socialization process and a part of the early development of seeing through a cop's eyes. A fifteen-year veteran stated:

> We got out to see what was up, and when I walked up on him, the guy turned around with a crowbar and swung at me. I had stepped forward and grabbed the crowbar he was swinging, and afterward, he told me that I almost got shot because he, his reaction was, he stepped back and was going to shoot the guy if he came at him with the crowbar. I did the opposite. I stepped in and grabbed the crowbar. I was fortunate in the fact that the guy was pretty intoxicated, but if he'd probably been in shape, he could have easily killed me or hit me in the head with that crowbar. My first reaction was, I was close enough, and I grabbed the crowbar as he was swinging it at me, and his reaction was he was going to shoot him. Like he

> said, I came within a hair of getting shot in the head because I stepped in front of him to grab the crowbar. “That was a learning experience in that you have to know what your partner's thinking and you have to talk about it, just start talking more about if this happens, what do you expect What are you going to do I had never been in life-threatening experiences prior to the department, so that was, it was a different mindset. (Officer 16).

The danger aspect is considered part of the “Police Officers is working personality.” In explaining the working personality, Skolnick states:

> Police officers themselves do not necessarily emphasize the peril associated with their work when questioned directly and may even have well-developed strategies of denial. The element of danger is so integral to an officer’s work that explicit recognition might induce emotional barriers to work performance. Thus, one patrol officer observed that more police have been killed and injured in automobile accidents in the past ten years than from gunfire. Although this assertion is true, the officer neglected to mention that the police are the only peacetime occupational group with a systematic record of death and injury from gunfire and other weaponry” (Skolnick, 2011, p.43).

Most officers at NOPD don’t have strategies for denial, in fact, they have strategies to minimize the danger. The socialization process and training are key components NOPD officers use to understand the danger and be able to negate it. A veteran officer with twenty-five years explains:

> I had a lot of street sense when I came on, but what I did learn from a couple of police officers was not to be rash, not to rush into certain situations without surveying it. A lot of it was learned through the academy. Some of these skills were honed better by a couple of individuals that were really, really, really good street officers who had been assigned to the Urban Squad, and the Urban Squad had been dismantled. (Officer 12)

At the same time, New Orleans has a history of violence. Today the homicide rate is about 45 per 100,000. So, NOPD officers are well aware of the danger they face. From experience and training, they learn how to deal with the violence. The following

quotes show the various strategies that law enforcement used to keep themselves and others safe.

> Hand position was always the important thing as well as eye movement. 'Rabbit' was telegraphed with eye motion and hand movement. (Officer 17)

> Do not let anybody come up to the car, not let anyone get close to you, to always stand bladed (a stance taught in the police academy that allows the officer to react to physical confrontations), always be ready if anything ever could happen, did happen. So, I felt that maybe I had an advantage over some others because after that and going on the street by myself, I noticed some other officers who maybe their sense of that safety wasn't as keen. (Officer 10)

> For instance, on street survival, if I was in fix this… and I was getting out on a car, I would make sure that I parked the car at an angle in the event that I needed cover, I would never park a car too close in the event that there was going to be some type of re-arm exchange, and I would also leave enough room for me to be able to move out in case the vehicle took off. (Officer 13)

> I think I developed this on my own; I don't think it was taught by anybody, I think I developed by watching other people; come in hard and then as the situation is presented de-escalate or escalate according to how you have to do. (Officer 18)

> I was in the 4th District, and there had been a rash of burglaries, and I noticed a bike against a house, and I knew that the residents of that house didn't have any children, so I thought that something was awry, so I walked to the side of the house. I was alerted by a neighbor that a guy had just left out of the house and jumped the fence. He had run around the corner. I started searching for him, and somebody advised me that he had walked into an abandoned residence that had caught fire sometime earlier. As I was going through there, I'm thinking, "Okay, I know that the last time house was burglarized they got guns. Maybe this guy is backing it." Fortunately, for me, I went in very quiet and there he was. He was trying to rack a round into a 380, and he was waiting me. It was just like that spy, the sense that came about, and he was arrested without incident. He cocked to like 20 plus burglaries in the Algiers area (Officer 12)

> We had a guy that was wanted for double murder one. We had been looking for him up and down Claiborne Avenue, and there he stands on the corner of Claiborne and Orleans, front top of the dukes. I tell my partner there's So-and-so right there. We pulled over. Everybody knew us

> because I was the black guy, he was the white guy, so everyone said the salt and pepper team. We were like brothers. We get out of the car, and all the bulletins say wanted, extremely dangerous, approach with caution. So, we saw him, he knew us, we knew him. We got out of the car, we started talking to him, and before you knew it, we brought the guy to jail without any problems. Just the two of us. (Officer 8)

Anytime a police officer is in public they are a potential target of violence even when they just walk outside to look at a parking lot. In the development of a cop's eyes; lessons learned; and the 'what ifs, that come later become a part of the officer's cop's eye. These enable the officer to minimize risk and not be consumed about the constant danger.

Social integrity.

Apply fairly.

Skolnick notes that when the political community is itself corrupt, the police will also be corrupt. In New Orleans that might seem to be the case if the only source available is the news media. The experience most police officers have is just the opposite; the political climate has very little to do with police corruption. However, the political climate likely has a lot to do with police efficiency, particularly due to budget constraints and the political incursion by applying pressure on the police administration to enforce or not enforce laws. "Procedural requirements may well move large segments of the community to a greater concern for the security of substantive ends of criminal law. Especially, when the police are burdened with the responsibility of enforcing unenforceable laws, thereby raising the specter of a crime ridden community, decisions that specifically protect individual liberty may increase pressure from an anxious community" (Skolnick, 2011, p.220). With city hall changing several times during an officer's career, old timers and rank who will have seen this pressure exerted

on the police administration understand this will happen. With each administration change, the expectation of the police, for the most part, is not clearly delineated, but administrations react to crises. “Lack of clarity in role expectations has been found to impair personal action and reduce worker’s effectiveness. Thus, role ambiguity affects individual performance as well as organizational direction” (Manning, 2003, p.48). For most officers, each administration brings a new way to fight crime, which means officers are required to get the criminals off the street. This puts police in conflict with the community due to more traffic and pedestrian stops which bring forth allegations of profile or police harassment. Most officers are taught above everything else not to violate the law and to treat everyone fairly, which places them in conflict with the newest administrative directions Fortunately for most officers their training, mentors, and experience keep them from coming into conflict with the public. As Officer 12 states,

> I try and treat everybody fair. A lot of people would walk up to me and ask me if I remember them. I'd be like, "No, I don't know who you are." "Well, you arrested me, but you were cool. (Officer 12)

Generally, special task forces are used to enforce stop and frisk, or broken windows type of laws. The district patrol officers are too busy answering calls for service. They tend to try and work out solutions instead of jail, but if they do take you to jail, it is for a reason.

> People respected us because they knew that we were very fair. We never arrested anybody who didn't deserve to go to jail. If you went to jail, you went to jail. You knew that you did something wrong. There was no guessing about that. We kind of pride ourselves on that. Over seven years of working with this guy, we developed a culture amongst ourselves that we were going to be the best police officers, but fair police officers. (Officer 8)

In applying discretion police officers base the decisions on the moment, not city hall or police administration. Their experience and that of other police officers, mentors, and the rank, form the core of the officers understanding;

> The grounding of policing, as I have argued, is in the moment. As Hemingway and other writers of war, conflict, and disorder have well recognized, the risks of conflict resist deep understanding and prediction; while fear and paralytic c flight are destructive of self and others, actions is always required. Action, of course, is often confounded with memory, and memories of past actions. (Manning, 2003, p.262).

In summary, the police as street level bureaucrats are expected to be scrupulously objective, impartial, and upstanding (Manning, 2003, p.47). This research supports these overarching objectives as reasonable, achievable and desirable.

Last to Know.

Throughout the career of the officers interviewed, NOPD was continually portrayed as a corrupt organization. Everyone was aware of the incidents that occurred, but most officers were too busy trying to do his or her jobs and did not focus on the media. All of those interviewed stated they heard about corruption and violence from the media but did not personally witness corruption or violence. Manning stated:

> Because we are, at least from time to time, public beings, subject to judgements, evaluations, and social control, we experience shame, dishonor, and valuation and in turn attribute these to others as terms, categories, labels, and interactive tactics, Police hold out these labels as working tools" (Manning, 2003, p.263)

Even though officers were aware that corruption occurred, it was not a part of most of the officer's lives, as stated by Officer's 7 and 8:

> Like I said, maybe I'm a bad one to talk to because I never really witnessed criminal behavior and I don't think I would put up with any of that. (Officer 7)

> God's honest truth, you hear stories about guys being beat up in handcuffs and being shot and dropped, but I've never seen that. To this day, I have never seen that. I heard about it. Never seen it. (Officer 8)

The reason most officers were not aware of misconduct was due in part to the group of officers they associated with daily and their ranking officers. If you were involved in misconduct and officers suspected it then most would stay away for you or report you to the ranks or internal affairs. As Officer 6 stated he advised the person he was assigned to ride with:

> I've heard a few things about you, but let's set the record straight." I told him, "Don't do anything in front of me that you wouldn't want to see on the front page of the Times-picayune and we'll get along fine. I told him, "If you do anything wrong, depending on what it is, you're either going to finish out the shift in the trunk of this car, or I'm going to book you. (Officer 6)

This research suggests that for most of the officers interviewed, the blue wall of silence will not work if they witness another officer committing a criminal offense. However, the data indicates that in some cases of administrative violations, there is a possibility the violations would not be reported due to the blue wall of silence. Everyone makes mistakes and officers understand this, and they also know they have made or will make makes. An ex-internal affairs officer stated, "we would get letters or phone calls all the time from police officers about other officers being discourteous on a scene or if they were double dipping (working on the job and detail at the same time, getting paid by both).

However, today media events are interwoven tightly with actual events. The revelations of misconduct via the media have become an almost essential feature of the modern definition of scandal. The responses of the media shape institutions and institutional practices" (Manning, 2003, p.102). The following quotes show that if an

officer is involved in misconduct in today's world, the media is likely to find out first and have film.

> It was always, as far as I'm concerned, a very professional relationship. I didn't go break bread with them. I didn't drink coffee with them. They would see me at roll call. Once out of roll call, we were gone. Next time I might see one of those guys is on the crime scene or when we're wrapping up the ETOD. I just stayed away from them. (Officer 5)

Police officers and the rank are usually the last to know about corruption or misconduct.

> The symbolic capital of the police (collective belief in their credibility and in their legitimacy within the social order as well as the goodwill and resources they are able to mobilize) results from maintaining the present pattern of vertical and horizontal ordering, and this is implicit in the contract between police and society. By maintaining moral boundaries as they are drawn by the powerful, the police sustain their own legitimacy. (Manning, 2003, p.64)

Taking a cup of coffee for free or a free hamburger has long been an issue with the NOPD. In the police academy, we were taught that the business owners would march on city hall if they were not able to give the police a free cup of coffee or a half price meal. It was explained that the business owners wanted the police to come to their business and write a report or have a meal to have the police car parked in front of the business. The advice my FTO gave was to pay the price for the meal with a tip and let the business do what they want with the money. Some officers had different points of view on this practice.

> When I started, I found out that all the fast food restaurants. Your McDonald's and Burger King, Popeye's and all, offer free food to the police. To this day, I still don't see it as any kind of corruption or, what do you call it, abuse of power or anything. I think it's just the idea that it's worth it to not only have a policeman sitting in say a Burger King eating, at the time, a $1.50 burger to the business in a sense that it deters crime. Even when you weren't there, it may deter somebody from trying to rob the restaurant not knowing if one or two police cars were about to pull into the parking lot. For them to give a hamburger away, I didn't see that as

> any kind of crime. There was no money changing hands or anything. It was just a casual, "Officer, what do you want. (Officer 7)

Police officers today are paid a livable salary unlike they were up until the late 1980's and for the most part, most places today do not give police discounts. But up until the salaries increased most officers would take a free meal. Officer explains:

> It was just an accepted practice. There's no way you can talk to the mayor or city councilmen and have them justify paying cops basically minimum wage when they started, and so it wasn't just the relationship between the cops and the Burger King or Popeye's, it was just a what do you call it Not corruption but the culture, it's a give and take. (Officer 7)

Maintaining moral boundaries for NOPD is a difficult task as the culture of the police department has allowed for a 'free cup of coffee.' The difficulty for junior officers is understanding boundaries. The leadership of NOPD sends two messages; first, it is not going to tolerate misconduct; and second, officers may receive free coffee or meals. Can a good officer be an officer who takes anything for free?

Attributes of a good officer.

There was a time according to the officers interviewed when most of them loved being a cop in the city of New Orleans. As the following officers explain:

> Compromising your integrity is not worth your soul. An officer today has to realize that the Monday morning quarterbacks will eat you alive if you make any misstep. (Officer 17)

> You have to adjust to the mindset now. The mindset now is you're a protector. Okay, keep that in mind. You're there to protect people. You protect them from criminals. You protect them from harm. That includes harm from you. (Officer 6).

On the other hand, NOPD has been a troubled department since its inception. As one veteran stated, after a while working for the city, there are many reasons to be negative.

> Police have a common negativity about them, to begin with. They'll bitch and complain about everything, but then they'll show up every day. The guy I worked for, I don't think he took a sick day the entire time I worked with him. We worked for probably three years together off and on, never remember him being sick one time. They would complain about that, and I'm like, "Most people who complain about their job would just keep pulling up and this and that," but I think it's just ... I kind of that that's the way the police are. They deal with such negativity all day long in their job. (Officer 15)

In summary, the officers interviewed denied having firsthand knowledge of corruption. As an African American officer with twenty- nine years on the department explained, “You hear about it but never see it” (Officer 8). While a white male officer with twenty-nine years stated, “I never witness criminal behavior (by officers), but I don’t think I would put up with it” (Officer 7). The rank and file are usually “the last to know,” about corruption.

Chapter 5: Conclusion

NOPD records go back to 1805 when it initiated a military style armed and uniformed police force. In 1852, John Youenes was appointed the first police chief in New Orleans. The NOPD we know today was created by the State of Louisiana, Act 63 of 1888. The City of New Orleans in the 1800s was one of the most violent cities in the country with a homicide rate of 35 per 100,000 people; today, it has risen to over 40 homicides per 100,000 residents. The criminal justice system of the 1800s was considered dysfunctional, as it is today. The courts and police department were understaffed and had low conviction rates (Rousey, 1996, p.85).

Misconduct in the 1800s existed in an understaffed and underpaid department. “Public opinion and trust of members of the department were dismal” (Rousey, 1996, p.164) A Times-Picayune article from 1880 stated, “the police department could recruit a good man only when he was out of work, and as soon as he finds something else to do, he resigns” (Rousey, 1996, 163). Today, the City of New Orleans and its police department are similar to the city and police department of the1800s. The cities high homicide rate, low police morale, and the inability to recruit and hire new officers along with low public opinion are a few examples.

To address these issues, the researcher first looked at other urban police departments with similar problems (corruption, misconduct, low morale) to NOPD. Socialization was a common theme that emerged from this national review. Thus, this research sought to answer, what is the socialization process of NOPD and what areas of the process have positive or negative outcomes. It was then determined a qualitative study would render the most productive results. Twenty police officers were interviewed.

Two themes emerged from the data, “Journey to Blue” and “Cop’s Eyes.” Journey to Blue is the transformation process a police officer undergoes from a civilian to a police officer. “Cop’s Eyes” looks at the way a police officer learns to view the world as an officer. These two themes represent part of the socialization process of becoming a New Orleans Police Officer. Social Structure and Social Learning theory are intergraded to form the SSSL theory which is used to explain these processes. Social Structure Theory emphasizes relationships among social institutions and describes the types of behavior that tend to characterize groups of people rather than individuals. Social learning theory says, ‘that people learn how to behave by modeling themselves after others whom they have the opportunity to observe” (Schmalleger, 2006, p.243). When referring to behavior that is socially acceptable, the word “pro-social” is used. In reference to the principals of SSSL theory, when referring to behavior that is not socially acceptable, “deviant behavior” is used.

All NOPD recruits must meet the requirements of New Orleans Civil Service to be hired. The process is an application, written test, physical fitness test, polygraph, and background checks. Once recruits are hired, they attend the police academy which varies in length. Several of the officers joined the police department due to familial influences and others for a for a variety of other reasons but primarily through exposure to officers working paid details. After interviewing several current officers, none would encourage anyone to join NOPD today.

The NOPD police academy is a primary source of learning behavior through group and individual reinforcement. It is one of the predominant factors or aspects of the socialization process. The rules and regulation, values, and ethics of the department

must be ingrained into the recruits. A white female veteran of twenty years stated "the Academy taught me a lot of things besides police work. It gave us values and understanding of effects we would be dealing with as police officers, as opposed to any other career that you'd probably have" (Officer 4). Therefore, there must be enough time in the academy to ensure these values and ethics are irreversibly a part of the recruit.

NOPD police recruits are trained in a para-military style police academy like a military boot camp. A white female veteran stated, "when you went to the police academy it showed us recruits that you'd going to need these other people with you. It started in the academy as recruits studying and helping each other. That showed me that's what teamwork is" (Officer 4). Every time a police officer is in public, there is a possibility of violence. In fact, on the use of force continuum, the uniform is the first level of strength. Prosocial behavior is learned according to the principles of operant conditioning" (Schmalleger, 2006, p.252). The military faces violence every time they are in a war zone. The police face violence every day they work; they live in their war zone. The military forms social bond in a war zone since their lives depend on it. The police form the same social bonds because their lives depend on it. The difference in their social bonding is that the police form these bonds their entire careers. Experience has shown that stress training bonds recruits to their classmates forming a cohesive group for which all others are outsiders including the academy staff. There is no leaving their war zone and going home, and some of your academy classmates will be on the job with you for many years. As this research has shown, the veteran officers interviewed remember most of their classmates and knew where they were assigned and when they retired or died.

The academy is where the “Blue Wall of Silence” is born. Academies severe the ties of the civilian world of the recruits from the world of policing. It is part of the social bonding of members to each other and the department. The blue wall of silence is entrenched in the academy as officers learn to think of each other as brothers and sisters. The blue wall is taught in the academy two ways. First, the stories recalled by the instructors of what happens to an officer when that officer rats (reports wrongdoing by a fellow officer) on another cop. Other officers no longer trust the rat and, thus, might be slow to respond, or not respond at all, to a call for help from the rat. Second, veteran officers who relate stories of what happened to officers who ratted validate the blue wall of silence. As an example of what might be done to a rat, pepper spray was put on the vents of the air conditioner, so when the officer starts the vehicle, they are given a dose of the pepper spray. The first place NOPD can change the culture of the police department is the police academy. If the department does not ensure each member of the police academy represents what the department wants ethically, morally, and values wise than the graduating recruits will not reflect those values. This means that any war story told by any instructor must represent what the department wants in its police officers.

After successfully passing the police academy recruits are sent into the police districts and paired with a Field Training Officer (FTO). Both the academy and field training are key to the socialization process. The reinforcement is occurring in the district once the recruit becomes a solo officer. The jump from a recruit with an FTO and then to a solo beat officer is the biggest change in officer’s professional lives. A recruit becomes the police after you can ride as a solo beat officer. A veteran black male

officer with twenty-nine years stated, “you had the feeling that you were embarking on a career that it was a big team and everybody was looking out for you, of course, but you do your part and not question orders” (Officer 11). A black male officer with twenty-seven years stated, “you have to adjust to the mindset now, the mindset is you’re the protector. Keep that in mind; you’re there to protect people that includes harm from you” (Officer 6). Riding with the FTO and working with other officers in the district is where recruits learn how to be the police. A principal of SSSL theory states, “the principal part of the learning of pro-social behavior occurs in the groups that comprise or control the individual’s major source of reinforcement” (Schmalleger, 2006, p. 243).

Field Training is the second phase a recruit must pass in the process which further reinforces social bonding from the academy. “FTO training is behavior based training in which there is a one-way transfer of information. It promotes the mutual involvement of students and instructors in a learning process that stress analytical and conceptual skills in a practical, problem-solving situation” (Moore & Miller, 2007, p.510). Field training is the first time a recruit works the street. In almost every class that went through the academy when I was the commander of field training, a recruit dropped out because they decided police work was not for them. A veteran of twenty-five years states:

> In the academy, they're teaching you how to handcuff other recruits and other people. That person is not trying to get away from you because they committed a major felony or crime. They're not armed, and if they are armed, it's a fake pistol or knife or something. There's no real danger in the academy itself. When you're on the FTO program, you're out there actually dealing with individual suspects or whatever. There's a lot more danger. (Officer 14)

Successful FTO's use what is taught in the academy to help the recruit pass this phase of police officer training. A twenty-five-year veteran stated, "there always has been a philosophy that you learn how to handle yourself as a policeman more in your field training program and with your time on the job than you actually do in the academy" (Officer 14).

In classes on how to manage the field training program, it was taught that the first FTO has the biggest impact on the development of a recruit. There are two types of FTO's those who teach mostly deviant behaviors and those who teach mostly pro-social behaviors. "The strength of deviant behavior is a direct function of the amount frequency and probability of its reinforcement. The modalities of the association with deviant patterns are relevant insofar as they affect the source, amount, and scheduling of reinforcement" (Schmalleger, 2006, p.256). If this first FTO is teaching deviant behaviors, they will eventually be discovered. The single person that has the biggest impact on the police department is the FTO. Therefore, a way to change the culture of NOPD is through the academy and the FTO program.

Skolnick (2011) coined the phrase working personality, in referring to three elements of a police officer as an occupational grouping. The elements are danger, authority, and efficiency which he believes creates a police subculture. Skolnick also used the phrase, "symbolic assailant." He defined a symbolic assailant as behavior and characteristics a police officer, from experience, and training, views as threatening (p.39). He views working personality and symbolic assailant as two separate qualities of a policeman. This research uses the phrase "Cop's Eyes" to combine the features of a police officer into one phase. A cop's eyes are simply the way an officer sees the world.

Officers working the street always see the world the same. They are unable to turn the cop off. This is the world after a recruit goes through the academy, field training, and is working the street.

Skolnick identifies two concepts of police socialization, working personality, and the symbolic assailant. He suggests that an officer's working personality is a part of the development of an occupation's effect on their outlook on the world. This research furthers this concept as part of what becomes a Cop's Eyes. Skolnick (2011) explained that he does not suggest that "police are alike in working personality, but that there are distinctive cognitive tendencies in police as an occupational grouping. (p. 39)." A cop's eyes suggest that New Orleans police incorporate recruit training, field training, and experiences in the field into whom they become as a person. A New Orleans police officer on or off duty is always looking for the symbolic assailant; anytime they are in public. Just as Officers learned to stand, listen, walk, and talk, the policing personality incorporates it all into whom they become. There is no off switch. The police department holds each officer accountable for their actions on or off duty through rules, regulations and traditional practices.

Social Structure and Social Learning or SSSL theory explains the integration of these concepts into a Cop's Eyes. The structure of the New Orleans police department is that all police officers attend the police academy and go through field training even if they are an experienced officer coming from another agency. The time spent in the academy and field training may be several weeks less, but they still go through the process. This cultural transmission for New Orleans police officers expects an officer to be capable and accountable from the first day in the field.

Transformation of a police recruit in the FTO program to a veteran officer occurs in one day. The day that the officer is a solo beat officer the public expects this officer to know his job. No one cares if it's the first day on the job, they care that how an officer handles whatever problem he or she has now. The first call the officer makes could be the call that requires this officer to use deadly force. The grand jury will not care if it's the officer's first call, they expect this officer to follow policy and the law. Smith explains why the officer's transformation must occur instantly:

> Each policeman must, in a sense, determine the standard to be set in the area for which he is responsible. Immediate superiors may be able to impress upon him some of the lessons of experience, but for the most part, such experience must be his own…Thus he is a policy-forming police administrator in miniature, who operates beyond the scope of the usual devices for control. (Smith. 1960, p.19)

The transformation includes the understanding of how an officer is expected to act, ethically and morally. For most officers, during this phase in their lives, the academy is still fresh, and they remember what was taught to them, especially what would get them in trouble and what was expected of them. "When I started the word of a police officer was outstanding, and court cases were won just on an officer's testimony" (Officer 3). An officer interviewed, twenty- six-year veteran, explained, "I think the biggest thing that they pushed on us, believe it or not, was courage and integrity which carried on into the districts, but they were very big on integrity. (Officer 11).

Mentoring occurs throughout an officer's career and is a part of the socialization process. A twenty-two-year veteran expressed that he learned as much from a negative officer was who escalated situations as he did from officers who knew how to professional work through situations. It is imperative FTO's are veteran officers who have not been in trouble and know how to work the streets and follow the rules set forth

by the department, city , and state law. They are key to training and then mentoring new recruits. Once NOPD loses these veterans, who can teach recruits what probable cause is and how it is legally applied on the street the effectiveness of NOPD to fight street crimes decreases sustainably. Veterans understand how to interpret body language, see a hand to hand transaction or identify a bulge as a gun. Just as important they know how to document the event truthfully and accurately. Putting pressure on officers to make stops and arrest when they are not properly trained results in one of three things, they lose the case, the officer lies to make the case, or least likely they are able to write the case properly without guidance. Untrained officers are a breeding ground for misconduct. An officer with twenty-seven years on the job observed some the officers escalated situations in which there was no need while others did not. He learned just as much by observing what not to do (Officer 18).

This process can become a long-term problem in a social learning or social bonding scenario such as the current situation in which NOPD finds itself today. With a net gain of 14 officers in 2016 and the department attempting to hire hundreds of new recruits, The NOPD will have inexperienced officers training inexperienced officers.

> In the social learning, view, results of one's own actions are not the sole source of knowledge, Information about the nature of things is frequently extracted from vicarious experience. In this mode of verification, observation of the effects produced by somebody else's actions provides the check on one's own thoughts. "(Bandura, 1977, p.181)

The answer for NOPD is not to play catch up with the numbers at the cost of a well trained and ethical police officer. Over the years NOPD has tried to push recruits through the FTO program with FTOs who did not want to be and FTOs or FTOs who were not suited for the position. A police officer with twenty-nine years explained that

the first lawsuit he got was with one of his FTO's that was very active "he would jump on calls and be very active on the street. A veteran with twenty-nine years stated, "I rode with another female who, on the day watch, we did a lot of shopping. She showed me different beauty supply places". An officer with twenty-five years on the job explained that to become a functioning police officer does not occur overnight, "experience, it takes time. "The probability that a person will commit deviant behavior is an increase in the presence of normative statements, definitions, and verbalizations that, in the process of differential reinforcement of such behavior over conforming behavior, have acquired discriminative value" (Schmalleger, 2006, p.252).

The use of deviant behavior and pro-social behavior in SSSL theory successfully demonstrated the seven principals of the theory had two implications. In this research, a majority of the behaviors were clearly used as pro-social behavior. It became clear that the officers who were interviewed had not been involved in or observed misconduct or criminal behavior.

A "Frontline"(2017) investigation chronicling the New Orleans police department, titled "Timeline: NOPD's Long History of Scandal" listed seven incidents of police corruption and brutality from November 1980 to August 1, 2005. The first occurred in 1980 after the murder of a police officer; the second occurred in March of 1990 after the murder of an officer. The third and fourth incidents involved members of the vice squad being arrested for shaking down nightclubs and massage parlors and two officers being arrested for the rape of a women. The fifth and sixth incidents (which were discussed on p.2) was the Len Davis incidents which occurred in 1994 and the sixth was the murder of officer Ronald Williams by officer Antoinette Frank. The last incident involved two

officers who are indicted for the death of a drug dealer. Is it unknown if the thin blue line protected these officers these officers without further research?

The SSSL theory explains the lack of knowledge by the twenty officers interviewed for this research about their personal knowledge of corruption. The officers that were involved in corruption tended to be alone or worked with a partner. They would understand the socialization process and not want to risk other officers knowing about crimes they are committing. The average officer's socialization process would allow an officer to ignore another officer who is committing felonies such as ripping off drug dealers or stealing. The blue wall of silence might protect an officer who commits a policy violation of department rules and regulations such as the use of profanities. They might report a municipal law violation, such as a battery if an officer pushes someone. This question provides an opportunity for further research. This also explains why there was no department wide corruption as found in LAPD's Rampart scandal or Chicago's SOS scandal.

The one thing that seems to be common from one generation to the next is officer dedication to the department, wanting to protect the community and officer integrity. The thin blue line, unlike the blue wall of silence, is not meant to be divisive; in fact, it is the opposite. The thin blue line is the thin line of police officers that separate our citizens from those that would do them harm.

As one of my Marine Corp drill instructors would always say, "You get what you pay for," the City has gotten what it has paid for over the years. Since the 1800's the City of New Orleans has underpaid, under trained police officers and has just gotten by with the minimum, they could get away with such as;

- The city has yet to build a modern police academy.
- The police department does not have a police firing range. When they did build one in the 1980's, it didn't work.
- The department does not have a building for simulation training, the recruits first encounters would be the ones on the street. There are no records of incidents officers have faced on the street that is reviewed and trained for in the academy.
- There is no testing or vetting or monitoring of police instructors to include FTO's. The department must ensure the best officers they have been assigned to the police academy and as FTO's. There must be continuing training of both academy instructors and FTO's, not just a 40 hour one time FBI instructor training course.
- FTO's must be made a part of the training academy. This will enable the FTO's to know what is being taught in the academy and ensure there is no difference between what is taught in the academy is not what is practiced on the street.
- NOPD having a 13 to 20-week academy is not practical. Once the recruits complete one phase of the four phases of the FTO program, they should be required to return to the academy and be debriefed with the FTO's. Events should be discussed in a group setting to ensure how problem situations should be handled. Command level officers should be required to lead the discussions.

Limitations of the Study

This research involved snowball sampling which by the nature of the study is a limiting factor due to the fact that there is no way to ensure equal representation of all sexes, races, age group, etc. In this research, there was no representation of black females. Once the data was coded and placed into themes, it became clear that the incidents of misconduct and corruption were insignificant. By interviewing veteran officers who had not committed crimes nor been involved in misconduct, it was determined that those involved in misconduct would not advertise wrongdoing to these officers in fear that they would be turned into to the rank or internal affairs. This research was successful in determining the factors involved in the socialization process of becoming an NOPD officer but not factors in the socialization process of NOPD officers who violated the law.

The same study should be undertaken with NOPD officers who have been involved in misconduct or criminal activity to determine if there is a difference in their socialization process. Although misconduct occurring in other cities has been studied each city culture is significantly different other than generalities which would not add to the socialization process and the incidents of misconduct in New Orleans. There has not been any research conducted by a member of the NOPD or a former NOPD officer other than this research.

The intent of this research initially was to understand socialization, misconduct, and corruption. It became clear that firsthand knowledge of criminal conduct would not be a part of the socialization process of the officers interviewed. The officers had

firsthand knowledge of procedural misconduct which reinforced the blue wall of silence.

NOPD culture is evolving with the introduction of body cameras on the department. From informally interviewing officers who are wearing body cameras daily, it became apparent that the officers are very careful in interacting with the public. This is due to the fear of them saying something or doing something on camera that would put their jobs in jeopardy.

Future Research Implications

This research is a starting point in understanding the socialization process of the New Orleans Police Departments. The SSSL theory helped understand the process and to explain the questions asked in this research. The interview of twenty former officers was extensive and gave an insight to officers who had not committed crimes. The question now becomes, ‘with all officers going through the same socialization process, what along the way changed for the officers’, who violated laws? The next step in this research would be to interview twenty former New Orleans Police Officers who were convicted of committing crimes while in the department. The answers would be coded, and themes form as in this research and compare their processes. If it is determined, there is a difference in their socialization process with the two groups the data can be analyzed to help prevent future misconduct from occurring on NOPD.

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